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A

UNDERSTANDING PARENTING STYLES AS A PREVENTIVE CONSTRUCT FOR ADOLESCENT MALES

by

Darryl O'Neal Henderson

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy
The City University of New York

Spring 2001

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING PARENTING STYLES AS A PREVENTIVE CONSTRUCT FOR ADOLESCENT MALES

by

Darryl O'Neal Henderson

Adviser: Professor Anderson J. Franklin

This study investigated adolescent males' perception of parenting styles and their ability to cope with problematic experiences and attachment to parents/caregivers and peers. The adolescents in this study were all at-risk for incarceration given their problem behavior and contact with the juvenile justice system. Study participants were recruited from a local inner city community center that provides a variety of supports to troubled youth and eligibility to participate in the study was based on the youth's self-reports of past or current contact with the criminal justice system. Using the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ), study participants were dichotomized into two subgroups. Group 1 (n = 25) was comprised of adolescent boys who were identified as being raised by parents who endorsed an authoritarian parenting approach. Group 2 (n = 20) consisted of adolescent males who were raised by parents who endorsed an authoritative approach to parenting. Overall, study findings revealed correlations between parenting style, attachment and coping for adolescent males who have a history of incarceration or who are at risk for incarceration. Hence, findings from the study yield that parenting style can affect the adolescent's ability to cope with problematic experiences that he may encounter.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated in loving memory of my classmate Dennis Twiggs whose untimely death created a profound loss in the life of everyone who knew him. I will continue to miss his wisdom, frankness and friendship.

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DOH

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The study "Understanding Parenting Styles as a Prevent Construct for Adolescent Males," looks at how adolescents' coping with problem experiences and attachment to parents/caregivers or peers are affected by their parents' parenting style.

The theory developed by Diana Baumrind (1967, 1971) proposed that parental socialization practices can take on several different forms and can have different outcomes based on the form taken. Baumrind's constellation of parenting styles is described as authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent and neglectful. Hence, Baumrind's framework attempts to explain variations in adolescent development. including academic achievement and psychosocial maturity as the result of parenting style (Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Elmen & Mounts,1989).

While many factors may contribute to a youth's ability to cope to problem experiences, this study is based on the supposition that an adolescent's adjustment or coping is primarily dependent upon his relationship to his parent or caregiver. In other words, the attachment of an individual to his parent influences how he would potentially relate to others while in at-risk environments.

Within our society, the family is considered to be the context where individuals first learn to interact with others and where they develop insights about relationships.

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It is also within the family context that children learn the lessons needed for appropriate socialization. For example, learning to share, to trust, and to be patient starts early in childhood. These lessons are generally taught within the context of the home and are reinforced at school. church and/or other cultural/social institutions.

Presently. the family is in many ways going through a metamorphosis. The concept and structure of families are changing. What was once considered the nuclear family, a family comprised of a father, mother and child(ren) is now much more frequently comprised of a single parent and child(ren) or perhaps the involvement of one or both grandparents assuming responsibility for being the head of the household and raising their grandchild(ren). Additionally, non-blood-tied individuals are labeling themselves as a "family." In many areas of society, this type of "family" is comprised of groups of individuals who are not necessarily related by blood but have similar goals and ideas.

What has gone amiss with today's families, given the rise in troubled youth? A walk through any public detention center or training facility jogs our thinking with regard to this issue. The overwhelming, unprecedented number of African American males and other ethnic minority males present in these institutions causes one to question the resiliency and ability of the family to protect and raise children. One theory might not point to the problems of the family specifically, but might imply that societal ills are partly the blame for today's dysfunctional and fragmented families. Another theory may look at the family and the lack of parental authority as being the reason for the overwhelmingly, over-representation of African American and Latino

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men who are incarcerated. Currently there is little consensus about the reasons for the high rates of incarcerated men of color, many theories, however, abound. Whatever theory emerges as valid, the results are the same; the state of African Americans. Latinos and low income families are at a crisis level in our society.

This study hopes to shed some light on the current belief that those who commit crimes cannot and should not be rehabilitated, but should be punished by removing them from society. The design and building of more correctional facilities instead of funding more outreach and after-school programs for youth is a direct outgrowth of such thinking.

The adolescents who are arrested and incarcerated are usually released within one to five years of arrest. Once they are released, few options are open to them. Since the educational systems in many juvenile facilities are poorly structured, the adolescent has more than likely not made advances in his grade level by the time he is released. Thus, the likelihood of school being seen as a viable option for success is poor. In addition, the adolescent may desire to work once released from jail. These prospects are generally met with resistance by prospective employers due to the risk the adolescent poses because of his prior arrest or incarceration history. Supporters for many adolescents who are released from jail then become members of their peer group from the neighborhood, even if these were the same individuals that were involved in the initial crime that resulted in the adolescent's arrest in the first place. Unfortunately, this becomes the beginning of a cycle of hopelessness that leads to continual recidivism among troubled adolescents.

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At-Risk Environments

Inner city adolescent males are continually battling the plight of victimization. Within inner city neighborhoods, the issue of victimization becomes heightened through what are considered physical and social vulnerabilities (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Physical vulnerabilities refer to the adolescents' perception of himself as a target for attack and his inability to protect himself. Social vulnerability refers to a particular group, such as teens, for example, those who are vulnerable to arrest because of who they are. Both physical and social vulnerabilities create the ground work of at-risk environments for adolescent males, which increases their chances of either becoming victims of crime or getting arrested for participating in criminal activities.

Adolescent males generally become targets for either physical or social vulnerabilities when they are temporarily or permanently out of the home or have freedom to come and go with little resistance from their parent/caregivers. These youth are either forced to leave their homes or choose to leave their homes on their own as a way of establishing independence from their parents or caregivers.

Difficulties faced by these inner city youth do not end with problems within their families. Participation in the high-risk behaviors that characterize life in poor neighborhoods further envelope these young men with a myriad of problems. Because these young men cannot return to the home and support of their families or choose not to return to the home, they gravitate towards the street culture. As stated earlier,

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employment opportunities for this population is virtually nonexistent and a reluctance to seek assistance from social service agencies is prevalent, therefore, alternatives are few. Young men become involved in the sex and drug culture as a means of meeting their basic monetary needs. The street is also where their indoctrination to criminal activity begins.

Many young men continue to live in dysfunctional homes with parents who have limited parenting skills. These families often experience extreme stressors that severely disrupt the parents' ability to monitor and discipline their children. As a result, the antisocial behaviors exhibited by the child increase. A member of such a deviant group has an almost 70 percent chance of experiencing a first felony arrest within two years of the behavior onset (Walker & Sylwester, 1991).

In most communities within the inner city, drug use and/or sale is believed by most young men to be the least harmful activity to become involved in. However, violent crimes like murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny/theft and arson are at some of the highest levels in history for adolescent offenders (U.S. Department of Justice, 1991). In areas where buying a gun is easier than buying books, adolescents are increasingly at-risk minimally for incarceration but more severely for death.

Another at-risk environment for inner city youth is termed "social environments." Factors that make up one's social environment is the adolescent's race, economic status, appearance and demeanor, school performance and the community's mores and values (Pratt, 1993). Within the inner city, social environments also include the relationship with the police department and the police

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department's reaction to community residents. Research suggests that as the number of minorities increase, the majority's fears about economic competition and threats to power may also increase. This in turn, is likely to increase discriminatory attitudes by police personnel (Pope & Feyerherm, 1981). In one study, police admitted that harsher dispositions were accorded youth whose appearance was "tough." In particular, the police felt that African American youth were more likely to seem tough, which gave police the freedom to give African American adolescents a harder time and to be uncooperative and display no remorse (Vito & Wilson, 1985). These stereotypes may possibly be correlated with increased surveillance and, ultimately, higher arrest rates in poor inner city neighborhoods. Such stereotypes provoke hostile attitudes of the community towards the police, thus increasing juveniles' likelihood of arrest.

Correctional Environments

Correctional environments pose another at-risk environment for at-risk adolescents. Typically, adolescent detention centers around the country house adolescent inmates until their cases are adjudicated. These centers hold significant numbers of youth offenders. For some facilities, the number of youth offenders can be well over a thousand on any particular day. Adolescent detention/correctional facilities have been known to be some of the most violent facilities in the country, given the number of assaults on staff and peers, and the number of self-mutilating behaviors. Much of this behavior is the result of aggressive stances taken by inmates

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who are very fearful of each other and who feel that they have no hope of establishing a future for themselves and/or their families. Some have reported that they behave in such ways because they find themselves in environments that foster violent behavior. If and when they are transferred to upstate facilities to begin prison time, many youth offenders have testified that they will begin to "calm themselves and not act out aggressively for two reasons: (1) the next step for them is back to the community and home and (2) the expectation of violence in upstate facilities is much less than that of most youth detention centers. It is probably that most of these young men's behavior will change once they are released to upstate facilities. However, it is also important to question the experiences and belief systems that most problematic adolescents uphold for survival in correctional facilities or when they return to their communities.

Large penal institutions that house youth offenders in inner cities are comprised of young men who commonly believe that they can evolve into "real men" in these types of environments. Most of these penal environments have been romanticized in popular culture as a "challenge," the rite of passage necessary for boys to become men. History has taught us that the rite of passage was a test marking the child's emergence into manhood. What has become symbolic of the rite of passage is the traditional practice of a boy who enters into the wilderness as a test of his survival and readiness for manhood. He must eat, drink and live by demonstrating his ability to cope with nature around him. If this is done successfully, he returns to his home a man. For many modern day youth, a different type of rite of passage is seen as a mark of manhood. The modern day, undereducated troubled adolescent is similar to those

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youth from traditional societies. However, the consequences for youth who are exposed to modern day inner city challenges are far more devastating. Young boys who are faced with the realities of negotiating the rigorous concrete jungles of the urban city must travel streets littered with drugs, prostitution, violence, and crime. Their ability to navigate through the often overwhelming but consistently dangerous activities bolsters their belief that they can handle or have control over their environment. Those adolescents who are products of positive and caring parents or caregivers have been given the right tools to maneuver their environment outside of the home. They then return each day to a family where commitment to survival is renewed through the understanding that family members are genuinely interested in them. Adolescents who have not been given appropriate skills or supports view the daily assaults as normal activity and in many ways find the assaults "exciting." As a result, they find ways to become repeatedly involved in similar activities. Adolescent boys who live in these communities begin to perceive these experiences once seen as exciting and as a necessary way of life within the urban jungle.

A consequence of this type of thinking becomes the possible "desensitivity" of feelings towards others. Thus, the credo for survival becomes to strike out at others before they strike out at you. This popular rule that many urban youth live by includes committing criminal activities. For example, when troubled youth who have had a history of incarceration were polled, many replied that they were incarcerated due to the desire to "make money." Many believe that if they do not "make money," others

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will. The chance of getting caught is the risk that some young people are willing to take.

Survival, however does not only extend to eluding the police. In the urban jungle, a real practice among urban youth is evading other predatory individuals. In poorer communities, the risk of being hurt or killed by a same aged peer is quite high. Those who survive the "streets" and are "saved" by arrest and incarceration now face a different type of jungle. In the jungle of the judicial system, certain learned behaviors can also be deadly. Survival continues to be dependent upon the individual's ability to maintain his sense of self in environments that try to take that sense away from him. For boys who are incarcerated, the awareness of survival is ever present. They believe and hope that they will return home a man who is, in many ways, much wiser and stronger than their counterpart who did not have the experience of incarceration. Boys who are incarcerated seem to have a much heightened sense of "maleness." They want to return home physically bigger and more muscular and without many of the "battle scars," both physical and mental, that are a part of institutional living. If they return home intact, they can declare that they are now men.

This romanticized view of most penal youth institutions is much more dangerous than what has historically been expressed of traditional rite of passage programs where mothers and fathers play central and dominant guiding roles. Unlike its predecessor, youth today are subjected to being reared in households that have absent and unproductive male figures. Many have not been exposed to the roles men have traditionally played within families and within the community. Boys in earlier

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times were guided by the elders of the community or tribe. They were closely groomed to meet the demands that faced them once they left the household. Many of today's youth have developed skewed and unrealistic ideas about their environment, family and the world. They have very minimal or nonexistent concepts about how to interact within the family. The work ethic, that was once a fundamental component of the family, has been replaced in many families with the idea that criminal activity is better or at least easier than working, not working at all, and letting the government pay for a limited existence is, for some, the better option.

Formalized education, although deemed as important, does not carry the immediate monetary gratification that illegal activities such as drug sale and robbery provide. The over indulgence of drugs help many young men escape the reality of their harsh lives. The proliferation of weapons keeps the threat and eventual use of violence as a conscious option that is quickly and easily used as a way to address disgruntlements on narcissistic injuries. These social and psychological issues must be considered when addressing adolescents who are at risk for incarceration and those who are eventually incarcerated.

Psychological Factors in Incarceration

Several authors have maintained that the experience of inmates include boredom–being kept in a cell for several hours with nothing to do–as well as a lack of basic privacy, a hardship that they grow accustomed to the longer they are incarcerated. However, the attempt to "quantify" the range of emotional or

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personality changes brought about by the exposure to the unique stresses of prison has generally produced a set of inconsistent findings (Zamble & Porporino, 1988). Some authors have concluded that exposure to stress is not uniformly damaging to inmates (McCorkle, 1993). Some of the literature suggests that while inmates suffer anxiety and depression during their incarceration, the symptoms are manifested early in the sentence and dissipate over time. This idea forms the center of a body of research that purports that an inmate becomes more adjusted the longer he is incarcerated. Thus, the inmate's experience becomes normalized the longer he is incarcerated. McCorkle (1993), however, reports that a "study that finds inmates habituating to the rigors of confinement can be criticized on several grounds" (p. 28). McCorkle (1993) cites four reasons why habituation is difficult because the routine necessary for acclimation never develops.

> Firstly, most have failed to control for the effects of potentially significant factors such as age, prior prison experience and social support. Secondly, few researchers have used measures sensitive to the particular effects of imprisonment. Thirdly, studies have generally been conducted in British and Canadian prisons that drew samples from inmate populations quite different from those found in American prisons. Finally, there is the likelihood that the prisons used in these studies are less stressful environments than their American counterparts. (1993, pp. 28-29)

McCorkle (1993) quotes Wrights in his 1991 article "Fear of Victimization and Symptoms of Psychopathology Among Prison Inmates," by citing that "American prisons contain large numbers of state-raised convicts, young, institutionally experienced, antisocial offenders who routinely use violence to satisfy their social economic and sexual needs in the institution" (p. 29). McCorkle (1993) continues by

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suggesting that the "threat posed by such individuals may well make habituation to the other prison stresses more difficult since the dulling routine necessary for acclimation never develops" (p. 29). Toch (1977) observes:

> inmates are threatened in prison. More vulnerable inmates are more intensely threatened . . . threats do cease. Fear may wane as pressure ceases. But the pressure may not cease. For some men, past danger lives in vivid recollection. For others, no bars or wall seem thick enough, no peers are even friends . . . an inmate may feel chronically unsafe or relive unassimilated traumas time and time again. (p. 176)

Hence, the prison environment can be the most difficult, due in part to the lack of conveniences and comforts that the outside community shares.

For all intents and purposes, adjustment in this particular study is defined as the youth's ability to negotiate the various levels of institutional rules and regulations offered first by authority figures and then by their peer group. In the correctional environment, the combination is considered the "Prisoner's Code." The "prisoner's code," first coined by Caldwell (1956), is an unofficial set of guidelines that adolescent males facing criminal charges either reject or follow within a particular institution. These two sets of guidelines often are at odds with each other but are seen by the adolescents and staff as being important for maintaining control within a jail facility. A form of this code also exists for street survival.

Caldwell (1956) describes the major factors involved in the jail subculture–a deeply entrenched status hierarchy–as a well developed formal prison organization and an informal social system. Most penal institutions for youth are comprised mostly of people awaiting adjudication of their charges and many do not have the experience

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of a formalized prison organization. However, for this particular study, the evaluation of social relationships prior to incarceration and the at-risk youth's tendency to either accept or reject the prisoner code will be of particular importance in the assessment of the individual's potential to face difficulties in at-risk environments. These guidelines offer insight into the ability of individuals to "connect" with someone else. Of tantamount interest is the youth's ability to have established appropriate parent/child relationships prior to incarceration.

Adolescent's adjustment and ability to face difficulties are also greatly affected by his ego development. According to Loevinger (1966, 1976), ego development refers to the overlapping aspects of specific personality domains such as impulse control, interpersonal cognitive styles and conscious preoccupations. Loevinger further conjectures that the most important factor in ego development is the child's intra-familiar environment.

It is obvious that youth utilize a variety of coping strategies as they try to negotiate very difficult and complex environments. Some adolescents internalize their feelings and survive with few altercations. Others, however, act aggressively towards themselves or others. Some join neighborhood or jail "gangs" for protection from others as well as to gain attention and fame. For example, adolescents who view authority figures as supports can be perceived as having higher levels of development and possibly come from homes where the caregiver has created an environment that is supportive, fostering appropriate limit setting behaviors and respect for authority.

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As stated earlier, an important aspect of this study is to explore the attachment of the adolescent to a parent or caregiver. It is hypothesized that for the adolescent to adjust to the rigors of incarceration, he would need to have had a "supportive relationship" to a parent/caregiver or peer.

The premise behind the notion of a supportive relationship between the child and his parent/caregiver or peers allows one to draw a few conclusions. Firstly, it is hypothesized that if the parent/caregiver and child have developed a supportive relationship, the child will feel loved and included. Secondly, this inclusion would develop the child's sense of self or his belief that he can"self-empower" when needed. Thirdly, the child begins to feel secure in times of stress, which enables his adjustment and ability to face difficulties. For example, within the penal system, the adolescent becomes attached to a supportive individual–a correctional, medical, mental or educational personnel or a supportive peer to feel a part of something–a nurturing dyad or group–which reinforces that he is not alone in this situation. If the adolescent has had similar prior experiences, it is believed that he will feel empowered by the support of his new support group. This will help him to become better adjusted to his new surroundings.

As in any potentially dangerous surroundings, many challenges to one's ability to face difficulties exist. For those youth who are engaged in risky street life or incarceration, the issue of gang and gang-related behavior is an area of constant preoccupation. Most adolescents must concede to the persistent pressures of becoming a gang member in order to gain power and must utilize that power to protect

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themselves from becoming victims of gang violence. There has been a rapid growth in most neighborhoods of gang turf wars that have extended to the greater community and most recently to correctional facilities. Entire adolescent housing areas have been taken over by individuals belonging to particular gangs they joined while in the neighborhoods. Once violence breaks out, either in the neighborhoods or in the correctional facility, injuries are minimally serious but can be potentially deadly.

There is an assumption for most adolescents that if they are incarcerated and join a gang, then their "time" would be safer and less problematic. This thinking works for too few youth. However, the gang poses a few distinct rules for admission. One in particular states that whatever "beef" or problems your brother (gang member) has, the new brother now has. This is the commonly held view by all gang members. hence, all problems in that gang are now the problems of the new member. If one does not choose to take on another's problems, he can be viewed as a traitor to his gang, which produces a lot of other problems for him both within the at-risk environment and outside of it. "Neutrals," as non-gang members are often referred. take the risks of entering into an unfriendly environment that, in most respects, calls for them to design a support system that will look out for them when the first signs of trouble become evident. This support system is generally comprised of other neutrals or allies within the gang who have become support for the neutrals.

In most instances, gangs are divided along racial lines, although some groups propose to accept anyone who agrees to accept the gang's doctrine. But even within these gangs, there is a majority culture and ideology that exist. Some members have

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rationalized that by joining a gang, they are being rooted in ethnic culture and are learning how to help those who come from similar racial and socioeconomic backgrounds. They further believe that in so doing, they will create a sense of family that many adolescents do not have outside of their immediate social environment or world, but want to have. This also creates a situation where at-risk adolescents will not need to associate with people outside of their particular racial background, which perpetuates the racial divide seen in most inner city at-risk environments. Since violence becomes an outgrowth of the attitudes learned and reinforced, the greater percentage of young men who join gangs, join because of the promise that the gang will provide protection from those they believe want to hurt them.

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Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding adjustment to various stressors require further study on how individuals cope while in such overwhelming environments and situations. In this study, "Understanding Parenting Styles As A Preventive Construct for Adolescent Males," it is hypothesized that by understanding parenting styles, peer attachment and the way aggression is perceived and acted upon, insight will be shed on an adolescents' potential adjustment to at-risk environments and/or problematic situations. The premise being: adolescents, who have a strong attachment to a positive role model and who are the product of a parenting style that incorporates a balance between love, support and limit setting, will have a positive adjustment to at-risk environments. On the other hand, the adolescent who is the product of a parenting style that has either high levels of limit setting and lower levels of support and love or nonexistent levels of support and love and lower levels of limit setting and who find it difficult being emotionally tied to others will lead to poor adjustment in at-risk environments.

Parenting style domains will be taken from a study conducted by Diana Baumrind, which details a constellation of elements that depict various ways families interact. According to Diana Baumrind's research, parenting style can be categorized into three types of parenting; authoritarian, authoritative and permissive/indulgent. As

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a result of later research developments, a fourth construct, rejecting/neglecting, was added to Baumrind's framework for parenting styles. The authoritarian parent is strict and unyielding in the development and practice of rules. However, children reared in authoritative households have parents who are more democratic in the development of rules. The permissive parent, on the other hand, is less regimented around limit setting with their children and the indulgent parent believes in minimal rule setting. Children, depending upon the genre of parenting style that they were exposed to, may find it difficult to adjust to at-risk environments.

Attachment is seen as the ability of the adolescent to bond with a role model, whether that person is an adult family member, adult non-family member, or peer. For survival in an at-risk environment, one must make attempts at bonding with others. For those that successfully establish a connection with someone who is going through a similar situation or experience, this connection can foster friendships that can seem to help shorten a sometimes overwhelming experience. If the individual is not able to establish connections with others, the time spent dodging problems can be much more difficult to withstand. Furthermore, the adolescent's adjustment is also dramatically affected by his desire to engage in or retreat from violence and aggression.

Support, Control and Structure in Parenting

This study will use the concepts of support, control and structure as the basis of successful parenting. Support is defined as the behavior towards the child that makes him/her feel comfortable in the presence of the parent. As a result, the child begins to

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believe that he or she is basically accepted and approved of as a person (Thomas, Gecas, Wiegert & Rooney, 1974). When a child feels supported by the parent or guardian, the child feels "secure" in times of great stress (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). Mothers who listen to, comfort and approve of their children are likely to have children who develop a variety of effective strategies for coping with everyday life.

Control is the degree to which the parents become involved in directly guiding or shaping the behavior of the child (Baumrind, 1971). Baumrind (1967, 1971) believes that warm and controlling parental behavior will be positively related to socially assertive and socially responsible children.

Lastly, structure is the degree to which parents provide a predictably organized environment for the child. Children who know exactly what is expected of them, in terms of their daily routine, will be better socialized and adjusted than children in unpredictable environments.

Support and control have been identified in numerous factor analytic studies of parenting attitudes and behavior and appear important for many aspects of child development (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). All three variables impact powerfully upon the development of the child. Olson, Sprenkly and Russell (1979) found that "children in either disorganized or overly rigid home environments may not develop as wide a range of effective, situationally appropriate strategies as those in homes characterized by moderate levels of support and control" (p.4).

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Effective parenting becomes very important once a child is placed in the position of adjusting to difficult life stressors. Gribble et al. (1993) showed that positive parent/child relationships were associated with resilient outcomes among children exposed to major life stressors. A positive bond with an authority figure gives children a greater capacity to develop strategies that will help them survive in stressful milieus because they feel supported and connected to someone who can provide structure for them.

Parenting in African American Families

In the review of the literature with respect to African American families and parenting styles, little was found outside the focus on social problems. According to Hill (1995) "most of the studies focusing on African American adolescents and their families examine the problems these youth and families may have, such as teenage pregnancy, criminal involvement, or drug use" (p. 409). As a result, little is known about normative family interactions of African American adolescents or about the influence of parenting in adolescent development. There has also been a tendency in studies where ethnicity or race is the focus to confound social levels within culture. Teresa Julian et al. (1994) has found that many studies have failed to "control for socioeconomic status (SES), and have compared White middle class family problems with disproportionally lower income ethnic group members" (p.30). This continues the patterns of past inequities where cultural differences in parenting, when economic factors are removed, are not adequately examined (Brooks, 1991; Staples & Mirande, 1980; Vega, 1990). Another tendency of researchers is to lump all African Americans

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into one homogeneous group (Cazenave, 1981; Moynihan, 1967). According to Parsons and Mikawa, (1990) "African Americans, as a minority group, have not been sufficiently differentiated by research compared with studies of the majority populations" (p. 164). In looking at the overwhelming dearth of material that focuses on the problems of African American families, this study attempts to focus some attention on the ways African American families have been quite resilient. Luster and McAdoo (1994) found that many African American children are doing well in school "despite the fact that a disproportionate number of these families must contend with poverty and other stressors" (p. 1080). It is this resiliency that has enabled African American families to instill strengths within their children, strengths that carry the child through the rigors of daily life and that repeatedly questions–overtly and more apparently covertly–the right to membership within the society.

Ethnic families made up by African American, Hispanic and Asian Americans, constitute the three major racial groupings in the United States (Brooks, 1991; Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). Ogbu (1985) notes that "many common traits are among these three groups" (p.30). He further states that they are all "caste-like," that is, "these ethnic groups were originally incorporated into a society more or less involuntarily and permanently through slavery, conquest, and/or colonization" (p.30). In the same article, Julien et al. (1994) cites McLoyd as contending that ethnic status for African American families has meant living with a sense of "invisibility, negative images, stereotypes, narrow portrayals of capabilities, and being misunderstood" (p.30). He further writes that, "Parents, especially African

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American parents, have realized through history the dangers their children are faced with and have developed their own parenting theories based on their cultural and reference group socialization, in addition to individual and family experiences. personality style, and characteristics of their children" (p.30).

In Sheree Marshall's article (1994), "Ethnic Socialization of African American Children: Implications for Parenting, Identity Development, and Academic Achievement," Harrison et al. (1990) is quoted to report "in comparison to other influences, family socialization has been said to have the most influential and lasting impact on the child's competencies as a functional human being" (p. 378).

In the same article, Johnson (1981) defines socialization as "the preparation of newcomers for life in their social, economic, physical, cultural and extra-physical surroundings, i.e., their group in society" (p. 25). Stated more plainly, the concept of socialization refers to the acquiring of ideas or customs that have developed based upon individual learning of social roles and interactions (Richardson, 1981). For the typical nuclear family, Marshall (1981) has identified the historical meaning of socialization, understanding what is considered the "primary socialization agent"—the family—because it is the "first institution an individual comes into contact with and the family is often the last institution with which the individual has ties" (p.378). Additional influences that often impact upon the behavior of children, are that of peers, as well as cultural impacts such as television and other media (Richardson, 1981). For families of color, and especially African American families, socialization extends beyond the boundaries of the immediate nuclear family to include outside

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individuals such as one's grandmother, grandfather, aunt, "play" relatives, religious ties, neighbors, and so on. The adage "Its takes a village to raise one child" is seen through this vantage point.

For African American families, appropriate socialization has consistently been hampered by a history of persistent racial prejudice and discrimination. Mainstream families have not had to address the type of issues that African American families address daily. Peters (1981) states that African American parents "must not only be concerned about the same general issues as other parents but within their parenting practices, it is necessary for them to concentrate on raising children who are emotionally and physically healthy, despite living in a society in which being African American has negative connotations and consequences" (p. 379). Marshall agrees and writes that the task for African American parents becomes for them to prepare the child for different environmental niches by giving the child a positive sense of ethic identity (p. 379). She further writes that the family, by inculcating a positive sense of ethnic identity, serves as a buffer from the brunt of the child's minority status. Unlike family socialization, Peters (1981) views ethnic socialization as the "responsibility that African American parents have, in terms of rearing children who are psychologically and physiologically healthy in a society where having African American skin and/or African features could lead to detrimental physical and psychological outcomes" (p. 379).

African American families possess a myriad of ideas on how to exist in this society and the socialization of African American children is based on the family's

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socioeconomic-status. educational level, and acceptance to and of the majority culture. Nevertheless, there seems to be some agreement on what constitutes the African American family and how African American parents parent. Some characteristics include respect for authority figures: a strong work ethic; emphasis on achievement: a balance between the rights of individuals, and the needs and requirements of the group; a sense of duty or obligation to kin; the notion that good deeds will be reciprocated in either the short or long-term; the value of a variety of responses and abilities: expression of emotions by both males and females; and a strong religious orientation (Hill, 1972; Rashid, 1985). Inherent in these characteristics are sets of values that African American families have held dear. In a study by Bartz and Levine (1978). a high value was found for strictness within African American families. There was also an expectation of early assumptions of responsibility by the child for his or her own bodily—and personal feelings. The expectation of the child's time being used wisely and not wasted was valued along with the encouragement of the child to become involved in decision making. In addition, Julien et al. writes that stricter parenting styles are thought necessary for children to "develop effective coping abilities within the face of the harsh realities of racism and discrimination" (Bell-Scott & McKenry, 1986; Hamner and Turner, 1990; Taylor et al., 1990, p. 31). It is clear that African American parents have a difficult task to undertake in raising children to compete in today's society. However, some African American children have become lost and unable to manage themselves within this society. These children have typically been labeled "at- risk". The term is meant to identify a group of children

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who come from poorer environments and who do not have access to standard educational, and recreational activities. They are at a higher risk for drug abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, and incarceration due primarily to the lack of appropriate interventions both on the community level and within the confines of the family. It is this population that typically end up at youth penal institutions.

Coping Skills of At-Risk Children

In the book, *Children At Risk*, Ronald Feldman et al. (1987) has indicated that "the key coping skills of at-risk children include problem-solving ability and ego strength, arousal level, internal locus of control, extroversion and the ability to properly assess an event's stressfulness" (p. 186). When youth have low or non-existent levels of key coping skills to combat the stress of race-related realities or other stressful events, they are bound to have adjustment difficulties and other problems that impinge upon their personal safety. Parson and Milkawa (1990) found in their study that deviant behavior began at an early age for African American males. "Prior to age ten, behavior problems were seen mostly in schools. Academic problems increased through junior high and senior high, eventually resulting in the young student either dropping out or being expelled from school" (p.171). Beginning in junior high school, the negative value of using and/or selling illegal substances as well as engaging in illegal activities such as burglary or robbery are not viewed in terms of "right or wrong" by the individual, but in terms of needing to do so to enhance the individual's sense of self-worth. Such anti-social means of attaining self-esteem can

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reduce the child's level of conformity to authority, thus diminishing access to conventional means of success (Empey, 1985). Success, in the African American community, has many facets and can be explored in a multitude of ways. At-risk children, who have been defined by the government as children who are marginal in terms of educational, financial and social needs become at risk of continuing the cycle of poverty, by either dropping out of school, continuing the need for financial supports, or engaging in behaviors that promote arrest and possible incarceration. Since the early 1960's, there has been much concern over the limited ways that these youth have to escape the horrors of the ghetto. Sports have long since been the measure many have cited as a way to "make it." Currently, basketball is the sport that many young African American males have adopted as a way to make enough money to gain access to a better lifestyle. For many, this dream will be short-lived, given the reality that less than one percent make it to the National Basketball Association (NBA) and an even a smaller percentage become stars with million dollar contracts.

However, many of today's youth find education as a way of gaining financial independence too long a process with no guarantee of success. Success however, remains an important concept but vague in meaning to many youth in poorer communities. However, synonymous with success for many youth is status. For many of our youth, status seems to be driven solely by the amount of luxuries one can afford to purchase. The need to acquire luxuries is just one of the many reasons why so many youth are arrested. The desire of many youth today is to be seen in expensive cars, clothing and jewelry. Images seen through the various media consciously as well

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as unconsciously glorify a criminality that excuses negative behavior for the acquisition of luxury items. In the end, a dangerous message is presented and the potential for many people to be harmed in the process of youth acquiring luxuries illegally is tremendous.

Parenting Styles

The family is the primary source of support and socialization for both children and adults and it is where individuals first learn about relationships. The family becomes the transmitter of moral values from one generation to the next. LeFlore (1988) found that "parents who effectively assist their children in internalizing appropriate codes of conduct based on these moral values rear children who are likely to remain non-delinquent" (p. 629). Success in rearing non-delinquent children depends greatly upon the parenting style and the relationship that is the product of that style. Parenting style is an important dimension of the family of origin (Baumrind, 1971; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Lewis, 1981).

In his review of the literature, Ivey (1995) suggests that the "level of parental control experienced during childhood has been found to be associated with several areas of adjustment, including young adult identity formation, self-concept and moral development, academic competence, social alienation, and adult mental health" (p. 214). For most children, misconduct first arises in the home and proceeds to other settings (Edelbrock & Loeber, 1985; Loeber & Schmaling, 1985).

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Diana Baumrind's (1971, 1989, 1991) widely used topology of parenting styles can be seen as varying along two dimensions: (1) parental demandingness (control) and (2) parental responsiveness (warmth). When combined, these dimensions yield four parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive/indulgent, and rejecting/neglecting. Although parenting style is not the sole family characteristic responsible for positive or negative child outcomes, it is an important factor in creating an environment that either facilitates or inhibits optimal child development. The above supports the contention that "family characteristics are integrally related to delinquency, and that these characteristics generally involve ineffectual family functioning that is expressed through problematic behavior by the child" (Gove & Crutchfield, 1982, p.317).

Although these descriptions were based on White middle-class samples, researchers have applied these categories to African American families and other ethnic minorities (Baumrind, 1972). According to research conducted by Baldwin et al. (1990)

> the influence of parenting style may differ across ethnic groups and other environmental characteristics. Whereas much of the research has indicated that warmth and firm control (authoritative parenting style) leads to positive child outcomes, high parental control (authoritarian parenting style) was related to higher competence among adolescents in high-risk environments. (p.260)

Consistent with this finding was the fact that the lower the level of control and warmth, the lower the level of competence for the adolescents living in low-risk environments (Hill, 1995).

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Authoritative Parenting

Authoritative parenting is characterized by high demandingness by the parents and high responsiveness of the child. Authoritative parents establish overall rules, but these rules are subject to revision based on the views and opinions of the child and on the specific situation. In explaining the rules to the child, parents who endorse authoritative parenting are more interested in the child learning the reasons and meaning behind the rules rather than strict adherence to the rules. These parents value acceptance, demands for mature behavior, autonomy, and firm behavior control (Baumrind, 1967; Steinberg, 1990) but encourage independent decision making skills, conveying to the child that she or he is worthy of trust. Buri et al., (1988) found that the "mother's authoritativeness is positively related to the child's level of self-esteem" (p. 275). However, authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles, which have been demonstrated to be significant predictors of adolescent competence in White families (Baumrind, 1971; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), are not equally effective in predicting competence in African American adolescents (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts,& Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994).

Authoritarian Parenting

Authoritarian parenting is characterized as having a high degree of demandingness by the parent and low degrees of responsiveness by the child. Parents who endorse this style believe in the strict adherence to rules established by them. They are adverse to discussions about rules and place a strong emphasis on

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compliance and discipline. These parents are clearly in control and show little affection towards the child. As a result, children who are the recipients of this type of parenting style are typically insecure, apprehensive, socially withdrawn, and lacking in self- control and self- reliance (Baumrind, 1967, 1971). Baumrind (1978) has hypothesized that authoritarian parents would treat both moral and conventional issues as more obligatory than would other parents.

Permissive/Indulgent Parenting

Permissive/indulgent parenting is characterized by a low degree of demandingness by the parent and high degree of responsiveness by the child. This creates a more laissez-faire environment where rules and expectations may be inconsistent. Permissive/indulgent parents do not clearly state the rules or consequences for violations, do not firmly or consistently enforce the rules, and are likely to give into the child's coercive demands, which often appears to others like the child is controlling the parents.

However, Maccoby and Martin (1983) have tried to elaborate on and clarify these issues. They point out that the meaning of "permissiveness" is vague. "For example, it might refer to parents who are warm and indulgent, or inattentive and uninvolved, individuals who set few rules or guidelines for their children, or who are ineffective or inconsistent in response to their aggressive behavior" (p. 30). These variations may be due to a number of different factors such as child age or temperament, cultural norms, or the wide range of methodologies used (Bronstein,

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1994). Although, Baumrind (1978) found that permissive parents were often extremely lenient, they still tried to watch out for their children's safety.

Rejecting/Neglecting Parenting

The rejecting/neglecting parenting style is characterized by low demandingness by the parents and low responsiveness by the children. These parents are disengaged from their children and have no expectations of them, which result in children who lack responsiveness and control.

The various parenting styles described in the aforementioned paragraphs. produce strengths and weaknesses in children that are carried throughout their development. For example, in relation to school achievement, children of authoritative parents have a higher achievement level than children of either authoritarian or permissive parents (Baumrind 1967, 1971). Paulson (1994) suggests that "high levels of both control and affect were more conducive to positive achievement outcomes than were other parenting characteristics" (p.251). Other child outcomes found in the study range from high self-esteem to low moral reasoning and all offer examples of which particular parenting style fosters appropriate or non-appropriate behaviors. What has not yet been studied to a full extent is the impact that parenting style has on children who face difficult and sometimes insurmountable situations or environments such as incarceration.

Youth who are incarcerated are at first thought to be quite fearful of their environment, partly due to their fear of being in new surroundings. In addition, their fear is also the result of their perception that this new environment is dangerous. The

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child begins to take what he has learned from his parents in order to understand his surroundings and applies this information to the new circumstances. The techniques he will use to survive is a compilation of various techniques his parents or caregivers have instilled in him. The caregiver's particular style of parenting will be the child's sole barometer on how to navigate his new surroundings. The "drive" he must gather within himself or his ability to activate his "inner barometer" comes from the level of attachment he has with his parents or caregiver. Through these experiences, the child forms an attachment to someone or something in his experience that will boost his ability to survive in his new surroundings.

Attachment

Hirschi (1969) has defined attachment as how strongly a child cares about the opinions and expectations of his or her parents. His premise assumes that juveniles who are not strongly attached to their parents are also insensitive to their parents' opinions. Thus, juveniles with weak attachments do not feel emotionally tied to their parents' norms, and are not as likely to take their parents' conventional feelings and opinions into account when contemplating their involvement in the commission of a delinquent act. The study of attachment theory frequently focuses on infants and their mothers. However, this study will address attachment issues as they pertain to adolescence.

The theory of attachment is based upon the work of John Bowlby who in the late 1950s and early 1960s wrote his first formal statements in three classic papers.

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From this work, many theorists have developed their own understanding of attachment. Ainsworth and her colleagues (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall. 1978: Ainsworth & Wittig, 1969) have identified three primary patterns of infant behavior that are believed to be the outward manifestations of the individual's internal working models. They are: (A) secure, (B) avoidant, and (C) anxious/ambivalent. These patterns describe the responses of infants to separation from the primary caregiver and the reunion with the primary caregiver (Lyddon, Bradford, & Nelson 1993). In their findings, deeply attached infants tended to use the primary caregiver as a secure base but explored their surroundings freely. Avoidant infants tended not to need the primary caregiver as a base. These infants explored their surrounding, but when they were reunited with their caregiver ignored or avoided the caregiver. Anxious/ambivalent infants refused to explore and became anxious when separated from the primary caregiver. When reunited, however, the infant sought out contact with the primary caregiver and simultaneously pulled away in anger from the caregiver.

The study of attachment theory has traditionally been thought to represent a human infant's capacity to develop an emotional bond to a caregiver who could provide the security necessary for the child to explore his or her environment, which forms the basis for the development of viable interpersonal relationships in later years. (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988, Bowlby, 1988, Guidano, 1987; Kobak and Scerry, 1988; Sroufe, 1988; Weiss, 1982). If the child could not form secure attachments, during

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those early years, a range of psychological difficulties would persist throughout the child's course of development.

One such area of difficulty that would later be affected by inadequate early attachment is the area of peer relationships. For example, a study written in the article on "Attachment Styles, Coping Strategies, and Posttraumatic Psychological Distress: The Impact of the Gulf War in Israel" by Mario Mikulincer et al. (1993), quotes Hazen and Shaver (1987) as reporting that they "found that attachment types differed, predictably, in their descriptions of their most important love relationships and recollections of childhood relationships with parents" (p. 275). Using the three categories mentioned above, Hazen and Shaver (1987) found that intimacy, closeness, supportiveness, and trust were characteristic of secure people's romantic relationships. Fear of intimacy and difficulty in depending upon others is characterized as an avoidant person's relationship, and emotional instability and worry over thoughts of being abandoned is characterized as an anxious/ambivalent person's relationship.

In this current study, the goal is to examine whether parenting style affects adolescents' adjustment to difficult environments. Attachment is seen as a factor in how the adolescents adjust to stressful environments, i.e., incarceration. As stated earlier, secure attachments enhance not only the interpersonal ties to others but also the individual's coping skills and feelings of personal worth and self-efficacy (Bowlby 1980). These skills and feelings may foster the development of positive constructive strategies for dealing with environmental stresses, thereby resulting in improved adjustment. Bowlby (1973) states that people with a strong, "secure base" are

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capable of handling distress because they recognize that there are people available in times of need. For the incarcerated adolescent, this behavior is seen as a strength. Adolescent inmates who develop allies with correction staff and civilian members. who are willing to be supportive, can take from those relationships the belief that they are important and thought about. In a place where so many feel that they must complete their time alone, because they could simply be forgotten, being seen as important by someone else is a hopeful and rare quality. Hazen and Shaver (1990) have found that this behavior is reflective of the experience in which early attachment is internalized by the individual.

In a study on how individuals react to high levels of stress, Mikulincer et al. (1993) examined the reactions of young Israeli adults to the Iraqi Scud Missile attack in Israeli cities during the Gulf War. They found that securely attached persons reported having "coped" with the attack by turning to others for emotional support and showed relatively low levels of post-traumatic distress. In comparison, both anxious/ambivalent and avoidant persons reported relatively high levels of distress, but differed in the strategies they used to cope with the attack. Anxious/ambivalent persons relied more on emotion-focused coping, avoidant persons relied more on distancing, removing anxiety and depression from their emotional responses and expressing their distress indirectly through increased somatization.

As stated earlier, secure attachment may be a personal resource that leads to appraisal of stressful events in more benign terms as well as to the confidence in one's ability to cope with these events. In addition, children classified as secure in their

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attachment were seen as having a history of attachment relationship in which their emotional needs were sensitively satisfied and the attachment figures in their lives were responsive and accessible. In Turner's (1991) review of Bowlby's work, she states that he found that "secure relationships with parents promote the growth of self-esteem because the child sees that he is worthy of love" (p.1476). She further states that "if the child has had some experience with a positive attachment figure, he would be expected to approach interaction to others with positive expectations. In addition, having an attachment figure "provides the child with a secure base from which to explore, thus promoting opportunities to master new experiences leading to greater self-confidence and competence" (p. 1476). Children who have had insecure attachments are those who have had a history of an attachment relationship in which their emotional needs were met or were met insensitively and/or inconsistently. Children with such histories tend to bring patterns of behaviors to relationships with peers that reflect the expectation that they will be treated with minimal sensitivity, rejection and/or unpredictability.

Finally, when looking at adolescent attachment, another perspective comes into play. Lopez and Gover (1993) cite Erikson, Freud and Sullivan in their quote, "most theories of individual human development regard late adolescence as an important transition in psychological maturity and personality development" (p. 560). When looking at attachment within this population, one must attempt to address the issue of non -familial relationships. Shulman's (1993) review of the work done by Dean and Lin (1977) states that "research has shown that relationships, or social supports

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contributes to an individual's ability to cope with various sources of stress such as stressful life events" (p. 267). In addition, Skinner and Wellborn (1993) contend that in "close relationships where children have the sense that support is available and their psychological needs are being met, they cope with stress in more active, flexible and positive ways. In contrast to this, when relationships are coercive and children's needs are ignored or insulted, children react to challenges in passive and rigid ways" (p. 267). Youniss (1980) states that, during adolescence, the relationship between the child and parent undergoes changes and the "salience of peer relationships increase" (p. 268). Coping is thought to reflect a condition whereby the individual effectively regulates his/her own behavior, emotion, and motivational orientation during stress (Shulman, 1993). Developmentally, this process is seen, in fact, as the individual seeking closeness to the caregiver when under stress. This is a positive sign signifying that the child will survive the valuable early years by attempting to manipulate physical and social events such as exploring and manipulating the environment and simultaneously, while keeping the caregiver as his/her secure base. By doing so, the infant develops a sense of competence. The result is an environment that is perceived by the infant as predictable and controllable.

By late childhood, when the child has developed many skills such as language, motor, and ego functioning, he/she is better able to regulate his/her own activities. According to Shulman (1993), the caregiver, continues to monitor the child's success but the relationship between the two begins to take on a new definition in terms of the "balance between proximity to the caregiver and the child's own competence, which is

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basic for an optimal encounter with the environment" (p 269). Shulman (1993) reviews research conducted by Collins (1990) which list several characteristics of the parent/child relationship as the child progresses into adolescence. "First, there is a marked increase in assertiveness by the caregiver and/or the child" (p. 269). Secondly, there is a decrease in the perception of acceptance and an increased incidence of conflictive exchanges between the parent and child. Thirdly, there is a decrease in expressions of physical affection and positive feelings among family members, and finally, there is an adjustment in the amount and kind of influence that children exert in the making of family decisions" (p. 269).

In Hartup's (1983) review of the literature, "peer group relationships were described as an important component for socialization" (p. 273). Friends who support the adolescents' perceptions that they are competent, enhance their self-esteem. The exchange of ideas within a secure and accepting relationship is ever so important in adolescence. By doing so, the adolescent is encouraged to raise anxieties and fears that may not be expressed in environments where the adolescent believes he/she will be evaluated or looked down upon, such as within the family where perceived expectations of others can come into play. Role models, mentors or big brothers/sisters play important roles in this matter. Mentors or role models are seen as supports that can exert more authority than peers, but as the authority of parents or caregivers is challenged, as is the case during adolescence, the role model relationship can act as a surrogate parent and give the adolescent additional support.

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Aggression

Gangs

An adolescent's involvement in gang activity in the community is similar in many ways to his involvement in other at-risk environments. When an adolescent is at-risk, there is a lack of trusted adults and/or peers that the individual can engage. The relationships that are formed are typically superficial. This means that the relationships that exist have been formed around groups of people who generally claim to support similar ideas such as controlling the illegal activities in the neighborhood. The groups are formed and relationships simulate those of the family of origin.

Because the relationships of many at-risk adolescents have been poorly formed and not based on secure attachments, the difficulties are frequently recycled and take on additional forms to be played out in new relationships. The peer networks, seen as gangs by outsiders, only show support for their members in limited capacities. The groups become a demonstration of numbers, given the perception that strength resides within their respective group. The social and personal problems and difficulties of many of the groups' core members continue to remain unaddressed, which limits the effectiveness of positive relationships that could be formed. Thus, another impediment to adjustment that the at-risk adolescent must face is the proliferation of gangs.

For the purposes of this study, gangs are defined as any denotable adolescent group of youngsters who (a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by

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others in the society; (b) recognize themselves as a denotable group (almost invariably with a group name) and (c) have been involved in a sufficient number of criminal activity that call-forth a negative response from peers and/or the community.

Aggression and violence in the community are daily problems that at-risk adolescents must learn to live with. Wright (1991) shares a perspective by Irwin (1980) in his description of the background of most at-risk males, claiming that many are "drawn from a social layer that shares extremely reduced life options, meager material existence, limited experiences with formal, polite, and complex urban social organizations and traditional suspicious and hostilities toward people different from their own kind" (p. 3). With this as a consequence, at-risk males bring with them their violent past, and use the history of experiences to shape their future. Johnson (1987) observes that within the at-risk adolescent's world, "toughness and the capacity for violence define power, status and honor" (p. 75).

Gibbs (1981) describes the process whereby the adoption of a manly persona helps ensure survival and status within the at-risk environment:

> This is a world in which legitimate authorities are seldom appealed to and disputes are settled by vendettas. It is a world in which 'male' no longer simply connotes certain anatomical characteristics. As in many all-male groups, manliness becomes a status continuum. One's place on the continuum is of great importance, and may be determined by demonstrations of toughness. (p. 115)

Clear and Cole (1986) identify four characteristics of the at-risk male population that make this group particularly violence prone: "Firstly, the age of the

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adolescent, secondly, social attitudes that make up "machismo" and thirdly, membership in a gang and finally, racism"(pp. 365-367).

Johnson (1987) makes the comparison of contemporary prison environment as having "striking parallels to that of our dangerous and yet highly differentiated urban slum" (p. 45). Johnson (1987) further states that both populations are composed of "predominately poor, lower-class segments of society who differentiate themselves along ethnic lines and are generally more hostile to one another" (p 45). Many residents of the urban slum lack commitment towards a public morality that promotes the building of a safe and violent-free environment. When so many at-risk adolescent males are put into one small area, they must either withdraw from social relations or form strong bonds with individuals from similar backgrounds for mutual protection. These gangs are used to demonstrate intergroup loyalties and further promote a climate that permits and even values violence as a justifiable form of expression.

One often infers that victims in at-risk environments, such as jails, represent the weaker males who cannot withstand the threats and aggressive advances of the stronger males. However, in the highly exploitative environments found in today's jails, victims may simply be the unfortunate prey of stronger institutionalized males.

Once an adolescent is incarcerated, he has an immediate decision to make. He must decide whether to join a gang or become "neutral"—uninvolved in the jail gang life. Both choice's affect the time he will complete while incarcerated. If he chooses to join the gang, he can make his environment a little safer due to having built in protection from more ferocious individuals. He also could have more troubles because

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he is now a target for rival gang members. The "neutral"inmate, however, has basically stated that he does not want to be apart of a gang affiliated life style. This individual must now prove himself through his toughness to get any of the luxuries or "props"such as extended phone contact, additional food and commissary, or simply, lock-out time, which is generally afforded to males who are associated with gangs. Affiliation or non-affiliation clearly affects one's adjustment to jail and plays a factor in how incarceration is perceived by the individual.

Adjustment of Adolescents in Prison

The purpose of this study is to investigate how adolescent males perceive their parents' parenting styles and how these styles affect the adolescents' capacity to face difficulties such as incarceration and the level of attachment to both peers and family.

Adjustment, as defined in this study, is the ability to cope in a stressful environment or situation. The prison experience poses substantial changes and threats to the incarcerated adolescent. The adolescent is separated from family and friends and denied status and autonomy. He is viewed, in some circles, with "distaste and alarm" (Johnson, 1987). Johnson (1987) concludes that "imprisonment is a stressful experience for even the hardened criminal, but for the adolescent, the experience of incarceration can prove to be traumatic" (p. 462).

Adolescents respond to incarceration in ways that dramatize their perceived needs and concerns. They feel an exaggerated concern for peer acceptance and conformity to the demands of the institution. This need for peer acceptance fosters an

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expectation that others will take advantage of them if they are seen as weak. A preoccupation with toughness and an inability to back down results in widespread abuse and exploitation of weaker peers. In this environment, the adolescent must perceive himself as needing to be cold, callous, and manipulative. The belief is that if he is without feelings, he cannot be hurt nor emotionally impacted. Thus, showing weaknesses admits defeat.

These rules or guidelines for adaptation prove functional for some individuals. For these persons, a context is provided to aid in their search for identity as well as adult status. Survivors are seen as aggressive and powerful and are considered men. Non-survivors are seen as "boys," "punks" or "pussies." Adolescents who are reared in tougher environments, like urban slums, seem relatively equipped to adjust and even prosper. For the larger group, however, the norms of incarceration contribute to an environment rife with pressures. The majority of inmates try to avoid victimization by hiding their personal suffering and by maintaining low profiles. They face the challenge of incarceration with hard silent stoicism. The fierce outward composure allows them to ward off threats of emasculation. These inmates accept their punishment without emotion and give the appearance of withstanding the pains of incarceration. They engage in few social activities with fellow inmates and manipulate their environment by finding a niche: the prison library, school, clinics or their cell, where they feel relatively safe and secure. Among the more sheltered and naive inmates, prison pressures may prove unmanageable and spawn "psychological breakdowns" that result in either self-destructive conduct or in lashing out

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aggressively towards others. Still, other inmates need to prove their masculinity by exaggerating it. These inmates are the most aggressive inmates who prove their maleness by confronting correction officers and dominating weaker peers. At the opposite extreme are the exploited, who are unable to withstand the threats of others and are victimized either physically, sexually or emotionally (Johnson, 1978).

In most correctional facilities, as is true of the outside world, aggression can be instrumentally motivated and serve as a means to some end (Magaree, 1982). For example, two inmates may act out aggressively in identical ways, but the reasons for each act could be very different. One might be performing a well-planned act aimed at accomplishing some end such as getting a desired goal. The other might be reacting without any planned objective to a stressful situation.

This study, seeks to investigate how adolescent males perceive their parents' parenting styles and how these styles affect the adolescents' ability to face difficulties such as incarceration and other troublesome situations given their level of attachment to both peers and family. The adolescents involved in this study were either at risk for incarceration or have history of incarceration and/or open cases within the judicial system.

The hypotheses of this current study are as follows:

1. Inner city adolescent males raised by an authoritarian parent and who had a history of incarceration or open case(s) will have greater difficulties with attachment to parental figures and/or peers than inner city adolescent males raised by parents who endorsed an authoritative parenting style.

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2. Inner city adolescent males raised by an authoritarian parent with a history of incarceration and/or open cases will have greater difficulty coping with stressful situations than inner city adolescent males with a history of incarceration and/or open cases raised by an authoritative parent.

3. Inner city adolescent males who have a history of incarceration and/or open cases who were raised by parents who endorsed a permissive parenting style will have greater difficulties with attachment to parental figures and difficulties coping with stressful situations than either inner city adolescent males raised by parents who endorsed authoritarian or authoritative parenting styles.

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Chapter III

METHODS

Participants

Adolescents who volunteered to participate in this study were all at-risk for incarceration or had a history of incarceration and/or open cases within the juvenile justice system. The participants consisted of 45 ethnic minority males between the ages of 12 and 21 years old. Individuals were recruited from a large comprehensive community center located in Harlem that provides a variety of supportive services for troubled youth. Youth of all ages visit the center in order to access needed mental health, educational and social services and to participate in supervised recreation. Typically, youth come to the center in order to avoid trouble and to socialize with their peers.

Demographic Data and Social Characteristics

Design and Procedures

Study participants were referred to the investigator by the program director who was briefed on the study prior to the start of data collection. The only criterion for referral was that the adolescents needed to have a history of arrest or incarceration and/or be considered at risk for either incarceration or arrest. Once a prospective study participant was identified, he was scheduled for an interview with the study

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investigator. During the interview, the participant read a script detailing the objectives of the study (see Appendix F). The subject was then asked to sign a consent form for his participation and was given a consent form for his parent/caregiver (see Appendices H & I). The consent forms detailed the terms of the study. During the recruitment phase, subjects were advised that all of the data collected were for dissertation research purposes only and that none of the information received would be released to the courts or other city agencies or family members. Additionally, study participants received remuneration for their participation in the study ($5.00 per questionnaire, a total of $15.00). Study participants were informed by the researcher that their participation in the study was strictly of their own volition and that they have the option to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Demographic information regarding the parents' family background information and incarceration history were collected. Study participants were men who were administered three questionnaires: (1) Parental Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ), aimed at assessing the type of parenting styles that individuals were exposed to during their formative years, (2) Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA), which was aimed at measuring attachment to parents and (3) The Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE) aimed at assessing the coping mechanisms employed by adolescents in stressful situations.

After completing the three questionnaires, study participants were administered the Adult Attachment Inventory (AAI), which measures attachment to the parent or caregiver.

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Study participants were given as much time as they needed to complete the instruments and an opportunity to ask questions related to the study.

Once the questionnaires were completed and compiled by the investigator, study participants were thanked for their participation and told that if they had any questions, they could contact the investigator at the number provided to them and they were then paid (see Appendix G). To maintain anonymity, each questionnaire packet was given an identification code number. A separate list of names and identification codes were kept separately in a locked cabinet.

Measures

Parenting Styles

Parenting styles were assessed through the use of the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) developed by Buri (1989), a 30-item Likert type scale based on the theory and research of Diana Baumrind (1971). Baumrind (1971) proposed three prototypes of parental authority, permissive, authoritarian and authoritative. She developed these prototypes through extensive interviews with parents and their children and through observation of parents' interactions with their children. Parents who fall under the category of permissive are described as relatively warm, non-demanding and non-controlling. Parents who endorse authoritarian parenting styles are usually defined as parents who value unquestioning obedience. These parents also attempt to control their children's behavior through punitive disciplinary methods. Parents who endorse authoritative parenting styles are described as those who fall

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between the above two extreme dimensions. These parents utilize firm and clear parenting methods that are flexible and rational in nature. Buri (1989) constructed 48 questionnaire items based upon Baumrind's description of the authoritative, authoritarian and permissive prototypes. These items were evaluated by psychologists who further scaled down the items to 30. These items yield permissive, authoritarian and authoritative subscores for both mother and father. The items are stated from the perspective of an individual evaluating the patterns of authority exercised by his parents. The instrument can be used with either male or female older adolescents or young adults. The PAQ has good internal consistency, with alphas that range from .74 to .87 for the subscales. The scales test-retest reliability is also good, with scores ranging from .77 to .92 (Buri, 1991).

The PAQ has good construct validity, with authoritarianism inversely correlated with the respondent's self-esteem and authoritativeness positively related to self-esteem (Buri, 1991). However, permissiveness was not related to self-esteem. The mother and father formats for the above subscales are identical with the exception of appropriate references to gender.

The scale asks respondents to rate their parents' parenting style on a five-point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

Parent and Peer Attachment

Parent and peer attachment was assessed through the use of the Inventory of Parenting of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). It consists of 3 to 25 item sections, each measuring attachment to mother, father and

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close friends respectively. Each section yields three subscales: Trust (T), Communication (C), and Alienation (A).

The Trust (T), Communication (C), Alienation (A), subscales have internal consistency alphas of .91, .91 and .86 , respectively, for the mother and father/caregiver scale.

The Peer Scale had internal consistency coefficients of .91, ,87, and .72 for the Trust (T),Communication (C) and Alienation (A) subscales. Test re-test reliability coefficients over a three-week interval was .93 for the prototype Parent Attachment Scale and .86 for the Peer Attachment Scale (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987).

The IPPA has excellent concurrent validity. Scores correlate with several measures of psychological well-being, including self-concept, self-esteem, positiveness, life satisfaction, problem solving and locus of control. The scores have been negatively correlated with depression and loneliness. Scores are also correlated with several measure of family functioning. The IPPA has good known-group validity, with scores discriminating delinquent from nondelinquent youngsters (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987).

All three instruments were scored independently. The total attachment scores for the mother and father subscales were the sum of all items after reverse-scoring items 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, and 23. Sub-scale scores were computed as follows:

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Trust (T) = the summation of items: 1, 2, 4, 13, 14, 21, 23, and 24

Communication (C) = the summation of items: 6, 8, 16, 17, 20, 26, and 28.

Attachment (A) = the summation of items: 1, 9, 12, 18, 119, 22, 25, and 27.

Coping

Coping was assessed through the use of the Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE) (Patterson & McCubbin, 1991). The A-COPE is a 54-item instrument designed to measure the behaviors adolescents find helpful in managing problems and difficult situations. The items on the scale were developed from information derived from literature reviews and interviews with adolescents regarding life changes. The scale has been used with several samples of adolescents, including 185 female and 241 male junior and senior high school students and 709 adolescents from families enrolled in a large health maintenance organization in a Midwestern city. The A-COPE has been cited as having fair predicative validity, with several items going in predicted directions and correlating with one's use of illicit substances such as alcohol and marijuana (McCubbin & Thompson, 1991).

During the critical transitional period from childhood to young adulthood, adolescents struggle with remaining connected to and dependent upon their families, while simultaneously trying to exercise their growing need for independence. This pull between being connected to and being separated from the family underlies adolescent coping behavior (Patterson & McCubbin, 1991). The A-COPE comprises 12 factors that give a global assessment of coping behaviors. They are as follows:

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1. *Ventilating feelings*: This includes six coping behaviors focused upon the adolescent's expression of frustrations and tensions such as yelling, blaming others, saying mean things and complaining to friends and family. The items that are associated with this coping behaviors are 19, 22, 26, 28, 49 and 51.

2. *Seeking Diversions*: This includes eight coping behaviors focused upon the adolescent's efforts to keep busy and engaged in relatively sedate activities that provide a venue for him to escape from or forget about the sources of tension and stress. The items that are associated with this coping behavior are 2, 9, 11, 33, 37, 43, 48, and 53.

3. *Developing Self-reliance and Optimism*: This includes six coping behaviors focused upon direct efforts on behalf of the adolescent to be more organized and in charge of situations as well as to think positively about what is happening to him in a given situation. The items that are associated with this coping behavior are 15, 25, 32, 40, 45, and 47.

4. *Developing Social Supports*: This includes six coping behaviors directed at the adolescents' efforts to stay emotionally connected with other people through reciprocal problem solving and expression of affect. The items associated with this coping behavior are 4, 14, 18, 30, 35, and 52.

5. *Solving Family Problems*: This includes six coping behaviors that focus upon the adolescent's direct efforts at working out difficult issues with family members and reducing tension in the home. The items associated with this coping behavior are 1, 12, 31, 39, 41, and 50.

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6. *Avoiding Problems*: This includes five coping behaviors that describe the adolescent's use of substances as a means of escaping or avoiding persons or issues that are problematic. The items associated with this coping behavior are 8, 24, 36, 42, and 46.

7. *Seeking Spiritual Support*: This includes three items focused on religious behavior: i.e, praying, going to church or talking to clergy. The items associated with this coping behavior are 21, 23, and 44.

8. *Investing In Close Friends*: This includes two coping items that involve the adolescent seeking closeness and understanding from a peer. The items associated with this coping behavior are 16 and 29.

9. *Seeking Professional Support*: This includes two coping items that involve the adolescent seeking help or advise from a professional counselor or teacher for difficult problems. The items associated with this coping behavior are 6 and 34.

10. *Engaging in Demanding Activity*: This includes four coping behaviors, each of which poses a real challenge for the adolescent to excel at something or achieve a goal such as strenuous physical activity, improving oneself or working hard on school work. The items associated with this coping behaviors are 10, 13, 27, and 54.

11. *Being Humorous*: This includes two items focused on the adolescent's capacity not to take situations too seriously by joking or making light of the matters. The items associated with this coping behavior are 3 and 20.

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12. *Relaxing*: This includes four coping behaviors that focus on the adolescent's ability to reduce tension such as daydreaming, listening to music or riding around in a car. The items associated with this coping behavior are 5, 7, 17 and 38.

The subscales of A-COPE have fair to good internal consistency, with alphas that range from .45-.75 (Patton, Ventura & Savedra,1986).

The A-COPE has fair predictive validity with several correlations in predicted directions for items related to the use of illicit substances such as alcohol and marijuana (McCubbin & Thompson, 1991).

Scores were obtained by summing the numbers circled by the subjects (i.e.; 1 = never, 2 = hardly ever; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often and 5 = most of the times) for each item included on the A-COPE instrument. However, for nine items (7, 8 19, 24 26, 28 42, 46 and 49) the scores were reversed (i.e., 1 = 5; 2 = 4; 3 = 3; 4 = 2; and 5 = 1). This ensured that all of the items were weighted in the same positive direction for both the analysis and interpretation of the results. Subscale scores were obtained by summing the number circled by the respondents (i.e., 1 = never; 2 = hardly ever; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often and 5 = most of the times) for the items on each subscale.

Attachment

Attachment was also assessed through the use of one Adult Attachment Inventory (AAI). The AAI is an interview protocol structured entirely around attachment. Developed at the University of California at Berkeley, the protocol features a combination of formats, the first being a questionnaire and the other a clinical interview. The interviewer questions are asked in a prescribed order and

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specific probes are used when questions are not answered. At the same time, the interviewer follows the subject's phrasing in order to understand what is meant and repeatedly provides an opportunity for the interviewee to answer thoughtfully and to expand on the topic over the period of the interview itself. For this study, the interviewer/researcher elicited responses from the subject's memories and evaluations of experiences in two contrasting forms: overall evaluations of experiences and specific biographical episodes. Generally, this protocol takes approximately one hour to administer, depending upon the complexity and number of issues to be discussed and upon the length needed to ensure the subject's level of comfort.

The interview methodology was intimate. Thus, a natural conversational style and genuine empathy were maintained throughout. For this to be accomplished, the questions and probes were memorized by the interviewer. Furthermore, the order of probes and questions was consistent for each subject (see Appendix F).

Results from previous interviews were transcribed and analyzed at the University of California at Berkeley where the seminal ideas for this protocol first emerged. However, to date, several researchers around the country have been trained to analyze the data. The interview is transcribed verbatim and the analysis depends upon extended study of the transcript as a whole. Much of the analysis of the interview entails a search for overall coherence in the representation of attachment related issues and an analysis of exact linguistic form.

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Demographic Data and Social Characteristics

Analysis of demographic data revealed the following findings: The mean age of the study participants were exposed to an authoritarian parenting style was 17.7 years and 16.8 years for those adolescent males who were exposed to an authoritative parenting style.

There were 45 participants in total. 23 were African American, 19 were Hispanic and 3 were White. The mean age of the participants was 17.8. Participants were registered at the local community center located in an inner city mental health facility.

Three percent of the study participants graduated with a high school diploma. 13 percent of the study participants dropped out of a traditional high school and enrolled in a Graduate Equivalency Diploma (GED) program, 76 percent of the study participants reported still being in school, and 8 percent reported dropping out of school by the ninth grade. The study participants' reasoning for dropping out of school ranged from being kicked out of their respective family household and becoming homeless to becoming incarcerated.

The mean number of current or previous open cases within the criminal justice system was 1.67 for the study population. Open cases or histories of open cases ranged from misdemeanor violation of probation to felony attempt murder.

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Chapter IV

RESULTS

Parenting Styles

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of parenting styles. Within the permissive category n = 3 (6.5 percent). Adolescents from authoritarian parents n = 23 (1.5 percent), and adolescents from authoritative parents were n = 19 (42.2 percent). The permissive category was eliminated due to so few cases. Those cases were retabulated and placed in the next highest category, either authoritarian parenting style or authoritative parenting style.

Hypothesis I

Hypothesis I is as follows: Inner city males raised by parents who endorsed an authoritarian parenting style and who had a history of incarceration or open case(s) will have greater difficulties with attachment to parental figures and/or peers than inner city adolescent males with a history of incarceration and/or open case(s) raised by parents who endorsed in an authoritative parenting style. This hypothesis was sustained. The criterion for attachment was the Mean (M) and the Standard Deviation (STD) on the IPPA. Scores on this measure were consistently lower for adolescents raised in authoritarian households. For example, when looking at the total scores for both the mother/caregiver and peers, since those particular scores gave an overall view of both variables, the scores

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for the authoritarian parenting style were significantly lower than that of the authoritative parenting style total mother/caregiver Mean (M) = 83.96 (SD=19.15) and Mean (M) = 97.00 (SD = 13.29) (see Table 3).

The first scale is mother/caregiver-trust. For this study, significant differences existed between mother trust of adolescents raised within an authoritarian home versus an authoritative parenting style home. The mean for adolescent males raised within authoritarian parenting style homes was 37.28 (SD = 8.44). The mean for adolescents raised within authoritative parenting style homes was 42.75 (SD = 6.45). Since the groups yielded an unequal distribution, a Satterwaite analysis was computed. The results yielded (t = -2.46, p = 0.02 , S Alpha = 0.868). Adolescents within authoritative parenting style homes had higher levels of mother-trust than adolescents raised within authoritarian parenting style homes.

There are no differences regarding mother communication and style of parenting. Adolescents raised within an authoritarian parenting style home scored 31.32 (SD = 8.54). Adolescents by authoritative parenting style caregivers scored 34.45 (SD = 6.28) (t = -1.42 p = .164 S Alpha = .833).

The mother/caregiver-alienation scores also suggest a significant relationship. The overall mean for this scale is 12.53 (SD = 4.18). Adolescents raised within an authoritarian parenting style home achieved a mean score of 14.40 (SD = 4.09) and adolescents raised within an authoritative parenting style home achieved a mean score of 10.20 (SD = 2.98) (t = -3.98 p = .0003 S Alpha = 0.640). These results suggest a

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significant difference in authoritarian subjects' tendency to alienate themselves more than the authoritative subjects.

Peer Trust, Communication and Alienation

Table 4 continues to illustrate the Means (M) and Standard Deviations (STD) of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) peer subtest scores for authoritarian and authoritative subjects. These scores indicate the level of attachment the subjects had towards their peers. The findings are as follows for peer-trust: Adolescents raised within authoritarian parenting style households yielded a mean score of 33.32 (SD = 10.57). The mean score for adolescents raised within authoritative parenting style households was 41.10 (SD = 8.06). ($t = -2.80$ $p = 0.0008$ S Alpha = 0.940). Subjects raised under an authoritative parenting style showed a significant difference in trusting peers than those raised under an authoritarian parenting style.

With regard to the communication variable with peers, the authoritarian subjects attained a score of 24.04 (SD = 7.88). The authoritative adolescent participants attained a score of 30.20 (SD = 5.94). Subjects raised under authoritative parenting styles showed more communication with peers than subjects raised under authoritarian parenting styles. These findings were also significant among study participants.

The final variable is the peer-alienation variable. Again, there were significant differences among the study participants. The authoritarian adolescent study participants yielded a score of 18.24 (SD = 5.41). The authoritative adolescent subjects scored 14.70 (SD = 3.97), ($t = 2.53$ $p = 0.015$ S Alpha = 0.613).

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When looking at peer-trust, authoritative parenting style youth tended to trust their peers more than those from the authoritarian parenting style backgrounds. Within the peer-communication variable, youth from authoritative parenting styles communicate more with their peers than those from authoritarian parenting styles. With respect to peer-alienation, youth from authoritarian parenting style backgrounds were more alienated from their peers than youth from parents that embraced authoritative style approaches to parenting.

Hypothesis II

The second hypothesis is as follows: Inner city males raised by an authoritarian parent and who are at-risk will have greater difficulty coping with stressful situations than inner city males who are at-risk raised by an authoritative parent.

This hypothesis was also sustained as indicated by the significant difference in scores between the two study groups for 2 out of 12 aspects of coping. Adolescents who had been raised by parents who endorsed an authoritative parenting style scored consistently higher on the A-COPE than adolescents from authoritarian parenting style homes. Thus, this reflects that authoritative adolescents' have a great capacity to navigate more effectively through difficult situations by engaging a vast number of supports (see Table 5).

Table 5 illustrates the Means (M) and Standard Deviation (STD) of the Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE). The A-COPE is a 54 item questionnaire that asks respondents to answer a statement by choosing one of the

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following responses from 1-5: "never," "hardly ever," "sometimes," "often," and "most of the time." Once the questionnaire is completed, the answers are scored and given a corresponding coping behavior pattern. Coping behavior patterns are based on behaviors or items that are matched to produce a coping pattern. The 12 coping patterns of the A-COPE are: ventilating feelings, seeking diversions, developing self-reliance and optimism, developing social support, solving family problems, avoiding problems, seeking spiritual support, investing in close friends, seeking professional support, engaging in demanding activities, being humorous and relaxing.

Scale 1: Ventilating Feelings

This coping pattern includes six coping items focused upon the adolescents' expression of frustrations and tensions such as yelling, blaming others, saying mean things, and complaining to friends or family. The mean for study participants from authoritarian households was 2.35 (SD = .72). The mean for adolescents from authoritative households was 2.97 (SD = .47) ($t = -3.51$ $p = 0.001$ S Alpha = .442). Youth from authoritative parenting styles ventilated their feelings more than youth from authoritarian parenting styles. This finding yielded a significant difference between the two parenting styles.

Scale 2: Seeking Diversions

This coping pattern includes eight coping behaviors focused upon adolescents' efforts to keep busy and engaged in relatively sedate activities that are a way to escape from or forget about the sources of tension and stress, such as sleeping, watching TV or reading. The authoritarian study participants' mean score was 3.11 (SD = .72). The

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authoritative study participants' mean score was 3.43 (SD = .64) (t = -1.59, p = .120 S Alpha = .640). This finding was not significant.

Scale 3: Developing Self-Reliance and Optimism

This coping pattern includes six coping behaviors focused upon direct efforts on behalf of the adolescent to be more organized and in charge of the situations as well as think positively about what is happening to him. The authoritarian study participants' mean score was 3.47 (SD = .80). The authoritative study participants' mean score was 3.61 (SD = .79). (t = -.59, p = .56 S Alpha = .73). This was also not significant.

Scale 4: Developing Social Support

This coping pattern includes six coping behaviors directed at efforts to stay emotionally connected with other people through reciprocal problem solving and expression of affect. For example, helping others solve problems, talking to a friend about one's feelings or apologizing to others. The authoritarian study participants' mean score was 3.06 (SD = .68). The authoritative study participants' mean score was 3.35 (SD = .60). (t = -1.52, p = 0.137 S Alpha = .51). This finding was not significant.

Scale 5: Solving Family Problems

This coping pattern includes six coping behaviors that focus upon direct efforts by the adolescent to work out difficult issues with family members and to reduce tension in the home by adhering to expectations and rules. The authoritarian subject participants' mean score was 2.84 (SD = .80). The authoritative subject participants' mean score was 3.37 (SD = .61). (t = -2.50, p = 0.016 S Alpha = .509). This finding was significant.

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Youth from authoritative parenting style homes were better able to solve difficult issues with family members than those from authoritarian parenting style homes.

Scale 6: Avoiding Problems

This coping pattern includes five coping behaviors that involve the adolescents' use of substances as a means of escaping (e.g., drinking beer, smoking) or avoiding persons or issues that cause problems (e.g., staying away from home, telling self the problem is not important). The authoritative study participants' mean score was 2.95 (SD = .76). The authoritative subject participants' mean score was 3.12 (SD = .55). (t = -.83, p = 0.410 S Alpha = -.190). This finding was not significant.

Scale 7: Seeking Spiritual Support

This coping pattern includes three items focused on the adolescents' religious behaviors (e.g., praying, going to church, or talking to clergy). The authoritarian study participants' mean score was 2.37 (SD = .93). The authoritative study participants' mean score was 2.64 (SD = .96). (t = -.94, p = 0.352 S Alpha = .67). This finding was not significant.

Scale 8: Investing in Close Friends

This coping pattern includes two coping items that involve adolescents seeking closeness and understanding from a peer (e.g., being with a girlfriend or boyfriend). The authoritarian subject participants' mean score was 3.90 (SD = 1.23). The authoritative subject participants mean score was 3.85 (SD = .93). (t = .15 p = .88 S Alpha = .77). This finding was not significant.

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Scale 9: Seeking Professional Support

This coping pattern focuses on two behaviors of the adolescents directed at getting help and advice from a professional counselor or teacher about difficult problems. The authoritarian subject participants' mean score was 2.78 (SD = 1.17). The authoritative subject participants' mean score was 2.73 (SD = .94). (t = .17 p = .862 S Alpha = .35). This finding was not significant.

Scale :10 Engaging in Demanding Activities

This coping pattern includes four coping behaviors. each of which poses a challenge for the adolescent to excel at something or achieve a goal such as strenuous physical activity, improving oneself, or working hard on schoolwork. The authoritarian subject participants' mean score was 3.10 (SD = .95). The authoritative subject participants' mean score was 3.19 (SD = .79). (t = -.35 p = .725 S Alpha = .595). This finding was not significant.

Scale 11: Being Humorous

This coping pattern includes two items focused on not taking the situation too seriously by joking or making light of it. The authoritarian subject participants' mean score was 3.64 (SD = .95). The authoritative subject participants' mean score was 3.60 (SD = 1.14). (t = -.13, p = .90 S Alpha = -.749). This finding was not significant.

Scale 12: Relaxing

This coping behavior focuses on ways to reduce tensions such as daydreaming, listening to music, or riding around in a car. The authoritarian subjects participants'

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mean score was 3.34 (SD = .56). The authoritative subject participants' mean score was 3.48 (SD = .52). (t = -.89 p = .38 S Alpha = .042). This finding was not significant.

Scores for the Adolescent-Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE) for both authoritative and authoritarian adolescent study participants were, for the most, part non-significant. However, the authoritative group consistently displayed a trend of higher scores in all categories except three.

Hypothesis III

The third hypothesis is as follows: Inner city males who have a history of incarceration and/or open case(s) and who have been raised by a permissive parenting style caregiver will have greater difficulties with attachment to parental figures and difficulties coping with stressful situations than either males raised within authoritarian parenting or authoritative parenting style homes. Due to the small number of cases, this hypothesis could not be assessed.

Adult Attachment Inventory (AAI)

The Adult Attachment Inventory (AAI) was administered to study participants as an additional analysis in order to validate the empirical data given by the study participants. It was concluded that a narrative assessment would provide a broad but compelling view of the relationship between the parent/caregiver and child that could not be assessed through other conventional measures. Thus, the AAI allowed study participants to create a more in depth picture of their relational abilities by answering direct probes through a content driven clinical exercise.

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The interview, which is generally slated for up to one hour. is based solely around issues of attachment. The interview questions are asked in a prescribed order and specific probes are used when questions are not answered. At the same time, the interviewer follows the subject's phrasing in order to better understand what is meant by his responses and allows the subject ample time to answer the questions thoughtfully and to expand upon the topic over the period of the interview itself.

The interviewer deliberately repeats specific questions in order to attain the subject's memories and evaluations of his experiences in two contrasting forms: overall evaluations of experience and specific biographical episodes. The interview is transcribed verbatim and its analysis is based upon extended study of the transcript as a whole. Much of the analysis of the interview is conducted through a search for overall coherency in the representation of attachment-related issues (e.g., do memories support. fail to support, or actively contradict more general evaluation of feelings and experience?) and through an analysis of the exact linguistic form.

For the purposes of this study, an abbreviated version of the AAI was administered to participating subjects. The investigator was only interested in verifying information supporting attachment which is why a short narrative was required.

The abbreviated sessions required study participants to choose five adjectives or words that best reflected the relationship with their mother/caregiver. Study participants were encouraged to remember as far back as they could in order to answer the question. They were then instructed to think of reasons why they chose specific words that described their relationship with their mother/caregiver. After this, study participants

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were instructed to remember a situation or story that illustrated the words they chose. which best reflected their relationship to their mother/caregiver.

Study participants were encouraged to speak freely about the words they chose. Below is an excerpt of one study subject's response to the AAI.

This adolescent, who will be given the alias "John," is a 17-year-old, Hispanic male who had been attending the center for two years. He has a long history of arrest and has been incarcerated in the past. This adolescent chose the following words to characterize his relationship with his mother: confused, sad, hurt, fear and love.

> *Confused:* "There was a lot of arguments for no reason. We would just start arguing. I would stay confused like why? Why would she try to kill me?"
>
> *Sad:* " It was sad , 'cause I was always alone. *Why alone?* " 'Cause I was always locked up in the room. No TV. No toys." *Why locked up?* "'Cause I was always acting bad. I'd break stuff for no reason—I was like destructive and she would get mad."
>
> *Hurt:* " 'Cause she tried to kill me and I was hurt. There was no love there and she didn't want me, so I went to live with my grandmother."
>
> *Fear:* " She tried to kill me. You know, even though I love her, it's like funny when I think about it. I can't believe my mother . . . I can't call it."
>
> *Love:* " I love her because she saved my life. Even though she tried to kill me a lot of times, she saved me. When I would need to go to the hospital, she found ways of getting me there. She always found a way to keep me

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alive, so I wouldn't bleed to death. She would find a way to get me to the hospital."

In the past, interviews were taped, transcribed and sent out for analysis. However, since these interviews were significantly abbreviated, which affected the quality and quantity of the responses, traditional analysis of the data could not be completed in the standard format. Therefore, it was decided that frequencies would be tabulated to determine which parenting styles were subsumed under which set of words. The responses (words) were coded and placed in five categories: aggressive, cooperation, despondent, positive, and annoyed.

Analysis of the Data

Forty-five study participants were administered the AAI Interviews. A total of 134 words were produced and coded to form five categories: aggressive, cooperation, despondent, positive, and annoyed. The total number (n) of words was tallied and a percentage (%) for each word was computed. Chi Squares and P-Values were also computed. The percentages, Chi Square (Chi Sq) scores and P (p) Values are as follows:

Aggression (authoritarian (n) = 6; % = 30; authoritative (n) = 14; % = 56; Chi SQ = .3.04; (p) =.08)

Cooperation (authoritarian (n) = 13; % = 52; authoritative (n) = 17; % = 85 Chi SQ = 5.45; (p) = .02). This finding yielded a significant difference between cooperation and the other four categories.

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Despondent (authoritarian (n) = 8; % = 32 ; authoritative (n) = 4; % = 20;

Chi SQ = .82 ; (p) = .37)

Positive (authoritarian (n) = 21; % = 84; authoritative (n) = 18; % = 90;

Chi SQ = .35; (p) = .56)

Annoyed (authoritarian (n) = 12; % = 48; authoritative (n) = 7; % = 35;

Chi SQ = .77; (p) = .38).

Overall, the authoritarian subgroup produced higher percentages in the despondent and annoyed categories. However, the authoritative subgroup scored highest in the cooperation, positive and aggression categories. This supports the general hypothesis that adolescents from authoritarian households would generally have poorer relationships with family and/or peers. The authoritative group was more likely than the authoritarian group to use positive words to describe previous relationships with their caregiver, (Chi Sq = .35; p = .56). The authoritarian group was more likely to mention negative words (Chi Sq = .77; p = .38). Adolescents from authoritative parenting style backgrounds displayed significant difference in the use of cooperation words (Chi Sq = 5.45; p = .02). Thus, it can be concluded that these adolescents were more likely to be more cooperative with others than adolescents raised in authoritarian homes (see Table 6).

Conclusions

The Adult Attachment Inventory (AAI), a protocol used to measure attachment, was administered to 45 adolescent males placed in two categories: authoritarian and

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authoritative. One-hundred and thirty-four words were derived from the administration of the AAI. The words were coded and placed in five categories: aggression, cooperation, despondent, positive, and annoyed.

On the whole, findings from this study suggest relationships between parenting style, attachment and coping for adolescents who have a history of incarceration or who are at risk for incarceration. These findings reveal that parenting style can demonstrate how a child copes with tough or problematic experiences he may encounter in life. Hence, hypotheses I and II were sustained, indicating that parenting style is related to attachment and coping for adolescents who have a history of incarceration or who are at risk for incarceration.

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Chapter V

DISCUSSION

This study, " Understanding Parenting Styles as a Preventive Construct for Adolescent Males," explored the impact of parenting styles on attachment and adjustment for adolescent males who are either at risk of being incarcerated or who already have a history of incarceration. The results of the study supported hypotheses and clinical assumptions that suggest that parenting styles are strongly related to attachment and adjustment for this population. Hence, this present study demonstrated that adolescent males who come from an authoritarian household would have greater difficulties with attachment and coping than adolescents who come from authoritative households.

The results of this study provided additional support for clinically held assumptions regarding the contention that family characteristics are integrally related to delinquency and that these characteristics generally involve ineffective family functioning that is expressed through problematic behavior by the child (Grove & Crutchfield, 1982).

In analyzing the demographic data for the study population, adolescents from parents who endorsed the authoritarian parenting style out numbered adolescents (51.3% of the total number of cases) from households that endorsed authoritative and permissive parenting styles, 42.2 and 6.5 percent, respectively. A review of the research related to parenting styles suggests that the authoritative parenting style is correlated to higher competence among adolescents in high-risk environments, which further supports the

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idea that across ethnic groups, the authoritarian parenting style is thought to be optimal in raising competent children.

In African American and other ethnic communities, this idea is ever present. A strong belief exists that parents must possess authoritarian styles of parenting in order to produce independent and emotionally resilient children. Hence, it is believed that this style of parenting helps to promote a healthy level of self-esteem among minority children who are raised in sociocultural environments that pose the persistent threat of racism. This commonly held belief is particularly true for those families raising male children and households that include female children as well. Thus, it is this belief and subsequent parenting behavior that may account for the large number of adolescents in this study who reported being products of authoritarian households.

However, based on the work of Diana Baumrind on parenting styles (1967,1971), it was assumed that out of this study sample, more study participants would report being from permissive parenting households since permissive households are typically characterized by a low degree of demanding behaviors by the parent and a high degree of responsiveness by the child. Such inconsistently enforced rules and expectations thus leaves the child unsure of what is expected of him.

The population that was studied was comprised of adolescent males who either had a history of arrest and/or incarceration or who were at risk of arrest and/or incarceration due to their self-reported behavior. Some of the reported behaviors that placed adolescents at risk included (1) a history of school failure and (2) problematic behaviors that place the adolescent in jeopardy of being removed from school or

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association with friends or family who have had contact with the criminal justice system. However, in some inner city neighborhoods, adolescents do not always have to be involved in maladaptive or negative behaviors in order to be faced with the threat of and/or actual arrest and subsequent incarceration. This is, indubitably, a grave reality that exist in some neighborhoods within the inner city. At times, the threat of arrest and/or incarceration increases with adolescents' visibility within the neighborhood. In other words, if the adolescent is seen on the streets in the neighborhood during certain times of the day or night, the more likely are his chances that law enforcement will perceive him as a criminal and will attempt to arrest him. In the above scenario, the issue of parental permissiveness or neglect comes into question with regard to an adolescent who is either not going to school and who seems to have a lot of unsupervised time. Nevertheless, since the permissive category was comprised of such an insignificant number of study participants, the third hypothesis could not be tested.

The results for the remaining two hypotheses are as follows. Hypothesis 1 stated that inner city males raised by authoritarian parents who had a history of incarceration or open case(s) will have greater difficulties with attachment to parental figures and/or peers than inner city males with a history of incarceration and/or open case(s) raised in homes that endorsed authoritative parental behavior. This hypothesis was sustained as measured through the computed cumulative mean scores. Within the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA), the cumulative Mean (M) scores were lower for the authoritarian categories. Authoritarian parenting is characterized as having a high degree of demanding behaviors by the parent and low degree of responsiveness by the child.

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Parents who endorse this style of parenting strongly value strict adherence to rules established by them. They believe that once a rule has been established, there should be no discussion about the rule and the children have no opinion in the rule's determination. Within this style of parenting, the parent/caregiver is clearly in control and shows little affection towards the children. As a result, children who are recipients of this type of parenting style are typically insecure, apprehensive, socially withdrawn and lacking in self-control and self- reliance (Baumrind, 1967;1971).

Authoritative parenting, on the other hand, is characterized by Baumrind (1967, 1971) as having a high demandingness from the parents and high responsiveness from the child. This means that when the authoritative parent establishes rules, the parent/caregiver is more interested in the child learning the reasons and meanings behind the rules rather than strict adherence to the rules themselves. This in turn helps the child to value his role within the collaborative experience of establishing rules. Parents who uphold authoritative parenting styles model mature and autonomous behavior, thus conveying to the child that he is worthy of trust, and encourage the child's independent decision making skills.

Within this study, higher cumulative scores were seen for authoritative parenting styles than for the authoritarian parenting styles. Higher scores were generated for the Mother-Trust, Mother-Communication, Peer-Trust and Peer-Communication categories. Lower scores were found in the Mother-Alienation and Peer-Alienation categories. Baumrind's theory supported these findings. Authoritative parenting styles fostered higher levels of trust and communication among adolescents but lower levels of

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alienation toward parents and peers. The higher the level of trust and communication and the lower the alienation score, the stronger the attachment. Bowlby's (1973) research found that people with a strong secure base were capable of handling distress because they realized that there were people available to them in times of need. The adolescent offspring from the authoritarian parenting style backgrounds may have not been sure that other people were available to them in times of need, given their level of insecurity developed during their own childhood.

Hypothesis II states the following: Inner city males raised by an authoritarian parent and who also had a history of incarceration and/or history of an open case(s) would have had greater difficulty coping with stressful situations than inner city males with a history of incarceration and/or open case(s) raised by an authoritative parent. As in the case of the previously stated hypothesis, the second hypothesis was also sustained.

Coping was measured through the Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE). The accumulated mean score was also computed. Differences in the total scores of adolescents from authoritarian parenting style homes were compared to the total scores of adolescents from the authoritative parenting style homes. The scale scores of adolescents who were products of the authoritarian parenting styles were lower than the scale scores for those from authoritative parenting styles. The twelve-scale scores describe ways of coping with problematic situations. The higher the score on each subscale, the more internalized the mode of coping was for the individual.

The subscale scores detailing coping to stressful situations were lower for offspring from authoritarian parenting style households than offspring from authoritative

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parenting style households. However, 3 scores remained high for the authoritarian parenting styles. They were: investing in close friends, seeking professional support and being humorous. These scores addressed the more social aspects of relationships that seemed to counter the results of the attachment scores of the previous hypothesis. These 3 subscale scores reflect the adolescents' desire to become more invested in conducting a relationship with others rather than remaining isolative and socially withdrawn as was suggested by the theory. The nine remaining scores that yielded higher mean scores for offspring of the authoritative parenting styles were all singular behaviors that promoted appropriate coping mechanisms and reflected mature and autonomous thinking.

Summary and Conclusions

Forty-five adolescent males between the ages of 12 and 21 was the population under study. This study sought to explore the impact of parenting styles on attachment and adjustment of adolescents who are at risk of incarceration or having open case (s)or who had a history of open cases with the criminal justice system. Study participants were placed in three parenting style groups based on the highest scores from the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ). Means (M) scores and Standard Deviations (STD) scores were computed and analyzed that supported the hypothesis that inner city males raised in an authoritarian parenting style home and who had a history of incarceration or open case(s) would have greater difficulties with attachment to parental figures and/or peers as well as coping to stressful situations than inner city males with a history of incarceration and/or open case (s) raised in homes characterized by an authoritative

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parenting style. Descriptive findings revealed that authoritarian parenting style scores were lower than authoritative parenting style scores in the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) and the Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE).

Summary

In summary, this study investigated whether significant differences exist when juxtaposing parenting styles and adolescent behavior. The findings generated from this study level support for the impact of parenting styles on the adolescent or child's ability to form meaningful attachments to others. Furthermore, findings from this study suggest that the parent/caregiver is a pivotal figure who can have a significant impact on how the child ultimately copes with problem experiences.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study can be summarized as follows: The Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) had certain research limitations for this population due to the complicated wording and structure of the statements used to identify each parenting style. Albeit the questionnaires were normed for adolescents, study participants had some difficulty comprehending the language. A less complicated sentence structure describing the items might have been more palatable to adolescents who do not have adequate reading levels. A reading level advisory could have also been helpful for selecting study participants.

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A more comprehensive measure for assessing coping skills that is culturally sensitive to ethnic minorities may have helped clinicians and researchers understand the feelings surrounding adjustment. A-COPE stresses positive coping mechanisms. Negative coping mechanisms, such as fighting, are equally used for identifying levels of adjustment and coping but were unable to be assessed for this study.

The adolescent study participants were all selected from an inner city mental health facility that presumes and upholds a certain knowledge base and level of appropriate adjustment techniques that may not be based on parent/child relationships.

Finally, this study included only 45 respondents. A larger sample size would allow for better comparisons, which might have yielded more significant results, thereby increasing the researcher's capacity to extrapolate from the findings and to draw more definitive conclusions about the study population.

Suggestions for Future Research

Given the need for a check and balance approach to this type of data collection, it is strongly suggested that researchers interested in duplicating this study not only poll the adolescent but the parent/caregiver as well. This approach or added dimension to this study would allow the researcher to take a more comprehensive look at the family and derive knowledge based inferences that are far more convincing.

Finally, although investigation of the adolescents' involvement in violent acts fell outside the scope of this project, future research investigating parenting styles and their impact on adolescents' violent behavior could produce some interesting data.

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Table 1: Mean Age and Standard Deviations for Authoritarian and Authoritative Study Participants

	Total Cumulation		Authoritarian (N = 24)		Authoritative (N = 21)	
	Mean	STD	Mean	STD	Mean	STD
Mean Age	17.3	2.1	17.7	.7	16.8	3.2

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Table 2: Distribution of Parenting Styles

Permissive	Authoritarian	Authoritative
3 (6.5%)	23 (51.3%)	19 (42.2%)

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Table 3: Mother Subscale from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment Comparing Parenting Styles

	Total		Authoritarian		Authoritative				
	Mean	STD	Mean	STD	Mean	STD	T	P	S Alpha
Mother Trust	39.71	8.02	37.28	8.44	42.75	6.45	-2.46	.02	0.868
Mother Communication	32.71	7.70	31.32	8.45	34.45	6.28	-.42	0.164	0.833
Mother Alienation	12.53	4.18	14.40	4.09	10.20	2.98	3.98	.0003	0.640

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Table 4: Peer Subscale from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment Comparing Parenting Styles

	Total		Authoritarian		Authoritative				
	Mean	STD	Mean	STD	Mean	STD	T	P	S Alpha
Peer Trust	36.78	10.21	33.32	10.57	41.10	8.06	-2.80	0.008	0.940
Peer Communications	26.78	7.66	24.04	7.88	30.20	5.94	-2.99	0.005	0.855
Peer Alienation	16.67	5.09	18.24	5.41	14.70	3.97	2.53	0.015	0.613

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Table 5: Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences

	Total		Authoritarian		Authoritative				
	Mean	STD	Mean	STD	Mean	STD	T	P	S Alpha
Ventilating feelings	2.62	0.69	2.34	0.72	2.97	0.47	-3.51	0.001	0.442
Seeking diversions	3.25	0.69	3.11	0.72	3.43	0.64	-1.59	0.120	0.640
Developing self-reliance and optimism	3.54	0.79	3.47	0.80	3.61	0.79	-.59	0.56	0.733
Developing social support	3.19	0.65	3.06	0.68	3.35	0.60	-1.52	0.137	0.509
Solving family problems	3.07	0.76	2.84	0.80	3.37	0.61	2.50	0.016	0.509
Avoiding problems	3.02	0.67	2.95	0.76	3.12	0.55	-8.3	0.410	0.189
Seeking spiritual support	2.49	0.95	2.37	0.93	2.64	0.96	-9.4	0.352	0.671
Investing in close friends	3.88	1.10	3.90	1.23	3.85	0.93	.15	0.88	0.768
Seeking professional support	2.76	1.06	2.78	1.17	2.73	0.94	.17	.862	0.352
Engaging in demanding activities	3.14	0.87	3.10	0.95	3.19	0.79	-.35	.725	.595
Being humorous	3.62	1.03	3.65	0.95	3.60	1.14	.13	.901	.749
Relaxing	3.40	0.54	3.34	0.56	3.48	0.52	-.89	.380	.042

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Table 6: Adult Attachment Frequency of Adjectives/Words

	Total		Authoritarian		Authoritative			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Chi Square	P Value
Aggression	20	44	6	30	14	56	3.04	.08
Cooperation	30	66.7	13	52.0	17	85	5.45	.02
Positiveness	39	86.7	21	84.0	18	90	.35	.56
Despondent	12	26.7	8	32	4	20	.82	.37
Annoyance	19	42.2	12	48	7	35	.77	.38

Appendix A

Parental Authority Questionnaire (P. A. Q)

Instructions: For each of the following statements, circle the number of the 5-point scale (1 = strongly strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) that best describes how that statement applies to you and your mother. Try to read and think about each statement as it applies to you and your mother during your years of growing up at home. There are no right or wrong answers, so don't spend a lot of time on any one item. We are looking for your overall impression regarding each statement. Be sure not to omit any items.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

1.	While I was growing up my mother felt that in a well-run home the children should have their way in the family as often as the parents do.	1 2 3 4 5
2.	Even if her children did not agree with her, my mother felt that it was for our own good if we were forced to conform to what she thought was right.	1 2 3 4 5
3.	Whenever my mother told me to do something as I was growing up, she expected me to do it immediately without asking any questions.	1 2 3 4 5
4.	As I was growing up, once family policy has been established, my mother discussed the reasoning behind the policy with the children in the family	1 2 3 4 5
5.	My mother has always encouraged verbal give-and-take whenever I have felt that family rules and restrictions were unreasonable.	1 2 3 4 5
6.	My mother has always felt that what children need is to be free to make up their own minds and to do what they want to do, even if this does not agree with what their parents might want.	1 2 3 4 5
7.	As I was growing up my mother did not allow me to question any decision she had made.	1 2 3 4 5

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8.	As I was growing up my mother directed the activities and decisions of the children in the family through reasoning and discipline.	1	2	3	4	5

P.A. Q. Pertaining to Mothers

10.	My mother has always felt more force should be used by parents in order to get their children to behave the way they are supposed to.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	As I was growing up my mother did not feel that I needed to obey rules and regulations of behavior simply because someone in authority had established them.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	As I was growing up I knew what my mother expected of me in my family, but I also felt free to discuss those expectations with my mother when I felt that they were unreasonable.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	My mother felt that wise parents should teach their children early just who is boss in the family.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	As I was growing up, my mother seldom gave me expectations and guidelines for my behavior.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Most of the time as I was growing up my mother did what the children in the family wanted when making family decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	As the children in my family were growing up, my mother consistently gave us direction and guidance in rational and objective ways.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	As I was growing up my mother would get very upset if I tried to disagree with her.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	My mother feels that most problems in society would be solved if parents would not restrict their children's activities, decisions, and desires as they are growing up.	1	2	3	4	5
19.	As I was growing up my mother let me know what behavior she expected of me, and if I did not meet those expectation, she punished me.	1	2	3	4	5
20	As I was growing up my mother allowed me to decide most things for myself without a lot of directions from her.	1	2	3	4	5

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21. As I was growing up my mother took the children's opinions into consideration when making family decisions, but she would not decide for something simply because the children wanted it. 1 2 3 4 5

P.A. Q. Pertaining to Mothers

22. My mother did not view herself as responsible for directing and guiding my behavior as I was growing up. 1 2 3 4 5

23. My mother had clear standards of behavior for the children in our home as I was growing up, but she was willing to adjust those standards to the needs of each of the individual children in the family. 1 2 3 4 5

24. My mother gave me direction for my behavior and activities as I was growing up and she expected me to follow her direction, but she was always willing to listen to my concerns and to discuss that direction with me. 1 2 3 4 5

25. As I was growing up my mother allowed me to form my own point of view on family matters and she generally allowed me to decide for myself what I was going to do. 1 2 3 4 5

26. My mother has always felt that most problems in society would be solved if we could get parents to strictly and forcibly deal with their children when they don't do what they are supposed to as they are growing up. 1 2 3 4 5

27. As I was growing up my mother often told me exactly what she wanted me to do and how she expected me to do it. 1 2 3 4 5

28. As I was growing up my mother gave me clear direction for my behaviors and activities, but she was also understanding when I disagreed with her. 1 2 3 4 5

29. As I was growing up my mother did not direct the behaviors, activities, and desires of the children in the family. 1 2 3 4 5

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30. As I was growing up I knew what my mother expected of me in the family and she insisted that I conform to those expectations simply out of respect for her authority. 1 2 3 4 5

31. As I was growing up, if my mother made a decision in the family that hurt me, she was willing to discuss that decision with me and to admit it if she had made a mistake. 1 2 3 4 5

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Appendix B

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA)

Each of the following statements asks about your feeling about your mother, or the women who has acted as your mother. If you have more than one person acting as your mother (e.g. a natural mother and a stepmother) answer the questions for the one you feel has most influenced you.

		Almost Never Or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some times True	Often True	Almost Always Or Always True
1.	My mother respects my	1	2	3	4	5
2,	I feel my mother does a good job as my mother	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I wish I had a different mother.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	My mother accepts me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I feel it's no use letting my feeling show around my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	My mother can tell when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Talking over my problems with my mother makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5

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IPPA - Pertaining to Mothers

9.	My mother expects too much from me.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I get upset easily around my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	I get upset a lot more than my mother knows about.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	When we discuss things, my mother cares about my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	My mother trust my judgement.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	My mother has her own problems, so I don't bother her with mine.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	My mother helps me to understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	I tell my mother about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	I feel angry with my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	I don't get much attention from my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
19.	My mother helps me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
20.	My mother understands me.	1	2	3	4	5

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IPPA - Pertaining to Mothers

21.	When I am angry about something, my mother tries to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
22.	I trust my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
23.	My mother doesn't understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
24.	I can count on my mother when I need to get something off my chest.	1	2	3	4	5
25.	If my mother knows something is bothering me, she asks me about it.	1	2	3	4	5

PART III:

This part asks about your feelings about your relationships with your close friends. Please read each statement and circle the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

1.	I like to get my friends' point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	My friends can tell when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	When we discuss things, my friends care about my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Talking over my problems with my friends make me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I wish I had different friends.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	My friends understand me.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	My friends help me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	My friends accept me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5

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9.	I feel the need to be in touch with my friends more often.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	My friends don't understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5

IPPA -Pertaining to Friends

11.	I feel alone or apart when I'm with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	My friends listen to what I have to say.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	I feel my friends are good friends.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	My friends are fairly easy to talk to.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	When I am angry about something, my friends try try to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	My friends help me to understand my self better.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	My friends care about how I am.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	I feel angry with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
19.	I can count on my friends when I need to get something off my chest.	1	2	3	4	5
20.	I trust my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
21.	My friends respect my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
22.	I get upset a lot more.	1	2	3	4	5
23.	It seems as if my friends are irritated with me for no reason.	1	2	3	4	5
24.	I can tell my friends about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
25.	If my friends know something is bothering me, they ask me about it.	1	2	3	4	5

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Appendix C

Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE)

Circle one of the following responses for each statement:

1 = Never 2 = Hardly ever 3 = Sometimes 4 = Often 5 = Most of the time

When you face difficulties or feel tense, how often do you	Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Most of the time
1. Go along with parents' requests and rules	1	2	3	4	5
2. Read	1	2	3	4	5
3. Try to be funny and make light of it all	1	2	3	4	5
4. Apologize to people	1	2	3	4	5
5. Listen to music—stereo radio, etc	1	2	3	4	5
6. Talk to a teacher or counselor at school about what bothers you	1	2	3	4	5
7. Eat food	1	2	3	4	5
8. Try to stay away from home as much as possible	1	2	3	4	5
9. Use drugs prescribed by a doctor.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Get more involved in activities at school	1	2	3	4	5
11. Go shopping; buy things you like	1	2	3	4	5

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A-COPE

When you face difficulties or feel tense, how often do you	Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Most of the time
12. Try to reason with parents and talk things out; compromise	1	2	3	4	5
13. Try to improve yourself (get body in shape, get better grades, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
14. Cry	1	2	3	4	5
15. Try to think of the good things in your life	1	2	3	4	5
16. Be with a boyfriend or girlfriend	1	2	3	4	5
17. Ride around in the car	1	2	3	4	5
18. Say nice things to others	1	2	3	4	5
19. Get angry and yell at people	1	2	3	4	5
20. Joke and keep a sense of humor	1	2	3	4	5
21. Talk to a minister/priest or rabbi.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Let off steam by complaining to family members	1	2	3	4	5
23. Go to church	1	2	3	4	5
24. Use drugs (not prescribed by doctor)	1	2	3	4	5

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A-COPE

When you face difficulties or feel tense, how often do you	Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Most of the time
25. Organize your life and what you have to do	1	2	3	4	5
26. Swear	1	2	3	4	5
27. Work hard on schoolwork or other school projects	1	2	3	4	5
28. Blame others for what's going wrong	1	2	3	4	5
29. Be close with someone you care about	1	2	3	4	5
30. Try to help other people Solve their problems	1	2	3	4	5
31. Talk to your mother about What bothers you	1	2	3	4	5
32. Try, on your own, to figure out how to deal with your problems or tension	1	2	3	4	5
33. Work on a hobby you have (sewing, model building etc.)	1	2	3	4	5

When you face difficulties or feel tense, how often do you	Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Most of the time
34. Get professional counseling (not from a school teacher or school counselor)	1	2	3	4	5
35. Try to keep up friendships or make new friends	1	2	3	4	5
36. Tell yourself the problem is not important	1	2	3	4	5
37. Go to a movie	1	2	3	4	5
38. Daydream about how you would like things to be	1	2	3	4	5

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39. Talk to a brother or sister about how you feel	1	2	3	4	5
40. Get a job or work harder at one	1	2	3	4	5
41. Smoke	1	2	3	4	5
42. Do things with your family	1	2	3	4	5
43. Watch TV	1	2	3	4	5

A-COPE

When you face difficulties or feel tense, how often do you	**Never**	**Hardly ever**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Most of the time**
44. Pray	1	2	3	4	5
45. Try to see the good things in a difficult situation	1	2	3	4	5
46. Drink beer, wine, liquor	1	2	3	4	5
47. Try to make your own decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
48. Sleep	1	2	3	4	5
49. Say mean things to people; be sarcastic	1	2	3	4	5
50. Talk to your father about what bothers you	1	2	3	4	5

When you face difficulties or feel tense, how often do you	**Never**	**Hardly ever**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Most of the time**
51. Let off steam by complaining complaining to your friends	1	2	3	4	5
52. Talk to a friend about how you feel	1	2	3	4	5
53. Play video games (Space Invaders, Pac-Man); pool, pinball, etc.	1	2	3	4	5
54. Do a strenuous physical activity (jogging, biking, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5

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Appendix D

ADULT ATTACHMENT INVENTORY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AND PROMPTS

1. Oriented re family: where do you live, moved much, what family did for living? Grandparents all known, or died when parents young (what age—know anything about this grandparent?) Other persons living in family household? Sibs now scattered or nearby?

2. I'd like you to t ry to describe your relationship wit your parents as a young child. . . . I you could start from as far back as you can remember?

3. Five adjectives mother. Pause to think. Memories, incidents for each.

4. Five adjectives father. Pause to think. Memories, incidents for each.

5. Closest parent. Why? Why not same/other parent?

6. When upset as a child, what do? Pause. (a) Emotionally? — incidents? (b) Physically hurt—incidents? (c) What ill—what would happen?

7. First separation? Others?

8. Felt rejected as child? How old? How felt? What did? Did parent realize she/he was rejecting you?

9. Parents ever threaten—for discipline, jokingly? Some of our parents have memories of some kind of abuse in family—happen to you or in your family? — How old, how severe, how frequent? — This experience affect you as an adult? — Affect approach to child?

10. Effect experiences on adult, on adult personality? Any aspects experiences a set-back to your development?

11. Why do you think your parents behaved as they did, during your childhood?

12. Other adults close like parents as a child? Or other adults especially important though not parental? (Ages—live in household—caregiving responsibilities—why important).

13. Loss of parent, other close loved one (sibs) as a child? Age? — Circumstances? — How respond at time? — Sudden or expected? — Feelings at time? — Feelings regarding this death change over time? — Funeral? — Effect on remaining parent? — Effect on adult personality? — On approach to own child?

13a. Other losses in childhood? Same queries as above.

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13b. Important loses in adulthood. Same queries as above.

14. Have there been many changes in your relationship with parents since childhood?

15. What is relationship with parents like for you now as an adult?

16. Feel now when separated from child? — Ever worried about child?

17. If 3 wishes for child 20 years from now, what? Thinking of kind of future you'd like to see for child. Minute to think.

18. Any one thing learned from own childhood experience? What would you hope child learned from his experience of being parented?

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Appendix E

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Date of Birth _____ Age _____

Current Charge: _____

_____

Previous Incarcerations: _____

_____

School History:

List the last grade you completed in school, if you did not complete school give reason for not completing.

Last Grade Completed: _____ High School _____ GED

Reason: _____

_____

Family History:

_____

_____

Growing up did you live with both parents? _____

_____

If not, who did you live with? _____

_____

How long did you live with this person? _____

_____

Do you consider this person your Caregiver? _____

_____

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If not who is your Caregiver?_____

Did you live with your Mother?_____

How long did you live with your Mother?_____

When did you live with your Mother?_____

Socioeconomic:

Does anyone in your household work?_____

If so who?_____

If no one in your household works, how is your family supported?_____

_____

AAI

A) Choose 5 words that describe your relationship with your Mother:

1._____ 4._____

2._____ 5._____

3._____

Why did you choose those words?

1._____ 4._____

2._____ 5._____

3._____

Any memories or incidents that come to mind with respect to that word? Describe:

1._____ 4._____

2._____ 5._____

3._____

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Appendix F

Oral Script

My name is Darryl Henderson and I am a Doctoral Candidate in the Clinical Psychology Department at the Graduate School and University Center at the City University of New York (CUNY), and the principal investigator of this project entitled: "Understanding Parenting Styles as a Preventive Construct for Adolescent Males." This is a research project investigating the relationship between parenting styles and their effect on adolescents' adjustment in today's society and attachment to their parents and peers. It is expected that this study will help us to better understand the relationship between parents and their children. I would like permission to interview you about your experiences, and would like for you to complete 3 questionnaires.

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Appendix G

Closing Script

"The questionnaires you have just completed will be for dissertation purposes only and none of the information received will be released to the courts or other city agencies or family members. You will be given $5.00 dollars for completing each questionnaire. Participation in the study is strictly up to you and you have the option to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty."

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

PH.D. SUBPROGRAM IN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY
CITY COLLEGE, CONVENT AVENUE & 138TH STREET, NAC BLDG. 8/107
NEW YORK, NY 10031
212 650-5674 FAX 212 650-5673

Parental Consent Form

My name is Darryl Henderson and I am a Doctoral Candidate in the Clinical Psychology Department at the Graduate School and University Center at the City University of New York (CUNY), and principal investigator of this project entitled: "Understanding Parenting Styles as a Preventive Construct for Adolescent Males". This is a research study of how parenting styles affect adolescents' adjustment in today's society. The study is expected to expand our understanding of how parents can affect the outcome of adolescent behavior through the style of parenting they use. I would like permission to interview your child about his experiences by having him fill out 3 questionnaires.

This interview will take about 30 minutes, and each questionnaire should take 5-10 minutes to complete. I will pay your child $5.00 dollars to fill out the questionnaires. All information gathered will be kept strictly confidential and will be stored in a locked file cabinet to which only I and my advisor will have access. At any time your child can refuse to answer any questions or to end this interview without any penalty.

The only risk involved in this study is that your child may experience some discomfort in answering questions pertaining to his relationship with his caregiver. One benefit of the study is that, in the future, there will be more information about how to help caregivers be more supportive of their children.

I may publish results of this study, but names of people, or any identifying characteristics, will not be used in any of the publications. If you would like a copy of this study, please provide me with your address and I will send you a copy in the future.

If you have any questions about this research, you can call me at (718) 391-9626 or my advisor, Dr. Anderson J. Franklin at (212) 650-6602. If you have any questions about your child's rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Hilry Fisher, Sponsored Research, Graduate Center/City University of New York at (212) 817-7523.

Thank you for your participation in the study. I will give you a copy of this ~~form to~~ take with you.

Graduate School & University Center / CUNY
IRB
Approved
#3-01-08-00
Approved: 8/28/00 To 8/27/01 Expired:

_____
Parent's or Legal Guardian's signature Date_____

_____
Investigator's signature Date_____

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NEW YORK, NY 10031
212 650-5674 FAX 212 650-5673

Participant Consent Form

My name is Darryl Henderson and I am a Doctoral candidate in the Clinical Psychology Department at the Graduate School and University Center at the City University of New York (CUNY), and principal investigator of the project entitled: "Understanding Parenting Styles as a Preventive Construct for Adolescent Males". This is a research study expected to broaden the understanding of how parents can affect the outcome of adolescent behavior through the style of parenting they use. I would like permission to interview you about your experiences by having you fill out 3 questionnaires.

The interview will take about 30 minutes. Each questionnaire should take 5-10 minutes to complete. I will pay you $5.00 dollars after you complete all three questionnaires. All of the information gathered will be kept strictly confidential and will be stored in a locked file cabinet to which only I and my advisor will have access. At any time you can refuse to answer any questions or end the interview without any penalty.

The only risk involved in this study is that you may experience some discomfort in answering questions pertaining to your relationship with your caregiver. A benefit of the study is that, in the future, there will be more information about how to help caregivers be more supportive of their children.

I may publish results of this study, but names of people, or any identifying characteristics, will not be used in any of the publications. If you would like a copy of this study, please provide me with your address and I will send you a copy in the future.

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Thank you for your participation in the study. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you.

Graduate School & University Center / CUNY
IRB
Approved
#3-01-08-00
Approved: Expired:
8/29/00 To 8/27/01

_____
Participant's Signature Date_____

_____
Investigator's Signature Date_____

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