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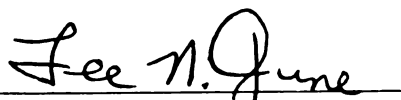


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**THE ROLE OF BONDING EXPERIENCES IN THE CHILDBEARING  
PRACTICES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ADULTS**

**By**

**Sukhvender K. Nijjer**

**A DISSERTATION**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE ROLE OF BONDING EXPERIENCES IN THE CHILDBREARING PRACTICES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ADULTS**

**By**

**Sukhvender K. Nijjer**

The parenting literature suggests that childrearing behaviors are greatly affected by both biological factors and, especially, the emotional environment that the parents grew up in. In examining the parenting, bonding, and attachment behaviors of adult African Americans, this study took into account the historical context that has shaped the African American family life. The purpose of this study was to understand how the bonding experiences of adult African Americans influenced their parenting behaviors. Two hundred and twenty-seven Michigan State University staff and faculty and members of the Association of Black Psychologists completed measures of bonding, attachment, parenting behaviors, and demographic information. Canonical correlations were performed. None of the hypotheses which were based on the existing literature were supported though the trends were in the predicted direction. However, after demographic information was taken into account there were some significant differences. That is, when demographic variables such as: church membership and respondents' income, sex, or their parents' social class were considered there were significant findings. However, the generalizability of these findings may be limited because the sample sizes in some of the analyses were small, and they explained little of the variance. Implications for future research and practice are discussed.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The African family system thrived in Africa under various socio-political environments. Because of its flexibility and vitality, it adapted to the "new world" of the Americas. The African American family is the result of structural and dynamic adaptation to the new political and economic system it found itself in, within a powerful and well enforced European influence (Sudarkasa, 1988). In the "new world," the Black family provided socialization, education, social control, emotional and material support for all its members (Franklin, 1988).

This is an exploratory study intended to extend research on the African American family by examining parental bonding behaviors of African American adults. By using Bowlby's theory and the parenting literature as overarching conceptual frameworks, this study will examine adult African Americans bonding experiences and the development of their parenting behaviors. The primary research question of this study is: "How do the bonding experiences of adult African Americans influence their parenting behaviors?"

In considering the potential application of attachment theory to African American parenting behaviors, it should be noted that neither Bowlby or other researchers, who have applied attachment theory to the parent-child relationship, have

taken into account the importance or the role race or ethnicity may play in the development of attachment bonds. Clearly, the generalizability of this theory to Blacks and other racial/ethnic groups requires initial investigations.

Also, one of the much needed areas of research on the African American family is the expressive or the emotional aspect of the parent-child relationship (Billingsley, 1968). It is partially through their emotional attachment to their children that parents influence how their children will act and contribute to society.

Parents who are emotionally bonded to their children will best foster their children's healthy development. Such parents provide high level of parent-child involvement; and they set clear requirements for mature behavior, enforce rules consistently, and provide firm control (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Along with parental demand and firm control, parents who are affectionate, attentive, and responsive to their children's needs and open to communication will provide optimal parenting. Parents who provide optimal parenting promote their children to be self-reliant, to have high self-esteem, and to be prosocial. In fostering the development of the individual child, the parent-child dyad is affected by parents' own development.

Parenting behavior is the function of strong biological roots and also based on our experiences and environments. Although both members of the parent-child dyad affect each other, parents have much more control and influence. Parents arrive to the parent-child relationship as adults, whose tastes, interests, personality, etc., are already developed and established. Children develop their affectional bonds and personalities with this predetermined environment (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

The types of characteristics and behaviors this predetermined environment develops are partially predicated on parents' interaction with their parents. Parents' own childhood experiences, and, in particular, their bonding experiences to their parents influence the relationship they have with their children (Bowlby, 1982, 1988).

The current literature on how the parents' own parenting experiences impact on their relationships with their children has primarily studied members of the dominant culture in this country. Although scholars have studied the influence and impact of instrumental (i.e., economy) factors and the Black family's structural (i.e., family) organization on childrearing practices (Billingsley, 1968; Bowman, 1993; Burton & DeVries, 1992; Burton & Dilworth-Anderson, 1991; Cotton, 1989; Hill, 1989; McLoyd, 1990; Peters & Massey, 1983; Tolson & Wilson, 1990; Wilson, 1984, 1986, 1989, 1990), the relationship between attachment bonds and parenting behaviors among African American adults has not been explored. Consequently, the current picture forming of the Black parent-child relation is that this system is greatly impacted by instrumental and structural factors in how it forms; however, we have little understanding of how expressive experiences such as how African American parents' own unique experiences in their families-of-origins affect their relationship with their children.

Therefore, it would be helpful to know how African American adults attachment bonds affect how they raise their own children. In an attempt to provide a more comprehensive understanding of African American families, this study will add to the literature by examining the internal dynamics of the Black parent-child dyad. Therapists would then have a clearer picture of both the internal and external dynamics

that affect the African American parent-child relationship, and as a consequence be better able to design effective therapeutic interventions with Black families.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### Theoretical Research on the Role of Parenting in the African American Family

Bowman (1993) states that due to the socio-political environment that Black families find themselves in, African Americans have developed distinct forms of familial structures. In particular, the extended kinship structure, flexibility of family roles, spiritual beliefs, and ethnic coping orientations are a reflection of both the African culture and adjustment to the socio-political environment. Bowman (1993) further emphasizes that these cultural forms and resources are transmitted systemically from one generation to the next in the way parents rear their children.

In socializing their children, Black parents, as all parents, are preparing their children to take on adult roles and responsibilities of society. However, Peters (1985) states that in order to understand the dynamics of rearing children in Black families, the factor of racism must be considered. Richardson (1981) suggests that racism acts as an intervening variable in the childrearing practices of Black parents.

Since racism is a reality of life for Black Americans, Barbarin (1993) states that a significant task for African American parents is helping their children develop healthy emotional lives. Emotional development involves helping children develop the capacity for emotional expression, regulation, and adjustment. Barbarin (1993) states that emotional development is absolutely essential for children to develop social

competence and psychological health. He suggests that sound emotional development is also the foundation for the formation of a firm ethnic identity and healthy self-concept. The emergence of healthy emotional development is thought to begin early in life with the emotional exchanges that children experience in secure attachment bonds. Also, the African American family influences emotional development by reinforcing specific competencies, providing for their children's emotional needs, and protecting them from harmful environmental stressors.

Bicultural Status. A large part of the emotional development of African American children is helping them resolve the conflict that exists between the European and the African worldviews. DuBois (1903) in his book: Soul of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches best described the struggles that the Black person faces.

...the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (p.3).

In successfully raising their children, Black parents need to mediate this struggle. Several writers (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Comer & Poussaint, 1994; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Pinderhughes, 1982; Peters, 1988) have emphasized that the most important developmental task for Black children is the development of their bicultural identity. Therefore, in trying to socialize their children to their dual worldviews, African American parents have to help their children develop a bicultural

identity. Comer and Poussaint (1994) state that Black parents must help prepare their children to form a bicultural existence. Parents help form this bicultural existence through their modeling and childrearing practice and buffering their children from the negative messages that may be transmitted by the society-at-large. Therefore, parents become the strongest agent in the socialization of a bicultural identity

Pinderhughes (1982) states that Black children who succeed as adults are able to function in the Black culture and also negotiate within the White dominant culture. Therefore, biculturality is the ability to function in two worlds, and if biculturality is achieved, it makes the individual adaptive. Pinderhughes (1982) states that families that are able to raise individuals who are bicultural exhibit unusual strength and flexibility. They are able to raise individuals who can tolerate ambiguity, confront differences, and be creative in interacting with both of their cultures. Learning to exist as bicultural individuals can become problematic for African Americans because the very qualities that are encouraged in the African American culture often stand in opposition to the qualities rewarded in the dominant society. Furthermore, Boykin and Toms (1985) state that the bicultural socialization process gets further complicated for African Americans in that they have to deal with the racism that accords them a minority status within society.

Racism. Several researchers (Billingsley, 1968; Jackson, McCullough, & Gurin, 1988; Nobles, 1988; Peters, 1988) report that Black parents indicate that they are aware that in preparing their children for a bicultural existence they need to help their children deal directly with the racism they will face because of their ethnicity and skin color. Black parents are always consciously aware of the real and potential racial

discrimination their children will face. African American parents realize that they need to raise their children as Blacks in a society that devalues their Blackness. Furthermore, Peters (1985) states that the racial environments and experiences of parents influence their view of reality and their worldviews. In addition, how parents themselves adjust to the social reality and deal with the racism they experience affect their childrearing values and behaviors.

Therefore, African American parents not only prepare their children to take on appropriate sex and age roles, but an important feature of the socialization process is to help children deal with racism. Black parents need to bring up their children to be comfortable with their Blackness, to be secure, to be proud, and to be able to compete and to survive in the broader White environment. Jackson et al. (1988) report that many African American parents indicate that in order to help their children deal with racism, a goal of parenting is to develop high self-esteem and self-confidence. African American parents are challenged to foster positive self-concepts of their children so that their children will be able to engage in competition or social comparison with White children.

Sense of History. Another way that African American parents deal with racism is to try to impart to their children a sense of history. Peters (1988) states that African American parents try to impart to their children that first and foremost they have an African heritage, and all African Americans share a common history of racial oppression. This understanding makes it clear to African American children that as Black persons they will always struggle against the forces of oppression and racism. By having a good understanding of their historical roots, African American children

will realize that their obligation is to always fight against the forces of racism and that to do otherwise is aiding in their own dehumanization. This struggle is not just a personal struggle but also a human struggle.

Unconditional Love. Nobles (1988) states that Black parents also combat the oppressive forces of racism by providing their children unconditional love and emphasizing the importance of family bonds. Black parents assume a natural goodness of their children. Parent-child interactions are characterized by unconditional love and with emphasis on respect for self and others. Nobles (1988) states that in the parent-child relationship the parent can express anger, punishment, and disappointment; however, this does not negate the love associated with the parent-child bond. As part of this unconditional love, children are provided with a sense of connection, attachment, validation, worth, recognition, respect, and legitimacy. Also, Manns (1988) states that the family boundaries in African American families are flexible enough to stretch to accommodate the various expressions of individual styles, personalities, and conditions.

Family Bonds. Along with providing unconditional love, Nobles (1988) reports that African American parents convey to their children that their sense of identity and being are in their families. Black children are taught that their families are not antithetical or a burden to individual aspirations. Therefore, no matter what happens, the family's love and protection will always be unconditional and ever-present. African American children come to learn that in their own people, they will find an understanding of themselves. African American children are encouraged to act, to think, and to develop cooperative ways of interacting rather than being competitive.

Black children are taught to view themselves as an integral part of their extended family system and not solely as an individual.

Nonverbal Communication. Along with learning to function in an extended family system, African American children are also brought up to be skillful in being able to communicate nonverbally because of having to exist in a racist environment. Hale-Benson (1987) states that Black children learn to value the ability to express themselves through their body language. Because of this, they become highly sensitive to others' nonverbal cues. They also become accustomed to using verbal language that is meaningful depending on the context, and they learn to adjust spontaneously to the changing environment. African American children are able to adapt rapidly to novel situations. Therefore, African American children are trained to be people centered, and they develop great potential for becoming empathetic. Finally, parents convey to their children that there is a higher power and will that is greater than all else (Pipes, 1988; June, 1991).

Summary. The theoretical research highlighted that in rearing African American children Black parents may instill certain behaviors and characteristics in their children. African American parents are aware that growing up Black in the United States means dealing with a bicultural status. Black children need to learn to function in both the Black and White worlds. An integral part of dealing with this bicultural existence is learning to deal with racism. Because racism is an intervening variable in rearing African American children, Black parents try to impart to their children that they are part of a group with a sense of history. African American children are also taught that they need to work hard and strive for higher education to

succeed in the broader society. Also, no matter what comes their way, African American children are taught that they can always seek comfort in their immediate and extended families. Finally, African American children are encouraged to believe that in their struggles a higher power is watching over them.

### Theoretical Research on the African American Family

There is no such entity as "the Black family." "The Black family" has come to exist due to an interaction of a variety of variables that makes this institution heterogenous (Billingsley, 1992; McAdoo, H. P., 1990). However, in this study the phrase: "the Black family" will be used to refer to families who see themselves as originating from individuals who were brought from African to be slaves in the United States. As a group, Black families display a diversity of values, characteristics, and lifestyles. Originally, Africans descended from cultural groups whose heritages were diverse and rich. However, most Africans, when brought into the United States, lived a common experience: enslavement. Through this common experience and years of denial by the mainstream society of the existence of their individual cultural heritages, Africans formed what is today called the African American or Black American family culture.

Family life was a vital and significant part of the African American community even during enslavement. It has been suggested that among the reasons for this was that African Americans during enslavement lacked any other institution that they could call their own (Franklin, 1988). The African American family remained stable even during the period of Reconstruction after the civil war and the great migration of Blacks to the North during World War I. The Black family has proven to be a

remarkable institution in that it "survived the slave system, then legal segregation, discrimination, and enforced poverty, ...and many racially hostile governmental and societal practices, policies, and attitudes" (Franklin, 1988, p. 25).

Therefore, structures that the Black family have formed over time can be seen as adaptive strategies. The adaptive strategies that the Black family formed reflect the beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes of members of the African American community on what it means to be a member of its community and how to survive in the larger society. Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, and Buriel (1990) state that adaptive strategies are cultural patterns that the family and its individual members use to adjust to the broader society.

Many of the cultural patterns that are today a part of the Black family became important for survival within the institution of slavery and continue to be valued due to the fact that African Americans still face varying degrees of discrimination. Hill (1972) attributes the survival of the African American family to strong kinship bonds; flexibility of family roles; and the high value placed on religion, education, and work.

Black Americans as a group tend to form and rely heavily on strong kinship networks (Stack, 1975). Harrison et al. (1990) state that the forming of an extended kinship network, a natural part of the African culture, is also an adaptive strategy. The extended kinship network becomes a problem solving and stress coping system. In the Black community, the extended kinship network is a major resource for dealing with daily and crisis situations, and it provides the family with tangible help as well as an outlet for emotional expression. Also, the extended family network provides its children with a place to seek emotional affiliations and attachments.

Although influenced by the oppressive forces of slavery and today's society, the forming of a strong kinship bond is a legacy of the African culture. In Africa, family life was given priority. Hines and Boyd-Franklin (1982) state that slaves also placed a high value on the family. Because of the institution of slavery, it was common for families to be abruptly torn apart. However, in the slave communities, "families" were formed between unrelated relatives. In these families, children were often informally adopted by unrelated "parents." Family units were formed by choice as well as by force to deal with the devastating effects of family members being sold to the slave market. Therefore, the family unit became a network of individuals who were both related as well as unrelated to each other by blood. Stack (1975) states that the kinship system has and continues to provide a major mode for coping with the pressures of an oppressive society. Stack (1975) describes the Black family as engaging in "co-residence, kinship-based exchange networks linking multiple domestic units, elastic household boundaries, and lifelong bonds to three generational household." She further states that "the Black urban family...embedded in cooperative domestic exchange...proves to be an organized, tenacious, active, lifelong network" (p. 124).

Flexibility of roles characterized both the kinship network and the nuclear family. Harrison et al. (1990) state that the Black family has used role flexibility as a coping mechanism. Hines and Boyd-Franklin (1982) state that because Black fathers have experienced difficulty in providing economically for their families, it has been assumed that fathers do not play a central role in their families. This overemphasis on the peripheralness of Black fathers in their families has overlooked the active

participation of African American fathers in the daily activities of their families. Hill (1972) states that because of the social climate which discriminates against African American men being economic providers, the Black family has developed flexibility of roles. African American men are actively involved in the childrearing and household responsibilities. African American women have also historically worked outside the home, especially during periods of high unemployment. Hines and Boyd-Franklin (1982) state, because African American males and females have had to develop role flexibility, the relationships between them can be fairly egalitarian; and their children may not learn a rigid distinction between male and female roles.

The African American community also has a strong spiritual orientation; this was true historically and is true currently. The Black church grew out of that tradition (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Woodson, 1921). Hines and Boyd-Franklin (1982) state that it was through the invisible church that escape plans were developed and through it were passed on. Also, many of the leaders of the Black community have been religious leaders (Hamilton, 1972). Along with providing connection and leadership, the church became an avenue to express feelings of humiliation, pain, and anger that African Americans endured. It was through their religion that Blacks were able to express their struggle and keep a strong faith in God to see them through their difficulties. The Black church helped African Americans develop great strength and capabilities to bear pain and sorrow, and it allowed the Black family to seek truth in the face of great adversity (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982).

Work and education are highly valued in the Black family. Scanzoni (1985) reports that Black parents stress to their children that, because they are Black and will

not have many avenues open to them to get ahead in this society, they need to get an education. Although Black parents hold up hard work and education as the route to success, the African American family is confronted with the reality that other factors, outside the control of the individual frequently mediate the success of the Black person in the education and work worlds (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982). Despite the obstacles, Black parents continue to reinforce the idea that education insures work security and social mobility. Therefore, family members may unite their resources so that at least one child can successfully complete his/her education. Later, the educated child will be seen as responsible for helping other members finish their education. H. P. McAdoo (1978) refers to this process of helping those family members who have helped in time of need as "reciprocal obligation." H. P. McAdoo (1978) states that despite their education and economic success, Black families often do not have the same level of security as their White counterparts because of institutional and economic racism.

#### Description of the Major Values of the African American Family

The African American family has developed a unique cultural system in the United States. Underlying this unique cultural system are the values that have come to form the worldview of African Americans. Sue and Sue (1990) state that all cultural groups adhere to and promote a certain worldview. Worldview refers to how a person perceives his/her relationship to the world. A worldview is formed and developed based on an individual's cultural upbringing and life experiences. A person's worldview shapes his/her thinking and understanding of life.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) state that all cultures in forming their worldviews provide answers to four important questions. (1) "What is the relationship of people to nature?" (2) "How are human relationships defined?" (3) "What is the modality of human activity?" (4) "What is the temporary focus of human life?" (cited in Sue & Sue, 1990, p. 139). The answers that a cultural group provides to these questions form the basis for its value system. Therefore, a worldview reflects the values of that cultural group, and it provides the foundation for how that cultural group negotiates in the world. Therefore, how individuals of a cultural group interact with other members of their group or other cultural groups; how they interact with the world of work; how they raise their children are greatly influenced by their unique worldviews.

African Americans, due to their history in the United States and influences of both the African and American cultures, have developed a worldview that is different from European middle class America. In Figure 1 is a depiction of the general differences between the African American and the dominant cultures' worldviews (Sue & Sue, 1990).

Hale-Benson (1987) states that the African American value system and worldview can be described as relational. Individuals who have a relational style in their interaction with the world can be described as having certain characteristics. They are people centered and global in their thinking. They ignore the commonalities and look for the embedded meaning in situations. Therefore, meanings are unique, dependent upon the immediate context. African Americans tend to focus on the gestalt in a situation rather than look at the discrete parts. Because of this,

Area of Relationship	African American	Euro-American
People to nature/environment	Harmony with	Mastery over
People Relationships	Collateral	Individual
Preferred mode of activity	Doing	Doing
Time Orientation	Present	Future

Figure 1. Worldviews of the African American and Euro-American cultures

generalizations and lineal notions are generally not made or seen as important. Hale-Benson (1987) states that African Americans in their relationships tend to be functional and inferential, and they are emotional in their expression and respond to the affect. They are not as bound by structures (Comer & Poussaint, 1994).

This relational style of interaction with the world has resulted in African Americans, in general, developing some unique characteristics as a group (Comer & Poussaint, 1994).

1. African Americans tend to respond to things in terms of the whole picture and not to its parts.
2. African Americans prefer using inferential reasoning rather than deductive or inductive reasoning.
3. In dealing with space, number, and time, African Americans are more likely to approximate.

4. As a group, African Americans tend to be more people orientated than focused on things.
5. African Americans have a keen sense of justice and lean toward altruism and concern for humankind.
6. African Americans are very much focused on the novelty, freedom, and personal distinctiveness.
7. As a group, African Americans rely on expressing themselves with nonverbal expression even more than verbal expression.

Summary. There exists great diversity within "the Black family." Because of needing to adapt to the new cultural environment it found itself in, the African American family has developed strong kinship bonds, flexibility of family roles, and places emphasis on religion, education, and work. These adaptive structures along with the African cultural heritage have resulted in certain core values that are part of the Black culture. Some of these core values include: being holistic in one's view of the world, being more person focused, working towards justice and the benefit of the whole group.

#### Bonding and Attachment Theory

In the last decade, an area that has appeared to provide promising new findings and answers to extend the understanding of the effects of parenting has been attachment theory. Attachment theory suggests that our own childhood parenting experiences have an impact and affect our parenting behaviors (Bowlby, 1988). This theory postulates that children in their interactions with their parents form internal working models or mental representations of themselves and others. The working

models that children form are based on the nature of children's adaptation to the attachment and bonding experiences in the caregiving environments they grow up in. As these attachment and bonding experiences develop and form, they become part of the interactional experiences of individuals and greatly determine their interactions with others, including their own children.

Bowlby (1982) suggests that once these attachment bonds are developed they are fairly stable and tend to be perpetuated. Several researchers (Bowlby, 1982; Fraiberg, Adelson, & Shapiro, 1975; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Stern, 1985) have suggested that children's conceptualization of their childhood experiences are as significant as actual experiences in influencing parenting behaviors. Therefore, bonds individuals form with their own parents influence their parenting behaviors.

Attachment theory asserts that functional parenting involves providing trust and security for children. Children are secure when they know that they can travel into the broader world, and upon return they will be accepted and cared for. This sense of security provides physical and emotional comfort (Bowlby, 1982, 1988). In providing this security, parents need to be able to encourage and respond to their children when necessary. If parents respond as necessary and provide children with the security of being able to explore the world, children will establish their sense of autonomy. Therefore, an important part of parenting is to provide a secure base which promotes a sense of attachment and bonding for children (Bowlby, 1988).

Bowlby (1982) states that the attachment relationship results in the protection and continuation of the family. Attachment behaviors result in children maintaining close contact to their caregivers, and because it promotes proximity, attachment

relationships serve to make sure children survive. Attachment is made to adult caregivers because they are viewed as better able to cope with the world-at-large. Through their secure attachments, children come to see the world as a safe place. Securely attached children also develop feelings of being nurtured. Furthermore, this sense of comfort and care encourages children to continue their attachment relationships.

Attachment Styles. Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall (1978) based on Bowlby's attachment theory defined three attachment styles: secure, avoidant, and anxious ambivalent. Children who form secure attachments are confident that their parents are available, responsive, and helpful if they need them to be. Because their parents are available, responsive, and able to provide protection, children with secure attachments feel safe in exploring their environment. Securely attached children then carry this working model of their parents and use it in other significant relationships, including in their relationships with their children.

Children with anxious avoidant attachments have no confidence or trust that their parents can take care and protect them, and in fact, these children incorporate into their working models that their parents are not available. Ainsworth et al. (1978) suggested that as these children grow up they try to be emotionally self-sufficient. The working models of these children are developed on being constantly rejected. As for children with anxious ambivalent attachments, they come to realize that their parents can be supportive, available, and provide protection some times and others times not be able to do this. Because this insecurity becomes part of their working

models, children with anxious ambivalent attachments become anxious and are not able to easily explore their environments.

Care and Overprotection. Variations in attachment bonds occur due to different parenting behaviors children receive. Several researchers (Baumrind, 1967, 1972; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Parker 1983; Slater & Power, 1987) report that the constructs of care and overprotection are the crucial variables that parents who use different parenting styles differ on. In their interactions with their parents and through their parents' ability to provide care and protection, children organize their beliefs about themselves and their accompanying behaviors and attitudes. It is through their interactions with their parents that children make sense of their world and self.

Baumrind (1967) states that by providing care, parents convey to their children that they are accepted as individuals by the parents. Children feel comfortable in their parents' presence and develop trust that parents will support them. Parents who are supportive take into account children's feelings and desires and are flexible. Parents allow their children the freedom to be expressive, to try new experiences, and to explore their world safely. They also provide the security for their children to fail. Caring and supportive parents feel and view their children as individuals who need to be encouraged to learn and to develop their own inherent potentials. Slater and Power (1987) state that such parents are available and provide a cushion against extreme negative consequences. In supportive environments, parents approve of their children's effort to produce an effect upon the environment and let them know they are there for

them. Therefore, children come to feel that they can count on their parents; and even if a task is frustrating, children will continue toward the completion of the task.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) state that the core effect of the care dimension in the parent-child interaction is it gives children a sense of worth. Children raised in an environment that views their existence as important will have a positive effect on their other behaviors. Clarke-Stewart (1973) reports that parental behaviors and attitudes which are positive, accepting, and express a desire for close interaction with children have been shown to be positively related with their children's development. Mothers who are positive in their attitudes show more positive and affectionate behavior toward their children. Parental overt demonstration of affectionate behavior has been tied to enhanced infant development, involvement with the mother, ability to cope with stress, and increase in social initiative (Clarke-Stewart, 1973).

Slater & Power (1987) indicate that by providing control, parents try to direct their children's behaviors in a manner that is desirable to the parents' goal of helping their children develop self-sufficiency. Parents who employ flexible, democratic control as opposed to coercive methods of control encourage their children to engage in age appropriate and self-reliant behaviors. Parents who discipline their children based on a loving relationship are likely to produce children who are non-aggressive and cooperative in their social relationships. Parents who use power-controlling techniques tend to have children who are more aggressive and non-cooperative.

Therefore, variations in the attachment bonds occur due to different level of care and protection that children experience. Bowlby (1988) states that based on the different parenting styles, children develop working models of how their parents and

others will react to their needs. Children's interactions and reactions to their parents' communications and behaviors become established in children's cognitive structures. Once these earliest of working models develop, children use these patterned way of interacting with others in their expanding life. These working models characterize the type of bonding experiences children have and how children perceive their attachment relationships. The models that children have of their interactional patterns also include within them their images and views of themselves. Increasingly these models start to shape how they expect to be treated by their parents and others and how they will treat them (Bowlby, 1982, 1988).

Summary. Children come ready and equipped to make attachment bonds to significant others. Attachment bonds result in children wanting to spend time and be in close contact with their attachment figures. Attachment bonds are invested with a great deal of trust. Children experience a great deal of distress if attachment figures become inaccessible and unresponsive. The function of bonding behaviors is to help children learn how to deal with the environment and for the protection of children. Whatever may be the characteristics of the attachment bond, a strong emotional component is always a feature of this relationship. Attachment bonds serve to protect, comfort, support children's development, and promote their survival.

Secure attachments lead to children's ability to explore their environment and feel supported and loved. The interactional patterns between children and their parental figures describe the nature of the attachment bond between this dyad. Therefore, the attachments formed between parents and children are influenced by the effect of the interaction between parents and children. In forming their attachment

bonds, children develop working models of the attachment they form with their primary caregivers, and these original models serve to influence children's future interactions with their environment. In conclusion, according to the current literature, the type of bonds parents formed with their own parents greatly influences their style of parenting and attachments they form with their children.

### Limitations in Research on the African American Family

There are major shortcomings in the literature on the African American family. These studies have not taken into account the significant impact of the African culture and its influence on Black family life (Sudarkasa, 1988). Tseng and McDermott (1981) describe culture as the knowledge that a group has accumulated through time, and this knowledge is expressed through the group's values, attitudes, thoughts, actions, emotional expressions, and view of the world. Because the African American culture has not been taken into consideration, interpretations of Black family behaviors have been based on the comparative-deficit model (Peters, 1988).

This comparative-deficit model emphasizes that the Black culture is deficit in comparison to the White culture. Historically, when researchers have compared Black to White families and if differences were found, it was usually assumed that the African American family was lacking in this particular area. Comparative research did not allow the interpretation of a particular behavior within a cultural context. Therefore, it is important in understanding African American family behaviors to study this heterogeneous population alone.

Also, a majority of these studies on Black families have looked at the poorest of African American families. Researchers studying African American families have

taken their findings of poor African American families, compared them to middle class White families, and then generalized their findings to all Black families. Thus, Black families have generally been described in much of the literature as unstable, disorganized, dysfunctional, and unable to provide the psychological support and development needed by its members (Harrison, 1985).

Along with providing negative and limited interpretations of African American family life, Billingsley (1968) states that family researchers have largely studied topics relating to expressive functions of White families and instrumental functions in Black families. Expressive functions of the family deal with those ideas and issues that look at the emotional aspects of family life. The White family literature has an abundance of studies focusing on issues of expressive nature such as marital adjustment, happiness, and parent-child relationship. However, Billingsley (1968) points out that when African American families are studied, the focus is almost exclusively on instrumental functions of the family. Instrumental functions involve those activities that help the family meet its physical needs. These studies have focused on the ability of the African American family--usually inability--to provide its members the basic necessities of life.

Along with providing a slanted view of the functions of the African American family, Peters (1988) reported that Black parents have also been presented in a negative view. Black fathers have been depicted as absent in helping to rear their children and ineffectual in their family life (McAdoo, J. L., 1988). Black mothers have been described as restrictive and using greater physical punishment than White mothers. African American mothers also have been seen as responsible for the

"breakdown" and "pathology" of Black families. This research has generally failed to take into account the cultural variations and environmental factors, such as racism, that may bring about these differences in childrearing and adaptive strategies that the Black family has developed (Peters, 1988).

Only in recent years have scholars (Billingsley, 1968, 1992; McAdoo, H. P., 1988) started to attack and question this negative and deficit view of the African American family. Hill (1972), Billingsley (1968, 1992), H. P. McAdoo (1988), Nobles (1988), Dodson (1988), and Sudarkasa (1988) have emphasized the need to see the Black family as a functional entity and that the African American family should not be compared or modeled on White American family norms. Instead, these researchers emphasize that the unique structures of the African American family evolved due to an interaction between the African culture, American culture, slavery, and the socio-political environment.

#### Empirical and Qualitative Research on African American Parenting

The African American family literature (Barbarin, 1993; Billingsley, 1968; Comer & Poussaint, 1994; Hale-Benson, 1987; Jackson, et al., 1988; McAdoo, H. P., 1985; Nobles, 1988; Peters & Massey, 1983; Pinderhuges, 1982; Pipes, 1988) suggests that historical, cultural, and social factors impact how African American parents rear their children. The general parenting literature (Baumrind, 1967; Bowlby, 1982, 1988; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Slater & Power, 1987) states that how children develop emotionally greatly depend on their parenting. This literature stresses that the bonds children form with their parents early in their lives greatly determine their psychological development and interactional behaviors with others.

African American parents are confronted with the reality of dealing with a racist environment in raising their children. Because African Americans are reared and parent their children within a racist environment, this undoubtedly impacts their attachment bonding experiences with their children.

There are no studies that were found on the attachment bonding experiences of African American parents and their children; however, there are some systematic empirical and qualitative studies that have explored the parent-child relationship in the Black family. Six of these studies will be reviewed. Four of these studies (Bartz & Levine, 1978; Baumrind, 1972; Clarke-Stewart; Durrett, O'Bryant & Pennebaker, 1975) are empirically based. One study (McLoyd, 1990) summarized the empirical research on Black families, and the last study (Peter, 1985) is qualitative in nature. All of these studies (Bartz & Levine, 1978; Baumrind, 1972; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Durrett et al., 1975; McLoyd, 1990; Peters, 1985) have examined characteristics and behaviors that Black parents promote in the rearing and socialization of their children. These studies are briefly reviewed in this section.

However, in considering these studies, it is important to note the methodological and theoretical shortcomings inherent in them. Generalizability of results is limited, in most studies (Baumrind, 1972; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Durrett et al., 1975; Peters, 1985), due to small sample size. Most of the samples were obtained from poor Black families (Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Durrett et al., 1975; Peters, 1985). In the studies using observation methods (Baumrind, 1972; Clarke-Stewart, 1973), it was not clear if the observers were given special training about the variation in cultural behaviors of Black families. Some of the studies (Baumrind, 1972; Clarke-Stewart,

1973; Peters, 1985) relied exclusively on mothers for all information about parenting behaviors. It was difficult to determine if the questionnaire used in the various studies (Baumrind, 1972; Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Durrett et al., 1975) had been standardized for a Black population. Also, although several of the authors emphasized the need to understand Black parents' childrearing behavior from a historical and cultural perspective, by comparing Black and White families, these studies (Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Durrett et al., 1975) seem to suggest that the White middle class value system should be the norm. Only one study (Peters, 1985) attempted to highlight the view of parenting from an African American cultural perspective.

McLoyd (1990) provides a comprehensive summary of the empirical literature on economic hardship, psychological distress, parenting, and socio-emotional development of African American families. In the section on parenting, McLoyd (1990) summarizes the findings from several studies on Black-White differences. She reports findings from a numbers of studies based on observations, self-reports, and responses to vignettes. The majority of these studies suggest that Black parents are more severe, punitive, and power assertive in their discipline of their children than White parents of similar socioeconomic status. However, McLoyd (1990) reports that there are a few studies that report that Black parents are also supportive and nonrejecting in their parenting styles.

Therefore, McLoyd (1990) concludes that based on the current literature it could be argued that there is a distinct pattern of childrearing associated with Black parents. This pattern combines the use of strong support with the use of power assertion, punitiveness, and arbitrariness. McLoyd (1990) suggests that the use of

severe, punitive and power assertive style of parenting by Black families is culturally rooted and can be traced to traditional African values and that this childrearing practice was fostered by the experience of slavery. She cautions that it is unfair to judge this parenting style within a White middle class perspective. McLoyd (1990) stresses that a fair and cogent analysis of Black-White differences in parenting must take into account cultural, demographic, environment, and psychological factors.

Peters (1985) reported that the Toddler Infant Experience Study (TIES) is an ecologically oriented qualitative study. The focus of the study was the socio-emotional development of young Black children and the childrearing behaviors, attitudes, and goals of their parents. Thirty families participated in this study. Families were recruited by way of radio announcements, television interviews, the newspaper, signs in supermarkets, and friends. For two years, children in the family were observed, and their mothers interviewed monthly for two to three hours in their homes. All the families that participated had to have at least one child that was one years old. A majority were two parent, working, and middle class families.

Peters (1985) reported that children were observed manipulating their home environment and interacting with parents and others. Children were observed to identify the patterns of parent-child behaviors. Mothers were also extensively interviewed to gain understanding of parents' interpretations and inputs on their children's development. Peters (1985) reported that about half of the mothers (16) also participated in a lengthy interview about the racial socialization of their children. In the racial socialization interviews, parents were asked specifically their childrearing goals and behaviors as Black parents raising Black children. Mothers were asked

about situations in which their Black identity created a problem and how racism impacted their childrearing experiences.

Peters (1985) indicated that parents reported that in raising their children they took into account the fact that they needed to raise their children with a keen understanding that their Black culture would make a difference in how their children were treated in the world. Mothers stated that racial identity was an important factor in their lives and in how they were raising their children. Mothers reported that they not only provided and cared for their children, but they also taught their children how to survive the racism they would face. Along with helping children understand that they will face racism, mothers also emphasized that it is important that children develop a positive self-image. In general, parents reported that helping their children build self-respect and pride in their racial identity was part of the foundation of their childrearing philosophy.

Mothers also reported encouraging their children to be honest and engage in fair play; however, because of the racist nature of society, they also prepared their children not to expect fair play in return. These Black mothers also indicated that they taught their children that it was important for them to learn to get along with others. Many mothers stated that it was important for their children to learn how to " 'fit into society' " because there are many who will try to put them in their place (Peters, 1985, p. 166). Also, a majority of the parents reported that the most important strategy for coping with the racist nature of American society was to make sure that their children gained a good education. In fact, these Black parents stated that compared to White children their children had to succeed even more. Finally parents were asked: "What

is the most important things you could do for your children?" (Peters, 1985, p. 167) A majority of the parents answered: "love them." These parents stated that above all else if you love your children this would be the best protection you can provide them against the potential difficulties that they will experience due to the racism of society.

Baumrind (1972) in her study sought to replicate parent-child relationships found in two previous studies and to differentiate further among patterns of parental authority. A total of 150 parents participated. Sixteen of 150 parents were African Americans. The data for the 16 Black families were analyzed separately. In her study, children were observed for three months in their nursery school and administered the Stanford-Binet. Interviewers also made two home visits of three hours each. The second visit was followed by a structured interview in which parents were administered the Parent Attitude Inquiry.

The results of the study indicated that boys in African American families were expected to behave in a more mature and independent fashion than their White counterparts. On the other hand, Black girls, in comparison with White girls, were not encouraged to be independent or exhibit individual behavior. Black fathers promoted conformity and were authoritarian in their parenting behaviors. Black mothers were described as being firm and somewhat rejecting. However, the daughters of these Black parents, compared with White girls raised with similar parenting style, were found to be significantly more independent, resistive, and dominant. Baumrind (1972) emphasized that by White standards these Black girls demonstrated unusual social maturity and adaptive behaviors to a nursery school setting.

The author cautioned that although this parenting style by White middle class standards would be seen as authoritarian and discouraged, it appeared to be beneficial in Black families. Black authoritarian parents were seen as encouraging their daughters from an early age to take care of themselves. As a group, the Black authoritarian parents were observed to be less uptight than their White counterparts. The African American parents were more spontaneous in their expression of emotions and more likely to engage in rough-housing with their daughters. Therefore, the author concluded that authoritarian childrearing practices may help develop greater toughness and self-sufficiency in Black girls and hence not be seen by them as rejecting behavior but rather as nurturing caretaking behavior. However, it must be remembered that this sample only consisted of 16 parents.

In her study, Clarke-Stewart (1973) sought to clarify the relationship suggested in the literature on maternal influences and to add to our understanding about the dimensions of mother-child interactions. A total of 36 mother and child dyads were repeatedly observed interacting in their homes and a laboratory setting. Altogether, mother-child were observed 12 different times. There was an equal number of Black to White families. All 36 families were described as being relatively poor.

Several types of statistical analysis were performed on the core set of variables. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were calculated to ascertain the relationships among children variables, among maternal variables, and between the two set of variables. A principal-component factor analysis was conducted on the children and maternal variables to discover those variables which clustered together. Group

differences on demographic and psychological dimensions were examined by analysis of variance on mean scores and on repeated measures.

The major finding of the study was that children's overall competence was highly, significantly related to maternal care. Children were more attached to their mothers if they were actively involved with them. Mothers who were positive in their emotional expression had children who were positive in their expression. Mothers who were high on affection, stimulation, and responsiveness had more securely attached children. The more securely attached a mother-child pair was the more responsive the mother was to their children's distress. Also, affectionate behavior was positively correlated with children's competence. Therefore, children overall competencies are high with optimal maternal care which includes positive emotions, stimulation, and responsiveness. In general, Black children tended to be more physically attached to their mothers than White children.

Clarke-Stewart (1973) also reported that Black mothers in the study emphasized the physical aspect of childcare and White mothers emphasized the educational aspect. The author hypothesized that this difference may have more to do with different histories, traditions, social and economic pressures. Black mothers valued education as much as their White mother counterparts; however, Black mothers also needed to in a realistic way prepare their children for the social reality of life.

Bartz and Levine (1978) specifically explored both maternal and paternal childrearing attitudes in Black families. Black, Anglo, and Chicano mothers and fathers living in a lower working class neighborhood were interviewed. Parents were interviewed in their homes by interviewers of the same gender and ethnicity. Parents

were paid \$10.00 for their participation. The influence of social class was controlled in that all the parents lived in the same neighborhood and were from a similar economic class. A total of 455 parents participated (301 mothers and 154 fathers). Of these 160 were Black, 152 Chicano, and 143 Anglos. Parents were randomly recruited from school rosters of parochial and public elementary schools.

A randomized block design was employed. The questionnaires administered included: the Parental Attitude Research Scale (PARS) and the Cornell Parent Behavior Inventory (CPBI). Answers to items on the PARS were obtained on a four-point, forced-choice format ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree and for the CPBI on a five-point, forced choice scale ranging from very often to never. These questionnaires measured seven qualities of childrearing: control, support, permissiveness, strictness, equality, accelerated development and time pressure. T-tests were performed to determine differences in the Black, Anglo, and Chicano parents as a group and fathers and mothers alone. In this study, an analysis of covariance was performed with education level as a covariant to further delineate the relationship of ethnicity to responses on each factor. In comparing the three groups, it was found that Black parents differ from either Anglo and/or Chicano parents on five of the seven factors.

Black parents expected their children to assume early responsibility for their behavior and placed greater emphasis on their children not to waste time than did Anglos and Chicano parents. Black, as well as Anglo parents, were significantly more supportive of equal relationships than were Chicano parents. However, it should be noted that controlling for education did erase the significance of ethnic differences on

this dimension. Black parents generally provided more emotional support to their children than either Anglo or Chicano parents. Black parents also used greater controlling behaviors than the other two ethnic groups. In conclusion, Black parents differed from Anglo or Chicano parents on five factors. Black parents encouraged most for acceleration of development, were the most concerned about children wasting time, exercised the most control over their children's behaviors, and indicated the most frequent use of supportive behaviors.

Durrett et al. (1975) also examined the childrearing orientations and techniques of both mothers and fathers. They interviewed 90 low-income families, each with a child enrolled in Head Start. Twenty-nine White, 30 Black, and 31 Mexican-American families were interviewed. Parents were administered the Child-Rearing Practices Report (CRPR). The 91 items on the CRPR were reduced to 16 broader categories. Six of the categories dealt with general orientations in childrearing and the remaining 10 categories addressed specific childrearing techniques. Analyses of covariance, using educational level as the covariate, were computed for each category for the three ethnic groups using the combined parents' scores, the mothers' scores, and the fathers' scores. Both Black and White parents were more authoritative than Mexican American parents. Also, Black fathers emphasized more achievement and success orientation than did their Mexican American counterparts. Finally, Black fathers favored using the method of rewarding their children when they displayed good behavior as a technique of parenting. However, Black fathers more often used strict arbitrary rules.

Summary. In conclusion, these studies investigate unique childrearing characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors associated with Black families and the

influence of these parenting behaviors on the socialization of their children. In general, African American parents may use childrearing practices and styles that may be viewed by the dominant culture as "unhealthy"; however, these practices have been shown to promote independent and adaptive behaviors in Black children. Several of the studies also highlighted that the functionality of African American parenting styles needs to be examined within both historical and cultural perspectives. These sets of studies suggest that due to their minority status in America and unique cultural development, African Americans in the socialization of their children have developed parenting behaviors that help their children function in society-at-large.

#### Research on the Role of Attachment and Bonding in Parenting Behaviors

Within a systemic approach, it is believed that all behaviors of individual members of a family system are interconnected and mutually influenced by all members of the system (Williamson & Bray, 1985). This approach also emphasizes that multigenerational patterns determine the ways in which individuals in a family and the family as a whole grow and develop. Therefore, within this perspective how families behave and raise their children are dependent on behaviors and patterns they learned from their families of origins.

Intergenerational transmission of parenting refers to the influence of parents' own parenting on how they view and raise their own children. This is an important concept in that it focuses on how parents own experiences in their families of origins shape their behaviors and views about parenting. Van Ijzendoorn (1992) states that the parenting behaviors and attitudes of each generation are influenced by earlier generations. Bowlby (1988) suggests that parents' feelings for and behaviors towards

their children are deeply influenced by their own childhood experiences. The experiences that are especially important are related to parents' own bonding experiences with their parents.

The influence of attachment and bonding behaviors has been studied in many different areas. The influence of attachment behaviors has been linked to social support and college adjustment (Bartels & Frazier, 1991), stress (Compas, Howell, & Ledoux, 1989), religious beliefs and conversion (Kirkpatrick & Shaver, 1990), eating disorders (Palmer, Oppenheimer, & Marshall, 1988), adolescent depression (Armsden, McCauley, Greenberg, Burke, & Mitchell, 1990), psychological well being (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), and quality of dating relationships (Collins & Read, 1990).

Although the current interest and promise of attachment theory will help to explain how the role of parenting is instrumental in many aspects of human development, the theory has limitation when applied to African Americans. No studies were located on the bonding experiences or intergenerational transmission of African American parenting behaviors. However, there are a few studies (Cromwell & Feldman, 1988; Gelso, C. J., Birk, & Powers, 1978; Martin, Halverson, Wampler, & Hollett-Wright, 1991; Van Ijzendoorn, 1992) that have examined the issue of intergeneration transmission of attachment and parenting behaviors of the general population. These studies will be briefly reviewed.

Martin et al. (1991) compared parenting behaviors between two generations: mothers and grandmothers. They compared the two groups on parenting domains, goals for children, satisfaction with parenting role, and parenting styles. The entire sample consisted of 60 middle class women; 32 were mothers and 28 were maternal

grandmothers. The majority of the mothers had graduated from college and at least half completed graduate school. For the grandmothers, at least a fourth had completed college. Four parenting instruments were administered to the subjects. These were the Parent Satisfaction Scale (PSS), the Childrearing Practices Report (CRPR), the Parenting Goals Questionnaire (PGQ), and the Self-Sufficiency Questionnaire (SSQ).

To determine generational differences on the various parenting constructs, t-tests were computed on all dimensions. The authors stated that the goal of their study was not to report historical changes in parenting but to elucidate the current differences in the perception of parenting between the two generations. The findings suggested that there was no generational difference on the dimension of parenting goals. However, there were significant generational differences on the issue of self-sufficiency of children. Grandmothers were more likely to perceive children as immature individuals and supported the use of specific rules for appropriate behaviors. Also, on the dimension of parenting satisfaction, grandmothers placed more emphasis on the value of parenting for its own sake. However, mothers placed greater value on nurturing than grandmothers, and grandmothers emphasized greater restrictiveness than their daughters.

C. J. Gelso et al. (1978) also studied the relationship between adults' perceptions of their parents' attitudes toward them during childhood and adolescence and these adults' own childrearing attitudes. This study examined to what extent can four types of childrearing attitudes be predicted from the subjects' perception of their parents' attitudes toward them. The subjects consisted of 188 undergraduate students

enrolled in an introductory psychology class at the University of Maryland. All the subjects were volunteers (about half were parents themselves).

Subjects were administered the Family Relations Inventory (FRI), the Parental Dominance Scale (PDS), and the Maryland Parent Attitude Survey (MPAS). The FRI assessed subjects' perception of parents' attitudes and behavior toward them, and the MPAS assessed subjects' attitudes toward childrearing. Data analysis was conducted in two steps. Product-moment correlations were determined between the FRI and MPAS, and a stepwise regression analysis was performed. In the stepwise regression analysis, all FRI scores were used as the predictors and each MPAS score as the criterion. Overall, C. J. Gelso et al. (1978) stated that all correlations were low, suggesting limited practical significance. Therefore, it was suggested that parents' childrearing attitudes did not account for a very large proportion of the variance in their children's later childrearing attitudes.

Attachment theory hypothesizes that the ability for parents to attend to and integrate cues and signals from their children is influenced by parents' own parenting. Cromwell and Feldman (1988) studied the association between mothers' internal model of relationships, their parenting behaviors, and children's behaviors. A total of 64 mother-child dyads participated in the study. The 64 mother-child dyads formed three groups (two groups consisted of children who clinically were referred and a matched nonclinic comparison group). The clinic and the nonclinic comparison groups were matched on age, sex, race, birth order, number of siblings, socioeconomic status, hours spent in out-of-home care, and mothers' marital status and educational level.

Approximately, ninety-four percent of the children were White; six percent were Black.

Each dyad was observed in a semistructured laboratory play session. Mothers were interviewed approximately one week after the laboratory play session and administered the Adult Attachment Interview, which is designed to characterize the internal model of attachment relationships. During the interview, each mother was asked to describe her childhood relationships with her parents and to give memories supportive of these descriptions. Mothers' descriptions of their childhood memories were then classified into the three attachment styles: (1) secure, (2) detached (avoidant), (3) preoccupied or enmeshed (ambivalent).

Both ANOVA and ANCOVA were conducted; for the ANCOVA analysis the covariates were the clinical group the children were in and attachment style of the mothers. The analyses showed that a significantly higher proportion of mothers classified as insecure (in attachment style 2 and 3) were in the clinic samples than in the comparison group. The authors suggested that an insecure model of relationships in a mother may be a risk factor for her child's development. The authors also stated that based on their laboratory observation their results supported the conclusion that a mother's internal model of relationships selectively and qualitatively affects her responsiveness and sensitivity to her child.

Mothers who were classified as secure functioned best overall. These mothers were both warm and supportive during a challenging activity and gave their children clear, helpful assistance that encouraged learning and mastery. Mothers in the detached category were more controlling, task focused in their style, and tended to be

cool and remote in helping their children with a task. Task completion and not learning was the apparent goal of these mothers. Mothers classified as preoccupied were the least helpful and supportive. They had a difficult time giving directions and making suggestions.

In his article Van Ijzendoorn (1992) provided a comprehensive review of the literature that examined the issue of intergenerational transmission of parenting. He described intergenerational transmission "as the process through which purposely or unintendedly an earlier generation psychologically influences parenting attitudes and behavior of the next generation" (p. 77). The studies reviewed had to conform to the following criteria.

1. They had to present empirical research.
2. They had to present information on at least three generations, and the focus of each study was on the transmission of parenting values, attitudes, and/or behaviors.
3. The subjects had to be from "normal" families and not at risk or clinical populations.

In his review, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) presented a total of 13 studies. The first five studies reviewed focused on parenting behaviors and attitudes. Each of these used a Likert-type attitude scale on parenting styles. Van Ijzendoorn (1992) indicated that these studies did find a modest correlation on parental attitudes between two generations. However, it was difficult to interpret the findings because the studies did not provide reliability or validity information on the instruments used.

Van Ijzendoorn (1992) also reviewed four other studies which focused on how parenting attitudes and values are transmitted between generation. These studies used

Likert-type questionnaires and did provide reliability and validity information on their scales. These studies, also, suggested that there is a modest correlation on some parenting attitudes and values between the two generations. However, several of these studies were flawed because the samples selected did not fit the design. In particular Van Ijzendoorn (1992) reported that some of the designs did not allow for differentiating cohort effects from other factors influencing adults' attitudes and values. Furthermore, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) suggested that using questionnaires with cross-sectional designs was unsuitable in interpreting the findings.

Van Ijzendoorn (1992) also examined three studies that examined the transmission of attachment styles between two generations. He only reviewed studies that employed the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) to gather data. In looking specifically at attachment studies, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) found that these studies reported finding a significant correlations between parents' description of their own attachment styles to the attachments styles of their children.

Overall, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) found that parents who experienced a great deal of caring and responsiveness from their parents are more open to the signals and needs of their children as opposed to parents who may have experienced rejection and ambivalence from their parents. Parents who experienced greater care and responsiveness are able to take their children's perspective and not feel threatened by their children's anxiety. These parents also have more satisfying relationships with others. Therefore, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) found support for the idea of intergenerational transmission of parenting values, attitudes and behavior.

In conclusion Van Ijzendoorn (1992) outlined several criticism of the current state of the intergeneration parenting literature. He stated that few studies have employed acceptable designs to study this topic. Most studies have used a cross-sectional design; whereas, using a longitudinal design would be more appropriate. However, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) did review one study that used a cross-sectional design and observational measures instead of questionnaires. He reported that this study provided a more promising way to examine the topic of intergenerational transmission of parenting. Van Ijzendoorn (1992) concluded that the use of inadequate designs and poor measures in some studies, currently makes it impossible to draw a causal inference about the transmission of parents' behaviors and influences from one generation to the next. Van Ijzendoorn (1992) also stated that studies need to use more sophisticated multivariate data analysis procedures rather than simple bivariate correlation procedures to control for confounding effects of other variables.

Summary. Although studying the benefit of attachment bonds and their influence on parenting behaviors is important, it can be concluded from the current state of the literature that there is little understanding of attachment bonding experiences and parenting behaviors among African American adults. However, the studies reviewed in this section add to our understanding of how intergenerational parenting behaviors are transmitted and affect children's behaviors.

In the study by C. J. Gelso et al. (1978), the authors examined how individuals' attitudes towards childrearing and their perceptions of their parents' own attitudes towards them affect their views about childrearing. This study reported only modest correlation between how individuals' are rearing their children and how they believe

they were parented. In their study, Martin et al. (1991) examined intergenerational differences in parenting styles and goals. This study found no differences in intergenerational parenting goals; however, there were some significant differences reported in parenting styles. In the study by Cromwell and Feldman (1988), mothers' internal model of their relationship with their parents was examined in relation to how these mothers interacted with their children. The authors reported finding that children's behavioral and developmental status was related to mothers internal models. The final article reviewed the major studies in this area (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992).

However, in considering the application of the findings in these studies, it is important to consider some of their major limitations. Generalizability of results is limited in most of the studies due to small sample size (Martin et al., 1991), some of the studies used college students or a highly educated sample (Cromwell & Feldman, 1988; Gelso, C. J., et al., 1978; Martin et al., 1991). Furthermore, most of the studies (Gelso, C. J., et al., 1978; Martin et al., 1991; Van Ijzendoorn, 1992) did not clearly define the ethnicity or racial background of the sample. When ethnicity was described, there was generally a limited number of African Americans in the sample (Cromwell & Feldman, 1988). Another shortcoming of the studies (Gelso, C. J., et al., 1978; Martin et al., 1991; Van Ijzendoorn, 1992) was that there was no reliability information provided for some of the questionnaires used to gather data. Finally, in his review, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) outlines two other criticism of literature. He stated that few studies have used suitable design to study issues of intergenerational transmission of parenting. He also emphasized that in most studies the influence that children may be exerting on their parents' behaviors is not taken into account.

### Goals of the Proposed Study

As stated earlier, there are deficits in the literature on the African American family. Much of the earlier research on the African American family has been based on a comparative-deficit model. These studies compared lower economic class, urban African American families to White middle class, suburban families. Along with comparing lower economic class African American families with White middle class families, these studies, generally, failed to address the influence of the African American culture on family life. These studies of poor, urban African American families generally lacked an Afrocentric perspective; however, these studies were often used to develop theories and provide interpretations of the behaviors of "the Black family." Therefore, a goal of the proposed study is to examine the behaviors of African Americans from a more Afrocentric perspective and focus on middle class families from the African American community.

Another goal of this study is to focus on the expressive side of the African American family life. Billingsley (1968) stated that in studying "the Black family" researchers have largely focused on the instrumental aspects and have ignored the expressive functions of family life. He states, however, when White families have been studied the focus is largely on the expressive aspects of family life. Therefore, this imbalance in the literature has added to the impression that "the Black family" is unable to meet the psychological and emotional needs of its family members. Therefore, a goal of this study is to add to the African American literature by developing a study that attempts to increase understanding of the parent-child relationship from both cultural and expressive perspectives. To work toward this goal,

the foundation of this study rests on the idea that the African American family culture is functional in promoting healthy family life.

### Hypotheses of the Study

The following hypotheses were generated for this study. They were based on what would be expected given the current literature.

1. Among participants there will be a positive relationship between reported experienced care from parents and provided support in their parenting of children.
2. Among participants there will be a positive relationship between reported experienced overprotection from parents and provided control in their parenting of children.
3. Among participants there will be a negative relationship between reported experienced care from parents and provided control in their parenting of children.
4. Among participants there will be a negative relationship between reported experienced overprotection from parents and provided support in their parenting of children.
5. There will be significant differences for participants based on the mean scores of their attachment styles on different scales of the instruments.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Research Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 435 African American staff and faculty members from a large midwestern university and 195 members of the Association of Black Psychologists. A total of 630 survey packets were mailed to adult African Americans. Of these 630 survey packets, 23 were returned because of no forwarding addresses. A total of 310 (49%) surveys were returned; however, 83 of the questionnaires received were not usable for several reasons. Surveys were not properly completed; respondents reported having no children; and individuals completed the instruments, however, did not indicate if they had children. After eliminating these individuals from the study, the sample consisted of 227 subjects, which is a 32% response rate.

#### Design

The design of the study is a correlational field study (Gelso, C., 1980). There was no experimental control over or manipulation of the independent variables, and the setting for the experiment was the real world. Further, subjects were self-selected on the basis of their ethnicity.

## Instruments

Subjects were asked to complete the following questionnaires: (1) Demographic Questionnaire, (2) the Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI), (3) the Adult Attachment Scale (AAS), (4) the Parental Dimensions Inventory (PDI), and (5) the African American Parenting Survey (AAPS).

Demographic Questionnaire (See Appendix E). Subjects were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire in order to elicit the following information: age of respondent, sex, ages of children, educational level of respondent and spouse, respondent's employment, marital status, the composition of the household, ethnic/racial identification, respondent's affiliation with a religious institution, and if a subject's mothers and fathers were present in the household the first 16 years of his/her lives. Respondents were asked about the presence and absence of their parents because the PBI asked the subjects to reflect back on their bonding experiences with both their parents during the first 16 years of their lives. Subjects were also asked to indicate their actual and subjective perception of their parents' socioeconomic status (lower class, working class, middle class, upper middle class, upper class) while they were growing up. Carter and Helms (1988) state that African American subjects are more willing or able to give subjective estimates of social class than they are to provide traditional estimators of social class.

Parental Bonding Instrument (See Appendix F). Parker (1983) stated that the influence of parenting could be described by two bipolar dimensions: "care" and "overprotection." The dimension of "care" is concerned with general level of parental warmth and affection versus indifference and neglect. The dimension of

"overprotection" is concerned with the levels of parental control and intrusion versus the encouragement of child autonomy. After a careful review of the parenting literature, Parker developed a self report scale for each dimension. Initially, 114 items were written. After several extensive reviews and factor analysis procedures, the PBI was reduced to 25 items.

The PBI contains a total of four scales: a separate "Care" (12 items) and "Overprotection" (13 items) scale for each parent. Questions are rated on a 4-point Likert type scale (1 =very like to 4 =very unlike). A low score on the "Care" items indicated that parents were very caring and a high score suggested they are neglectful. As for the "Overprotection" scale a low score indicated that parents were controlling and a high score suggested that they were protective. Respondents were asked to rate their mothers and fathers on parental behaviors. Each parent is rated separately on the "Care" and "Overprotection" scales based on respondents' memory of the first 16 years of their lives. It is estimated that the total testing time is about five minutes (Parker, 1983).

The test-retest reliability of the PBI was assessed by having 17 subjects complete the instrument on two occasions three weeks apart. Pearson correlation coefficients were computed. The "Care" scale had a coefficient of .76, and the "Overprotection" scale had a coefficient of .63. The split-half reliability of the PBI was also assessed. Correlation coefficients of .88 and .67 were computed for the "Care" and "Overprotection" scales respectively.

Parker (1983) reported that the validity of the PBI was assessed by two raters independently assessing the content of interviews with 65 subjects who were asked to

discuss "the emotional relationship they had with each parent" (p. 96). Parker (1983) reports that each judge assigned a score between five to one for the degree of "care" and "overprotection" the subjects felt towards each parent. Interrater reliability coefficients were .85 and .69 for the "Care" and "Overprotection" scales respectively. Parker (1983) also determined concurrent validity by correlating the scores of the two independent raters with those of the actual scales. These correlations ranged from .78 for the "Care" scale to .48 for the "Overprotection" scale. It should be noted that Parker did not report the racial/ethnic background of his samples.

Parker (1983) reported, based on several different norming samples, that the "Care" and "Overprotection" scales have been found to be significantly correlated for both mothers and fathers (-.47 for mothers and -.36 for fathers in the norm group). However, mothers have, generally, been perceived as more "caring" and more "overprotective" than fathers. Finally, Parker (1983) suggested because the "overprotection" dimension may be associated with a lack of care that mutual contributions of these factors be partialled out where relations between either factor alone and another variable are of interest.

Since its development over ten years ago, the PBI has been used in several studies. The PBI has been found to be highly reliable at test-retest periods of up to ten years (Wilhelm & Parker, 1990). Several researchers (Cubis, Lewin, & Dawes, 1989; Mackinnon, Henderson, Scott, & Duncan-Jones, 1989) also report that the PBI's factor structure is robust.

Adult Attachment Scale (See Appendix H). The AAS was developed by Hazan and Shaver (1987). The AAS consists of three items from which the subject picks one

choice. Each item consists of a short paragraph. There is one item written for each attachment style based on Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Walls (1978) description of attachment behaviors. Hazen and Shaver (1987) provided some limited information on the validity of the AAS. The AAS was administered to 574 adults; the racial/ethnic background of the sample was not provided. Three hundred and nineteen adults (56%) indicated a secure style of attachment, 145 (25%) reported an avoidant style of attachment, and 110 (19%) described their attachment style as anxious/ambivalent. Hazen and Shaver (1987) found that the proportions of the sample within each of the three attachment categories are comparable to the proportion reported in infant-mother attachment studies.

Hazen and Shaver (1987) did not provide any reliability information. However, in her study Pistole (1989) provided reliability data on the AAS. Pistole (1989) reported administering the AAS two times, one week apart to a demographically similar sample to the one used by Hazen and Shaver. She reported an internal consistency coefficient of .59; this suggests moderate consistency.

Parental Dimension Inventory (See Appendix G). The PDI measures for three constructs of parenting. However, for this study only the two constructs highlighted as being important by the general parenting literature were assessed. The constructs are support and control. Power (1993) reported that the PDI items were primarily taken from the following preexisting childrearing instruments: the Parent Attitude Research Instrument, the Block Childrearing Practices Report, the Parent Attitude Inquiry, the Childrearing Practices Questionnaire, and the Questionnaire on Parental Attitudes. The rest of the items were developed by reviewing the parenting literature. Power (1993)

states that confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to determine each of the dimensions of parenting. Items that did not load on these three dimensions were dropped from the final version of the PDI.

To establish reliability, the PDI was administered to a sample of 140 African American parents of six to twelve years old. Power (1993) reported that the factor structure of the PDI was replicated in this sample. He also stated that reliability and internal consistency reached acceptable levels. For the support construct, Power (1993) reported internal consistency alphas of .76, .54, and .70 for nurturance, responsiveness, and nonrestrictive attitude dimensions respectively. For the control construct, Power (1993) reported internal consistency alphas of .74 and .70 for the control and maturity demands dimensions respectively.

Power (1993) stated that the PDI has been shown to be valid in that it predicted parent ratings of problem behavior and social competence in several different samples. Furthermore, with low-income, urban, African American mothers, Kelley and Kelley and Power, and Wimbush (cited in Power, 1993) were able to demonstrate that authoritarian childrearing attitudes that were measured by the PDI correlated with similar measures that were taken from an independently administered childrearing interview.

The final version of the PDI consists of 47 items. However, for this study only 29 items that measured support and control were administered. It was estimated that it would take about 15-20 minutes to complete the PDI. The modified version of the PDI assessed for parental nurturance, responsiveness, and nonrestrictive attitudes, which underlie the support construct. As for the control construct, the PDI measured

for maturity demands placed on and amount of control parents felt they had to exert on their children.

African American Parenting Survey (See Appendix I). An AAPS was developed based on a review of the literature. As noted, the general parenting literature does not address the special concerns and issues that African American parents face in raising their children. However, the African American parenting literature (Barbarin, 1993; Billingsley, 1968; Comer & Poussaint, 1994; Hale-Benson, 1987; Jackson et al., 1988; McAdoo, H. P., 1985; Nobles, 1988; Peters & Massey, 1983; Pinderhughes, 1982; Pipes, 1988) highlights some of the important tasks that African American parents face in raising their children in a society that does not accord them equal status.

The AAPS was written to reflect areas that the Black parenting literature has described as being important to emphasize in parenting African American children. There was one statement tapping into each of the following areas: bicultural status, racism, needing to respect self, sense of history, unconditional love, nonverbal communication, trust in higher power, importance of immediate and extended family connection. The items were measured on a Likert scale: 1 = Strongly Agree to 4 = Strongly Disagree. A low score indicated that those values and behaviors that the African American Parenting Literature suggested are important to emphasize in the parenting of Black children were strongly endorsed, and a high score meant the reverse. Items were reviewed for readability, content validity, and face validity by an expert in the field. Prior to administering the survey, it was tested for reliability by

administering the AAPS to 15 minority college students. Test-retest reliability was .45, which is low.

### Procedures

Development of the African American Parenting Survey. This study involved two phases. In the first phase, a survey was developed and piloted. The second phase of the study consisted of the field and data analysis. The AAPS was written by the author based on a review of the African American family and parenting literature. After the survey was written, it was reviewed by three African American experts on the topic of the African American family. Each judges' feedback was incorporated in the final version of the AAPS. The survey was then administered twice during a two week interval to 15 African American students to establish test-rest reliability.

Actual Study. In the second phase of the study, all of the five questionnaires were administered. Subjects completed measures which assessed demographic and background characteristics, described their bonding experiences, and gave their views about parenting children. It took about 20 to 30 minutes to complete the entire instrument packet.

Subjects were recruited in a number of ways and were each mailed a questionnaire packet that also contained a stamped, addressed envelop for respondents to return their completed surveys. The packets contained a cover letter explaining that a minority psychologist was interested in (1) looking at how African American adults view their bonding experiences to their parents, and (2) how they are parenting their children (See Appendices A and B). Confidentiality was assured. It was also

emphasized that this study was being conducted in order to gain a greater understanding of the issue of parenting within the African American community.

### Protection of Human Subjects

The cover letter provided a brief summary of this study, as well as informed subjects of their rights (See Appendices A and B). Subjects were told that their participation in the study was voluntary, and at any time, they could choose to discontinue their participation. The letter stated that all responses would be kept confidential, and if subjects had any questions regarding the study, they were asked to contact the main researcher (home and work telephone numbers of the researcher were provided). Subjects were also informed that by returning a questionnaire they were giving their consent to participate in the study.

### Data Analysis

Data analyses involved the following statistics:

1. Descriptive statistics: mean, standard deviation, variance, range, kurtosis, and skew.
2. Coefficient alpha, which is a measure of internal consistency reliability, was computed for each of the instruments used in the study.
3. A correlation matrix was calculated in order to examine the bivariate relationships between each of the variables. The intercorrelation matrix helps to insure that the independent variables are not excessively correlated. This information guards against multicollinearity, which is the major problem with multiple regression (Lewis-Beck, 1991).

4. The independent and dependent variables were analyzed using canonical correlations and ANOVA. Canonical correlations allows a researcher to analyze the relationship between sets of multiple independent and dependent variables (Hair, Anderson & Tatham, 1987). Therefore, canonical correlations give a measure of strength of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The canonical correlations technique serves the functions of allowing the researcher to ascertain if two set of variables are independent of one another, or if there is a relationship. It determines the magnitude of the relationship. This association between these two set of variables is expressed by the correlations coefficient (R). Hair et al. (1987) also cautioned that since canonical correlation is a general model on which other multivariate techniques are based it places the fewest restrictions on the types of data on which it can be used with. Because of this, the data received from the canonical correlations procedures may be harder to interpret (Pedhazur, 1973). All the significant canonical correlations (R) were examined further via linear correlations.

5. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is a technique that is used to determine the probability that the means of several groups are different from one another merely by sampling error. In ANOVA, the variability in the scores is partitioned into a portion that reflects differences among the means of the groups and a portion that is not influenced by the differences among means (Glass & Hopkins, 1984). If the means among the groups are significant, this allows the researcher to make interpretations on how the independent and dependent variables are related.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### Descriptive Statistics on the Sample

There was a total of 227 subjects in the sample (97 females and 130 males), reflecting a return rate of 32%. They ranged in age between 27 to 77 years of age, 80% between the ages of 27 to 51 years, and with the mean age of 46 years. Seventy-five percent of the respondents described themselves as African American, 20% saw themselves as Black Americans, and five percent did not state their racial/ethnic identity.

A majority of the sample (71%) was married; 19.5% were divorced or separated; six percent were single/never married; two and one half percent were widowed, and one percent did not provide this information. A total of 79.2% of the respondents had attained graduate degrees; seven and one half percent had completed undergraduate degrees; 10.2% had some college education; and three and one tenth percent had high school diplomas. As for their spouses, 45.5% had obtained graduate degrees; 20% completed college; 14.6% had some college education; three and six tenths percent had high school diplomas; and 16.3% of the sample did not provide education information on their spouses. Seventy-three and one tenth percent of the respondents described their occupational level as executive professional; 14.5% were semi-professional or administrative; three and two tenths percent were managers or

proprietors of medium sized businesses; and one and three tenths percent owned a small business. Two and two tenths percent were skilled workers; one and three tenths percent described themselves as semi-skilled workers, and one and three tenths percent reported that they were unskilled labors. None of the respondents stated they worked exclusively in their homes and three and one tenth percent did not indicate their occupational status (See Table 1).

The income for this sample ranged between \$10,000 to over \$80,000, with the mean income being \$35,000. However, income was fairly evenly distributed between \$25,000 to over \$80,000. Thirty-one percent of the sample reported household incomes between \$25,000 to \$49,999; 32.7% indicated incomes between \$50,000 to \$79,999, and 32.2% reported incomes over \$80,000. Only two percent of the sample stated that their total household incomes were between \$10,000 to \$24,999, and another two and one tenth percent provided no income information (See Table 2).

Table 2. Frequencies and Percentages of Income Level (N =227)

Income Level	Frequency	Percentage
\$0 to \$24,999	5	2.0
\$25,000 to \$49,999	70	31.0
\$50,000 to \$79,999	74	32.7
Over \$80,000	72	32.2
Missing Data	<u>6</u>	<u>2.1</u>
Totals	227	100.0

**Table 1. Frequencies and Percentages of Marital Status, Education, and Occupation (N =227)**

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Marital Status</b>		
Married	160	71.0
Single/Never Married	14	6.0
Divorced/Separated	45	19.5
Partnered	0	0.0
Widowed	6	2.5
Missing Data	<u>2</u>	<u>1.0</u>
Totals	227	100.0
<b>Respondents' Education Level</b>		
Graduate Degree	179	79.2
Completed College	18	7.5
Some College	23	10.2
High School Graduate	7	3.1
Missing Data	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Totals	227	100.0
<b>Spouses' Education Level</b>		
Graduate Degree	103	45.5
Completed College	36	20.0
Some College	33	14.6
High School Graduate	8	3.6
Missing Data	<u>47</u>	<u>16.3</u>
Totals	227	100.0
<b>Occupations</b>		
Executive Professional	166	73.1
Manager and Proprietor of Med. Sized Business	7	3.2
Administration or Semi-Professional	33	14.5
Owner of a Small Business	3	1.3
Skilled Worker	5	2.2
Semi-Skilled Worker	3	1.3
Unskilled Worker	3	1.3
Work in the House (Housewife/Househusband)	0	00.0
Missing Data	<u>7</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Totals	227	100.0

In summary, a majority of the sample is highly educated, in professional positions, and with incomes between \$25,000 to over \$80,000. Religion was seen as being important with 85 % of the sample stating that religion was important to very important to them.

A majority of the sample lived with both parents present in the household, when they were from zero to eight years of age. When they were from ages zero to eight years of age, 66.1 % of the mothers were present, and three and one tenth percent were absent from the household. However, when the subjects were between nine to 16 years of age, 93.8 % of the mothers were part of the household, and only three and one tenth percent reported they were absent. Thirty and eight tenths percent of the sample, for ages zero to eight years, and three and one tenth percent, for ages nine to 16, provided no information on the presence or absence of their mothers in the household.

Sixty-one and seven tenths percent of the fathers were in the households when the subjects were between ages zero to eight, and, 78.4 % during the ages of nine to 16. When the respondents were zero to eight years old, 11.3 % of fathers were missing, and 14.5 % of the fathers were not part of the household when the subjects were nine to 16 years. Information on the absence or presence of fathers in the household was not reported by 27 % of the subjects for ages zero to eight, and seven and one tenth for ages nine to 16 years of age (See Table 3).

The dominant family structure was the nuclear family. Sixty-eight and three tenths percent of the sample lived with their spouse. One and eight tenths percent of the respondents reported living with in-laws, and another three and one half percent

**Table 3. Information on the Family of Origin: Frequencies and Percentages of the Presence and Absence of Parents of During the First 16 Years (N=227)**

Parent	<u>0 to 8 Years</u>		<u>9 to 16 Years</u>	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Mother</b>				
Present	150	66.1	213	93.8
Absent	7	3.1	7	3.1
Missing Data	<u>70</u>	<u>30.8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Totals	227	100.0	227	100.0
<b>Father</b>				
Present	140	61.7	178	78.4
Absent	25	11.3	33	14.5
Missing Data	<u>62</u>	<u>27.0</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>7.1</u>
Totals	227	100.0	227	100.0

stated that their parents were part of their household. In addition, seven and one half percent indicated that other relatives were living with them, and another three and one half percent stated non-relative were part of their household. Along with information on adults, a majority of the sample (64.8%) reported that their biological children were part of their household, and three and one half percent of the respondents stated that their step children lived with them (See Table 4).

Subjects were asked to provide other details about their children: the number of children, the sex of children, and their use of the church in raising children. Two hundred and twenty-seven individuals had at least one child. These children ranged in age between zero to 48 years (with 105 being males and 122 females). One hundred and fifty-one of the respondents indicated they had a second child. The age range for these children was between one to 45 years of age. Seventy-six of the second

**Table 4. Information on the Family of Procreation: Frequencies and Percentages of Members of the Household (N =227)**

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Household Membership</b>		
Spouse	155	68.3
Biological Children	147	64.8
Step Children	8	3.5
In Laws	4	1.8
Parents	8	3.5
Other Relative	17	7.5
Other Non-Relatives	8	3.5

children were males, and 75 were females. In addition, 63 and 19 individuals reported having a third and fourth child, respectively. Of the group with a third child, the children ranged in age from one to 44 years old, with 28 of these children being males, and 35 females. As for the fourth child, they ranged in age between two to 45, with nine being males and 10 females (See Table 5).

**Table 5. Information on the Family of Procreation: Age Range, Number and Sex of the Children, and Percentages of Males and Females (N =227)**

Birth Order	Age Range	N	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage
First	0-48	227	105	46.2	122	53.8
Second	1-45	151	76	50.3	75	49.7
Third	1-44	63	28	44.4	35	55.6
Fourth	2-25	19	9	47.4	10	52.6

Descriptive Statistics on the Parental Bonding Instrument, Adult Attachment Scale, and Parental Dimension Inventory

The Parental Bonding Instrument's (PBI) internal consistency reliability coefficients for this study were .87 for "Care" and .61 for the "Overprotection" scale. The coefficient for the "Care" scale was higher and the coefficient for the "Overprotection" scale was slightly lower than the ones reported by Parker (1983). The following are provided for the four subscales of the PBI: means, standard deviations, skewness, kurtosis, and minimum and maximum scores for each variable (See Table 6).

The means are as follows: 2.22 for mother care, 2.56 for father care, 2.77 for mother overprotection, and 2.89 for father overprotection. The standard deviations for mother and father care were both .29 and .35 for mother overprotection and .34 for father overprotection. Each subscale was also examined for skewness: .88 for mother care, -1.42 for father care, -.33 for mother overprotection, and .08 for father overprotection. Kurtosis scores were also computed: 1.14 for mother care, 8.06 for father care, 1.27 for mother overprotection, and .81 for father overprotection.

Finally, the minimum and maximum scores produced by each variables were reviewed. The scores from mother care ranged from 1.50 to 3.25, and for father care, they were between 1.00 to 3.50. They ranged from 1.46 to 3.92 for mother overprotection and 1.92 to 4.00 for father overprotection (See Table 6).

On the Adult Attachment Scale, 81 % (171) of the sample indicated a secure attachment style, 17% (35) reported an avoidant style, and two percent (five) described their attachment style as anxious/ambivalent. The Parental Dimension Inventory (PDI)

**Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for Mother Care, Father Care, Mother Overprotection, and Father Overprotection**

PBI Measure	Number of Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis	Min.	Max.
Mother Care	12	2.22	.29	.88	1.14	1.50	3.25
Father Care	12	2.56	.29	-1.42	8.06	1.00	3.50
Mother Overprotection	13	2.78	.35	-.33	1.27	1.46	3.92
Father Overprotection	13	2.90	.34	.08	.81	1.92	4.00

**Note.** The range of the values for Care and Overprotection is one to four. For Mother Care and Father Care the mean values are reversed. The smaller the numerical value the higher the respondent was in mother or father care, and the larger the numerical value the less a subject reported experiencing mother or father care. For Mother Overprotection and Father Overprotection the mean values are not reversed.

had mean scores of 3.51 for the support and 4.82 for the control constructs.

### Correlational Findings

The correlations between each of the major constructs in this study are provided in Table 7. As can be seen, there was a significant, low negative correlation between AAPS and mother overprotection ( $r = -.139, p < .04$ ) suggesting that as African American adults parented more from an Afrocentric perspective, mothers were perceived a less overprotective. This finding was unexpected. The AAPS was not significantly correlated with any of the other constructs.

For the PBI, there was a significant, low negative correlation between father overprotection and father care ( $r = -.35, p < .001$ ) suggesting that those respondents that described their fathers as overprotective, also saw their fathers as less caring. There was also a significant, low negative correlation between mother care and father overprotection ( $r = -.16, p < .02$ ). This relationship indicates that as mother care increased, father overprotection decreased. Finally, there were significant, moderate and low positive correlations between mother overprotection and father overprotection ( $r = .41, p < .001$ ) and mother care and father care ( $r = .31, p < .001$ ). These relationships were expected. These correlations were all statistically significant at or beyond the .05 level.

It was also expected that father and mother care and the three underlying dimensions of the support construct and father and mother overprotection and the two constructs of control would be positively related. This was not the case. The correlations between father care and nurturance ( $r = .093, p < .18$ ), responsiveness ( $r = .070, p < .32$ ), and nonrestrictive attitudes ( $r = -.039, p < .58$ ) were all

nonsignificant. Mother care was also not significantly related to nurturance ( $r = .116$ ,  $p < .08$ ), responsiveness ( $r = .125$ ,  $p < .06$ ), and nonrestrictive attitudes ( $r = -.005$ ,  $p < .94$ ). Although the correlations between the care and support constructs were not significant, both mother and father care were positively related to nurturance and responsiveness and negatively related to nonrestrictive attitudes. Also, father overprotection and maturity demands ( $r = -.056$ ,  $p < .44$ ), and amount of control ( $r = -.844$ ,  $p < .23$ ) as well as mother overprotection and maturity demands ( $r = -.080$ ,  $p < .25$ ), and amount of control ( $r = .093$ ,  $p < .17$ ) were not significantly correlated.

As for the dependent variables, it is worth noting that the dimensions underlying the support construct were correlated; however, the factors of the control variable were not significantly related. It was expected that these dimensions or factors would be correlated. Nurturance and responsiveness ( $r = .354$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and responsiveness and nonrestrictive attitudes ( $r = .499$ ,  $p < .001$ ) had low significant correlations. Since these intercorrelations are low, the issue of multicollinearity was not of concern. Finally, as for cross correlations between the dimensions underlying the support and control constructs, responsiveness and amount of control were significantly correlated. There was a negative correlation ( $r = -.258$ ,  $p < .001$ ) between these variables. Respondents indicated that as they became more responsive to their children, they also provided more control (See Table 7).

Table 7. Correlation Matrix

	FC	MC	FO	MO	Nurt.	Respon.	Nonrest.	Mat. Demands	Amt. Control
1	.035 (206) p = ns	.035 (220) p = ns	.003 (204) p = ns	-.139 (219) p = .040	-.116 (219) p = ns	.001 (218) p = ns	-.092 (218) p = ns	.018 (203) p = ns	-.003 (217) p = ns
2		.308 (209) p = .001	-.346 (208) p = .001	-.078 (208) p = ns	.092 (208) p = ns	.069 (207) p = ns	-.038 (207) p = ns	.088 (195) p = ns	.061 (206) p = ns
3			-.157 (207) p = .023	-.548 (225) p = .001	.115 (224) p = ns	.125 (223) p = ns	-.005 (223) p = ns	.021 (208) p = ns	-.016 (222) p = ns
4				.413 (206) p = .001	-.008 (206) p = ns	-.105 (205) p = ns	-.030 (205) p = ns	-.056 (194) p = ns	-.084 (204) p = ns
5					-.079 (223) p = ns	-.089 (222) p = ns	-.006 (222) p = ns	-.080 (207) p = ns	.093 (221) p = ns

Table 7 (cont'd).

	FC	MC	FO	MO	Nurt.	Respon.	Nonrest.	Mat. Demands	Amt. Control
6						.353 (224) p = .001	.014 (224) p = ns	-.004 (209) p = ns	.098 (221) P = NS
7							.498 (224) p = .001	.041 (209) p = ns	-.257 (221) P = .001
8								-.075 (209) p = ns	-.351 (221) P = .001
9									.014 (207) P = NS

Note. FC = Father Care, MC = Mother Care, FO = Father Overprotection, MO = Mother Overprotection, Nurt. = Nurturance  
 Respon. = Responsiveness, Nonrest. = Nonrestrictive Attitudes, Mat. Demands = Maturity Demands, Amt. Cont. = Amount of  
 Control.

## Canonical Correlation for the Parental Bonding Instrument and the Parental Dimension

### Inventory Subscales

Explanation of Crucial Canonical Correlation Concepts. The hypotheses of this study were tested via canonical correlation analysis. In order to understand the findings, a few of the crucial concepts for canonical correlations analysis will be defined.

Canonical Variable. A canonical variable is a linear combination of a set of variables or measures. There is a set of independent and a separate set of dependent variables. For each set, several linear combinations are found. The best linear combination is found first, then the next and so on. The number of linear combinations found depends on the lowest numbers of independent or dependent measures. For example, in this study for the care and the support variables, there are two care constructs (mother care and father care) and three support dimensions (responsiveness, nonrestrictive attitudes, and nurturance). As for the overprotection and control variables, there are two overprotection constructs (father control and mother control) and two control dimensions (maturity demands and amount of control). Although, one of the dependent construct (support) had three underlying dimensions, the independent variables have only two underlying factors; therefore, only two linear combinations were found for each set of independent and dependent variables. The canonical variables or linear combinations were care 1 and care 2 and overprotection 1 and overprotection 2 for the independent measures and support 1 and support 2 and control 1 and control 2 for the dependent variables.

**Canonical Correlation.** The canonical correlation ( $R$ ) measures the strength of the overall relationships between each pair of canonical variables or linear combinations. A pair consists of one independent and one dependent canonical variable. Therefore, the best two canonical variables are correlated, then the next two, and so on. For example, care 1 was correlated with support 1.

As with the canonical variables, the number of canonical correlations ( $R$ ) produced depended on the lowest number of independent or dependent measures in the study. For this study, the output produced two canonical correlations ( $R$ ). Only if a canonical correlation was significant at the .05 alpha level or lower was it reported. It should be noted that if the first canonical correlation was not significant the second canonical correlation was not reported.

**Canonical Structure.** A coefficient gives information on the weight of a variable within a group of variables and a correlation gives information on the strength of association between variables. The canonical structure contains the coefficients and correlations between each independent's and dependent's underlying constructs and each of its canonical variables or linear combinations. These canonical correlations, indicated by the small letter "r", are different than the canonical correlation designated by the capital letter " $R$ ."

In this study, there were two canonical variables (linear combinations) found for each set of independent and dependent measures. For example, therefore, a coefficient and a correlation were reported between mother care and each of the two canonical variables or linear combinations (Care 1 and Care 2). Coefficients and correlations were reported for each of the other constructs (i.e. father care, mother and

father overprotection, nurturance, responsiveness, nonrestrictive attitudes, maturity demands, and amount of control) and each of its canonical variables (i.e. care 1, care 2, overprotection 1, overprotection 2, support 1, support 2, control 1, and control 2). The cross correlations were examined. This is a correlation between a variable, for example mother care, and the other canonical variable or linear combination, for example support 1 and support 2.

Redundancy Index. The redundancy index refers to the amount of variance ( $v$ ) explained in the dependent measures by canonical variables (linear combinations) found in the set of independent variables and visa versa (SAS Institute Inc., 1988).

Testing the Hypotheses of the Study. Before canonical correlations were computed, the current data set was divided into two groups. In the first group, each subject's first born was 13 years old or younger, and in the second group, each subject reported that their first born was 14 years or older. The data set was divided into two groups because the Parental Dimension Inventory had norming data for an African American sample of 13 years and younger, and not for an older sample. However, for each hypothesis, information for both groups was provided. For each hypothesis, first, the findings for the 13 years old and younger group were provided and then information for 14 years old and older was given.

For each hypothesis, the ranges of the within and between bivariate correlations, which were also designated by the small letter "r", for each independent and dependent measure as well the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ) were reported. If the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ) was significant, only then was the second canonical correlation ( $R$ ) reported. If a canonical correlation ( $R$ ) was accepted and in order to

interpret the findings, the signs (positive and negative) and the canonical coefficients and canonical correlations within the canonical structure were examined. The signs were important to look at to determine if a variable was acting as a suppressor variable. A variable was considered to be a suppressor variable if it had a positive coefficient and a negative correlation or visa versa. When there was a suppressor variable, it acted in a way to enhance the contribution made by the other variables. A description of the canonical correlations ( $R$ ) and their significance value ( $p$ -value) for each of the hypothesis are provided below.

#### The Relations between Parent Care and Support

To restate hypothesis #1: There is a positive relationship between care and support.

Thirteen Years Old and Younger. Mothers and fathers were described as moderately caring ( $m = 2.13$ ). The between bivariate correlations for mother and father care and the three underlying dimensions, responsiveness, nonrestrictive attitudes, and nurturance, of the support construct were examined. The bivariate correlations between the care and support constructs were small, ranging from  $r = -.004$  to  $r = -.174$  suggesting that the independent and dependent variables were very weakly associated. Therefore, for this sample care was not highly associated with support. This finding was further supported since the first canonical correlation ( $R = .307$ ,  $p < .15$ ) was not significant. This finding suggested that adults who experienced care from either their mothers or fathers were not more likely to be supportive in the parenting of their children.

Fourteen Years Old and Older. There were 128 individuals with children whose first child was 14 years and older. This sample reported that their mothers were more

caring ( $\underline{m} = 1.68$ ) than their fathers ( $\underline{m} = 2.11$ ). Also, the between and within bivariate correlations were very small. The bivariate correlations between care and support ranged from  $\underline{r} = .163$  to  $\underline{r} = .042$ . The within bivariate correlations were also small and non-significant. The bivariate correlation for mother and father care was  $\underline{r} = -.262$ , suggesting that as mother care increased father decreased. As for the support dimensions, responsiveness and nonrestrictive attitudes had a  $\underline{r} = .396$  bivariate correlation, responsiveness and nurturance had a  $\underline{r} = .447$  bivariate correlation, and the bivariate correlation for nurturance and non-restrictive attitude was  $\underline{r} = -.019$ . The canonical correlations ( $\underline{R} = .206$ ,  $\underline{p} < .37$ ) was not significant. As with the group whose first child was thirteen years and younger, individuals in this group reported that experiencing care from their mother and father did not make them more supportive in the parenting of their children (See Table 8).

#### The Relations between Parent Overprotection and Control

To restate hypothesis #2: There is a positive relationship between overprotection and control.

Thirteen Years Old and Younger. There were 70 subjects in this group. As stated earlier, the control construct has two underlying factors: maturity demands and amount of control. Maturity demands refer to the responsibility a child has in the day-to-day chores of a household and amount of control speaks to how much autonomy a parent feels a child should be allowed. On the average, the subjects described their mothers ( $\underline{m} = 2.11$ ) and fathers ( $\underline{m} = 2.15$ ) as somewhat overprotective, and as parents themselves, they limited the amount of responsibilities for household chores ( $\underline{m}$

= 1.11) their children had and felt their children's autonomy should be somewhat restricted by parents providing more controls, rules, and discipline ( $\underline{m}$  = 5.21).

The bivariate correlations between mother and father overprotection and maturity demands and amount of control were low, ranging from  $r$  = .005 to  $r$  = .216. These bivariate correlations suggested that there was a limited association between overprotection and control, and this was confirmed by the first canonical correlation ( $\underline{R}$  = .319,  $p$  < .13), which was not significant.

Fourteen Years Old and Older. There were 119 subjects in this group. As with the other group, these individuals also described their mothers ( $\underline{m}$  = 2.22) and fathers ( $\underline{m}$  = 2.24) as somewhat overprotective. In parenting of their children, they stated that their children had an average amount of responsibilities for chores ( $\underline{m}$  = 1.65) in the household, and these parents also felt their children's autonomy needed to be somewhat limited by parents providing more structure and rules ( $\underline{m}$  = 5.11).

The between bivariate correlations for mother and father overprotection and maturity demands and amount of control were low, ranging from  $r$  = -.011 to  $r$  = -.014. Again, there was a limited association between the independent and dependent variables. The canonical correlation ( $\underline{R}$  = .146,  $p$  < .65) was not significant (See Table 8). Therefore, for both groups, hypothesis number two was rejected. This suggested that for this sample of African American parents there was not a significant relationship between subjects describing their parents as overprotective and themselves being controlling with their children (See Table 8).

### The Relations between Parent Care and Control

Restating hypothesis 3: There is a negative relationship between care and control.

Thirteen Years Old and Younger. On the average this group ( $N = 72$ ) viewed their mothers ( $\underline{m} = 3.41$ ) as uncaring and their fathers ( $\underline{m} = 2.93$ ) as somewhat uncaring. Their children had limited responsibilities for household chores ( $\underline{m} = 1.09$ ). Also, they indicated children should be encouraged to be autonomous; however, this needed to be balanced with parental rules and restrictions ( $\underline{m} = 5.20$ ).

The bivariate correlations between the care and control measures were low, the largest being between mother care and amount of control ( $r = .161$ ). The within bivariate correlation for mother and father care ( $r = .382$ ) was larger than the correlation for maturity demands and amount of control ( $r = .097$ ). The canonical correlation ( $R = .249$ ,  $p < .33$ ) was not significant.

Fourteen Years Old and Older. This groups ( $N = 119$ ) also described their mothers ( $\underline{m} = 3.35$ ) as uncaring and their fathers ( $\underline{m} = 2.90$ ) as somewhat uncaring. As far as providing control for their children, they expected their children to be somewhat responsible for chores ( $\underline{m} = 1.65$ ), and as parents, these individuals felt autonomy should be somewhat limited by parents providing rules and structure for their children ( $\underline{m} = 5.11$ ).

The between bivariate correlations for the care and control variables were low, ranging from  $r = .016$  to  $r = .078$ . The largest bivariate correlation was between father care and maturity demands. The within bivariate correlations, were also low but larger than the between bivariate correlations. The largest bivariate correlation was

between mother and father care ( $r = .248$ ). For this group, the canonical correlation ( $R = .092$ ,  $p < .91$ ) was low and not significant (See Table 8).

#### The Relations between Parent Overprotection and Support

Restating hypothesis 4: There is a negative relationship between overprotection and support.

Thirteen Years Old and Younger. There were 74 individuals who were part of the overprotection and control group. This group reported that both their mothers ( $m = 2.10$ ) and fathers ( $m = 2.15$ ) were somewhat overprotective. As parents, these individuals indicated that they were very responsive ( $m = 5.28$ ), highly nurturing ( $m = 5.52$ ) and fairly nonrestrictive in their attitudes ( $m = 4.34$ ).

The between bivariate correlations were low, ranging from  $r = .012$  to  $r = -.152$ . There were larger within bivariate correlations:  $r = .226$  for mother and father care and  $r = .434$  for nonrestrictive attitudes and responsiveness. The canonical correlation ( $R = .277$ ,  $p < .26$ ) was not significant. This suggested that there was not a significant relationship between overprotection and control.

Fourteen Years Old and Older. These individuals ( $N = 128$ ) described their mothers ( $m = 2.21$ ) and fathers ( $m = 2.25$ ) as somewhat overprotective. Overall, as far as being parents themselves, these individuals reported being very supportive. They reported being more responsive ( $m = 5.22$ ) and nurturing ( $m = 5.14$ ) and less nonrestrictive ( $m = 4.31$ ) in their attitudes.

The bivariate correlations between the overprotection and the support variables were low, ranging from  $r = .002$  to  $r = -.143$ . There were larger within correlations:  $r = .494$  for mother and father care,  $r = .447$  for nurture and responsiveness, and  $r =$

.396 for nonrestrictive attitudes and responsiveness. The canonical correlation ( $R = .169$ ,  $p < .44$ ) was not significant (See Table 8).

**Table 8. Canonical Correlations (R) for the First Four Hypotheses**

Variable	Group	Canonical Correlation (R)	P-value
Care/Support	13 Years/Younger	.307	.15
Care/Support	14 Years/Older	.206	.37
Overprotection/ Control	13 Years/Younger	.319	.13
Overprotection/ Control	14 Years/Older	.146	.65
Care/Control	13 Years/Younger	.249	.33
Care/Control	14 Years/Older	.092	.91
Overprotection/ Support	13 Years/Younger	.277	.26
Overprotection/ Support	14 Years/Older	.169	.44

#### Canonical Correlation for Parental Bonding Instrument and Parental Dimension

##### Inventory Subscales based on Demographic Data

Since none of the hypotheses were confirmed and because there was a wide range for the ages of the children of the respondents, it was decided that simply looking at the data based on the respondents' responses to instruments may result in some true differences being overlooked. Therefore, the data were reexamined using demographic information to better highlight the relationships between the independent and dependent measures. Each hypothesis was reexamined for each group, 13 years and younger and 14 years and older, by further dividing up the groups based on

demographic data. Only those canonical correlations ( $R$ ) that were significant are reported. Although these findings have statistical significance, it should be noted that the sample sizes were small.

The Relations between Parent Care and Support based on Income and Church Membership

Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years and Younger and with Income between \$25,000 to \$49,000. There were 24 individuals in this group.

Looking at their mean scores for their responses to the various independent and dependent measures, this group described their mothers as very caring ( $\bar{m} = 1.65$ ) and their fathers as moderately caring ( $\bar{m} = 2.25$ ). In the parenting of their children, they saw themselves as very supportive ( $\bar{m} = 5.40$  for responsiveness,  $\bar{m} = 4.38$  for non-restrictive attitudes, and  $\bar{m} = 5.49$  for nurturance).

As for the between bivariate correlations, the correlations, ranged from  $r = .085$  to  $r = .699$ . In general, mothers as compared to fathers, were seen as more responsive ( $r = .208$  mother,  $r = -.085$  father), less restrictive ( $r = .084$  mother,  $r = .233$  father), and more nurturing ( $r = -.313$  mother,  $r = -.699$ ). Only, the first canonical correlation ( $R = .707$ ,  $p < .01$ ) was significant.

To interpret the findings, both the coefficients and correlations within the canonical structure were examined. For the canonical coefficients for the care variable, there was a weighted differences of mother care ( $-0.175$ ) and father care ( $-0.931$ ), with more emphasis on father care. There was also a higher correlation for father care ( $r = -.986$ ) than mother care ( $r = -.469$ ). The signs of the coefficients and correlations for mother and father care were the same, suggesting that neither of these

variables acted as suppressor factors. However, since both the magnitude was larger for the coefficient and correlation of father care, this suggested that this variable had a greater impact. In looking at the magnitude and negative signs, this suggested that as father care decreased care increased.

The first canonical variable for the support variables was a weighted difference of nurturance (-1.016), responsiveness (0.055), and nonrestrictive attitudes (0.032), with the most weight for nurturance. This suggested that nurturance contributes the most to the support canonical variable. The correlations for responsiveness ( $r = -.060$ ) and non-restrictive attitudes ( $r = -.287$ ) had opposite signs from their coefficients, suggesting that these two factors were suppressor variables. The correlation for nurturance was  $r = -.997$ .

Therefore, the general interpretation for the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ) was that responsiveness and nonrestrictive attitudes acted as suppressor variables to enhance the correlations between father care and nurturance. The cross correlations for father care ( $r = .698$ ) and nurturance ( $r = -.705$ ) supported the idea that these two factors accounted for more of the association between care and support (See Table 9).

However, the redundancy analysis showed that neither of the canonical variables were good overall predictors of the opposite set of variables, the proportions of variance explained being  $\eta^2 = .298$  and  $\eta^2 = .180$ . The second canonical variables added almost nothing, with the cumulative proportions for both canonical variables being  $\eta^2 = .326$  and  $\eta^2 = .216$ . The squared multiple correlations indicated that the first canonical variable of care had some predictive power for nurturance ( $r^2 = .498$ )

**Table 9. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Thirteen Years and Younger with Income between \$25,000 to \$49,000**

Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
	Care 1		Support 1
Mother Care	-0.175	Responsiveness	0.055
Father Care	-0.931	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	0.032
		Nurturance	-1.016
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
	Care 1		Support 1
Mother Care	-.469	Responsiveness	-.060
Father Care	-.986	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	-.287
		Nurturance	-.997
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
	Support 1		Care 1
Mother Care	.332	Responsiveness	.042
Father Care	.698	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	-.203
		Nurturance	-.705

but almost none for responsiveness ( $r = .002$ ) and non-restrictive attitudes ( $r = .041$ ).

Respondents with First Child Fourteen Years and Older with Income between

\$25,000 to \$49,000. These individuals ( $N = 37$ ) described their mothers as less caring ( $\bar{m} = 3.19$ ) than their fathers ( $\bar{m} = 2.87$ ). However, they saw themselves as quite supportive in the parenting of their own children ( $\bar{m} = 5.17$  for responsiveness,  $\bar{m} = 4.37$  for nonrestrictive attitudes, and  $\bar{m} = 5.16$  for nurturance). The first canonical correlation ( $R = .575$ ,  $p < .03$ ) was significant.

The first canonical variable for the care measures was a weighted difference of mother care ( $-0.963$ ) and father care ( $-0.342$ ). As for the correlations between mother care and father care and their first canonical variable, both were negative,  $r = -.939$  for mother care and  $r = -.279$  for father care. Because the signs did not change between the coefficients and correlations, neither mother or father care were suppressor variables. However, since the magnitude and association for mother care were larger, this variable had greater impact on the first canonical care variable.

Weighted differences for the first canonical variable for support dimensions included the following:  $0.867$  for responsiveness,  $-0.167$  for nonrestrictive attitudes, and  $0.314$  for nurturance, with more emphasis on responsiveness. The correlations for the support dimensions and the first canonical variable were  $r = .931$  for responsiveness,  $r = .173$  for nonrestrictive attitudes, and  $r = .704$  for nurturance.

Therefore, the interpretation of the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ) was that nonrestrictive attitudes acted as a suppressor variable to enhance the cross correlations between mother care ( $r = -.541$ ) and responsiveness ( $r = .536$ ). This suggested that as mother care decreased, responsiveness increased (See Table 10).

**Table 10. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Fourteen Years and Older with Income between \$25,000 to \$49,000**

Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
	Care 1		Support 1
Mother Care	-0.963	Responsiveness	0.867
Father Care	-0.342	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	-0.167
		Nurturance	0.314
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
	Care 1		Support 1
Mother Care	.939	Responsiveness	.931
Father Care	-.279	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	.173
		Nurturance	.704
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
	Support 1		Care 1
Mother Care	-.541	Responsiveness	.536
Father Care	.160	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	.099
		Nurturance	.40

Although the canonical correlation ( $R$ ) was significant, once again, the redundancy analysis showed that neither of the canonical variables were good overall predictors of the opposite set of variables, the proportions of variance explained being  $\underline{v} = .159$  and  $\underline{v} = .154$ . The squared multiple correlations indicated that the first canonical variable of care had some limited predictive power for responsiveness ( $\underline{r} = .287$ ) but almost none for non-restrictive attitudes ( $\underline{r} = .009$ ) and nurturance ( $\underline{r} = .164$ ).

Respondents with First Child Fourteen Years and Older and Reported

being Members of a Church. The 50 individuals in this group described their mothers as somewhat uncaring ( $\underline{m} = 3.32$ ) and their fathers as moderately caring ( $\underline{m} = 2.77$ ). They described themselves as quite supportive ( $\underline{m} = 5.39$  for responsiveness,  $\underline{m} = 4.35$  for nonrestrictive attitudes, and  $\underline{m} = 5.32$  for nurturance) in the parenting of their own children. The between bivariate correlations for care and support were low, ranging from  $\underline{r} = .058$  to  $\underline{r} = .498$ . The first canonical correlation ( $\underline{R} = .529$ ,  $p < .001$ ) was significant.

In Table 11 the important statistics are given. In looking at the canonical structure for the care canonical variable, there was a weighted difference of mother care (-1.010) and father care (0.024), with more emphasis on mother care. The correlations between mother and father care and the first canonical variables were both negative,  $\underline{r} = -.999$  for mother care and  $\underline{r} = -.390$  for father care. Father care was a suppressor variable. This suggested that as mother care increased father care decreased.

In examining the canonical structure for the first support variables,

the coefficients were 0.366 for responsiveness, -0.322 for nonrestrictive attitudes, and 0.854 for nurturance, with more emphasis on nurturance, and canonical variable were  $r = .629$  for responsiveness,  $r = .105$  for nonrestrictive attitudes, and  $r = .941$  for nurturance. This suggested that nonrestrictive attitudes was a suppressor variable. In looking at the cross correlations of the care and support measures, the general interpretations of the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ) was that father care and nonrestrictive attitudes acted as suppressor variables to enhance the correlation between mother care ( $r = -.529$ ) and nurturance ( $r = .498$ ). This suggested that as mother care decreased, nurturance increased.

In examining the redundancy analysis, it became clear that neither of the canonical variables were good overall predictors of the opposite set of variables, the proportions of variance explained being  $\eta^2 = 1.61$  and  $\eta^2 = .121$ . The squared multiple correlations indicate that the first canonical variable of care had very limited predictive power for nurturance ( $r^2 = .248$ ) and responsiveness ( $r^2 = .111$ ) and almost none for non-restrictive attitudes ( $r^2 = .003$ ).

#### The Relations between Parent Overprotection and Control based on Sex of Respondents and Respondents' Parents' Social Class.

Male Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years and Younger. These 27 individuals described their mothers ( $\bar{m} = 2.00$ ) and fathers ( $\bar{m} = 2.09$ ) as somewhat overprotective. In the parenting of their own children, they expected their children to have almost no responsibility for chores ( $\bar{m} = 0.961$ ), and as parents, these individuals felt autonomy should be somewhat limited by parents children ( $\bar{m} = 5.03$ ). The between bivariate correlations were low and negative, ranging from  $r = -.150$  to  $r =$

**Table 11. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Fourteen Years and Older with Reported being Members of a Church**

Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
	Care 1		Support 1
Mother Care	-1.010	Responsiveness	0.366
Father Care	0.024	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	-0.322
		Nurturance	0.854
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
	Care 1		Support 1
Mother Care	-.999	Responsiveness	.629
Father Care	-.390	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	.105
		Nurturance	.941
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
	Support 1		Care 1
Mother Care	-.529	Responsiveness	.333
Father Care	.206	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	.055
		Nurturance	.49

-.430. The negative correlations suggested that as overprotection decreased control increased.

In looking at the canonical correlations, both the first ( $R = .499$ ,  $p < .02$ ) and second ( $R = .442$ ,  $p < .02$ ) canonical correlations were significant. The first canonical variable for the overprotection variables was a weighted difference of mother overprotection (0.888) and father overprotection (-1.018), with more emphasis on father overprotection. For the second canonical variable the coefficients for mother overprotection (0.689) and father overprotection (0.476) were smaller, and this time, there was more weight for mother overprotection.

The correlations between mother ( $r = .423$ ) and father ( $r = -.613$ ) overprotection and the first canonical variable were positive for mother overprotection and negative for father overprotection. As for the correlation for mother ( $r = .916$ ) and father ( $r = .790$ ) overprotection and the second canonical variable, both were positive. Because the signs between the coefficients and correlations and their first and second canonical variables were similar, neither of these factors acted as suppressor variables.

In looking at the first canonical variables for the control variables, there was a weighted difference of maturity demands (0.366 and -0.931) and amount of control (0.942 and 0.338), respectively. For the first canonical variable, there was more emphasis on amount of control, and for the second factor, maturity demands had greater weight. The correlations for the first and second variables and between maturity demands were  $r = .388$  and  $r = -.941$  and amount of control  $r = .931$  and  $r = .365$ , respectively. Both set of correlations were positive, again none of the factors

acted as suppressor variables. In examining the cross correlations between overprotection and the first control canonical variable and between control and the first overprotection canonical variable, the following relationship became apparent. The cross correlation for father overprotection ( $r = -.300$ ) was larger than for mother overprotection ( $r = .217$ ) and amount of control ( $r = .455$ ) had a larger correlation than ( $r = .175$ ) maturity demands. As for the cross correlation for the second canonical variables, mother overprotection ( $r = .401$ ) had a slightly larger correlation than father overprotection ( $r = .349$ ), and the correlation for amount of control ( $r = .162$ ) was smaller than for maturity demands ( $r = -.426$ ) (See Tables 12 and 13). Therefore, the general interpretation of the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ) was that as father overprotection decreased the amount of control increased, and of the second canonical correlation ( $R$ ) that as mother overprotection increased, maturity demands increased. Both of these findings were unexpected, and the sizes of the correlations suggested that these were weak relationships (See Tables 12 and 13).

Furthermore, the canonical redundancy analysis showed that neither of the first or second pair of canonical variables were a good overall predictor of the opposite set of variables. The proportion of variance explained being  $\eta^2 = .0662$  and  $\eta^2 = .117$ , and the second canonical variable added virtually nothing, with cumulative proportion for both variables being  $\eta^2 = .207$  and  $\eta^2 = .216$ . The squared multiple correlations indicated that the first overprotection canonical variable had some predictive power for amount of control ( $r^2 = .207$ ) and none for maturity demands ( $r^2 = .027$ ), and the second overprotection canonical variable had some predictive power for both maturity demands ( $r^2 = .201$ ) and amount of control ( $r^2 = .233$ ).

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**Table 12. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Male Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years and Younger (First Canonical Variable)**

Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	-1.018	Maturity Demands	0.366
Father/Overprotection	0.888	Amount of Control	0.942
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	.423	Maturity Demands	.338
Father/Overprotection	-.613	Amount of Control	.931
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
Control 1		Overprotection 1	
Mother/Overprotection	-.300	Maturity Demands	.175
Father/Overprotection	.217	Amount of Control	.455

**Table 13. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Male Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years and Younger (Second Canonical Variable)**

Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
Overprotection 2		Control 2	
Mother/Overprotection	0.689	Maturity Demands	-0.931
Father/Overprotection	0.476	Amount of Control	0.338
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
Overprotection 2		Control 2	
Mother/Overprotection	.916	Maturity Demands	-.941
Father/Overprotection	.790	Amount of Control	.365
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
Control 2		Overprotection 2	
Mother/Overprotection	.401	Maturity Demands	-.426
Father/Overprotection	.349	Amount of Control	.162

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Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years and Younger and  
Working Class Parents.

This group ( $N = 40$ ) described both their mothers ( $\bar{m} = 2.11$ ) and fathers ( $\bar{m} = 2.17$ ) as somewhat overprotective. They expected their children to contribute to the daily chores of the household ( $\bar{m} = 1.18$ ) and felt their children's autonomy should be somewhat restricted by parents providing more controls, rules, and discipline ( $\bar{m} = 5.25$ ). For this group, the bivariate correlations between overprotection and control variables were low, the largest being  $r = -.238$  between father overprotection and maturity demands. The first canonical correlation ( $R = .402$ ,  $p < .05$ ) was significant.

For the first canonical variable, there was a weighted difference of mother (1.001) and father (-0.906) overprotection, with a slight more emphasis on mother overprotection. Also, the correlations between mother ( $r = .590$ ) and father ( $r = -.452$ ) overprotection and the first canonical variable were somewhat comparable. Because the signs between the correlations and coefficients were similar, neither of these variable were suppressors. Weighted differences for the control variables and the first canonical variable were -0.168 for maturity demands and 1.010 for amount of control, with amount of control having more weight. As with the coefficient, the correlations for the control measures and the first canonical variable also showed that amount of control ( $r = .986$ ) had a stronger correlation than maturity demands ( $r = -.028$ ) (See Table 14).

In looking at the cross correlations between overprotection and for the first control canonical variable, the squared multiple correlations highlighted the following

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relationship between the canonical correlation of the control variable. As mother overprotection ( $r = .237$ ) increased the amount of control ( $r = .397$ ) also increased. Therefore, there was a positive relationship between mother overprotection and amount of control for those subjects who reported that their parents were working class. This relationship was not found for respondents who described their parents as middle or upper social classes. (See Table 14).

However, despite the positive relationship for overprotection and control for individuals with working class parents, the canonical redundancy analysis showed that both of the first pair of canonical variables had almost no predictive power for the opposite variable. The proportions of variance explained by the first overprotection canonical variable was  $\eta^2 = .098$  and  $\eta^2 = .044$  first overprotection canonical variable had no predictive power for maturity demands ( $r^2 = .0001$ ) and amount of control ( $r^2 = .159$ ).

#### Respondents with First Child Fourteen Years Old and Older and with Middle

Class Parents. There were 27 individuals in this group, who described their mothers ( $\bar{m} = 2.10$ ) and fathers ( $\bar{m} = 2.18$ ) as somewhat overprotective. In parenting their own children, these individuals expected their children to have little responsibility for household chores ( $\bar{m} = 1.05$ ), and they restricted their children's autonomy ( $\bar{m} = 5.22$ ). The bivariate correlations between overprotection and control variables were low; however, they were larger than the bivariate correlations within each set. The between bivariate correlations ranged from  $r = .165$  to  $r = .416$ , the largest was between mother overprotection and amount of control. The first canonical correlation ( $R = .478$ ,  $p < .05$ ) was significant.

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**Table 14. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Thirteen Years and Younger and Working Class Parents**

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Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	-0.906	Maturity Demands	-0.168
Father/Overprotection	1.001	Amount of Control	1.010

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Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	-.452	Maturity Demands	-.028
Father/Overprotection	.590	Amount of Control	.986

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Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
Control 1		Overprotection 1	
Mother/Overprotection	-.182	Maturity Demands	-.011
Father/Overprotection	.237	Amount of Control	.397

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Information on the coefficients and the canonical correlations is provided in Table 15. The weighted difference for the first canonical variable for the overprotection variables was 0.935 for mother care and 0.450 for father overprotection, with greater emphasis on mother overprotection. The correlations between mother and father overprotection and the first canonical variable were both positive,  $r = .894$  for mother and  $r = .365$  for father overprotection. Neither of these factors were suppressor variables because the signs for the correlations and coefficients were similar.

As for the control variables, the weighted differences of maturity demands were (0.708) and for amount of control (0.747), with slight more weight for maturity demands. The bivariate correlations between maturity demands and amount of control and the first canonical variable were both positive,  $r = .666$  for maturity demands and  $r = .706$  for amount of control. Neither of these factors were suppressor variables.

In looking at the cross correlations the following relationships stood out. Since the cross correlation for mother overprotection ( $r = .427$ ) was larger than father overprotection ( $r = .175$ ), mother overprotection contributed more to the variance of the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ). However, the cross correlations for the control variables are fairly similar,  $r = .319$  for maturity demands and  $r = .338$  for amount of control. Therefore, the general interpretation of the first canonical correlation ( $R$ ) is that mother overprotection and maturity demands and amount of control contribute to its variance.

Once again, in looking at the canonical redundancy analysis it becomes apparent

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**Table 15. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Fourteen Years and Older with Middle Class Parents**

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Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	0.935	Maturity Demands	0.708
Father/Overprotection	0.450	Amount of Control	0.747

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Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables

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Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	.894	Maturity Demands	.666
Father/Overprotection	.365	Amount of Control	.706

---

Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures

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Control 1		Overprotection 1	
Mother/Overprotection	.427	Maturity Demands	.319
Father/Overprotection	.175	Amount of Control	.338

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that neither of the first pair of canonical variables were good overall predictors of the opposite set of variables, the proportion of variance being explained  $\underline{v} = .107$  and  $\underline{v} = .108$ . Also, the squared multiple correlations indicated that the first canonical variable of the overprotection measurement had almost no predictive power for maturity demands ( $\underline{r} = .102$ ) and amount of control ( $\underline{r} = .114$ ).

#### The Relations between Parent Care and Control based on Income

##### Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years and Younger and with Income

between \$25,000 to \$49,000. These individuals ( $N = 35$ ) reported that both

their mothers ( $\underline{m} = 3.19$ ) and fathers ( $\underline{m} = 2.86$ ) were somewhat uncaring, and they stated that their children were required to contribute some to completing daily chores ( $\underline{m} = 1.65$ ). Also, these parents felt that autonomy should be somewhat limited ( $\underline{m} = 5.15$ ). The bivariate correlations between the care and control measures were low, the largest being  $\underline{r} = -.461$  between father care and maturity demands. The first canonical correlation ( $\underline{R} = .616$ ,  $p < .001$ ) was significant.

The first canonical variable for the care variables was a weighted differences of mother (0.459) and father (0.917) care, with more emphasis on father care. The correlations between mother and father care and the first canonical variable were both positive,  $\underline{r} = .403$  for mother care and  $\underline{r} = .889$  for father care. Since the coefficients and correlations have the same signs, neither of these measures acted as suppressor variables.

As for the first canonical variable for the control variable, there was a weighted difference of maturity demands (.897) and amount of control (.385). In this case, there was more emphasis on maturity demands. In looking at the correlations between

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the control variables and the first canonical variable, the correlation for maturity demands was  $r = .923$  and for amount of control was  $r = .445$ . For the control variables, the signs for the coefficient and correlations were the same; therefore, neither of these variables were suppressor. In looking at the cross correlations between each measure and its opposite canonical variable, the following relationship was apparent. The cross correlation indicated that father care ( $r = .548$ ) contributed more to the first canonical correlation (R) than mother care ( $r = .248$ ). As for the dependent measures, maturity demands ( $r = .569$ ) had a higher correlation than amount of control ( $r = .274$ ). Therefore, this suggested that father care and maturity demands accounted for a greater proportion of the variance for the first canonical correlation (R) (See Table 16).

However, the canonical redundancy analysis indicated that neither of the first pair of canonical variables were good overall predictors of the opposite set of variables, the proportions of variance explained being  $\underline{v} = .181$  and  $\underline{v} = .199$ . The second canonical variable added virtually nothing, with cumulative proportions for both canonical variables being  $\underline{v} = .215$  and  $\underline{v} = .230$ . The squared multiple correlations indicated that the first canonical variables for the care measure had some predictive power for maturity demands ( $r = .324$ ) but almost none for amount of control ( $r = .075$ ).

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The Relations between Parent Overprotection and Support based on the

Respondents' Parents' Social Class

Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years and Younger and with Working

Class Parents

A total of 44 individuals were part of this group. On the average, these individuals described both their mothers ( $\bar{m} = 2.09$ ) and fathers ( $\bar{m} = 2.16$ ) as somewhat overprotective. As parents, they saw themselves as being fairly supportive: nurturing ( $\bar{m} = 5.59$ ), responsiveness ( $\bar{m} = 5.24$ ) and nonrestrictive ( $\bar{m} = 4.25$ ) in their attitudes. The between correlations were low, ranging from  $r = .050$  to  $r = .332$ . The largest correlation was between father overprotection and nurturance. The canonical correlation ( $R = .403$ ,  $p < .05$ ) was significant.

Information on the coefficients and correlations is provided in Table 17. Looking at the coefficients for the first canonical variable for the overprotection variables, there were a weighted differences of mother (-0.464) and father (1.127) overprotection, with more emphasis on father overprotection. The correlations between mother ( $r = .059$ ) and father ( $r = .912$ ) overprotection and the first canonical variable were both positive. Mother overprotection was, therefore, a suppressor variable.

For the first canonical variable for the support variables, there was a weighted difference of responsiveness (-0.678), nonrestrictive attitudes (0.972) and nurturance (-0.298), with more emphasis on nonrestrictive attitudes. The correlations between responsiveness ( $r = -.418$ ) and nurturance ( $r = -.241$ ) and the first canonical variable were both negative; however, it was positive for nonrestrictive attitudes ( $r = .663$ ).

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**Table 16. Canonical Correlation Analysis: Fourteen Years and Older with Income Between \$25,000 to \$49,000**

Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	0.917	Maturity Demand	0.897
Father/Overprotection	0.459	Amount of Control	0.385
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
Overprotection 1		Control 1	
Mother/Overprotection	.889	Maturity Demand	.923
Father/Overprotection	.403	Amount of Control	.445
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
Control 1		Overprotection 1	
Mother/Overprotection	.548	Maturity Demand	.569
Father/Overprotection	.248	Amount of Control	.274

Because the sign for the coefficients and correlations were similar, none of these factors acted as suppressor variables. The cross correlations confirmed that father overprotection ( $r = .368$ ) and nonrestrictive attitudes ( $r = .267$ ) had a strong association with the other canonical variable. Therefore, the general interpretation was that as father overprotection increased nonrestrictive attitudes increased.

In looking over the redundancy analysis, it became apparent that the first pair of canonical variables were not good overall predictors of the opposite set of variables, the proportions of variance explained being only,  $\eta^2 = .0678$  and  $\eta^2 = .0365$ . The second canonical variables added almost nothing, with cumulative proportions for both canonical variables being  $\eta^2 = .139$  and  $\eta^2 = .085$ . The squared multiple correlations indicated that the first canonical variable of the overprotection measurement had almost no predictive power for any of the support variables, responsiveness,  $r^2 = .028$ , nonrestrictive attitudes,  $r^2 = .0715$ , and nurturance,  $r^2 = .009$ .

#### ANOVAs for Care, Overprotection, Support, Control, and Attachment Styles based on Respondents' Income and Parents' SES, and Gender

In reexamining the first four hypotheses via demographic data, it became apparent that there were significant findings based upon respondents' income and their parents' social class, their gender, and the importance of the church in their lives. These significant findings suggested that the relationship between bonding and parenting was mediated by these variables. Since the analyses performed were correlations, it was not possible to determine how the different groups contributed to the relationship. In order to get a better understanding of this, several ANOVAs were performed.

ANOVAs were performed for each major variable (care, overprotection,

**Table 17. Canonical Correlations Analysis: Thirteen Years and Younger with Working Class Parents**

Standardized Canonical Coefficients for the Care and Support Measures			
Overprotection 1		Support 1	
Mother Overprotection	1.127	Responsiveness	-0.678
Father Overprotection	-0.464	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	0.972
		Nurturance	-0.298
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and Their Canonical Variables			
Overprotection 1		Support 1	
Mother Overprotection	.912	Responsiveness	-.418
Father Overprotection	.059	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	.663
		Nurturance	-.241
Correlations Between the Care and Support Measures and the Canonical Variables of Support and Care Measures			
Support 1		Overprotection 1	
Mother Overprotection	.368	Responsiveness	-.169
Father Overprotection	.024	Nonrestrictive Attitudes	.267
		Nurturance	-.097

support, control, and attachment styles) of this study based on respondents' income and parents' social class, gender, and whether respondents saw the church as important in rearing their children. Only the significant findings are reported.

ANOVA for Care based on Income. There was a significant difference between the mean scores for care ( $F(2, 213) = 5.72, p < .003$ ) based on income. The means of the three groups were compared. There were 70 individuals who made between \$25,000 to \$49,999, 74 subjects who earned between \$50,000 to \$79,999, and 72 respondents who reported earning \$80,000 to \$79,999. The Least Significant Difference (LSD) pair-wise post-hoc test revealed that mean scores differences were between: \$25,000 to \$49,999 ( $m = 3.05$ ) and over \$80,000 ( $m = 3.29$ ) and \$50,000 to \$79,999 ( $m = 3.02$ ) and over \$80,000 ( $m = 3.29$ ). These findings suggested that individuals who made \$25,000 to \$49,999 and \$50,000 to \$79,999 described their parents as more caring than those respondents who made over \$80,000.

ANOVA for Control based on Gender. This sample included 97 females and 130 males. There was a significant difference between the mean scores for control ( $F(1, 222) = 10.46, p < .001$ ) and support ( $F(1, 222) = 6.07, p < .01$ ) based on gender. For control, the t-test value was -3.23 and the mean for males was 6.15, and for females it was 6.75. This suggested that females were less controlling than males in their parenting behaviors. As for support, the t-test was -2.47 and the mean for males was 4.77, and for females it was 4.95. This finding indicated that the females subjects emphasized supportive behaviors more in their parenting behaviors than the male respondents.

ANOVA for Overprotection based on Respondents' Parents' SES. There was a significant difference between the mean scores for overprotection ( $F(2, 218) = 4.58, p < .01$ ) based on respondents' parents' SES (defined as either upper class, middle class, and working class). Six subjects indicated that their parents were upper class; 75 respondents stated that their parents were middle class, and 140 described their parents as working class. These findings should be accepted cautiously because of small number of respondents who reported that their parents were upper class.

The LSD pair-wise post-hoc test revealed that mean scores differences were between: middle class ( $\bar{m} = 2.78$ ) and upper class ( $\bar{m} = 2.48$ ) and working class ( $\bar{m} = 2.84$ ) and upper class ( $\bar{m} = 2.48$ ). These findings indicated that individuals who described their parents as middle or working class reported that their parents were less overprotective than those respondents who stated that their parents were upper class.

#### ANOVAs for Attachment Styles based on Bonding and Parenting Dimensions

##### The Relations of Attachment Style to Care, Overprotection, Support, Control, and African American Parenting

To restate hypothesis 5: There will be significant relationships between attachment styles and parental bonding and parenting factors.

No studies on the attachment styles of the African American population were found in the literature. This exploratory hypothesis was incorporated to gain greater understanding of how the bonding relationship expressed through attachment styles is related to various constructs important in parenting. To delineate the relationship between attachment styles and bonding and parenting constructs, several one way ANOVAs were computed. As stated earlier, 171, 35, and five individuals described

their attachment styles as secure, avoidant, and anxious/ambivalent, respectively. Because of the small numbers of individuals in two of the attachment styles categories, this may affect the power to pick up differences between the three groups.

Attachment Styles and AAPS. The AAPS measures those factors that the African American family and parenting literature suggested may impact the rearing of Black children. There was a significant difference ( $F(2, 207) = 3.41, p < .05$ ) between mean scores on AAPS based upon the independent variable attachment styles (See Table 18). The LSD pair-wise post-hoc test revealed that mean scores differences were between the secure ( $m = 1.80$ ) and avoidant ( $m = 1.90$ ) styles of attachment. The means were numerically very close, and, although, there was statistical significance, this suggested there may be little practical difference between the three groups.

Attachment Styles and Mother and Father Care. There was no significant difference between the mean scores for mother care ( $F(2, 207) = 1.88, p = .15$ ) or father care ( $F(2, 195) = .944, p = .39$ ) based on style of attachment. This suggested that whether individuals had secure, avoidant, or anxious/ambivalent attachment styles did not affect the level of care they reported experiencing from their mothers or fathers.

Attachment Styles and Mother and Father Overprotection. There was no significant difference between the mean scores for styles of attachment based on respondents' responses to the questions on the mother overprotection scale. As with mother care, this suggested that whether individuals reported a secure, avoidant, or anxious/ambivalent attachment style did not seem to distinguish them in the level of control and intrusion that they experienced from their mothers.

As for father overprotection, there was a significant difference ( $F(2, 193) = 4.05, p < .05$ ) based on attachment styles. (See Table 18). The LSD pair-wise post hoc analysis revealed that the significant difference was between the secure ( $m = 2.92$ ) and avoidant ( $m = 2.81$ ) styles of attachment. Again, the means were statistically different but with little practical significance. However, this slight difference suggested that individuals who described their attachment style as secure described their fathers as less overprotective than those individuals with an avoidant style.

Attachment Styles and Support. There was not a significant difference between attachment styles and nurturance. However, there was a significant difference on mean scores for nonrestrictive attitudes ( $F(2, 206) = 11.94, p < .001$ ) and responsiveness ( $F(2, 206) = 3.98, p < .02$ ) for parents based on their attachment styles. The LSD pair-wise post hoc test was performed. This post hoc test revealed that mean score differences for both groups were between the avoidant and secure attachment styles. The means for the nonrestrictive attitudes were 3.83 for avoidant and 3.45 for secure, and for responsiveness the means for the avoidant group was 5.02 and secure group was 5.30 (See Table 18). Once again, there was statistical significance but little practical difference.

Attachment Styles and Control. There was no statistical significance for the mean scores ( $F(2, 206) = 1.64, p < .20$ ) for amount of control and  $F(2, 191) = 1.42, p < .24$ ) for maturity demands) for the three attachment styles based on the control. This suggested that whether respondents' styles of attachment were secure, avoidant, or anxious/ambivalent did not make a difference in the amount of control they used in the parenting of their children. Based on the attachment literature, it

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would have been expected that individuals with a secure style of attachment might have been less intrusive and overprotective of their children.

Table 18. Analysis of Variance of Adult Attachment Scores by African American Parenting Survey, Father Overprotection, and Support (N = 227)

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F
AAPS	.315	2	.16	3.41*
Father Overprotection.	.910	2	.45	4.06*
Nonrestrictive Attitudes	12.66	2	6.33	11.94*
Responsiveness	3.14	2	1.57	3.98*

\*Note.  $p < .05$

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

The present study explored how the bonding experiences of adult African Americans influenced their parenting behaviors. The general parenting literature stressed that parenting greatly determines how individuals develop into adults. The bonding and attachment literature suggested that parents' own bonding experiences influenced how they rear their children, and in particular, this affected the amount of warmth and nurturance as well as how much control and protection parents provided. Therefore, this study examined the association between parents' bonding experiences with their own parents and the amount of support and control they provided their children.

#### Findings based on Descriptive Statistic

A majority of the sample was married and grew up with both parents in the household. Three fourths of the sample and almost one half of their spouses had graduate degrees; slightly over one third of the spouses and a little over one fourth of the respondents had completed or had some college. Over three fourths of the sample had professional or semi-professional careers.

Researchers (Billingsley, 1968; Bowman, 1993) have suggested that the majority of Black families were formerly composed of two parent households, and that the decline in the representation of two parent Black families was due to continued

social and economic discrimination they face. A majority of this sample stated that they were currently part of two parent households. Although the Black community has seen a decline in the two parent households, the finding from this sample supported the idea that as economic conditions improve the stability of the Black family increases (Hill, 1989). H. P. McAdoo (1990) suggested that as education and income go up, two parent households become more common for Black families. This is true for those in this sample.

Despite the high level of education and professional status, income was evenly distributed between \$25,000 to over \$80,000. As Cotton (1989) has suggested, Black families may not be fairly rewarded for their educational achievement. Another important characteristic of this sample was that nearly three fifths of the sample reported that the church was an important resource in raising their children. Some researchers (Hill, 1972; Pipes, 1988) have suggested that the Black church continues to play a central role in the life of the African American family.

Along with the demographic statistics, important information about this sample was further highlighted by examining the findings from the instruments measuring the independent and dependent variables. The Parental Bonding Instruments and Adult Attachment Scale were used to measure the independent variables, and the Parental Dimension Inventory and African American Parenting Scale assessed for dependent factors. The mean scores produced by the four subscales of the PBI showed that mothers were more caring and somewhat more protective than fathers. This finding was consistent with what Parker (1983) reported in his study.

The attachment styles reported for this sample were very different from what was reported by Hazen and Shaver (1987) in their original study using the AAS. They reported 56%, 25%, and 19% for secure, avoidant, and anxious/ambivalent styles, respectively. Hazen and Shaver (1987) had a random sample; however, the sample of this study was skewed in that it was much more highly educated than the general population. Also, Hazen and Shaver (1987) did not provide information on the ethnicity of their sample.

The results from the Parental Dimension Inventory and the African American Parenting Survey have important implications. For the three dimensions of the support construct of the PDI, the internal consistency reliability was somewhat higher for nurturance (.79), lower for responsiveness (.44), and nonrestrictive attitudes (.55) than what was reported by Power (1993), who reported internal consistency alphas of .76, .54, and .70 for nurturance, responsiveness, and nonrestrictive attitudes, respectively. For the control construct, the internal consistency reliability coefficients were lower for amount of control (.65) and higher for maturity demands (.81) than that reported by Power (1993). Power (1993) reported internal consistency alphas of .74 and .70 for amount of control and maturity demands, respectively. The AAPS' mean score suggested that these individuals felt it was important to emphasize parenting skills that are significant to the development of Black children.

#### The Relations between Care, Overprotection, Support and Control

Based on the bonding/attachment and parenting research, it was hypothesized that the care individuals experienced from their parents would positively affect the support they provide their children and that there would be a similar relationship

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between overprotection and control. In keeping with this logic, it was further hypothesized that care and control and overprotection and support would be negatively related. These four factors: care, overprotection, support, and control, became the major constructs of the study. Four of the five hypotheses predicted relationships between these constructs.

Several canonical correlations were performed to determine the relationship between the underlying dimensions of the care, overprotection, support, and control constructs. Results from the canonical analysis indicated that none of the hypotheses for either age group, 13 years and younger and 14 years and older, were supported. It is difficult to explain why a majority of the hypotheses were not met. Hypotheses 1 and 2 suggested that there were positive relationship between care and support and overprotection and control. Hypotheses 3 and 4 indicated that there were negative relationships between care and control and overprotection and support. However, in looking at the  $p$ -values in Table 8, the non-significant values were considerably higher than the standard  $p < .05$  level set to reject or accept a hypothesis. Along with the canonical correlations, the bivariate correlations also did not find significant relationships between these variables as predicted in the first four hypotheses.

A possible explanation for the unexpected findings may be partially explained by McLoyd's (1990) and Baumrind's (1972) research. Although, in general, there have been mixed results, McLoyd's (1990) comprehensive review of the empirical literature on Black parenting suggested that there is a distinct pattern of childrearing associated with Black parents. Baumrind (1972) also described this pattern of parenting. Baumrind (1972) stated that this distinct pattern involved Black fathers

promoting conformity and being authoritarian and Black mothers seeming to be firm and somewhat rejecting. Baumrind (1972) asserted that the children of these parents were independent and well adapted to their environment.

The attachment and bonding literature seemed to suggest that this distinct pattern of childrearing would be contradictory to what was necessary for the healthy personality development of human beings. The attachment literature (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1982, 1988) suggested that for individuals to develop healthy, well adjusted personalities their primary caregivers needed to be available, responsive, and encouraged their children to explore their world independently, and parents, also, needed to convey to their children that they would be protected from harm. For African American parents, they may encourage secure attachment and bonding behaviors; however, in doing this their parenting behaviors may look different from that of the general population because of having to rear their children in a racist environment. Black parents may, therefore, define and conceptualize attachment and bonding very similarly to that of the dominant culture but go about developing these experiences differently.

An attempt was made to review all the attachment and bonding literature that was available on African Americans. Although there were no studies found from the bonding and attachment areas that had been completed on a Black population, the available literature suggested that the findings were applicable to all populations. In fact, the studies supported the idea that attachment and bonding experiences were partially biologically determined, and because these behaviors may have evolutionary significance, they were universal to all humans beings (Bowlby, 1982). Therefore,

despite the Black parenting research suggesting that there was a distinct style of parenting for African American parents, the hypotheses for this study were developed based on the current literature in order to test whether the current literature is applicable to Blacks.

The earlier distinct pattern of parenting was supported by the findings of some studies and not others. Also, this distinct parenting style was identified based on research with a lower SES Black group and, therefore, may not be true for a middle class Black sample. The bonding research reviewed suggested that attachment behaviors that they described in their studies are universal to all humans. However, in light of the findings of this study, it could be suggested that although bonding and attachment behaviors are part of the universal human experience as suggested by studies by Ainsworth et al. (1978) and Bowlby (1982; 1988), the way bonding and attachment are currently conceptualized may not be accurate in explaining the parenting behaviors of a Black population.

Another reason that significant results, as would be predicted by the current literature, may not have been found may be explained by an argument made by Van Ijzendoorn (1992). In his review of attachment literature, Van Ijzendoorn (1992) found support for the idea that there is intergenerational transmission of parenting attitudes and influences. However, he warned that these findings should be cautiously accepted because many studies to date have employed inadequate designs, poor measures, and have not used appropriate statistical analyses. Therefore, although it is accepted as a general fact that our attachment and bonding experiences affect how we parent, we may not have enough information to be able to suggest what the

relationship between bonding/attachment and parenting behaviors may look like for Black populations.

### Limitations of the Study

A goal of this study was to use instruments that were highly reliable and valid for a middle class African American sample. The PDI, which was the main instrument used to measure current parenting behaviors, had normative data on an African American population. However, it should be noted that for this sample the internal consistency reliability for two of the support subscales (responsiveness and nonrestrictive attitudes) and one of the control subscale (amount of control) were somewhat to considerably lower than that reported by Power (1993). As for the AAPS, although it was designed for this population based on the available literature, it has not been extensively normed and its internal consistent reliability was low (.45). Therefore, this raises the question whether the AAPS was truly assessing the various factors it purported to measure.

As for the PBI and AAS, there were no studies located that had norming data for an African American population. Initial review of the two instruments suggested that the PBI was similar in a predictable way for this sample as it had been for other samples in Parker's (1983) study, in that mothers were seen as more caring and overprotective. As for the AAS, this instrument did not clearly distinguish the attachment styles for this African American population. As stated earlier, Hazen and Shaver (1987) in their original norming study reported 56%, 25%, and 19% for secure, avoidant, and anxious/ambivalent styles, respectively. Hazen and Shaver (1987) further suggested that earlier attachment studies using different measuring methods had

reported similar portions of attachment styles for the general population. However for this sample, there was hardly any variability in the attachment styles. A majority (81 %) of the sample reported a secure style of attachment. This made it almost impossible to assess if attachment styles impacted parenting behaviors of adult African Americans.

Along with limitations in the instruments, it might have also been important to more thoroughly consider the impact of racism in the parenting behaviors of African Americans. The African American Parenting Survey had one item on it that assessed this variable. It may be important to determine if racism mediates the relationship between feelings and behaviors. As with the general population, African American parents may feel it is important to express to their children that they will be nurtured, cared for and protected. However, they may express this differently because of the racism that their children will experience in society. In addition, several researchers (Baumrind, 1972; Peters, 1985; McLoyd, 1990) have stressed that White middle class parenting behaviors should not be used as the standard because of the racist environment that Black parents have to rear their children in. Because racism possibly acts as a mediating variable some of the parenting behaviors of Black parents may seem contradictory to the healthy development of their children (Richardson, 1981).

As Baumrind (1972) and McLoyd (1990) suggested, Black parents, especially fathers, may seem more strict and controlling when compared to White middle class standards; however, this different parenting style can be beneficial to the development of African American children. Therefore, it may seem logical that for the general population that care and support and overprotection and control would go together;

however, it might be for a Black population, no matter what their social class, that this may not be as straight forward a relationship because of mediating factors.

Finally, the generalizability of the results to the general Black population may be limited. However, a strength of the study was that over half of the sample were men. This will add to the literature in that we have limited understanding of the impact of fathering by Black men. Because this was a non-randomly selected sample, there was an over representation of persons who were highly educated and professional. Also, a little over one half of the sample had children that were 14 years old and older and the parenting instruments had not been normed for a population with older children, the sample was divided into two. This resulted in lessening the power to pick up true differences that may have existed.

#### The Relations between Care, Overprotection, Support and Control based on Demographic Data

Although none of the first four hypotheses were supported, it was felt that there might be differences among the four major constructs that may be highlighted by more thoroughly examining the demographic data. The resulting sample sizes were small and this could limit generalizability of the result. There were, however, some important and in some cases contradictory findings. Also, in looking at each of the redundancy indices, it becomes apparent that overall very little of the variance was explained by any of the variables.

#### Respondents with First Child Thirteen Years Old and Younger

For those subjects who were making \$25,000 to \$49,000, there was a negative relationship between father care and nurturance and a positive relationship between

father care and maturity demands. These findings are contradictory to what was expected: that care and support (nurturance) would be positively related and care and control (maturity demands) would be negatively related.

However, these findings are consistent with what has been reported in previous studies (Baumrind, 1972; Bartz & Levine, 1978). Baumrind's sample was middle class as was this one. According to Baumrind (1972), Black fathers in her sample appeared to promote conformity and were authoritarian. However, these fathers had children, especially daughters, who were more independent, resistive, and dominant. Baumrind (1972) cautioned that by White middle class standards this authoritarian parenting style would not be expected to develop independent children.

In their study, Bartz and Levine (1978) reported that lower SES Blacks parents placed greater emphasis on their children assuming responsibility (maturity demands) for their behaviors than Anglo or Chicano parents, and because of this, they may seem less nurturing.

For those respondents who described their parents as working class, there was a positive relationships between mother overprotection and amount of control and between father overprotection and nonrestrictive attitudes. The first of these findings was expected, in that overprotection would be positively related to control (amount of control); however, the second finding, overprotection being positively related to support (nonrestrictive attitudes) was not expected.

The first finding, mother overprotection being positively related to amount of control, partially supported hypothesis 2. The parenting (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Peters & Massey, 1983; McAdoo, 1985; Slater & Power, 1987) as well as the

attachment/bonding (Bowlby, 1982; Fraiberg, Adelson, & Shapiro, 1975; Stern, 1985) literature suggested that how individuals are parented by their parents affected how they reared their own children. Therefore, if parents' own parents were restrictive and controlling, they are more likely to be this way with their children.

However, why was there a statistically significant positive relations between mother overprotection and control and not father overprotection and control? The general parenting and bonding/attachment literature suggested that individuals parents the way they are parented, and the African American parenting literature (Hill, 1972; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; McAdoo, J. L., 1986) states that Black males who face economic hardships have been kept from becoming more involved in the parenting of their children. Therefore, it is not surprising that there was a significant positive relationship between mother overprotection and control and none for father overprotection and control for individuals with working class parents. Respondents who had working class parents may have had fathers who were not as available emotionally and physically due to the economic struggles they faced. Because their fathers may not have been home as much, their mothers may have taken on even more of a disciplinary and overprotective role to ensure their children's safety. This may partially explain why those respondents with working class parents may have had positive significant relations between mother overprotection and amount of control.

The second finding is harder to explain. First of all, a negative relationship was expected between overprotection and support. Therefore, why would there be a positive relationship between father overprotection and support (nonrestrictive attitudes) for subjects who described their parents as working class? One possible

explanation could be that as Richardson ((1981) and Peters (1985) suggested, Black parents in rearing their children prepare them for living in a racist environment.

Subjects whose parents, especially fathers, were working class may have experienced more racism than these respondents who are middle class Black fathers. Therefore, the fathers of these subjects may have felt they needed to be stricter and more controlling in order to prepare their children for the harsh racist environment that they experienced and felt their children would experience when they grew up. However, these subjects can be more supportive of their children and do not feel they need to be as controlling or restrictive because of having better economic conditions that help to buffer their children against some of the additional racism that comes with economic hardship (Scanzoni, 1985; McLoyd, 1990).

There was a negative relationship between overprotection and control for male respondents. For this finding, there was a negative relationship between father overprotection and maturity demands. This was contradictory to what was hypothesized.

Maturity demands measure for the level of responsibility children have for household chores. A probable explanation for this finding is that since these children are 13 years and younger they may not have many responsibilities for household chores. Also, because a majority of the sample was married or partnered, this may take a lot of the pressure off their children to help with household chores. In addition, as H. P. McAdoo (1985) suggested that as Black families have become middle class and their economic power has increased, demands for greater achievement are not being placed on or expected of their children.

Respondents with First Child Fourteen Years Old and Older

For those subjects who made \$25,000 to \$49,000 as well as those respondents who saw the church as a resource in raising their children, there was a negative relationship between care and support. For the group whose income was between \$25,000 to \$49,000, there was a negative relationship between mother care and nurturance. As for the second group which saw their church as a resource, there was a negative relationship between mother care and responsiveness. Again, both of these findings were unexpected.

As for the first finding, in which mother care and nurturance are negatively related, these subjects may have remembered their own parents as being caring and nurturing towards them. However, in reference to their children, who are possibly still in the household but soon will probably be leaving, they may currently be in a stage of parenting where they are starting to separate and to be less nurturing or nurturing in different ways than that was measured by the instruments (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Also, in order to maintain their standard of living, both husband and wife may have to work outside of the home. Therefore, these respondents may be less available and responsive to their children's needs, hence less nurturing.

As for the second finding, why would there would be a negative relationship between mother care and responsiveness for subjects who describe their church as a resource? Both Hines and Boyd-Franklin (1982) and Hill (1972) stated that the Black church has been a very powerful resource in helping African Americans deal with the pain and humiliation that they have had to endure as Blacks in American society. For most of their history, Black Americans, have not been able to express directly or

openly their emotions. In fact, the church as well as the Black family have encouraged indirect and nonverbal communication (Hale-Benson, 1987).

Several researchers (Comer & Poussaint, 1975; Peters & Massey, 1983; Maccoby, 1980; Maccoby & Martin, 1983) have suggested that mothers whatever, their income level, continue to be central figures of the family, and in the Black family as in many other cultures, mothers are the ones most responsible for the moral and religious development of their children. Therefore, for those subjects who see the church as a resource in helping them raise their children, one of the possible value that they may have picked up from their church is the idea that it is safer to express feelings and thoughts indirectly. These subjects may feel that this is an important survival skill to impart to their children because the environment may not always be responsive to them and that there are indirect ways that their children may get their emotional needs met. These subjects may identify learning this skill with their mothers because it was their mothers who most often took them to church.

There was a positive relationship between overprotection and control for respondents who described their parents as middle class. In particular, there was a positive relationship between mother overprotection and both of the dimensions of control (maturity demands and amount of control). This finding partially supported hypothesis 2. During the time period these respondents were growing up, for a family to be middle class, it took a lot of effort on the part of the fathers. Also, as Billingsley (1992) suggested, a middle class family meant that the mothers were more likely to be able to stay home to raise their children. Therefore, as fathers became busier and mothers were more likely to be home, more of the disciplinary

responsibilities fell to the mothers. As Parker (1992) has stated, it is common for subjects to see their mothers as both more overprotective and more caring than their fathers. Therefore, by combining these two ideas, it may help to explain why those subjects who had middle class parents saw their mothers as more overprotective, and this being related to these individuals being more controlling.

#### Attachment Styles and the Bonding and Parenting Measures

Seven one way ANOVAs were computed to explore the relationships between attachment styles and parental bonding and parenting factors. Attachment styles were the independent variables and each of the bonding and parenting constructs were the dependent factors. There were three significant findings, which suggested that styles of attachment made a difference in the expression of these factors: parenting based on those values described as important in the African American parenting literature (AAPS), father overprotection, and support.

#### Attachment Styles and African American Parenting Scale

The findings from the ANOVAs for the AAPS suggested that individuals who are securely attached are more likely to emphasize those childrearing practices that the African American family and parenting literature suggested as important to teach or attend to in rearing African American children.

As it was expected, securely as opposed to avoidantly attached individuals fostered those behaviors that the African American parenting literature suggested are important for the development of Black children. Securely attached individuals trust that their environments will meet their emotional needs (Ainsworth et al, 1978). For African American children to succeed, they need to develop secure attachments to their

families. Barbarin (1993) suggested that Black parents have to help their children develop healthy emotional lives, firm ethnic identities, healthy self concepts, understand the importance of the family, and realize that some things are outside of their control. These are the very characteristics that the Black parenting literature recommends in rearing emotionally healthy African American children.

#### Attachment Styles and Father Overprotection

Father overprotection was significantly related to subject's attachment styles. From the post-hoc analyses, individuals with secure attachments had fathers who were less overprotective than those with avoidant attachment styles. Overprotective fathers are seen as controlling, intrusive, and do not encourage their children to develop autonomy (Parker, 1983).

Ainsworth et al. (1978) described avoidant attached persons as feeling that their parents cannot take care or protect them, and in fact, they see their caregivers as emotionally unavailable. Whereas, securely attached individuals feel that their parents are nurturing, responsive, and available. Therefore, Ainsworth et al. (1978) suggested that individuals with avoidant styles of attachment are more likely to have fathers who were overprotective. These overprotective fathers through their controlling and intrusive behaviors may have provided inadequate emotional nurturance and may have appeared to be intimidating to their children.

#### Attachment Styles and Support

There were significant differences between the three attachment styles based on support scores. When the post-hoc test was performed, the significant difference was between the avoidant and anxious/ambivalent groups; however, the test showed the

means to be identical for these two groups. Therefore, this made interpreting the findings difficult. A possible reason that the post-hoc test did not point to any true differences is because of the small sample sizes for these two attachment styles..

#### Attachment Styles and Mother and Father Care, Mother Overprotection, and Control

Since this was more of an exploratory hypothesis and there had not been studies done on African American attachment styles, there is little to draw from the literature as to why there were not significant findings between attachment styles and mother and father care, mother overprotection, and control. Logically, it would have seemed that since the majority of the sample reported that their attachment style is secure and since mother and father care measure whether individuals perceived receiving nurturance from their parents that there should have been a significant relationship between these constructs. However, it could be suggested that since the parenting of African Americans is complicated by the factor of racism, developing a secure attachment style has much more to do with feeling nurtured by parents. Also, it should be kept in mind that this was a highly educated sample who may have known that reporting their attachment style as secure was desirable, and, therefore, the type of attachment styles found may not truly represent the sample's actual attachment behaviors.

Unlike father overprotection, why was mother overprotection and attachment style not significant? Again it is difficult to explain. However, there were more males in the sample and since a large percentage of this sample reported that their fathers were in the home when they were growing up and because of discrimination their fathers may have faced, this may have contributed to their mothers being in the work

force. Fathers may have taken a major role in rearing their children and, therefore, the attachment styles of these individuals were more affected by their fathers than mothers. Also, as some studies (Baumrind, 1972; McLoyd, 1990) have suggested, some of the parenting behaviors of Black fathers may appear to be authoritarian and controlling; however, these behaviors can be beneficial in the healthy development of their children.

There was no significant relationship between attachment style and control. It would be expected that individuals who have avoidant and anxious/ambivalent styles of attachment are more likely to be controlling. Avoidant individuals feel that their parents cannot take care of or protect them, and anxious/ambivalent persons get mixed messages in that sometimes their parents are supportive and dependable and other times they are not (Ainsworth, et al., 1978). However, for this sample there were not enough subjects in these two attachment styles.

### Counseling Implications

If one just looked at parenting and bonding/attachment variables, one would not see any important findings. However, certain demographic variables mediated the relationship between bonding and parenting. Therefore, a clinician working with Black families would need to be aware of other factors beside how the parents own parenting may be impacting how they are raising their children.

Even if clinicians take into account that different variables may mediate the relationship between parents' bonding experiences and their own parenting behaviors, it is important to note that several statistically significant relationships found in this study between bonding and parenting constructs were contradictory to what was

hypothesized. For example, for Black fathers it was found that there was a positive relationship between care and control and not between care and support as hypothesized. Therefore, the counselor needs to be aware that for a Black population bonding and attachment may affect their parenting behaviors differently, and that these differences may not need to be changed because they help Black children deal and adapt better to their environment.

Aside from practitioners being aware of the findings in this study, it is also important that they understand their preconceived biases that may prevent them from being helpful to Black clients. In recent years the research in self psychology has become extremely influential in shaping clinical work. Self psychology's deepest foundation is strongly influenced by the neo-Freudian view which itself is very much built on White middle class values.

Since the foundation of attachment and bonding research is neo-Freudian, these constructs may reflect only the views of the White middle class which is very individualistic. Along with this, much of the attachment and bonding literature seems to imply that there is a one to one correspondence between attachment styles and parenting and do not take into account historical or cultural factors that may affect parenting behaviors. Since self psychology is the foundation from which more and more clinicians are trained, the whole idea of attachment and bonding are critically shaping the conceptualization of cases and treatment of both majority and minority clients. Clinicians need to be trained to use the richness offered by the self psychology area; however, this conceptualization needs to be developed based on a

solid understanding of the important historical, social, and cultural factors that may shape the reality of living as a Black person in White America.

### Recommendations for Future Research

This study examined how bonding and attachment experiences of middle class African American adults affected their parenting behaviors. Although the main research hypotheses were not supported, this study found some important differences between the groups when demographic variables were taken into account. This study also sought to integrate literature from three disciplines: self psychology, child development, and cross cultural family research. Research on bonding and attachment is considered to be part of self psychology. The general parenting research is part of the overall discipline of child development, and the literature on Black families and parenting is part of the cross cultural family research. The following considerations may be helpful for future research.

Often, when racial/ethnic groups are studied, the instruments used are usually normed on members of the dominant culture. In the present study, some of the parenting instruments had been normed on an African American population. However, there were no instruments that measured bonding and attachment experiences that had been normed on an African American population.

Therefore, based on the present study, the following specific suggestions can be made to improve future instrumentation. Since the construct of bonding and attachment are purported to be critical factors in the personality development of adults and are believed to be passed on through parenting, they are currently receiving a great deal of research attention. This type of research (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby,

1982, 1988; Collins & Read, 1990; Crowell & Feldman, 1988) is shaping psychological theories of personality and human development and functioning, which is in turn shaping the field's application of these ideas to clinical work. Since this is the case, it would be important to develop psychometrically sound instruments that could be used to measure the attachment and bonding experiences of the Black population, thus allowing more culturally relevant research on African Americans. This would then provide clinicians with greater and more accurate information on how to work with and clinically treat African Americans.

Along with designing more psychometrically sound instruments, the study of the Black population's bonding and parenting behaviors needs to be examined within a broader framework. That is, the relationship between bonding and parenting behaviors may not be as straight forward for a Black population as for the dominant culture. The possibility of there being mediating factors was further highlighted when various demographic variables were taken into considerations and certain significant differences between the sample were revealed. In this study, it appears that the following variables: respondent's income, respondent's parents' social class, sex of respondents, and the church as a resource may be acting as mediating factors. Respondent's income and their parents social class acted as mediating variables for both of the age groups.

Specifically, the findings suggested that for both age groups, parents' or grandparents' income mediated the relationship between bonding experiences and parenting behaviors. The relations between parenting received from one's parents and raising one's own children may not be as simple as experiencing certain behaviors

from one's parents and then passing them on. Therefore, in studying a Black population, it may be important to ask the question: "How does income or social status mediate the relationship between bonding and parenting"?

Along with considering possible mediating variables that may be affecting the relationship between bonding and attachment experiences and parenting behaviors, it might be important to use different designs that would not depend solely on the perceptions of the parents. A cross generational design may be more appropriate and better highlight the relationship between bonding/attachment and parenting. In such a design, both the parents and their parents could be asked to give their perceptions on bonding, attachment, and parenting.

Finally, a strength of this study was the integration of literature from several different disciplines. When psychological constructs are being studied and especially if these constructs have been developed based largely on observing members of the dominant culture, it is imperative that an understanding be gained within a broader social-cultural perspective. Simply because of having to exist in a racist environment, all aspects of African American family life are probably affected. Because Black Americans are bicultural, their culture shapes all area of their functioning and behaviors, including parenting. Given this, future research might further examine how the psychological constructs of bonding and attachment look when examined from an Afrocentric perspective.

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## Appendix A

**Cover Letter Sent to Michigan State University's Staff and Faculty**

No.: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Parent:

Thank you for considering taking the time to participate in this research project. The purpose of this study is to assess adults' bonding experiences with their parents and how these bonding experiences affect their childrearing practices. Participation will require you to complete the attached questionnaire/survey. The information gained through this research will be used to better understand parenting behaviors.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be asked to disclose your identity and you may choose to end your involvement at any time. You have the right to refuse to answer any questions, however, the information provided by each answer is important in gaining a fuller understanding of views of parenting among adults.

It should take approximately 20 minutes to complete the entire survey. Your responses will be kept completely confidential (the number listed above on this form will be used to assist in tracking the return rate). If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at (517) 487-2316 or (517) 336-1001. The study is being done in partial fulfillment for my Ph.D. degree in Counseling Psychology and is being supervised by my advisor, Dr. Lee June.

Please return your completed survey in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope. The return of the completed survey reflects your informed and voluntary consent to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Sukhvender Nijjer

## Appendix B

**Cover Letter Sent to Members of The Association of Black Psychologists**

No.: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Parent:

Thank you for considering taking the time to participate in this research project. The purpose of this study is to assess adults' bonding experiences with their parents and how these bonding experiences affect their childrearing practices. Participation will require you to complete the attached questionnaire/survey. The information gained through this research will be used to better understand parenting behaviors.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be asked to disclose your identity and you may choose to end your involvement at any time. You have the right to refuse to answer any questions, however, the information provided by each answer is important in gaining a fuller understanding of views of parenting among adults.

It should take approximately 20 minutes to complete the entire survey. Your responses will be kept completely confidential (the number listed above on this form will be used to assist in tracking the return rate). If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at (517) 487-2316 or (517) 336-1001. The study is being done in partial fulfillment for my Ph.D. degree in Counseling Psychology and is being supervised by my advisor, Dr. Lee June.

Please return your completed survey in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope. The return of the completed survey reflects your informed and voluntary consent to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Sukhvender Nijjer

**P.S. The Association of Black Psychologists requested that I inform your that I am a student member of this organization.**

## Appendix C

**Postcard Sent to Michigan State University's Staff and Faculty  
(Two Weeks After the Mailing of the Questionnaire)**

No.: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Parent:

Approximately two weeks ago you were sent a letter along with some survey instruments requesting you to participate in a research project. The project is designed to assess adults' bonding experiences with their parents and how these bonding experiences affect their childrearing practices.

If you have not yet completed the survey, please do so as soon as possible. If you have completed it, thank you for your participation and please disregard this reminder. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at (517) 487-2316 or (517) 336-1001. The study is being supervised by Dr. Lee June.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sukhvender Nijjer

## Appendix D

**Postcard Sent to Members of The Association of Black Psychologists  
(Two Weeks After the Mailing of the Questionnaire)**

No.: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Parent:

Approximately two weeks ago you were sent a letter along with some survey instruments requesting you to participate in a research project. The project is designed to assess adults' bonding experiences with their parents and how these bonding experiences affect their childrearing practices.

If you have not yet completed the survey, please do so as soon as possible. If you have completed it, thank you for your participation and please disregard this reminder. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at (517) 487-2316 or (517) 336-1001. The study is being supervised by Dr. Lee June.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sukhvender Nijjer

**P.S. The Association of Black Psychologists requested that I inform you that I am a student member of this organization.**

## Appendix E

**Demographic Questionnaire**

**I. Directions: Please provide the following information. In order to insure your confidentiality please do not write your name anywhere on this survey.**

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sex: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Marital status (circle one)
  - a. Married
  - b. Single/never married
  - c. Divorced/separated
  - d. Partnered
  - e. Widowed
4. If you have children, please state their  

age	sex
a. _____	_____
b. _____	_____
c. _____	_____
d. _____	_____
e. _____	_____
5. Please indicate if the following individuals currently live in household? (circle all that apply)
  - a. Spouse
  - b. Biological children
  - c. Step-children
  - d. In law(s), please specify  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Your parents, please specify  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Other relatives, please specify  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - g. Other non-relatives, please specify  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. Highest level of education you and spouse have attained (circle one for each person)
 

Self	Spouse
a. High school graduate (9-12)	a. High school graduate (9-12)
b. Some college	b. Some College
c. Completed college, please specify _____	c. Completed college, please specify _____
d. Graduate degree, please specify _____	d. Graduate degree, please specify _____

8. Your gross income per year. **(circle one)**
- a. 10,000 to 24,999
  - b. 25,000 to 49,999
  - c. 50,000 to 79,999
  - d. Over 80,000
9. What was your parents' social class when you were growing up? **(circle one)**
- a. Working class
  - b. Middle class
  - c. Upper class
10. What is your occupational rank? **(circle one)**
- a. Executive or Professional
  - b. Manager and Proprietor of medium sized business
  - c. Administration/Semi Professional
  - d. Owner of a small business
  - e. Skilled worker
  - f. Semi-skilled worker
  - g. Unskilled worker
  - h. Work in the house (housewife/ househusband)
11. Are you a member of a church?  
                     \_\_\_\_\_ No      \_\_\_\_\_ Yes
12. What is your denomination?  
                     \_\_\_\_\_
13. How frequently do  
**(circle one)**
- a. Never
  - b. Once a week
  - c. Once a month
  - d. Couple times a year
14. How important is religion in your life? **(circle one)**
- a. Not important
  - b. Important
  - c. Very important
15. Do you consider your church as a resource in helping you raise your children?  
                     \_\_\_\_\_ No      \_\_\_\_\_ Yes
16. During the first 16 years of my life my mother and father were present in the household? **(circle one for each parent and each age group)**
- | <b>Mother</b> |               | <b>Father</b> |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 0 to 8 years  | 9 to 16 years | 0 to 8 years  | 9 to 16 years |
| a. No         | a. No         | a. No         | a. No         |
| b. Yes        | b. Yes        | b. Yes        | b. Yes        |

## Appendix F

**Parental Bonding Instrument**

**II. Directions:** This questionnaire lists various attitudes and behaviors of parents. Using the rating scale below, indicate to what extent each item described how that parent was like in the first 16 years of life. Circle the appropriate scale number for each of the item below.

	<u>For items 1 - 25</u>		<u>For items 26 - 50</u>	
	1 = Very like her 2 = Moderately like her 3 = Moderately <u>un</u> like her 4 = Very <u>un</u> like her		1 = Very like him 2 = Moderately like him 3 = Moderately <u>un</u> like him 4 = Very <u>un</u> like her	
During my first 16 years my mother....	Very Like	Moderately Like	Moderately <u>Un</u> lik	Very <u>Un</u> like
1. Spoke to me with a warm and friendly voice.	1	2	3	4
2. Did not help me as much as I needed	1	2	3	4
3. Let me do things I like doing.	1	2	3	4
4. Seemed emotionally cold to me.	1	2	3	4
5. Appeared to understand my problems and worries.	1	2	3	4
6. Was affectionate to me.	1	2	3	4
7. Liked me to make my own decisions.	1	2	3	4
8. Did not want me to grow up.	1	2	3	4
9. Tried to control everything I did.	1	2	3	4
10. Invaded my privacy.	1	2	3	4
11. Enjoyed talking things over with me.	1	2	3	4

During my first 16 years my mother....	Very Like	Moderately Like	Moderately <u>Unlike</u>	Very <u>Unlike</u>
12. Frequently smiled at me.	1	2	3	4
13. Tended to baby me.	1	2	3	4
14. Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted.	1	2	3	4
15. Let me decide things for myself.	1	2	3	4
16. Made me feel I wasn't wanted.	1	2	3	4
17. Could make me feel better when I was upset.	1	2	3	4
18. Did not talk with me very much	1	2	3	4
19. Tried to make me dependent on her.	1	2	3	4
20. Felt like I could not look after myself unless she was around.	1	2	3	4
21. Gave me as much freedom as I wanted.	1	2	3	4
22. Let me go out as often as I wanted.	1	2	3	4
23. Was overprotective of me.	1	2	3	4
24. Did not praise me.	1	2	3	4
25. Let me dress in any way I pleased.	1	2	3	4

---

During my first 16 years my father....	Very Like	Moderately Like	Moderately <u>Unlik</u>	Very <u>Unlike</u>
1. Spoke to me with a warm and friendly voice.	1	2	3	4
2. Did not help me as much as I needed	1	2	3	4
3. Let me do things I like doing.	1	2	3	4
4. Seemed emotionally cold to me.	1	2	3	4
5. Appeared to understand my problems and worries.	1	2	3	4
6. Was affectionate to me.	1	2	3	4
7. Liked me to make my own decisions.	1	2	3	4
8. Did not want me to grow up.	1	2	3	4
9. Tried to control everything I did.	1	2	3	4
10. Invaded my privacy.	1	2	3	4
11. Enjoyed talking things over with me.	1	2	3	4
12. Frequently smiled at me.	1	2	3	4
13. Tended to baby me.	1	2	3	4
14. Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted.	1	2	3	4
15. Let me decide things for myself.	1	2	3	4
16. Made me feel I wasn't wanted.	1	2	3	4
17. Could make me feel better when I was upset.	1	2	3	4
18. Did not talk with me very much	1	2	3	4
19. Tried to make me dependent on her.	1	2	3	4

During my first 16 years my father....	Very Like	Moderately Like	Moderately <u>Unlik</u>	Very <u>Unlike</u>
20. Felt like I could not look after myself unless she was around.	1	2	3	4
21. Gave me as much freedom as I wanted.	1	2	3	4
22. Let me go out as often as I wanted.	1	2	3	4
23. Was overprotective of me.	1	2	3	4
24. Did not praise me.	1	2	3	4
25. Let me dress in any way I pleased.	1	2	3	4

---

## Appendix G

**Parental Dimension Inventory**

**III. Directions:** The following statements represent matters of interest and concern to some parents. Not all parents feel the same way about them. Circle the number which most closely applies to you and your children.

Not at all Descriptive of Me	Slightly Descriptive of Me	Somewhat Descriptive of Me	Fairly Descriptive of Me	Quite Descriptive of Me	Highly Descriptive of Me			
1	2	3	4	5	6			
1. I encourage my child to talk about his or her troubles.			1	2	3	4	5	6
2. I do not allow my child to get angry with me			1	2	3	4	5	6
3. I think a child should be encouraged to do things better than other children.			1	2	3	4	5	6
4. My child and I have warm intimate moments together.			1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I encourage my child to be curious, to explore, and to question things.			1	2	3	4	5	6
6. I find it interesting and educational to be with my child for long periods.			1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I don't think children should be given sexual information.			1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I believe that a child should be seen and not heard.			1	2	3	4	5	6

Not at all Descriptive of Me	Slightly Descriptive of Me	Somewhat Descriptive of Me	Fairly Descriptive of Me	Quite Descriptive of Me	Highly Descriptive of Me		
1	2	3	4	5	6		
9. I believe it is not always a good idea to encourage children to talk about their worries because it can upset them even more.		1	2	3	4	5	6
10. I encourage my child to express his/her opinions.		1	2	3	4	5	6
11. I make sure my child knows that I appreciate what he/she tries to accomplish		1	2	3	4	5	6
12. I let my child know how ashamed and disappointed I am when he/she misbehaves.		1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I believe in toilet training a child as soon as possible.		1	2	3	4	5	6
14. I believe that most children change their minds so frequently that it is hard to take their opinions seriously.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
15. When I let my child talk about his/her troubles, he/she ends up complaining even more.		1	2	3	4	5	6
16. I expect my child to be grateful to his/her parents, and appreciate all the advantages he/she has.		1	2	3	4	5	6
17. I respect my child's opinion and encourage him/her to express it.		1	2	3	4	5	6
18. I believe that once a family rule has been made, it should be strictly enforced without exception.		1	2	3	4	5	6

**IV. Direction:** Listed below are pairs of statements concerning parents' attitudes toward childrearing. For each pair, please read both statements. Then determine which statement you agree with most, and circle the phrase beneath that statement that most reflects the strength of your agreement. If you agree with both statements equally, circle "Agree Equally with A & B." Only circle one phrase per question.

1.	A			B		
	Nowadays too much emphasis is placed on obedience for children.			Nowadays parents are too concerned about letting children do what they want.		
	Strongly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with	Slightly Agree more with	Agree Equally more with	Slightly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with
	A	A	A	A&B	B	B

---

2.	A			B		
	Children need more freedom to make up their own minds about things than they seem to get today.			Children need more guidance from parents than they seem to get today.		
	Strongly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with	Slightly Agree more with	Agree Equally more with	Slightly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with
	A	A	A	A&B	B	B

3.	A			B		
	I care more than most parents I know about having my child obey me.			I care less than most parents about having my child obey me.		
	Strongly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with	Slightly Agree more with	Agree Equally more with	Slightly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with
	A	A	A	A&B	B	B
4.	A			B		
	I try to prevent my child from making mistakes by setting rules for his/her own good.			I try to provide freedom for my child to make mistakes and learn from them.		
	Strongly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with	Slightly Agree more with	Agree Equally more with	Slightly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with
	A	A	A	A&B	B	B
5.	A			B		
	If children are given too many rules, they will grow up to be unhappy adults.			It is important to set and enforce rules for children to grow up and to be happy adults.		
	Strongly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with	Slightly Agree more with	Agree Equally more with	Slightly Agree more with	Moderately Agree more with
	A	A	A	A&B	B	B

**V. Directions: Circle the number of regular assigned chores in the following areas your child is responsible for.**

	None	One	Two	Three or More
1. Meals (e.g., buy groceries, cook, set table, wash dishes, etc.)	0	1	2	3
2. Housekeeping (e.g., clean room, make bed, dust, put out garbage, etc.)	0	1	2	3
3. Laundry (e.g., put dirty clothes in hamper, wash the clothes, fold clothes, iron, etc.)	0	1	2	3
4. Yardwork (e.g., mow, pull weeds, sweep walk, etc.)	0	1	2	3
5. Pet care (e.g., feed pet, take pet for walk, clean up after pet, etc.)	0	1	2	3
6. Other (e.g., babysit, water plants wash car, bring in mail, etc.)	0	1	2	3

## Appendix H

**Adult Attachment Scale**

**VI. Directions: Please read each of the descriptive paragraphs below and place a checkmark ( ) next to the one that best describes your feelings.**

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. I am some what uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, lover partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to merge completely with another person, and this desire sometimes scares people away.

## Appendix I

**African American Parenting Survey****VII. Directions Please rate each of the following statements:**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4

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**I feel or think it is important that in raising African American children they are made aware of:**

1. that racism will impact their lives.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
2. their bicultural status or identity.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
3. that they will be given unconditional love.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
4. that they need to respect themselves.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
5. that it is equally important to learn to communicate nonverbally as well as verbally for their survival in the dominant culture.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
6. a sense of history of their people.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
7. the importance of family bonds.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
8. that their extended family is important.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
9. that their sense of identity and being is in their family.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---
10. that there is a higher power.  

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

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