

✓

MOTHERING STRATEGIES AND MATERNAL SATISFACTION  
AMONG LATIN AMERICAN, AFRO AMERICAN, AND ANGLO AMERICAN  
GROUPS OF AT-RISK MOTHERS

by

Maria Elena Vasquez Cespedes

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the  
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

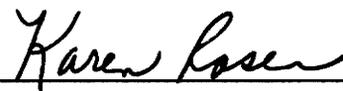
in

Family And Child Development

APPROVED:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Suzanne Bartle, Chairperson

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Sandra Stith

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Karen Rosen

March 5, 1992  
Blacksburg, Virginia

c.2

LD  
5655  
V855  
1992  
V377  
c.2

MOTHERING STRATEGIES AND MATERNAL SATISFACTION  
AMONG LATIN AMERICAN, AFRO AMERICAN, AND  
ANGLO AMERICAN GROUPS OF AT-RISK MOTHERS

by

MARIA ELENA VASQUEZ CESPEDES

COMMITTEE CHAIRPERSON: DR. SUZANNE BARTLE  
FAMILY AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

( ABSTRACT )

Parenting, one of the most complex and fulfilling roles for most human beings creates not only a sense of responsibility, but also emotions with different meanings that contribute to the level of satisfaction that parents perceive from their parental role.

Factors, other than socio-economic ones, create differences in the way people parent. And individuals from other cultural traditions may bring different values to their parenting practices.

In an effort to find commonalities and differences in parenting and trying to put them in perspective in order to improve the interventions aimed to help parent-child relationships, this study proposed to investigate the

relationships, this study proposed to investigate the relationship between mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction among three different ethnic groups of at-risk mothers: Latin Americans, Afro Americans, and Anglo Americans.

The Latin American group reported supporting a lower use of physical punishment when disciplining a child than its counterparts the Afro American and the Anglo American groups. All three groups of mothers supported the use of reason as a means of disciplining when mothering their child. Most of the participants supported praising their children as a way of mothering. And, the majority of them disagreed with the use of permissive ways of mothering their children.

The results from regression procedures suggested that ethnic group membership and the use of reason were the best predictors of maternal satisfaction. These results are discussed as well as implications for clinical practice.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude to the many people who have worked with me and supported my efforts, not only throughout this endeavor, but also throughout my program of studies at Virginia Tech.

Very special thanks to my committee chairperson, Suzanne Bartle, Ph.D, who has been generous with her time and expertise, and has lead me through a satisfactory end of my research project. My gratitude to my graduate committee members, Sandra stith, Ph.D, and Karen Rosen, M.S., for their interest and support in making the completion of this project a reality.

I would like to extend my gratitude to George Coleman, M.P.H., my clinical supervisor, who has always supported me through my program of studies and clinical work. Thanks George, your encouragement and support have greatly contributed in making my practicum a forum of knowledge and a source of enjoyment. My thanks to Sergio Cueto, with whom I enjoyed doing cotherapy. It has been great to be a member of the "Hispanic team" at the C.F.S. and work with both of you.

My gratitude to my classmates, the ones that I always considered my friends. I will never forget you Sthephanie Jester, Georgeanne Schoop, Virginia Fry, Lori Davis, Donna Creassy, and Betty Seagle. It has been delightful getting to know all of you.

My thanks also to Stephan Wilson, Ph.D, one of my

professors at Virginia Tech, for allowing me to use his data base and conclude my research project in a shorter period of time.

Finally, my thanks to the A.I.D. Mission of Costa Rica for giving me the opportunity to come to the United States, complete my Master's program, and interact with a different culture. I have grown a great deal both academically and personally.

To my husband Manuel

To my parents

Rudecindo and Luz Mary

Thank you Manuel for being understanding, patient, caring, and loving as you have always been since we met. Thank you for never letting me down when I felt overwhelmed and stressed-out by the many things I had to do at school. And most of all, thanks for being always there when I needed your support and your love.

Thank you "mama" and "papa" for your support and care during my period of studies in another country. Even when we have been miles away from each other, you always felt near and dear.

Love always,

Maria Elena

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Approval .....	i
Abstract .....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iv
Table of Contents .....	vii
List of Tables .....	ix
Chapters	
1. Orientation of the study .....	1
Introduction .....	1
Statement of the Problem .....	2
Rationale .....	3
Nominal Definitions .....	5
Conceptual Framework .....	7
Objectives .....	10
2. Literature Review .....	12
Introduction .....	12
Parenting strategies .....	14
Influences in Parenting Behavior .....	16
Parenting Typologies .....	18
Cultural Variations in Parenting .....	21
Parental Satisfaction .....	26
Empirical Evidence .....	28
3. Methods .....	36
Sample .....	37

Procedure .....	38
Data Reduction and Transformation .....	38
Measures .....	39
Analysis .....	41
4. Results .....	43
Demographics .....	43
Data Analyses .....	45
Additional findings .....	53
5. Discussion .....	57
Discussion of the Results .....	57
Implications for Practice .....	65
Limitations .....	67
References .....	70
Appendices .....	76
A. Consent Form .....	77
B. Demographic Questionnaire .....	79
C. Parental Satisfaction Questionnaire	81
D. Maternal Reactions to a Child's Deviant Behavior Questionnaire .....	83
Vita .....	88

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Mean and Standard Deviation scores for mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction of mothers participating in the W.I.C program .....	48
2. Pearson correlations of all mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction for the Anglo American group of mothers .....	49
3. Pearson correlations of all mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction for the Afro American group of mothers .....	50
4. Pearson correlations of all mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction for the Latin American group of mothers .....	50
5. Multiple regression results for all groups of mothers participating in the W.I.C. program for the Full Model with maternal satisfaction as dependent variable, using direct entry and stepwise procedures .....	52

6. Multiple regression results for all groups of mothers participating in the W.I.C. program for the Full Model with maternal satisfaction as dependent variable and mothering strategies entered by ethnicity ..... 55

## CHAPTER 1

### ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

#### INTRODUCTION

The quality of family life, particularly parent-child relationships is a research concern in the United States and internationally. In the past 25 years, programs designed to provide child rearing guidance, advice, and psychological support to low income families with young children have proliferated (Weiss & Halpern, 1988). As these programs have grown, it has become clear that more information is needed on why parents behave the way they do and how satisfied they are with their parental role. This information is necessary so that interventions aimed at changing parenting behavior are maximally effective, and so that parents at-risk for less than optimal parenting may be identified and helped as early as possible (Reis, Barbera-Stein & Bennett, 1986).

Exacerbating the inherent dynamics of risk accumulation for low income families in American society are some of the correlates of poverty in the late 1980s, which make it increasingly difficult for families to find a path out of poverty (Halpern, 1990).

These include single parenthood, inadequate wage rates for unskilled jobs, inadequate income supports for parents who cannot or who choose not to work, and a growing geographic concentration of low income families in socially isolated

inner-city neighborhoods (Halpern, 1990).

Children from low-income families, especially low-income minority families face different demands, threats, and opportunities in the immediate physical and social contexts of their daily lives. As a result, the parental role of minority parents has become even more difficult within the highly complex, pluralistic American society, which encompasses great cultural diversity. Minority parents have historically faced more severe economic and social conditions than other Americans, and have also had to make critical choices and decisions with regard to their children's ethnic and cultural identity (Ramirez III & Cox, 1980). Therefore, it is important to be aware that the complexities of parenting in American society may be dramatically increased for ethnic minority parents than for other parents.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In order to contribute to the understanding of mother-child relationships, this research proposes to identify the relationship between mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction, comparing three different ethnic groups of at-risk mothers. The populations of Latin American, Afro American, and Anglo American mothers, who are recipients of the services given by the local Health Department's Women, Infant, and Children (W.I.C.) program, in Los Angeles

County, California, constitute the groups studied.

The dependent variable of perceived maternal satisfaction for these three groups of mothers was studied in relation to five different types of mothering strategies which are: (1)spanking, (2)reasoning, (3)praising, (4) allowing (permissiveness), and (5) correcting.

#### RATIONALE

In recent decades there has been a proliferation of investigations on the determinants of parenting practices. In fact, it is the interest of many social scientists to conduct research in order to know the implications of parents'attitudes, behaviors, and feelings in relation to one of the most important social roles that most human beings play sometime in their life, the role of parent. These studies have usually focused on the relationships between parental behavior and factors such as children's psychological development, parent-child relationships, and parental satisfaction (Simons, Whitbeck, Conger & Melby, 1989).

Research findings indicate that the determinants of parenting differ somewhat by gender and ethnic backgrounds as well as by individual and family experiences (Simons, et al.,1990). Interest in the causes of variation in parenting has been stimulated by the development of an ecological perspective of family relations. The ecological

perspective suggests that the interaction between any two members is influenced by relationships and events external to their personal relationships (Bronfrenbrenner, 1979). Applying this viewpoint to parental behavior, social scientists have investigated the impact of a wide variety of factors on parenting practices (Belsky, 1984).

Various studies have found several factors that contribute to less effective parenting. Among these are depression (Gossman, Eichler & Warnickoff, 1980), marital dissatisfaction (Cowan & Boles, 1985), parental stress (Mouton & Tuma, 1988); perception of the child as being difficult (Bates, 1980; Campbell, 1979) and socio-economic conditions (Conger & McCarthy, 1980; Elder & Capi, 1988). On the other hand, a number of studies have shown that parenting styles characterized by warmth, inductive reasoning, clear communication, and appropriate monitoring are associated with more effective parenting as well as positive child developmental outcomes (Simons, Whilbeck, Conger & Melby, 1989).

To the present, most studies have examined child-rearing practices among middle-class Anglo-Americans. The attitudes of minority and/or lower class subjects are seldom investigated (Lewis, 1975; Walters & Stinnet, 1971; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980). Few studies have focused on parental attitudes of other American ethnicities (LeVine & Bartz,

1979; Alvirez, Bean, & Williams, 1981; Delgado, 1980; Mirande & Enriquez, 1979; Stalon, 1972; Vigil, 1980; Martinez, 1978). Child-rearing investigations about Latin American and Afro American parents, who are the largest and fastest growing minority groups in the United States, still remain a broader area to be explored by social research.

Therefore, a comparative study of "Latino", Afro-American, and Anglo American child-rearing practices and their effect on mothers' perceived maternal satisfaction will be a valuable contribution to the understanding of mothering behavior in the United States. At the same time, this study will be useful for those professionals working with families who may wish to examine economic and cultural ramifications of minority status as it relates to mothering behavior. It will also be useful for those scholars who are interested in learning more about the role of mothering in different ethnic groups as well as for schools and community services that become involved in the family context.

#### NOMINAL DEFINITIONS

- PARENTING: the provision of support, care, and love in a way that leads to the total development of the child while strengthening the parent-child relationship. The parent accepts responsibility for the child's physical needs, provides guidance for the child, and creates a nurturing climate of loving care, attention, and

encouragement that builds up the child's self-esteem (Draper & Draper, 1983).

- CONSTRUCTIVE PARENTING PRACTICES: parenting practices that tend to promote a child's cognitive functioning, social skills, moral development, and socio-psychological adjustment.

- DESTRUCTIVE PARENTING PRACTICES: parenting practices that tend to promote negative child-developmental outcomes such as psychopathology, academic failure, and substance abuse.

- MOTHERING STRATEGIES: the actions taken toward fulfillment of the maternal role. These include the allocation that mothers make of their resources, including time and attention, in the pursuit of their goals. The goals pursued are usually compromises between what the mothers want for their children and what they want from their children. The strategies represent culturally acceptable pathways toward compromise goals.

-MATERNAL SATISFACTION: Refers to a mother's feelings of contentment or gratification regarding her maternal responsibilities toward the child (Mouton & Tuma, 1988).

-PARENTS AT RISK: This concept refers to those parents who are more vulnerable because of a stressful incident or other personal stressor experienced prior to or during the pregnancy, birth experience, or the first year following

birth. They experience emotional and/or physical interruptions that demand energy and attention over and beyond that usually required for transition to and attainment of parenting roles (Mercer, 1990, p.5).

#### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Mothering may be one of the most difficult and complex roles in our society today. The maternal role may be affected by environmental and socio-economic differences, family strains and resources, and individual goals (Jensen & Kingstom, 1986).

Mothering also encompasses a diverse pattern of emotions, beliefs, and values. Different values, traditions, and cultural views give meaning to the maternal role in each culture. These patterns reflect a cultural setting in which the human personality and experience are organized, developed, and given meaning. While there are many cross-cultural similarities in the mothering process, it is important to remember that variations do exist among national and cultural settings (LeVine, 1980).

When one is asked to define the most significant factors in effective mothering, one question that might be raised is how to define "effective" in a cultural context. One might assume that the goals for effective mothering in all cultural contexts are to prepare the child for socially accepted physical, economic, and psychological situations

that are characteristics of the culture in which he or she is to survive and thrive (LeVine, 1974). In addition to preparing the child to survive in the dominant culture, ethnic minority mothers' goal includes a continued effort to preserve a sense of belonging, cohesion and closeness that characterizes their family roots.

Because social learning and exchange principles represent a general set of assumptions common to all social scientific theory (Simons, et al., 1990), they will be applied as the framework in the study of maternal behavior among these three population segments of at-risk mothers.

In attempting to account for variability in mothering, social learning and exchange theory suggest the importance of considering factors both internal and external to the mother-child relationship (Simons. et al, 1989). Within the relationship, mothers' degree of satisfaction with the level of rewards received is expected to affect the quality of their mothering (Simons. et al, 1989).

Most women, whether or not they are mothers, perceive that children offer rewards such as affection, companionship, and stimulation. In some cases however, these rewards either are not forth-coming or are offset by the high costs associated with the child's behavior (Hoffman & Marris, 1982). Women, then, enter parenthood with a comparison level that is inconsistent with the actual

availability of certain rewards in the mother-child relationship (Simons, et al., 1990). A variety of studies have shown that people feel unjustly treated and angry whenever their outcomes in a relationship fall below what they expect on the basis of their comparison level (Homans, 1974; Walster & Berschied, 1978). If these feelings arise in the mother-child relationship, there is likely to be an increase in the amount of destructive mothering techniques used (Simons. et al, 1989).

In addition to elements internal to the mother-child relationship, mothering behavior is likely to be influenced by a variety of factors external to the relationship. Perceptions of inefficacy in the maternal role, high value on activities other than that of mother, depressed emotional state, socialization regarding mothering skills, and financial distress have been considered as some of these external factors (Simons, et al., 1990).

The impact of such factors manifest themselves in varying mothering practices. Studies show that mothering styles characterized by warmth, inductive reasoning, clear communication, and appropriate monitoring, are associated with positive child developmental outcomes (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rollins & Thomas, 1979; Belsky, 1984; and Simons, et al., 1990). Such practices might be labeled constructive mothering, as they tend to promote a child's

cognitive functioning, social skills, moral development, and psychological adjustment (Simons, et al., 1990).

On the other hand, research has established that mothering involving hostility, rejection, and coercion, is associated with negative developmental outcomes, such as delinquency, psychopathology, academic failure, and substance abuse (Loeber & Stouthanner-Loeber, 1986; Maccobby & Martin, 1983; Rohner, 1986; and Simons, et al., 1990).

#### OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this study was to test the extent to which different mothering practices relate to maternal satisfaction for three different ethnic groups of at-risk mothers: Latin Americans, Afro-Americans, and Anglo Americans. All these groups of mothers were recipients of services given by Women, Infants, and Children (W.I.C.) programs of the Health Department.

The specific objectives of this study were:

- To compare the demographic characteristics of the Latin American, Afro-American, and Anglo American segments of at-risk mothers;
- To compare the socio-economic characteristics of these segments of at-risk mothers that might affect their maternal attitudes;
- To compare child-rearing patterns among these population segments of at-risk mothers; and

- To compare the relationship between specific mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction in Latin American, Afro American, and Anglo American segments of at-risk mothers.

CHAPTER II  
LITERATURE REVIEW  
INTRODUCTION

Parenting, one of the most complex and fulfilling roles for most human beings, creates not only a sense of responsibility for the total development of the child, but also emotions with different meanings that contribute to the level of satisfaction that parents perceive from their parental role. The concept of parenting involves a blend of interactions between the parent and the child, in which final goals are to nurture and guide the child's development within the specific value system where these interactions occur. "Parenting behaviors and feelings include an emotional tie to the child that permeates the socially and culturally defined patterns of physical and social childrearing tasks" (Mercer, 1990, p.3).

The role of parenting is influenced by personal, social, and cultural circumstances. Being one of the most important social roles, parenting has been left almost entirely to females. The assignation of such a difficult task to mothers is universally and intergenerationally transmitted. Therefore, mothers' characteristics (behaviors, skills, feelings, and experiences) contribute to how they make emotional investments in raising their child to adulthood. Also, children's characteristics such as behaviors

and temperament contribute to mothers's attitudes and feelings as well as to the outcomes for mother-child interactions.

The parental role is even more difficult for populations of at-risk parents because of the potentially stressful behaviors of the child or other personal stressors that may demand energy and attention that go beyond that usually required by this role. "In such situations parents often lack the resources, objectivity in appraising the situation, and ability to deal with the many impinging forces demanding their attention and reserves without help from both their family and the community" (Mercer, 1990; p.3).

Factors, other than socio-economic ones, create differences in the way people parent. Individuals from other cultural traditions may bring different values to their parenting practices. "Cultural variations in the various domains of childrearing exert significant and differential influences over mental, emotional, and social development of children, just as variation clearly dictates the language children eventually speak" (Bornstein, 1991, p.3). In fact, social inquiry has always invited researchers to study and make reports on parenting by looking at different ethnic groups. Acknowledgement of the variations in the way different cultures approach parenting is obviously necessary if one wants to fully understand the societal role of parenting.

One of the most important functions of the parenting role is that of socialization. Since individuals from other cultures who reside in the dominant one most likely parent their children differently, it is important to understand what this means in terms of the socialization process. "It is a particular and continuing task of parents and other caretakers to enculturate children, that is to prepare them for socially accepted physical, economic, and psychological situations that are the characteristics of the culture in which they are to survive" (LeVine, 1977, quoted by Borstein, p.6). Thus, those parents who use their traditional values in parenting, but raise their children in a context in which those values are not upheld, may have difficulties.

The ultimate goal of a parent, in any cultural setting must be to play his or her role in a way that fosters not only positive developmental outcomes for the child, but a sense of competence and satisfaction for the parent.

"Competent parenting reflects in part successful parental role attainment; in addition to achieving competence in the role, the parent must integrate the parenting role with other roles that are part of the established core self so that there is satisfaction and pleasure with the new identity and responsibilities that it entails" (Mercer, 1990, p.11).

#### PARENTING STRATEGIES

Socialization is the foremost goal of parenting.

The process of imparting cultural values to a child can be accomplished by many means. These means or strategies, however, may be determined by the very cultural values the parent hopes to impart.

"Parents endeavor within the family setting to transform the new born into a social being by the process called 'socialization'. Socialization has, as one of its objectives, the preparation of children for their future...Notions of right and wrong, a code of behaviors, a set of attitudes and values, the ability to see the other person's point of view - all of the basic qualities which make an individual, a socialized being - are nurtured in the first instance by parents" (Herbert, 1986, p.318).

Herbert (1986) has also said that parents induct the infant into his or her culture by determining which physical and social stimuli will mainly be presented to the infant, what he or she will be taught, which opinions and behaviors will be reinforced and consolidated, and which will be discouraged by various means.

Even though it has been said that the role of parenting is influenced by intergenerational transmission of traditions and values that conform to a specific cultural context, differences do exist from one generation to the next. And the particular values of a cultural group within a society produce childrearing practices unique to that group in time.

Thus, "parents must be aware of their own values, as individuals and as members of a particular cultural group, if they are to select, from among the childrearing techniques available, those that will help them to inculcate their values in their children" (Brooks, 1981, p.18).

Brooks (1981) has also stated that the heritage that parents pass on to their children includes not only physical characteristics and personal values, but the attitudes and beliefs and preferences from their own childhoods. In fact, many children, especially children of first generation migrants, go through a period where they reject their parents' effort to rear them under the postulates of their cultural legacy. However, "if parents express interest, concern, and warmth for their children, children will respond to them and will continue to desire satisfying relationships with their parents throughout their lifetimes" (Brooks, 1981, p.18).

#### INFLUENCES ON PARENTING BEHAVIORS

Numerous factors affect parenting behavior, and with it, parenting practices. "It is important to understand that parenting behaviors result from a complex network of variables that include family of origin, personality patterns, ethnicity, and many other

cultural aspects" (Hamner & Turner, 1985, p.29). Every one has been parented. "The quality of parenting received in the formative years unquestionably is reflected in the quality of parenting a person later demonstrates" (Hamner & Tuner, p.24). The same authors state that while parents may adopt a different method of disciplining their children than their own parents used, either as a result of changes in social attitudes or a desire to "raise my child differently from the way I was raised", there is no question that the emotional climate of the home and the relationship between parents profoundly affect parenting behaviors in the subsequent generation.

Personality patterns doubtless also exert a strong influence on kinds of parental behaviors. "It is reasonable to assume that parents begin their roles with unique personalities. Some are soft-spoken, others shout with little provocation; some are adaptable, others more rigid; some are expressive, others are reticent. Yet parents with very different personalities have been shown to be equally successful in rearing children" (Hamner & Tuner, p.25).

Social class has been one of the most studied influences on parenting behaviors. "Parenting behavior variations do exist within different socio-economic

groups. It is apparent, however, that the poor have fewer resources to assist them in parenting, and socioeconomic status inevitably is related to certain parenting behaviors" (Hamner & Tuner, p.26). Aside from social class, parents' ethnicity is also a factor that affects parenting behaviors. "This variable plays a role in the kind of activities the family engages in, the limits set and controls placed upon the children's behaviors, and the set of expectations that parents hold for their children. Not only do cultural values affect parenting behaviors, but in many cases stereotyping, discrimination, and prejudice against certain minority groups complicate the childrearing process (Hamner & Tuner, p.26). Besides these factors, there are others in the larger culture that influence the way parents behave. Parents' level of education, age, religion, family typologies, mass media, etc, also affect parenting behaviors.

#### PARENTING TYPOLOGIES

A wide range of parental behaviors have been reduced to two major dimensions, with orthogonal axes described as autonomy-control/hostility-warmth (Herbert, 1986). Herbert (1986) suggested that there are transactions between the parent and the child which are loving (warm) at one extreme, and rejecting

(hostile) at the other; transactions which are restrictive (controlling) at one extreme, and permissive (encouraging autonomy) at the other. Thus, "a democratic parent is one who is both loving and permissive; an antagonist one combines hostility and restrictiveness; a protective parent is one who is both loving and restrictive, and so on" (Herbert, 1986, p. 320). Because each parent has a unique manner or style to deal with children, no one could say that there are a specific number of parenting practices. "Each parent has a predominant style which is a helpful indicator of some of the ways he or she relates to the child" (DiGiulio, 1980; p.25). As a result, different authors have described parenting in many ways without labeling them because as individuals, parents cannot be fully described within one specific category. Even when there is a predominant style of parenting, parents always mix characteristics of different ones.

Baumrind (1978) has described three different ways by which parents discipline their children. Such styles are authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative. "The authoritarian parent values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what the parents think

is right conduct. Authoritarian parents may be very concerned and protective or they may be neglecting" (Baumrind, p.244).

Baumrind (1978) has defined the permissive style as one in which adult control requires the parent to behave in an affirmative, accepting, and benign manner toward the child's impulses and actions. "The permissive parent sees him or herself as a resource for the child to use as he or she wishes, but not as an active agent responsible for shaping and altering the child's ongoing and future behavior. Some permissive parents are very protective as a way of evading responsibility for their child's development" (Baumrind, p.244).

Finally, the authoritative parent, as Baumrind (1978) defines him or her, attempts to direct the child's activities in a rational, issue-centered manner. "The authoritative parent enforces the adult perspective, but recognizes the child's individual interests. Such parents confirm the child's present qualities, but also set standards for desirable conduct, using reason as well as power and shaping by regimen and reinforcement to achieve parental objectives" (Baumrind, p.245).

Maccoby and Martin (1983) expanded Baumrind's

definitions of parenting styles by adding one more style. "Their typology distinguished four different parenting styles: authoritarian- autocratic (high demandingness, low responsiveness), authoritative-reciprocal (high demandingness, high responsiveness), uninvolved-indulgent (low demandingness, low responsiveness), and permissive-indulgent (low demandingness, high responsiveness). Within its field, this model has become well-accepted" (Grymes and Sawjers, 1991, p.1).

#### CULTURAL VARIATIONS IN PARENTING

With these parenting styles defined, researchers have investigated how these styles relate to child development outcomes, and also compared the styles of different ethnic minority groups.

LeVine and Bartz (1979) conducted a comparative study to examine childrearing attitudes among Chicano, Anglo, and Black parents. Participants consisted of a random sample of 152 Chicano mothers and fathers who were compared to 143 Anglo and 160 Black parents, within a semi-enclosed, low socio-economic, urban community. Parents were asked to respond to a 25-item structured interview that collected information in order to compare all of the ethnic groups on seven attitudinal dimensions of childrearing. Such

dimensions were control, support, permissiveness, strictness, equalitarianism (democratic styles of parenting), acceleration of development, and the use of time. This study was a part of a larger project conducted by the Family Center of the University of Missouri, Kansas City. Researchers selected the questions from an adaptation of the Parent Attitude Research Scale (PARS, Cromwell, 1969).

Results of the Levine and Bartz study reveal that attitudes of Chicano parents differed from those of Anglo and Black parents, on six of the seven factors measured. "It was found that Chicanos and Blacks, more than Anglos press for early assumption of responsibility. Blacks more than Chicanos and Anglos press for wise time use. Chicanos were likely to stress democratic styles on parenting in comparison to Anglos and Blacks and were more likely to value permissiveness than Anglos. Finally Chicanos offered less support and control than Black parents" (LeVine and Bartz, 1979, p.173).

A high congruence in childrearing attitudes of mothers and fathers belonging to the same ethnic group was also found. The investigators in this study said that their findings appear to be congruent with several earlier investigations which have suggested that

Hispanic childrearing is quite permissive (Durrett et al., 1975; Cahill, 1966).

Cudaback (1991) conducted a study of 609 subjects, who were part of a five-state early intervention program for primarily low income women who were pregnant or parenting infants and toddlers. Participants responded to questions about themselves, their beliefs about parenting, their sources of information on parenting, and their desire for further parenting information. Three of the statements dealt with beliefs about punishment as a way of disciplining the child. Twenty one percent of the participants were Black, 16% were Hispanic, and 63% were Anglos. Most of the respondents were living with spouses, partners, or parents. Fifty seven percent of all of the participants were receiving some kind of public financial assistance.

Results of this study show that as education increased, beliefs in physical punishment decreased. Forty two percent of the Black women responded positively to all physical discipline statements, compared to 9% of Hispanic women and also 9% of white women. Those women who had children in the Headstart program were significantly more likely to report belief in physical discipline (27%) than those who did not

have children in this program.

Martinez (1988) conducted a study to examine Chicano childrearing practices and the Mexican American family environment as these related to child behavior. She used a nonprobability, purposive sample to select the participants because of the impossibility of random sampling. Names, telephone numbers, and addresses of potential subjects were obtained from civic organizations with Mexican American members, as well as from various Chicano community leaders. Respondents of the study were 47 Mexican American mothers and their kindergarten-aged children. Seventy percent of the mothers were Catholic and the remainder were Protestant. The average number of children was 3.4. Martinez (1988) used the Maternal Teaching Observation Technique (MTOT) to measure observed maternal behaviors. This technique has two forms which include five-minute observations of mother teaching the child to make replicas of two different toys. The MTOT measures frequency of occurrence in permissive, authoritative, and authoritarian patterns of childrearing practices.

In addition, a Child Behavior During Maternal Teaching Observation Technique (CBDMTOT) was developed to measure the child's behavior during the

administration of the MTOT. "Results of this study provide evidence of diversity in childrearing among this sample of working class or lower SES Chicano mothers. The predominant patterns were nearly divided into authoritative and authoritarian styles" (Martinez, 1988, p. 278).

Findings of Martinez's study were consistent with those of Henderson (1982) and Kagan and Elder (1975). Their findings demonstrated that Mexican American mothers use punitive reinforcement. However, this study failed to support findings of previous researchers where Mexican American parents were characterized as predominantly permissive (Durrett, O'Bryant, & Penneabal, 1975; Levine & Bartz, 1979).

It should be emphasized also that some inconsistencies were found when conducting the literature review in order to explore Latin American childrearing practices. While Martinez (1988), Henderson (1982), Kagan and Elder (1975), and Kearns (1970) have suggested in their studies that Latin American childrearing is quite punitive, findings of Levine and Bartz (1979), Durrett et., al (1975), and Cahill (1966) have stated that same ethnic group childrearing practices are quite permissive. These inconsistencies lead to the need for conducting more

studies, in order to more accurately conceptualize parenting styles of this particular ethnic group.

#### PARENTAL SATISFACTION

Parental satisfaction is an emerging area of study. Concerns with parenting have usually focused on the unidirectional influence of the parent on the child. Parental satisfaction incorporates the bi-directional nature of the parent-child relationship.

"Parental satisfaction, or the degree of gratification and positive experiences associated with parenting, has been identified as an important element of overall well-being or life satisfaction" (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Goetting, 1986; Meddly, 1980; Umberson, 1989; Veroff, Douman, & Kulka, 1981, quoted by Henry, Peterson, and Wilson, 1991, p. 3). "From a conceptual standpoint, parental satisfaction refers to the sense of well-being that each parent experiences from occupying their roles as primary socialization agents of children" (Henry et al., 1991; p.4).

"Sources of satisfaction from the parental role are children's achievement, self-fulfillment, a shared marital project, general enjoyment, hope for the future, reliving childhood, passing on values or family name, and so on" (Chilman, 1980, p.340). How role satisfaction affects the parent-child relationship has

been explored in limited ways. Much of the focus of research has been centered on maternal role satisfaction and the mother-child relationship. In general these studies suggest that role satisfaction appears to be linked to positive parenting toward the child (Bullock, 1989). "Even when numerous criticisms have been leveled at studies of self-perceived satisfaction, the parents' view of their life in the family does make a difference in their perceptions of parenthood and, doubtless, in their parenting behaviors" (Chilman, 1980, p.340).

After conducting a review of the literature, it was concluded that most of the studies related to the implementation of parenting styles have been conducted in order to assess child-developmental outcomes, or factors affecting parents' use of different practices, as has been explained through-out. It was also noted that few studies use samples with all ethnic minorities represented. Studies need to be done that compare ethnic minority parenting practices style. Therefore, it was of interest to explore the relationship between mothering behaviors and maternal satisfaction among the ethnic minority populations of Afro Americans and Latin Americans with the Anglo population within the same study.

## EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Johnston and Mash (1989) conducted a study in a large Canadian city where parents of 4 to 9 year-olds were surveyed in order to obtain normative information to assess parenting self-esteem. A 17-item Parenting Sense of Competence questionnaire (PSOC, Gibaud-Wallston & Wandersman, 1978) was used. In this questionnaire each item is answered on a 6-point scale, with items such as "Being a parent is manageable, and any problems are easily solved", and "Being a parent makes me tense and anxious". The principal components of the PSOC assess two dimensions of the parenting role: satisfaction and efficacy. Parents also completed the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL, Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) for the target child. This checklist assesses a range of child problems.

In their study, parental perceptions of child behavior were significantly correlated with PSOC scores. Parents who reported more child behavior problems also reported lower levels of parenting self-esteem, particularly on the satisfaction dimension. Their results suggest that although mothers and fathers PSOC scores were correlated, fathers reported parenting self-esteem levels higher than those reported by mothers, particularly on the satisfaction dimension.

These investigators state that the higher satisfaction scores reported by fathers may reflect their dominant role as a playmate with their children, in contrast to mothers who are more instrumental in their role with their children.

Chilman, (1980) used a forced choice interview to conduct a study of a random sample of parents in a Milwaukee suburb. Her major purpose was to learn about parents' satisfaction, concerns, and goals for their children, in a suburban population. Respondents were 193 fathers and 261 mothers who were interviewed separately. They were mainly married, with at least a high school education. Most of them were white. Median income for these parents was \$18,000 a year, and the majority were between 30 and 45 years of age. Almost half of the participants had children under the age of 6.

Chilman (1980) developed pre-coded questionnaires for face-to-face interviews with parents. Many of the items were based on previous research in the areas of child development, parental attitudes and behaviors, marital satisfaction, family planning behaviors, and so on. Among other questions, parents were asked "What do you find particularly satisfying about having children?". Responses of mothers and fathers were much

alike. About 70% found "watching children grow and develop" to be especially satisfying. About 40% cited love for their children, and about one third, "companionship". Little evidence was found of mothers who were dissatisfied with their parental role because of conflicts between their jobs and family responsibilities. Chilman (1980) concluded that her findings did not support the assumption that large numbers of mothers are frustrated when they are full-time homemakers.

Bullock (1989) conducted a study to examine the relationship between parental knowledge of and satisfaction with the child and children's sociometric status. Respondents consisted of 42 pairs of parents and their children aged 49 to 64 months (preschool children) who were predominantly middle class and well educated. Parents completed a self-report questionnaire that included information on child development, degree of satisfaction with the child, and overall level of parental satisfaction.

Bullock (1989) also assessed information about the children's acceptance, peer popularity, and peer rejection. Three different scales were developed for this study. A set of 49 items was constructed for the Parents' Knowledge of Child Development scale.

Participants were requested to read each question and either respond true or false. Questions were focused on prenatal, psychological, physical, and cognitive development. Secondly, a set of 16 items was constructed for the Parents' Overall Degree of Satisfaction with their Child scale, with items such as "How satisfied (or unsatisfied) are you with your child's ability to get along with playmates?, Level of curiosity?, Ability to solve problems?, etc. Finally, the "Overall Level of Satisfaction being the Parent of the Child" scale with items such as " Generally speaking, being the parent of this child has been one of the best things in my life", was also scored on a 4-point scale.

Results of Bullock's study (1989) demonstrate that parents who reported high degrees of satisfaction with their child had children who were least likely to be rejected by their peers. Also, both mothers and fathers who reported an overall level of parental role satisfaction had children who were also well accepted by their peers. Two different instruments were administered to the children. The Acceptance Rating Scale (Roistaker, 1974; Singlenton & Asher, 1977; Thomas & Powell, 1951) assessed social acceptance among all of the children. The Positive and Negative Peer

Nominations scale (McCandles & Marshall, 1957) assessed popularity and rejection among all of the children.

Bullock (1989) concluded that his results support and extend the findings of several studies suggesting links between role satisfaction and positive parenting outcomes toward the child (Lerner & Galamos. 1985; Stuckey, MacGhee, & Bell, 1982; Wan & Parry, 1982).

Brewer (1991) conducted a study in order to look at the relationship between certain demographic variables such as maternal age, educational level, employment status, marital status, and their predictive value for parental satisfaction. She also examined the relationship between parental strategies (spank, reason, and praise) and parental satisfaction.

Brewer's results came from a secondary data analysis from data collected in a larger study conducted in Montana during 1988 and in California during 1989. The original study gathered information about the parent's knowledge of child development and their expectations about what is appropriate parenting behavior. It also explored how this knowledge was related to satisfaction with the parental role. Respondents of the original study were mothers attending the federal Women, Infants, and Children (W.I.C.) program. Participants in this study were

attending the W.I.C. clinic once a month, where they received health and nutritional counseling and vouchers to purchase food. All participants in this program had to be nutritionally at-risk, have one or more children below the age of five and/or be pregnant. Low income and family size were also considered indicators of eligibility.

Respondents of the original study completed a self-report questionnaire. Parental satisfaction was assessed using a four question scale, in which respondents answered statements such as "Overall, I am satisfied being the parent of this child". Parental Acceptance/Rejection was measured using the Parental Acceptance/Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ) (Rohner, 1986). This instrument is a sixty item self-report questionnaire, which measures a parent's perceptions of how he or she treats the child. Statements such as "I say nice things to my child", "I yell at my child when I am angry", or " I praise my child when he/she deserves it", were included in this instrument. The PARQ consists of four subscales that assess parental warmth/affection, parental aggression, neglect/indifference, and undifferentiated rejection.

Twelve items were included to gather demographic data on the respondents. From these data, Brewer

selected eight items as independent variables. These were maternal age, educational level, employment status, living arrangements, number of children, age of children, occupational prestige, and marital status.

Finally, parenting strategies were assessed by using a 23-item scale, entitled Maternal Reactions to a Child's Deviant Behavior (MRCDB). This is a subscale from a larger instrument, called Maternal Expectations, Attitudes, and Behavior Inventory (MEABI) (Rickard, et. al, 1984). The MRCDB asks mothers to evaluate statements such as "If your child was sharing his/her toys with a friend, you would praise him/her for sharing", "If your child refused to apologize for taking a toy away from a friend, you would spank him/her", "If your child interrupted your conversation with another person, you would go ahead and allow him/her to speak". Mothers responded to such statements on a scale of 1 to 7.

Results of Brewer's study demonstrated that three variables were predictive of parental satisfaction; marital status, use of reason, and maternal acceptance. Brewer concluded that women participating in the WIC program had a high level of satisfaction and also a high rate of acceptance of their children. In her conclusions, Brewer also stated that cultural norms,

value systems, and expectations from life may be different among mothers from different SES levels, or in mothers from different ethnic backgrounds.

In fact, the present study demonstrates how maternal behaviors and mothers' feelings of satisfaction may vary from one ethnic group to another, since this is a comparison study among the three major groups of at-risk mothers receiving the services provided by the WIC program: Latin American, Afro American, and Anglo Americans.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

This study presents results from a secondary analysis of data collected in 1989 in Montana and California. Recipients of the services provided by the Federal Women, Infants, and Children ( W.I.C.) program in three counties in Southwest Montana during July of 1988, and those at the Long Beach W.I.C. office of Los Angeles County, CA, during February and March of 1989 were asked to participate in the study. They were surveyed about their ideas, attitudes, behaviors, and satisfaction related to their experiences as mothers.

Eligibility for the W.I.C. program depends on three criteria. Participants in this program must be either pregnant and/or have one or more children below the age of five. The participants also must be nutritionally at-risk. Family size and income are also determinants for eligibility for these services. W.I.C. program guidelines are established by the United States Department of Agriculture (Health Services Division, 1987; Office of Federal Register, 1990).

The purpose of the original study was to explore several aspects of the experience of parenting as well as maternal behaviors and feelings. The idea that positive and

satisfying mother-child relationships might be linked to maternal knowledge about child development and that the lack of such knowledge might lead to unrealistic expectations, inappropriate parenting strategies and dissatisfaction were the main assumptions for the original study.

Specifically, the instruments utilized provided information about the participants' knowledge of child development, child abuse potential, parenting strategies, and maternal attitudes.

**SAMPLE:**

Many of the mothers in this study were teenagers and they came from various low income groups. The original study collected data from rural and urban samples. The rural sample (N = 138) had a return rate of 90 %. The urban sample (N = 212) had a return rate of over 50 %. The combined data sets had a total sample of N = 350. For purposes of the present study, only the urban sample was used because it represented all ethnic groups of at-risk mothers of interest in this study. There were 53 Latin Americans, 95 Afro American, and 44 Anglo American mothers who returned questionnaires. The rest of participants in the urban sample were classified as Asians, Native Americans, and others.

## PROCEDURE

Having obtained the required permission from the county Health Department, all mothers attending the W.I.C. clinic in Long Beach, California, were informed of the upcoming distribution of the questionnaire and given the choice to participate in this research. They were asked to complete a self-report questionnaire created by the original group of researchers. All the participants in the W.I.C. program were given the choice about when or how they would respond to the survey. They could have completed the questionnaire in the W.I.C. office during their monthly visit, taken it home for completion, or chosen not to participate in the study.

The survey packet including a letter of instruction, a self-report questionnaire, a consent form (see appendix A), a stamped post card; and an additional brochure on children's play was distributed by W.I.C. personnel to each client during her scheduled visit to the clinic. Boxes were provided for completed questionnaires and consent cards. Participants who chose to take the questionnaires home were provided with a preaddressed-stamped envelope for returning the questionnaire.

## DATA REDUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION

The data for each section of the questionnaire was

coded and entered into a microcomputer using PC File plus software. Once a reliability check had been conducted, the data were up loaded to the mainframe at VPI & SU (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University) in Blacksburg, VA. Analyses were conducted using the SPSS statistical package on the mainframe available at the Virginia Tech, Northern Virginia Graduate Center.

#### MEASURES:

In order to measure the dependent variable of perceived maternal satisfaction of mothers participating in the W.I.C. program, a four question scale (see appendix C) was used. These questions asked participants how they felt about the fact of being a mother. Respondents were to mark 1,2,3,or 4. Items were scored by giving one point to the answer "strongly agree" and four points to the answer "strongly disagree". This scale was pilot-tested for reliability. Preliminary analysis from this sample shows the reliability coefficient to be .85.

In order to measure mothering strategies, a scale from the Maternal Expectations, Attitudes, and Behavior Inventory (MEABI) (Rickard, et al., 1984) was used. This inventory was designed to assess patterns in maternal expectations and beliefs about the behavior and development of pre-school children (Rickard, et al., 1984). The scale that was used is called Maternal Reactions to a Child's Deviant Behaviors

(MRCDB). This scale is composed of 23 items (see appendix D). Participants selected their answers from strongly agree to strongly disagree on a seven-point scale. The items were scored by assigning one point to the answer "strongly agree" and seven points to the answer "strongly disagree".

The MRCDB scale consists of five subscales which measure maternal strategies for child-rearing. The first subscale is called "spanking" and contains five items. These items identify physical punishment. "If your child refused to apologize for taking a toy away from a friend, you would spank him/her", is an example of a statement in this subscale. Statements in this subscale refer to a mother's decision to use physical punishment to discipline her child.

The second subscale is called "reasoning" and also contains five items. Statements such as "If your child was pushing or shoving one of his/her siblings or friends, you would try to explain to him/her how naughty that is" assesses use of reasoning and explanation while disciplining the child.

The third subscale, "praising", contains four items such as "If your child came in from playing the first time you call him/her, you would praise him/her/'", which identify praise as the main maternal attitude toward children's accomplishments.

The fourth subscale is called "ignoring or correcting" which consists of five items and identifies maternal attitudes of ignoring the child and /or correcting his/her behavior. Statements such as "If your child continued to beg for a candy bar while you were at the grocery store, you would ignore his/her pleading" are included in this subscale.

The fifth subscale is called "allowing" and consists of four items such as "If your child interrupted your conversation with another person you would go ahead and allow him/her to speak", which identify the maternal tendency to allow the child to get what he/she desires.

Validity and reliability tests were conducted on the entire MEABI instrument. Rickard, et al., (1984) reported median Cronbach's alpha value to be .67. Convergent and discriminant validity were reported for the subscales (Rickard, et al., 1984). Reliabilities for the present study ranged .83 for the spank subscale, .75 for the praise subscale, .73 for the allow subscale, and .69 for the reason subscale. The correct subscale had a reliability of .51. This was too low for the subscale to be used and it was dropped from all further analyses.

#### ANALYSIS

Frequencies, Analysis of Variance, Chi-Square, and Multiple Regression Analyses were conducted for this study.

Frequencies were used for comparing the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of all three segments of at-risk mothers. They were also useful for seeing how these characteristics may have affected their maternal attitudes.

In order to analyze how these three different ethnic groups of at-risk mothers compare in terms of the use of mothering strategies, ANOVA procedures were conducted.

Finally, Multiple Regression analyses were used to explain the variance related to the independent variables of spanking, praising, reasoning, and allowing as mothering strategies, on the dependent variable of maternal satisfaction. Chi-Square statistics were used for comparing the three population segments of at-risk mothers on demographic categories.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

The main objective of this study was to examine the relationship between mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction as mediated by ethnic group. The independent variables, spank, praise, reason, and allow, as mothering styles, were examined as predictors of maternal satisfaction (dependent variable). All mothers who participated in this study were recipients of the services given by the Women, Infants, and Children program (W.I.C.), in Los Angeles, California. Age of respondents was obtained in categories: sixty two percent of the Latin American, 43% of the Afro American, and 62.2% of the Anglo American mothers were in the first age bracket (15-25 years old). The second age bracket (26-35 years old) represented 28.35 of Latin American, 52.6% of the Afro American, and 48% of the Anglo American mothers. Twelve of the participants did not report their age. The Chi-square for age was 7.3 ( $p < .05$ ). It appears that mothers were younger in the Latin American group in proportion to their sample size.

About 51% of the Latin American participants were married. From those, 45.2% were living with their spouses. Twenty seven percent of the Afro American mothers were also married, but only 23% of them were living with their husbands. Finally, 45.4% of the Anglo American respondents

were married and 38.6% of them were living with their spouses. The Chi-square for marital status was 9.3 ( $p < .01$ ). It appears that fewer of the Afro American were married in proportion to their sample size. There were no statistically significant differences on living arrangements for the three groups. Over half of these mothers were not married, which was the case in the national description of mothers in the W.I.C. program (Williams et. al, 1990).

An overwhelming diversity of religiosity was found as well as a high number of participants who did not answer the question related to religious practices. Therefore, these demographic data were not analyzed.

From these groups of mothers, 43.35% of the "Latino", 24.2% of the Afro American, and 27.2% of the Anglo mothers had not graduated from High School. It was found that 20% of the Latin American, 45.2% of the Afro American, and 34% of the Anglo American participants had attended at least one year of college. The highest educational attainment was found in the Afro American group of mothers, from which 45% fell within the "some college" category. The mean number of years on school for the Anglo Americans was 11.9, for the Afro Americans was 12.3, and for the Latin Americans was 11.2. From a one way analysis of variance with a Scheffe procedure it was demonstrated that the Afro American mothers completed more years of education than the Latin Americans

( $F = 6.1, P < .01$ )

About 70% of all participants were unemployed, homemakers, or students. In fact, about 85% of the Latin American mothers, 61% of the Afro Americans, and 73% of the Anglo Americans, fell within this occupational category. About 74% of all mothers represented in this study fell within the lower levels of the occupational prestige scale. There were no statistically significant differences in occupational attainment among the three ethnic groups.

#### DATA ANALYSES

A lower score on a mothering strategy indicates that the mother strongly agrees with that specific style, and a higher score on a particular strategy indicates that the mother strongly disagrees with that strategy.

Table 1 illustrates the results of ANOVA's followed by Scheffe procedures. These procedures were conducted in order to compare the use of mothering strategies by the ethnic group to which the mother belongs. Latin American mothers had a mean score of 4.2 on the spank subscale. This score was above the middle of the scale, indicating a lower use of physical punishment when disciplining a child.

Afro American mothers had a mean score of 3.5 on spank, and the Anglo American group had 3.9. These last two groups of mothers scored below the middle of the scale, suggesting a higher use of physical discipline. These two groups had a

statistically significant different score than the Latino group ( $F = 3.5$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

All three groups of at-risk mothers had low scores on the reason subscale relative to theoretically possible scores. Latin Americans' mean score for this strategy was 1.8, and 1.9 for Anglo American mothers. A statistically significant difference was demonstrated for the group of Afro American mothers, whose mean score was 2.3 on that same strategy ( $F = 4.9$ ;  $p < .05$ ). This suggests that the Latin Americans and the Anglo Americans tend to support reason more than Afro American mothers.

All groups of mothers were found to have low mean scores on the praise subscale relative to theoretically possible scores, suggesting that most of them agreed with the use of this particular strategy as a way of mothering their child. In relation to praise no statistically significant differences among the groups were found ( $F = 2.18$ ,  $P < .05$ ). Finally, all groups of mothers were found to have a high mean score on allow relative to theoretically possible scores, suggesting that most of them disagreed with this particular strategy as a way of mothering.

ANOVA procedures were also conducted in order to see if there were differences among the groups on perceived maternal satisfaction. the satisfaction scale ranged theoretically from 4 to 16, with lower scores indicating

higher satisfaction. When looking at the ANOVA results, it was found that no two ethnic groups of mothers had significantly different mean scores ( $F = 1.47, p < .05$ ).

Since mean scores on maternal satisfaction were 5.0 for the Latin Americans, 4.6 for the Afro Americans, and 4.8 for the Anglo American mothers, it was found that most of the mothers were quite satisfied with their maternal role. It should also be noted that there was very little variability in the satisfaction scores. The scores ranged from 4 to 11, but theoretically they should have ranged 4 to 16.

It was assumed that mothering strategies were correlated to the level of satisfaction that mothers have with their maternal role. Thus, it was decided to calculate the correlations among spank, reason, praise, allow, and maternal satisfaction by ethnic group (see tables 2,3,4). The score for Anglo American mothers on spank significantly correlated with their allow score ( $r = .37; p < .05$ ) (see table 2), suggesting that when their use of spank increases their use of allow increases as well.

Both Afro American and Latin American mothers' score on reason emerged as significantly correlated to their praise'scores ( $r = .29, p < .01; r = .54, p < .01$ , respectively) (see tables 3 and 4), indicating that their use of reason in rearing their children tended to be positively associated with their use of praise as well.

TABLE 1  
Means (M) and Standard Deviations (SD) for  
Mothering Strategies and Maternal Satisfaction  
of Mothers Participating in the W.I.C. program  
by ethnicity.

Respondents' Scores by Strategy and Ethnicity						
	Latin Am. N = 53		Afro Am. N = 95		Anglo Am. N = 44	
Strategy	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Spank	4.25a	1.64	3.53	1.51	3.90	1.61
Praise	2.40	1.61	2.08	1.14	1.84	1.10
Reason	1.83	1.03	2.39b	1.19	1.94	.95
Allow	5.42	1.22	5.68	1.29	5.80	1.55
Mat Sat.	5.09	1.83	4.63	1.25	4.85	1.74

a: The Latin American group of mothers was significantly different from the Afro american group ( $F = 3.53, p < .05$ )

b: The Afro american group of at-risk mothers were significantly different from the Latin American group ( $F = 4.94, p < .05$ )

TABLE 2  
 Pearson Correlations of all Mothering  
 Strategies and Maternal Satisfaction  
 for Anglo American Mothers Participating  
 in the W.I.C. Program.

N = 44					
Strategy	1	2	3	4	5
1. Spank	—	-.05	.13	.37*	-.11
2. Praise		—	.12	.00	.02
3. Reason			—	.07	.20
4. Allow				—	.14
5. Mat.Sat.					—

\*  $p < .05$  ; \*\*  $p < .01$

TABLE 3  
 Pearson Correlations and Mothering Strategies  
 and Maternal Satisfaction for Afro American  
 Mothers Participating in the W.I.C. Program.

N = 95					
Strategy	1	2	3	4	5
1. Spank	—	-.06	.03	.00	-.02
2. Praise		—	.29**	.09	.20
3. Reason			—	.11	.34**
4. Allow				—	-.10
5. Mat.Sat.					—

\*  $p < .05$  ; \*\*  $p < .01$

TABLE 4  
 Pearson Correlations of all Mothering Strategies  
 and Maternal Satisfaction for Latin American  
 Mothers Participating in the W.I.C. Program.

Strategy	1	2	3	4	5
1. Spank	—	.07	.13	.15	-.22
2. Praise		—	.54**	-.01	.18
3. Reason			—	-.14	.41**
4. Allow				—	-.31**
5. Mat.Sat.					—

\*  $p < .05$  ; \*\*  $p < .01$

Maternal satisfaction and reason were also found to be positively correlated for these two minority groups of mothers ( $r = .34, p < .01$ ;  $r = .41, p < .01$ , respectively) (see tables 3 and 4). The score for the Latin American mothers on satisfaction was found to be negatively correlated to their score on allow ( $r = -.31, p < .05$ ), showing that as mothers increasingly use allow the level of satisfaction decreases.

Finally, multiple regression analyses were used to examine the relative impact of mothering strategies on maternal satisfaction. The independent variables in the equation were ethnicity, coded as dummy variables (Race1, Race2 with Anglo Americans always coded as 0); and mothering strategies (spank, reason, praise, allow). Maternal satisfaction was the dependent variable. The regression procedure used included an initial simultaneous entry (direct regression procedure) in which ethnicity was entered first and then the mothering strategies were entered as a block. Stepwise regression procedure was then used to select statistically significant variables from the complete set.

Table 5 presents the results of the regression procedure. As can be seen race did not account for a significant amount of variance by itself. When the strategies were entered they accounted for 13% of the

TABLE 5  
Multiple regression results for all groups of mothers participating in the W.I.C. program for the Full Model with maternal satisfaction as dependent variable using direct entry and stepwise procedures.

	r	Beta	Direct F	R <sup>2</sup> (change)	Stepwise Beta	F
Race 1	.14	-.18	4.25*		-.23*	10.3**
Race 2	-.12	.06	.43	.02	—	—
Allow	-.10	-.09	1.83		—	—
Praise	.16	.05	.60		—	—
Spank	-.07	-.12	2.73		-.12	3.25
Reason	.27	.32	17.56***	.13***	.33	21.19***

Direct:  $R^2 = .15$ ,  $F(6,170) = 5.14$ ,  $p < .001$

Stepwise:  $R^2 = .13$ ,  $F(3,173) = 9.14$ ,  $p < .001$

Race1 Afro American = 0  
Latin American = 1  
Anglo American = 0

Race2 Latin American = 0  
Afro American = 1  
Anglo american = 0

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

variance. The complete model accounted for 15% of the variance in maternal satisfaction for all three groups of at-risk mothers [ $F(6, 170) = 5.14, p < .001$ ]. In the full model, the best predictors of maternal satisfaction were the dummy variable for the Latin American group of mothers ( $B = -.18, p < .05$ ) and reason ( $B = .32, p < .05$ ).

The stepwise procedure selected Race1 and reason as the best predictors of maternal satisfaction accounting for 13% of the variance while controlling for all other variables in the equation [ $F(13, 173) = 9.14; p < .001$ ]

#### ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

Additionally, it was of interest to investigate the interaction of ethnicity and mothering strategies and their impact on maternal satisfaction. that is, does the use of specific mothering strategies by specific ethnic groups impact on their satisfaction? To explore these relationships a second regression procedure was used with a multiplicative approach. Latin American versus non-Latin American groups were used in this analysis. The variable Race H was a dummy variable indicating Latin Americans (Race H = 1) and non-Latin American groups (Anglo and Afro Americans; Race H = 0). Race H was then interacted (multiplied) with the mothering strategies.

In the forced entry procedure Race H was entered first, then the strategies as a block, and finally the interaction

terms as a block. Table 6 reports the results from these procedures as well as the stepwise procedure following the direct entry.

Table 6 shows that the complete model accounts for 17% of the variance in maternal satisfaction [ $F(9,167) = 4.01, p < .001$ ]. From the full model it can be seen that the most significant predictors of maternal satisfaction were the dummy variable for the Latin American group ( $B = .78, p < .001$ ) and reason ( $B = .22, p < .01$ ). When the stepwise procedure was conducted once again the dummy variable for the "Latino" group and reason emerged as predictors of maternal satisfaction. However the interaction of spank and ethnicity was also a significant predictor of maternal satisfaction ( $B = -.37, p < .05$ ). The resulting equation from the stepwise procedure accounted for 17%, ( $F(5,171) = 7.19, p < .001$ ). These results indicate that whether or not a mother is satisfied with her role as a mother when using or not using spank as a mothering practice depends on her ethnicity. Results from the ANOVA's reported previously, suggest that Latin American and Anglo American mothers had lower means on spank than Afro American mothers. These results suggest that a Latin American mother who spanks her child will be less satisfied with her mothering than an Afro American mother who spanks her child.

The interactions for allow and reason were also

TABLE 6  
 Multiple regression results for all groups of mothers participating in the W.I.C. program for the Full Model with maternal satisfaction as the dependent variable and mothering strategies entered by ethnicity, using direct entry and stepwise procedure.

	r	Direct Beta	F	R <sup>2</sup> (change)	Stepwise Beta	F
Race H	.12	.78	4.27*	.01	.79	5.78*
Allow	-.10	-.01	.02		-	-
Praise	.16	.07	.52		-	-
Spank	-.07	-.03	.12		-	-
Reason	.27	.22	6.96**	.11***	.23	8.34**
RaceHxA	.06	-.49	3.37		-.52	3.57
RaceHxS	.05	-.33	2.59		-.37	4.73*
RaceHxP	.17	-.11	.44		-	-
RaceHxR	.24	-.30	3.07	.04	.26	3.28

Direct:  $R^2 = .16$ ,  $F(9,167) = 4.01$ ,  $p < .001$

Stepwise:  $R^2 = .17$ ,  $F(5,171) = 7.19$ ,  $p < .001$

RaceHxA = RaceH x Allow \*  $p < .05$

RaceHxS = RaceH x Spank \*\*  $p < .01$

RaceHxP = RaceH x Praise \*\*\*  $p < .001$

RaceHxR = RaceH x Reason

selected in the stepwise procedure. Although the Beta's for these variables were not significant, these results support the notion that the relationship between satisfaction and mothering strategies is mediated by ethnic/minority membership. Thus, mothers who use strategies that are acceptable to their cultural context may be more satisfied than mothers who don't use these strategies.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

The main objective of this study was to investigate the relationship between mothering strategies and maternal satisfaction, comparing three ethnic groups of at-risk mothers: Latin Americans, Afro Americans, and Anglo Americans. These mothers were receiving the services given by the Women, Infant, and Children (W.I.C.) program, in Los Angeles, California. Four mothering strategies (reason, praise, spank, allow) were studied as predictors of maternal satisfaction. This chapter includes discussion of the results presented in Chapter IV as well as conclusions, limitations and implications for practice.

#### DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Mean scores on maternal satisfaction were found to fall within the lower end of the satisfaction scale for all three groups of at-risk mothers. This indicates that most of these mothers perceived a high degree of satisfaction from their maternal role. This finding is similar to those of other studies which have also found samples of lower SES mothers to be satisfied (Chilman, 1980 ; Bullock, 1989 ; and Brewer, 1991).

Positive responses to the maternal satisfaction questionnaire may have different meanings. First of all, they could be due to the fact that all mothers were

receiving economic support and counseling advice from the W.I.C. program. This could have affected their thinking process when answering the questionnaire in order to not disappoint W.I.C. selectors and continue receiving help. Here, social desirability may have been a factor.

Another reason for this positive response on maternal satisfaction could have been due to the specific period of motherhood in which participants were. In fact, all these mothers had children below the age of six. Small children are everywhere and in any culture a great source of self-fulfillment for most women. Thus, these participants may have been enjoying the experience of being a mother and not have yet faced the difficulties of motherhood, which may increase as children get older.

A third reason for this impressively positive response could be due to the instrument that was created for measuring maternal satisfaction. The 4-question scale included only global satisfaction items. If more specific statements regarding satisfaction had been given these mothers may have responded differently.

Because maternal satisfaction was studied by looking at mothering strategies as its predictors, each strategy will be discussed separately.

#### SPANK:

Latin American mothers had a mean score of 4.2 on the

spank subscale. This score was found to fall above the middle of the scale, indicating that this group reported supporting a lower use of physical punishment when disciplining a child than its counterparts the Afro American and the Anglo American groups. These last two groups' scores on spank fell below the middle of the subscale, suggesting support for a higher use of physical discipline.

In agreement with Baumrind's definition of the authoritarian parent (1978), it seems that the groups of Afro American and Anglo American mothers tended to favor more punitive and forceful ways to curb their children's actions and behavior. These findings support those of Cudaback (1991) who found a sample of Afro American mothers to respond positively to physical discipline statements about childrearing; and those investigations of Duvall (1971), Elder (1962), and Kagan & Elder (1975) which found Afro and Anglo American mothers of lower SES groups to be more likely to use authoritarian reinforcement patterns which included physical punishment, in their interaction with their children. However, these findings fail to support those of earlier investigations which have suggested that Latin American childrearing is quite punitive (Martinez, 1988; Henderson, 1982; Kagan & Elder, 1975).

REASON:

All three ethnic groups were found to have low scores

on the reason subscale as a means of disciplining their children. Even though the Afro American group was found to be significantly different from the other two groups, its score on reason still fell below the middle of the subscale, thus one could not say that the Afro American mothers were in disagreement with the use of this strategy.

It is assumed that mothers who consult the child and make few decisions without input from the child may not feel as frustrated with the maternal role as those who use more authoritarian styles. Reason has been recognized as one of the main characteristics that identify the authoritative parenting style (Baumrind, 1978; Ross et.al, 1990). Parents who use reason and explanation, as well as power and shaping by regimen and reinforcement not only achieve their parental goals but also positive child developmental outcomes (Baumrind, 1978; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

#### PRAISE:

Since mean scores on praise were found to be low for all three groups of mothers and fell below the middle of the subscale, most of the participants supported praising their children in a given situation. However, these mothers were given specific options and situations, and they were asked to agree or disagree with those particular statements. Perhaps their positive answers toward praise may have been influenced by a socially desired response. Again, scholars

such as Baumrind (1978) and Maccoby & Martin (1983) have stated that praise also constitutes a very important characteristic of the authoritative parenting style. The authoritative parent enforces the adult perspective, but recognizes the child's individual interests by reinforcement (Baumrind, 1978).

ALLOW:

Mean scores were found to be high on the allow (permissiveness) subscale for all mothers participating in this study. These scores were 5.4 for the "Latino" group, 5.6 for the Afro Americans, and 5.8 for the Anglo Americans. As it was stated, higher scores would mean higher disagreement with a particular strategy. Therefore, this finding suggests that the majority of mothers participating in this study disagreed with the use of allow (permissiveness) as a way of mothering their children. No significant differences among the three groups were found regarding this strategy. Particularly, for the Latin American mothers these findings do not support those of Levine & Bartz (1979); Durrett et., al (1975); and Cahill (1966), which have suggested that Latin American childrearing is quite permissive.

These findings demonstrated differences from those of prior investigations that have examined Latin American childrearing practices. For example, Durrett, O'Bryant, and

Pennebaker (1975) and Levine and Bartz (1978) concluded that permissiveness characterized childrearing practices of "Latino" parents. On the other hand, Kagan and Elder (1975), Kearns (1970), and Martinez (1988) have suggested that traditional values and authoritarian structure are more characteristic of those same parents.

These opposing findings indicate what may be a broad range of childrearing styles within this heterogeneous population. "Adult members of the same culture or subculture do not always agree exactly about values, nor about the values they wish to inculcate in their children, nor on how children should be reared so that they become responsible members of their society" (Baumrind, 1978, p. 240).

It is very important to keep in mind that these contrasting findings should not be considered inconsistent conclusions about Latin American childrearing practices and mothering behaviors. Specific childrearing strategies which are functional for the parents and beneficial to child development may differ from one cultural context to another, as Baumrind has stated. Therefore, these encountered differences must be interpreted within a cultural context.

It is widely known that within the Latin American family structure there is considerable pressure upon the children to behave with strict obedience to the dictates of

the parents and other authoritarian figures (Canino & Canino, 1980). However structural and value system changes may occur from the migration and acculturation processes regarding family context (Szapocnick et.,al, 1986). Therefore, generational issues and cultural assimilation may have been important forces that influenced childrearing attitudes of this particular group of Latin American mothers, now residing in the dominant culture.

#### MATERNAL SATISFACTION:

This study indicates that only one of the mothering strategies was predictor of maternal satisfaction. The results of the first regression procedure presented in table 5 demonstrated that with ethnicity and mothering strategies entered as the independent variables, only the dummy variable for the Latin American group and reason were significant predictors of satisfaction when comparing all three ethnic groups.

Because these findings were intriguing, a second regression procedure was conducted. These results were presented in Table 6. In this procedure, interaction terms for ethnic group and strategies were entered into the equation with maternal satisfaction once again as the dependent variable. Again the dummy variable for the "Latino" group and reason were the most significant predictors of maternal satisfaction. However, from the

results of the stepwise procedure the interaction of spank with ethnic group also emerged as a significant predictor of satisfaction. This last finding suggests that whether or not a mother is satisfied when using or not using spanking as a means of discipline depends on her ethnicity.

Authoritarian practices are generally considered to characterize lower SES groups and the authoritative style of parenting has been more associated with competitive and individualistic middle-class values (Martinez, 1988). However, findings of this study fail to support that lower SES Latin American mothers are more likely to exhibit the authoritarian style when disciplining their children. In fact, reason was found to be a predictor of satisfaction for this ethnic group of mothers. This finding could be attributed to the mothers' level of acculturation and the interaction between their family systems and other ethnically different systems. Besides the level of acculturation, the number of generations removed from Latin America could have played a significant role in this variation. Finally, another explanation for the finding that "Latino" group designation and the use of reason were predictors of maternal satisfaction could be due to their exposure to non-formal channels such as parent education through the media or community services, the church, or even by the guidance provided by the W.I.C. program.

There is no doubt that authoritative attitudes toward childrearing such as reason provide a great sense of self-fulfillment for the mother. Mothers whose disciplinary clarity is moderated by warmth, reason, flexibility, and verbal give-and-take receive more positive responses from their children (Ross, et. al, 1990). And positive responses are valuable rewards for the maternal role.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The practical implications of this study are in the areas of psychology, social work, sociology, parenting education, mental health, community services, and all programs that become involved in the family context. Professionals in these areas may wish to understand the ramifications of cultural and economic factors on parenting in this complex and pluralistic American society.

It is assumed that lower SES mothers may interact differently with their children than mothers of upper classes. And, in fact, there is a tendency to identify these mothers as being less satisfied with their maternal role. Also, it has been stated that most at-risk mothers favor more authoritarian styles when rearing their children.

The results of this study were not consistent with findings from prior investigations that have analyzed mothering behaviors and maternal satisfaction of lower SES and at-risk mothers. Findings of this study suggest that

professionals should avoid considering and conceptualizing lower SES and at-risk mothers who favor more authoritarian childrearing strategies. Childrearing practices may vary from authoritarian to authoritative to permissive regardless of socioeconomic status.

Professionals in social fields must be aware that some mothers need help to avoid creating disabilities or pathologies in their children (Mercer, 1990), but most of all, professionals should be able to plan their interventions by including components related to the ethnic culture of the mother.

The heterogeneity of childrearing strategies among and within ethnic groups should also be considered in the planning of parent education programs.

It may be interesting for these professionals to know which strategies better predict maternal satisfaction for different ethnic groups of at-risk mothers. Helping these mothers to be able to evaluate their own attitudes toward childrearing may also help them to develop and enjoy more positive interactions with their children.

At-risk mothers should be taught how to explore their level of satisfaction. They should be helped to explore the emotions that emerge from the responsibility of rearing and disciplining children. They should be taught about the negative and positive influences of such feelings for the

mother-child relationship.

Mothering is not only a responsibility but can be a source of fulfillment and contentment. Even when this role is demanding, mothering can be seen as always representing a rewarding task. Mothers should be taught that in some circumstances children can not respond to the mother's expectations or to the environment and this may handicap the mother-child interaction (Mercer, 1990). Therefore helping a mother to be able to distinguish between a "bad day", a "bad moment", or a beginning pattern (Mercer, 1990) should be a responsibility of those professionals whose ultimate objective is to promote positive, enjoyable mother-child relationships.

#### LIMITATIONS

The following limitations influenced this study:

Since this study used a small urban sample of mothers participating in the W.I.C program, it is not representative of all recipients of the services provided by this program, nor it is representative of all low SES mothers belonging to the ethnicities studied. Studies of rural samples of mothers with the same characteristics may demonstrate different results. Therefore, this study does not necessarily explain maternal satisfaction for all mothers in the W.I.C program.

The participants in this study were selected from a

population of at-risk mothers (W.I.C. program) and were mothers who had been identified as at-risk. Studies selecting clinical populations appear to be more accurate when they have control groups. It would be very interesting for future studies to report results of studies of different groups of at-risk mothers comparing their findings with those of their control groups, composed of non at-risk mothers.

Only two age brackets were entered in the SPSS files and VPI mainframe for the urban sample. Therefore, it was impossible to analyze this variable regarding teenage mothers. It has been stated that age accounts for significant effects on mothering practices and maternal satisfaction (Ragozin, et. al, 1982).

Maternal satisfaction was assessed in this study by a 4-item instrument. Since mothers responded to only four very general questions, it cannot be said that the true scope of a mother's perceived level of satisfaction was assessed.

This study was also limited by the lack of control for marital status and lack of variability in satisfaction measure. As was discussed earlier, this lack of variability in satisfaction measure could have been due to social desirability bias when participants answered the questionnaires.

Particularly, for the Latin American group of participants in this study there is one more limitation that need to be stated. It is well known that most Latin American immigrants come from rural areas of their countries of origin (Leslie & Leitch, 1989). Therefore, one could question that the sample of "Latino" mothers was strictly urban. And, since families of rural areas tend to remain more intact, appear to more clearly define role responsibilities, and seem to be more satisfied with their family roles than urban families, perhaps these facts should be considered as one last but not least explanation for the Latin American group of at-risk mothers in terms of maternal satisfaction.

Future studies in this area, then need to focus on the level of acculturation, as a variable in comparing ethnic minorities, and use broader samples. It would appear that more work needs to be done in the area of maternal satisfaction, but researchers should also broaden their perspectives to include paternal satisfaction as well.

## REFERENCES

- Baumrind, D. (1978). Parental disciplinary patterns and social competence in children. Youth and society, 9(3), 239-276.
- Belsky, J. (1984). The determinants of parenting: a process model. Child development, 55, 83-96.
- Bornstein, M. (1991). Cultural approaches to parenting. Hillsdale, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Brewer, E. (1991). Factors affecting parental satisfaction and acceptance/rejection in mothers participating in the Women, Infant, and Children program. Thesis submitted to the faculty of Virginia Tech and State University in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Master of Sciences, Blacksburg, VA.
- Bronfrenbrenner, U. (1979). The ecology of human development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brooks, J. (1981). The process of parenting. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.
- Bullock, J. (1989). Parental knowledge and role satisfaction and the children sociometric status. Child study journal. 18, 265-275.
- Canino, I. & Canino, G. (1980). Impact of stress on the Puerto Rican family: treatment considerations.

Journal of Orthopsychiatry., 3, 535-541.

Chilman, C. (1980) Parent satisfactions, concerns, and goals for their children. Family relations, 29, 339-345.

Cudaback, D. (1991). Mothers' attitudes toward physical discipline of young children: implications for parent education. Paper presented at the annual conference of the National Council on Family Relations, Denver, CO., Nov 19.

DiGiulio, R. (1980). Effective parenting: What is your style? Chicago, IL: Follett Publishing Co.

Draper, H. & Draper, W. (1983). The caring parent. Peoria, IL: Bennet Publishing Co.

Grymes, J. & Sawjers, J. (1991). The relationship between parental perceptions of family functioning and parenting behaviors. Paper presented at the annual conference for the National Council on Family Relations, Denver, CO, Nov. 19.

Halpern, R. (1980). Poverty and early childhood parenting: toward a framework of intervention. American journal of orthopsychiatry, 60, 6-18.

Hamner, T. & Turner, P. (1985). Parenting in contemporary society. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Health Services Division, Department of Health and

- Environmental Sciences. (1987). W.I.C. program policy statement (DHEs Publication No 88-4. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Henry, C.; Peterson, G.; & Wilson, S. (1991). Adolescents attributes and parental satisfaction. Paper presented at the annual conference for the National Council on Family Relations, Denver, CO, Nov 19.
- Herbert, M. (1986). The pathology of human parental behavior. In W. Sluckin & M. Herbert (Eds), Parental behavior. New York: Basil Blackwell Inc.
- Howeel, D. (1987). Statistical methods for psychology. Boston: PWS-KENT Publishing Co.
- Jensen, L. & Kingston, M. (1986). Parenting. New York, NY: CBS College Publishing.
- Johnston, C. & Mash, E. (1989). A measure of parenting satisfaction and efficacy. Journal of clinical child psychology. 18, 167-175.
- Leslie, L. & Leitch, M (1989). A demographic profile of recent Central American immigrants. Hispanic journal of behavioral sciences, 7(1), 315-329.
- LeVine, R. (1974). Parental gals: a cross-cultural view. Teachers college record, 76, 229-239.
- LeVine, R. (1980). In Parenting in a multicultural society, Mario D. Fantini and Rene Cardenas (Eds).

New York, NY: Logman Inc.

LeVine, E. & Bartz, K. (1979). Comparative childrearing attitudes among Chicano, Anglo, and Black parents. Hispanic journal of behavioral sciences, 1(2), 165-178.

Maccoby, E. & Martin, J. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: parent-child relationship. In P. Mussen (Ed), Handbook in Child Psychology. New York: Wiley & Sons Press.

Martinez, S. (1988). Child behavior in Mexican American / Chicano families: Maternal teaching and child-rearing practices. Family relations. 37, 275-280.

Mercer, R. (1990), Parents at risk. New York: Springer Publishing Co.

Mouton, P. & Tuma, J. (1988). Stress, locus of control, and role satisfaction in clinic and control mothers. Journal of clinic and control psychology. 17(3), 217-224.

Ragozin, A.; Basham, R.; Crnic, K.; Greenberg, M.; and Robinson, N. (1982). Effects of maternal age on parenting role. Developmental psychology, 18(4), 627-634.

Ramirez III, M. & Cox, B. (1980). Parenting for multiculturalism: a Mexican American model. In Parenting in a multicultural society, Mario D.

Fantini and Rene Cardenas (Eds). New York, NY:  
Longman, Inc.

Reis. J.; Barbera-Stein, L; & Bennett, S. (1986).

Ecological determinants of parenting. Family relations, 35, 547-554.

Rickard, K.M.; Graziano, W.; & Forehand, R. (1984).

Parental expectations and childhood deviance in clinic and non-clinic children. Journal of clinical psychology, 13(2), 179-186.

Rohner, R. (1986). The warmth dimension: foundations of parental acceptance/rejection theory. Beberly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Ross, W. et.,al. (1990). Parenting styles of lower class minority mothers. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Research Education. Boston, April 1990.

Simons, R.; Whitbeck, L.; Conger. R.; & Melby, J.

(1990). Husband and wife, differences in the determinants of parenting: a social learning and exchange model of parental behavior. Journal of marriage and the family, 52, 375-392.

Stevens, J. (1984). Black grandmothers'and Black adolescent mothers'knowledge about parenting. Developmental Psychology. 20(6), 1017-1025.

Szapocnick, J.; Rio, A.; Vidal, A.; Kurtines, W.;

Hervis, O.; & Santisteban, D. (1986). Bicultural effectiveness training (BET): an experiment test on an intervention modality for families experiencing intergenerational/intercultural conflict. Hispanic journal for behavioral sciences, 8, 303-330.

Weiss, H. & Halpern, R. (1988). Community based family support and education programs: something old or something new? Paper prepared for the National Resource Center for Children in Poverty. Columbia University Press.

Williams, R.; Lessler, J.; Wheelless, S.; & Wildfire, J. (1990). Study of W.I.C. participants and program characteristics. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food, and Nutrition Service.

## APPENDICES

**APPENDIX A**

**CONSENT FORM**

Montana State University  
Parenting Project  
Sherrick Hall  
Bozeman, MT 59717

MSU Parenting study  
Sherrick Hall  
College of Nursing  
Montana State University  
Bozeman, MT 59717

MSU PARENTING STUDY, 1988

I am a willing participant in the MSU Parenting Study and have been informed of the following items; (1) I have been informed of the following description of the project, its purpose, and benefits; (2) I have been given an explanation as to why I have been asked to participate; (3) I have been given an explanation of my specific involvement and potential risks, if any; (4) I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time that I desire; and (5) I understand that my responses will be kept anonymous.

APPENDIX B  
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

## DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What county do you live in? (check one)  
 Gallatin       Park       Madison
2. What community/town do you in? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Was your childhood for the most part spent in:  
 open country, open rang       town of 50-500 people  
 town of 500- 1,000       town of 1,000-5,000  
 city of 5,000-10,000       city of 10,000-50,0000
4. When is your birthday? (month and year) \_\_\_\_\_
5. What is the birthday of each of your children? (month & year)  
 Boys \_\_\_\_\_  
 Girls \_\_\_\_\_
6. Are you married?  yes       no  
 What year were you married? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Was your previous marriage ended because of:  
 (check one)  
 divorce       never married  
 desertion       death
8. Who lives with you? (check those that apply)  
 spouse       parent(s)  
 brother or sister       grandparent(s)  
 male friend       female friend
9. To what church do you belong? \_\_\_\_\_
- 10 Draw a circle around the number of years of schooling you have completed.
- |                 |             |         |               |
|-----------------|-------------|---------|---------------|
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 | 1 2 3 4     | 1 2 3 4 | 1 2 3 4       |
| Grade School    | High School | College | Post-Graduate |
- 11 What is your occupation (for example, full time homemaker, secretary, drug store clerk, hairdresser, student)?  
 In a few words tell us what you do. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
- 12 What is your husband or partner's occupation (if she or he has one)?  
 In a few words tell us what he or she does. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX C  
PARENTAL SATISFACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

## PARENTAL SATISFACTION QUESTIONNAIRE

There are good things and not so good things about the experience of parenting. Please circle how you feel about the following statements.

(Circle one)

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 Disagree
- 4 Strongly disagree

	Strongly Agree	-	Strongly Disagree
	<u>1</u>		<u>3</u>
1. Overall, I am satisfied being the parent of this child.	1	2	4
2. Generally speaking, being the parent of this child has been one of the best things in my life.	1	2	4
3. As a parent, I enjoy spending a great deal of time with this child.	1	2	4
4. As a parent, I enjoy participating in and sharing many activities with this child.	1	2	4

APPENDIX D

MATERNAL REACTIONS TO A CHILD'S DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

## MRCDB

Please circle the number that most closely approximates you answer to each question, recognizing that parents often respond differently to situations at different times.  
(Circle one)

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Slightly agree
- 3 Moderately agree
- 4 Neither agree or disagree
- 5 Moderately disagree
- 6 Slightly disagree
- 7 Strongly disagree

	Strongly Agree		-		Strongly Disagree		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. If your child begins to whine and cry when you tell him/her she/he can't have a cookie, you would spank him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. If your child came in from playing the first time you call him/her, you would praise him/her for this.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. If your child was jumping up and down on the furniture, you would praise him/her about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. If your child was "showing off" and embarrassing you in front of company, you would remove him/her from the room.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. If your child interrupted your conversation with another person, you would go ahead and allow him/her to speak.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. If your child was sharing his/her toys nicely with a friend, you would praise him/her for sharing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. If your child disobeyed your	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Agree	-	Strongly Disagree				
	_____		_____				
request that he/she apologize for hitting a friend, you would spank him/her.							
8. If your child had just knocked over a large box of bobby-pins while bouncing a ball in the bathroom (an act she/he has been forbidden to do), you would make him/her clean up the mess and remove the ball for a specified period of time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. If you and your child were sitting in the den and you told him/her to get into bed and she/he had a tantrum, you would let him/her stay up.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. If your child crossed a street she/he was forbidden to cross you would try to explain to him/her how dangerous that is.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. If your child refused to apologize for taking a toy away from a friend, you would spank him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. If your child continued to beg for a candy bar while you are at the grocery store, you would ignore his/her pleading.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. If your child cleaned his/her plate at supper, you would tell him/her what a good boy/girl she/he was.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. If your child continued to cry when you not allow him/her to have a cookie before supper, you would go ahead and let him/her have one this time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Strongly Agree	-	Strongly Disagree				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	If your child was pushing or shoving one of his/her siblings or friends, you would try to explain to him/her how naughty that is.						
16	If your child thanked someone for giving her/him an ice cream cone, you would praise him/her for it.						
17	If your child was sitting on the family pet or pulling its tail, you would try to reason with him/her about how cruel that was.						
18	If your child broke a toy belonged to a friend, you would send him/her to his/her room.						
19	If your child had just pulled the books off a shelf and left them on the floor after you ask him/her to pick them up, you would spank him/her.						
20	If your child kept sneaking candy after you asked him/her to stop you would explain to him/her how sweets are bad for him/her and cause cavities.						
21	If your child "talked back" to you when you corrected him/her for something, you would spank him/her.						
22	If you child continued to whine when you told him/her she/he could not go play with a friend, you would let him/her.						
23	If your child used an obscene word which you had told him/her to stop						

Strongly - Strongly  
Agree        Disagree  
\_\_\_\_\_

using, you would send him/her to  
his/her room when she/he used the  
word.

VITA

Name: Maria Elena Vasquez Birthdate: May 28, 1958

Education:

- 1992 M.S. Department of Family and Child Development  
Virginia Tech's Northern VA Graduate Center  
Emphasis: Family Studies
- 1984 License University of Costa Rica and Costa Rican  
National Association of Social Work  
Emphasis : Social Work
- 1980 B.S. University of Costa Rica, San Jose  
Emphasis: Social Work

Professional Experience:

- 1991-1992 Intern, Center for Family Services  
Virginia Tech's Northern VA  
Graduate Center
- 1987-88-89 Social Work Supervisor, Parole Section,  
Department of Justice, San Jose, Costa  
Rica
- 1980-1986 Social Worker, Parole Section,  
Department of Justice, San Jose,  
Costa Rica

Professional Memberships:

- Member, Costa Rican National Association of Social Work
- Member, Costa Rican National Association of  
Criminologic Social Work



Maria Elena Vasquez