

PARENTING STRATEGIES AND OTHER FACTORS RELATED TO THE
POTENTIAL FOR CHILD ABUSE IN LOW INCOME MOTHERS

by

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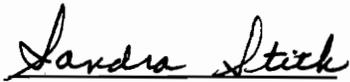
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Family and Child Development

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(ABSTRACT)

Researchers have shown that certain demographic variables and parenting strategies can predict the degree of potential for child abuse that a mother may experience with her children. The major objective of this study was to determine the specific characteristics and traits that identify mothers who have the greatest potential to abuse or neglect their children by determining whether parenting strategies, age of the mother, educational attainment, and isolation indicated by place of residence and marital status are predictive of the potential for child abuse.

T-tests were performed to see if there significant differences in scale means for the subscales of parenting strategies in urban and rural groups of the sample. All subscale's scores were significantly different when the urban and rural groups were compared.

T-test and Chi square tests were computed on the relationship between demographic variables including educational attainment, age and marital status and urban and

rural groups. Significant differences were found on all three demographic variables.

Four variables were found to be predictive of the potential for child abuse. Four parenting strategies (i.e., spank, reason, allow, and praise) were tested for their power in predicting the potential for child abuse. Only allow was found to be a significant predictor for the potential for child abuse. Educational attainment, support group (which is a combined variable representing marital status and living arrangements) and urban vs. rural residence were found among the demographic variables to be predictors of the potential for child abuse.

These results suggest that although a demographic like educational attainment may be important, the context of parenting (urban vs. rural and support group) and parenting style (allow) are the best predictors of the potential for child abuse.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Child maltreatment is a serious and widespread problem. With heightened public and professional awareness of this problem, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of cases reported and in the attention focused on the care given to families in which child abuse or neglect has occurred or seems likely to occur. As increased knowledge of the etiology and treatment of child abuse is gained, the question is raised about the specific characteristics and traits that will identify families with the highest potential to abuse or neglect their children.

In Garbarino (1984), physical abuse, neglect, and maltreatment of children have been studied to be symptomatic of a variety of unhealthy patterns of parent-child relations. Factors that contribute to child maltreatment include both psychological, economic, and social factors. For example, low income and other aspects of social stress are associated with higher rates of child maltreatment. Social isolation is associated with a greater likelihood of child maltreatment, both because abuse prone individuals isolate themselves and because they lack the means to participate in their communities. Poor general coping and parenting skills play a significant role in child maltreatment. Other contributors to the potential for child

abuse include unplanned or unwanted pregnancy, inadequate economic resources, unemployment, marital difficulties, excessive transience, and unsatisfactory social relations. A history of maltreatment in the parent's background increases the likelihood of child maltreatment as does the contemporary presence of spousal violence and conflict.

Purposes and Problem Statement

From this previous research it was of interest to determine the relationship among parenting strategies, marital status, age of the mother, household support systems, educational attainment and the maternal potential for child abuse among low income families. The purpose of this research was to examine the effects of several variables related to the potential for child abuse among a population of mothers enrolled in local Health Department's Women, Infants, and Children (W.I.C.) programs. Mothers who enroll in the W.I.C. program are a special type of mother. Nationally, two thirds of these mothers have incomes below poverty level. Only 45 percent of these mothers are married. At least 43 percent of these mothers have not completed high school. Only 17 percent of these mothers have more than 13 years of schooling. All of these mothers are in some way nutritionally at risk (Williams, Lessler, Wheelless, & Wildfire, 1990). These mothers have small children who also tend to have nutritional deficits

and a myriad of other physical and emotional problems that could lead to the potential for child abuse. This study examined a sample of W.I.C. mothers who were of lower income and were at risk nutritionally.

Rationale

Although it has existed for centuries, only within the last few decades has child abuse become the focus of extensive research and legislation. Public attention and concern became more apparent in the early 1970's (Lenton, 1990). Since then, there has been an enormous amount of research that has generally fallen into one of two categories: 1) the detecting, caring for, and protecting abused children, or 2) categorizing the situations, circumstances, and characteristics of both parents and child that increase the probability of abuse. This second type would inform prevention programs, if characteristics were identified that demonstrated a potential for child abuse (Garbarino, 1984).

Social scientists have learned a great deal about the general factors involved in child abuse, thus making it possible to diagnose the problem earlier and more accurately. Knowledgeable therapists now have access to increasingly more effective therapy at the first indication of injuries (Wolfe, 1985). Such therapy can be used to break the cycle of child abuse and neglect. But, even

though the overall dynamics operating to produce child abuse and neglect are becoming better understood, the specific factors that allow us to identify violence prone parenting strategies that lead to abuse, have not yet been established. If accurate predictions of abuse can be made from problematic parenting strategies, then, not only clinicians, but family life educators, medical personnel, and clergy, can contribute to preventive and ameliorative practices.

This study will determine, for a specific sample of low income families, the relationship between parenting strategies and the potential for child abuse. Thus, implications for prevention of child abuse will be identified by indicating the parenting strategies and characteristics of families who have the potential for maltreatment of their children.

Conceptual Framework

Family conceptual frameworks are useful in helping to understand the relationships and logic of the integration of ideas used to describe important issues and to give meaning to the dynamics of family life (Peterson, 1986). In this project, the symbolic interactionism framework is used to conceptualize thinking about behaviors and feelings that mothers and children exhibit in their relationship to each other. The symbolic interactionist perspective assumes that

people share meaningful symbols with one another and that they are able to construct their own realities through self-reflection, and evaluation of self and others, via dynamic social intercourse (Peterson, 1986). These symbols give structure to the interactions within the family. Family members use these symbols to communicate expectations by means of their behaviors and the behaviors of others (Burr, Leigh, Day, & Constantine, 1979).

The basic idea from this perspective is that humans live in a symbolic environment as well as a physical environment (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). In family interaction, complex sets of meanings are learned that allow family members to communicate, share experiences, and involve two or more persons in a social process. In the parent-child dyad, often the parent will use words and gestures that express endearment or that are intended to control their children. The child, in turn may respond with meaningful expressions of affection or with countercontrol attempts used to assert their independence. The important point here is that parents and children have the ability to share common meanings and to anticipate each others behaviors through role expectations (Peterson, 1986).

Symbolic interaction helps explain how mothers perceive their role as parents. This is the result of role taking with significant others, and through definitions of

situations. Certain expectations for roles already exist in the society into which each individual is socialized. Sets of expectations guide how an individual carries out her or his roles. Individuals enter a role with certain expectations from past experiences, from their own socialization process, from interactions with others, and from their own culture's norms. A mother's perception of her role is contingent on how she believes she is carrying out that role (Peterson & Rollins, 1987).

Peterson and Rollins (1987) studied the mother-child relationship and how mothers and children share common meanings and anticipate each other's behavior. This role taking "involves the capacity of individual family members to view both the social world and themselves from the perspective of the other family members. The ability to role take each other and to share meanings allows them to anticipate the others' responses and to develop a social relationship of special intensity". Role taking allows the mother and child to anticipate each others' responses and to develop an intimate relationship with each other (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). From a symbolic interaction perspective, mother-child interactions are based upon the emergence of shared expectations. Through role taking mothers become responsive to the child's needs and expectations, and the

child becomes responsive to their mother's expectations of them.

Which type of parenting strategy is used and how the child responds to that strategy depends on the amount of power a mother has. Parental power refers to the child's perception of the parent's potential ability to reward, use force, give information, and become an important source of love. The amount of power that a parent has is determined by how strongly the child views that parent as a significant other (Peterson & Rollins, 1987).

Nominal definitions

The concepts that were used for this study will include parenting strategies, child abuse potential, isolation, marital status, place of residence, and educational attainment.

Mothering Strategies

Mothering strategies are defined as the methods used by mothers to discipline, to control, to teach, to nurture, and to reason with their child. These strategies are the ways that a mother responds to a child's actions and behaviors.

Child Abuse Potential

Child abuse potential is the possible inclination to be abusive, and also includes the potential for physical or mental injury, sexual abuse, negligent treatment, or maltreatment of a child under the age of 18 by a person who

is responsible for the child's welfare under circumstances which indicate the child's health or welfare is harmed or threatened.

Isolation

Isolation is defined as the state of being separated geographically, physically, or emotionally from family, friends, neighbors, or other support systems.

Marital Status

Marital status is defined as the state of being either married or single. Single includes not married, never married, widowed, separated, or divorced mothers.

Educational Attainment

Educational attainment is defined as the parent's highest level of formal schooling completed.

Objectives

The major objective of this study was to test the extent to which several specific variables predict the potential for child abuse that W.I.C. participant mothers might exhibit. In addition, the relationship between the potential for child abuse and parenting strategies will be explored.

The major objective was to determine the specific characteristics and traits that identify mothers who have the greatest potential to abuse or neglect their children by determining whether parenting strategies, age of mother,

educational attainment, and isolation indicated by place of residence and marital status are predictive of the potential for child abuse.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

A literature review was conducted to explore previous research that demonstrated relationships among the variables had already been demonstrated. These variables included: parenting strategies, social isolation, level of educational attainment, age of the mother, and the potential for child abuse.

PARENTING STRATEGIES

How a mother reacts to a child's behavior may have some bearing on how that mother feels about the child and herself as a parent. Different styles of parenting have been popular over the course of history. In the past, a more autocratic style was common. It was widely held that children needed to learn strict obedience. At the present time, a more democratic form of discipline is preferred by most parent educators and many mothers. Yet, not all mothers are sure about which behaviors to use. Some parents become overindulgent and too permissive (Palmer, 1980). Logically, other parents may become too strict and domineering.

Baumrind (1971, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1980, 1983, 1987) has described three different ways that parents react to their children's behaviors. In the authoritarian parenting style, little praise is given to the child. Physical

coercion is the predominant form of discipline. Permissive parents tend to ignore children's behaviors and let them get away with misconduct. Authoritative parents use reasoning and explanations to discipline their children. The children of authoritative parents tend to be more independent and self-reliant and show more positive outcomes in areas of cognitive and social competence (Baumrind, 1975).

Maccoby and Martin (1983) expanded the concept of parenting styles. They found that authoritarian parents controlled, shaped, and judged their children's behavior by using severe punishment which often was physical. The children of authoritarian parents were found to be unhappy, socially withdrawn, and to have low self-esteem.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) described permissive/indulgent parents as ones who allowed their children to regulate their own behavior, offered few rules, and gave little in the way of punishments. The children of these parents tended to lack impulse control, self-reliance, social responsibility, and independence.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) found authoritative/reciprocal parents to be parents who had clear expectations about their children's definite limits. Rules were firmly and consistently enforced. These parents encouraged independence and open communication. Their

children were found to be compliant, independent, socially responsible, self-confident, and to have high self-esteem and self-control. A fourth type of parent was added to Baumrind's three parenting styles (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). This was the indifferent/uninvolved parent. These parents kept their children at a distance and had little interaction with them. They were found to be rejecting of their children. These children were found to have low self-esteem, cognitive deficiencies, and to be more delinquent.

In several of the following studies, the researchers looked at other ways of defining parenting strategies. Chilman (1980) in a study of parenting styles found over half of her respondents felt that they experienced no problems in rearing their children. Parents who were most concerned about their children were more likely not to use physical punishment. They favored talking to their children, consulting with school personnel, or finding other resources for help. Rickard, Graziano, and Forehand (1984) found that parents who wanted to foster and optimize the development of their children tended to give their children more praise and to ignore deviant behavior by using "time out" methods of discipline.

Keane, Nelson, and Herbert (1987) in a study of parenting styles found parents who were in positive moods

tended to exhibit positive reactions to their children's behaviors. Mothers who reported feelings of not being angry, sad, grouchy, or frustrated reacted to their children with praise, reward, and affection. Whereas, mothers who reported that they felt angry, frustrated, and grouchy tended to spank or threaten their children in response to the children's behaviors.

In a study by Crockenberg (1987) punitive parenting strategies were examined. At issue in this study are the potential antecedents and child correlates of maternal behavior characterized by anger and punitive control. Parents who were angry and punitive tended to have children who were noncompliant and who distanced themselves from their parents (Crockenberg, 1987). Mothers who had children with behavior problems tended to have increased stress, lack of control over their children, and less satisfaction in their parenting roles than mothers whose children were not diagnosed as having behavior problems (Mouton & Tuma, 1988). Differences in children's characteristics thus, can lead to different parenting styles. However, it is hard to say which comes first, the parenting style or the child's behavior. The parent-child interaction is a continuing bidirectional process (Schaffer & Collis, 1986).

PREDICTING CHILD ABUSE

Physical abuse, neglect, and maltreatment of children have been symptomatic of a variety of unhealthy patterns of parent-child relations (Garbarino, 1984). Physically abusive parents have been demonstrated more likely to be caught in highly stressful, unsupportive circumstances and to have ineffective parenting skills and strategies which they may have learned from their own parents (Lenton, 1990). Thus, it is hypothesized that parenting strategies will be predictors of the potential for child abuse.

Much research has focused on the prediction of child abuse, and on the identification of parents at risk of becoming child abusers. Several tentative conclusions can now be drawn (Wolfe, 1985). First, parents-at-risk are an immensely heterogeneous population; as a group they cannot all be characterized in terms of psychiatric disorder or personality type. Second, stress and conflict in family (marital) relationships tend to spill over into parent-child interactions (Wolfe, 1985). Third, the likelihood of risk appears to be related both to internal factors which speaks to the vulnerabilities and competencies the parent brings to the situation, and to situational factors including stressful or socially isolating circumstances.

SOCIAL ISOLATION

Crockenberg (1987) studied a group of adolescent mothers and the impact of rejection/acceptance experienced during the mother's own childhood, of the social support she received after the baby's birth and of the characteristics of her infant in response to angry, punitive maternal behavior. Crockenberg (1987) also searched for possible links between such maternal behavior and indices of child anger and noncompliance, low confidence, and social withdrawal.

According to the results of this study, maternal behavior is a combined function of the mother's developmental history and her current social support. When mothers experienced both rejection during childhood and low current support from their partners, they were likely to exhibit a pattern of angry and punitive parenting which has a potential for child abuse. Crockenberg (1987) also found evidence that rejected mothers with good partner support at least 2 years postpartum were significantly less angry and punitive with their children than rejected mothers with poor partner support. This suggests that childhood experiences of rejection can be overcome if the mother's current relationship with a partner is supportive. Mothers who were not rejected in childhood and who had good support systems were found to have good parenting practices.

Isolation is certainly a factor in the limitation of parents learning new patterns of disciplining. Isolation from support systems has resulted from disparity in the relationship of the family to the community (Garbarino, 1984). Abuse has been associated more often with families who do not belong to organizations or attend community meetings, who have few friendships, conflictual spousal relationships and who have stressed family relationships (Lenton, 1990). Abusive families most often hold rigid views about isolating themselves from the outside world (Strong, 1983).

Turner and Avison (1985) researched this problem of isolation by focusing on three social psychological variables - social support, life stress, and personal control. Their results indicated that social support effectively distinguished among women who vary in their adaptation to the parenting role. This conclusion suggests that women who do not experience supportive, nurturant environments have difficulty in providing such environments for their children. Thus, positive emotional and affectionate relationships seem important for the nurturance of children and the avoidance of problem parenting (Turner & Avison, 1985). These results have some relevance for the identification of women at elevated risk of maladaptive parenting. Turner and Avison (1985) conclude with the view

that this study seems to be consistent with two important propositions: that the level of experienced social support is relevant to the potential for problems in parenting, and that the enhancement of experienced social support may be an appropriate target for prevention or intervention efforts. Thus, it is hypothesized that social isolation defined by the absence of a spouse or partner and is a predictor for child abuse.

EDUCATION

Parenting strategies also seem to be related to educational level, which both appear to influence the potential for child abuse. Gecas and Nye (1974) found that college educated parents tended to discuss problems and to reason with their children, whereas high school educated parents were more likely to use physical punishment and scolding in order to discipline their children. Lack of education or low levels of educational achievement have been linked to abusive parenting behaviors (Garbarino, 1984).

Veroff, Douvan, & Kulka (1981) found that college educated parents were more aware of parenting problems. They were better able to articulate the demands and restrictions of having children. They valued the parenting experience and found it fulfilling, but not as much as parents with less education. Less educated parents did not

feel that children interfered with other important adult goals. High school educated parents thought of parenthood as a fulfillment of one of their life goals, more than did either the college educated or the grade school educated parents. Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, & Melby (1990) supported the idea that highly educated adults are more likely than less educated persons to seek out and strive to apply scientific materials on parenting. The higher a person's education, the greater the probability that he or she has completed college courses on child development, has attended parenting classes, and has read books concerning effective parenting strategies.

Simons et al. (1990) also defined a model that distinguished between constructive and destructive parenting practices. This is consistent with previous research that has tended to focus either upon the determinants of warm, nurturant parenting or upon the causes of abuse and neglect (Belsky, 1984). Simons et al. (1990) found only three variables had an effect upon the constructive parenting of mothers. Education was found to be one of the three variables. Presumably the relationship between education and parenting reflects the importance of socialization and training for the parent role. Highly educated women are more likely than women with little education to prepare for parenthood by taking courses and

reading books on parenting and child development. Thus, it is hypothesized that the educational level of the mother is a predictor of the potential for child abuse.

AGE OF MOTHER

Parental age has been mentioned in the literature as a factor in abusive family situations, particularly when the parents are adolescents or very young (Zuravin, 1987). Young parental age has been associated with decreased educational attainment and child abuse (Straus, Gells, & Steinmetz, 1981). Further, young parents have been shown to lack caregiving experience and training, to be less knowledgeable than older parents, to be likely to have unrealistic expectations of children, and to be prone to using physical punishment with their children (Zuravin, 1987).

Belsky (1984) hypothesized that the older the mother, the more positively affectionate, stimulating, and sensitive she would be with her child. The data on teenage mothers, who are presumably less mature than older mothers supports the hypothesis. Not only is there evidence that such young mothers express less desirable child-rearing attitudes and have less realistic expectations for infant development than do older mothers but, from a more behavioral standpoint, it has been observed that they also

tend to be less responsive to their newborns and to engage infants in less verbal interaction (Belsky, 1984).

Ragonzin et al. (1982) found maternal age to be significantly related to increased satisfaction with parenting. In their study of 105 mother-child pairs, maternal age was found to predict parenting attitudes more than any other variable. Older mothers (over 20 years old) not only exhibited a higher level of satisfaction, they tended to spend more time with their child and displayed more optimal behavior toward the child. The older mothers tended to be more responsive to their child's needs. Therefore, it is hypothesized that maternal age is a predictor of the potential for child abuse.

From this review of the literature it seemed apparent that several variables may contribute to the potential to abuse a child. These variables included parenting strategies, marital status, age of the mother, household support systems, and educational attainment. The major objective of the study was to obtain the best predictors among these.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

This study is a secondary analysis of data which was taken from a survey dealing with several aspects of the experience of parenting as well as parental behaviors. During July of 1988, in two rural counties of southwest Montana, and February 1989 through April 1989 in one county in an urban setting, participants in the federal Women Infants and Children (WIC) program were surveyed about their ideas, attitudes, behaviors, and satisfaction about parenting. The purpose of the original study was to describe low income mothers' knowledge of child development, and to explore factors which might affect satisfaction with parenthood and the use of developmentally appropriate disciplinary strategies.

Procedure

All parents attending WIC clinics in two counties in rural Montana and all parents attending the one clinic in a California county from February 1989 through April 1989, were asked to participate in this research study. Clients attended the clinic once a month to receive vouchers to purchase food for their children and to have their own and their children's health assessed.

Approximately 600 parents were asked to complete a self-report questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed

to measure knowledge of child development, and to gather information about child abuse potential, parenting strategies, parental satisfaction, and parental acceptance/rejection and certain demographic details.

A packet was distributed to parents when they visited the WIC clinics in the two rural counties in Montana and one county in California for their monthly visit. The packet included a letter of instruction, the self-report questionnaire, a consent form on a preaddressed, stamped postcard, and a complimentary brochure on children's play. The latter was intended as a token of appreciation for participating in the study.

The parents were given the choice of completing the self-report questionnaire at the Health Department offices or at home. The parents who chose to complete their questionnaire at home were given a pre-addressed stamped envelope in which to return the questionnaire.

Sample Population

The population was comprised of approximately 600 parents who attended the WIC clinics. 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 must be nutritionally at risk. Finally, eligibility for the W.I.C. program is determined by family size and income.

The rural sample (n=135) attained a 90% participation rate. The urban sample (n=195) attained a 50% rate of participation creating a sample from both states with over 50% return rate (n=330).

Data Reduction and Transformation

The data collection from both the Montana and the California samples for this study were transferred to code sheets, and entered on a mainframe computer. The data is stored at Virginia Tech.

Instruments

A Demographic Questionnaire

A 12-item questionnaire was constructed to elicit demographic data. Information was requested about community size of current residence, community size of childhood residence, participant's age, the number, gender, and ages of children in the family, living arrangements, religion and sect affiliation, level of education and occupational attainment.

Child Abuse Potential Inventory

The Child Abuse Potential Inventory (CAPI) was developed to identify personality traits that are characteristic of individuals who abuse and neglect children (Milner & Wimberly, 1979). The Child Abuse Potential Inventory (CAPI) is a 37 item questionnaire (see Appendix B) which assessed an individual's potential for

child abuse by identifying four subscales or factors which can discriminate potential for abuse: loneliness, rigidity, problems, and control.

There were seven loneliness items related to feeling alone, feeling rejected, fearing one's children would not love one, and being a quiet person. Fifteen items on the CAPI related to the subscale of rigidity. Rigidity included dimensions of order and fear of failure related to home, children, and self: keeping a spotless home, keeping children neat and orderly, feeling depressed and/or distrustful of others, and using punishment to control a child's behavior. The subscale for problems included nine items which indicated concerns of self, family, and friends. The last subscale dealt with lack of social and self control. Fearing loss of self control, worry about not having enough to eat, and not having oneself or one's feelings understood comprised the six questions relating to this subscale (Milner & Wimberly, 1979).

Respondents were asked to respond to statements by marking either disagree or agree. A "one" was given for each preferred answer, while a "zero" was given for the alternative answer. The range is 0 to 37. Thus, the lower the score, the higher the potential for abuse.

Validity and reliability data available on the CAPI indicated that it has been an effective instrument for

discriminating abusers from nonabusers when tested longitudinally with groups of at risk parents (Milner & Wimberly, 1979). Criterion related validity was reported as a 96% correct classification rate. Internal consistency was established with a split-half reliability of .963, and stability measures indicated a one-week test-retest reliability of .896 (Milner & Wimberly, 1979).

In the present sample the internal consistency reliability was computed to be .82.

Parenting Strategies

The Maternal Expectations, Attitudes, and Behavior Inventory (MEABI) 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 used is called the Maternal Reactions to a Child's Deviant Behavior (MRCDB). This scale is a 23 item questionnaire (see Appendix A) which examines parenting strategies on the basis of five subscales (i.e. spank, praise, allow, correct, and reason). Mothers are asked to evaluate statements such as "If your child disobeyed your request that she/he apologize for hitting a friend, you would spank him/her" on a scale of 1 to 7 with a 1 being "strongly agree".

Reliability and validity tests were conducted in the original study. Rickard et al. (1984) reported the median

alpha value to be .67. The first subscale, spank, contains five statements. The statements on this subscale (e.g., "If your child refused to apologize for taking a toy away from a friend, you would spank him/her.") refer to a mother's decision to use physical punishment to discipline her child. The reliability coefficient was .83 for this subscale in this sample.

The second subscale, reason, also contains five statements. The statements on this subscale (e.g., "If your child was jumping up and down on the furniture, you would try to reason with him/her about it.") refer to a mother's decision to use reasoning and explaining as a means to discipline her child. The reliability coefficient was .67 for this subscale in this sample.

The third subscale, praise, contains four statements. The statements on this subscale (e.g., "If your child came in from playing the first time you call him/her, would you praise him/her for this.") refer to a mother's beliefs that praise is an effective means of rewarding good behaviors. The reliability coefficient for this subscale was .70.

The fourth subscale, allow, contains four statements. The statements on this subscale (e.g., "If your child interrupted your conversation with another person, you would go ahead and allow him/her to speak.") refer to a

mother's decision not to discipline. The reliability coefficient was .72 for this subscale.

The fifth subscale, correct, contains five statements. The statements on this subscale (e.g., "If your child was "showing off" and embarrassing you in front of company, you would remove him/her from the room.") refer to a mother's decision to correct a behavior. The reliability coefficient for this subscale for this sample was .44. Since the reliability for this subscale was questionable, it was dropped from any further analysis.

The items were scored by giving each statement a value from 1 to 7. The total was then divided by the number of statements in that subscale. A mother may have a total score from 1 to 7. A low score indicates the mother is more likely to use that particular parenting strategy. A high score indicates the mother does not tend to use that strategy.

Analysis

Multiple regression was used to explain the variance in potential for child abuse attributed to the independent variables (i.e., age, educational attainment, parenting strategies, marital status, and living arrangements). First the correlations were computed, then a regression was completed using all independent variables, and finally a

stepwise procedure was completed to find the best predictors.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SAMPLES

The means and standard deviation for all scales are presented in Table I. Since the data was collected at two different locations (urban and rural) at different times, it was necessary to determine if the two samples were significantly different on the variables of interest. T-tests were performed to ascertain any significant differences between the urban and rural groups. These are presented in Table II.

Parenting Strategies:

T - tests were performed to see if there were significant differences in parenting strategy mean scores between the urban and rural groups. All subscale scores except reason were significantly different as .05 or below, suggesting that those respondents from rural areas use parenting strategies differently than respondents from urban areas.

The urban group tended to support the use of spank and allow more so than the rural group. The urban group mean on spank was 3.8, on allow 5.5, as compared to the rural group with means of 4.2, 6.1 respectively. The only strategy that the rural group supported more than the urban group was praise (rural $m=1.4$, urban $m=2.1$).

Table I

Means and Standard Deviations for Parenting Strategies and CAPI for Mothers Participating in the W.I.C. program.

N = 330

Variables	Mean	Range	Standard Deviation
Reason	2.186	1-6.8	1.08
Allow	5.818	1-7	1.25
Spank	4.002	1-7	1.58
Praise	1.840	1-7	1.09
CAPI	23.50	2-35	6.44

Table II

T-tests for Parenting Strategies, CAPI, and Educational Attainment by Urban and Rural Groups.

Variables	Number of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-value	2-tail Prob.
Reason				1.88	.061
Rural	134	2.3	1.05		
Urban	190	2.09	1.10		
Spank				1.96	.051
Rural	135	4.2	1.6		
Urban	190	3.8	1.5		
Allow				4.52	.000
Rural	135	6.1	.97		
Urban	190	5.5	1.3		
Praise				-5.82	.000
Rural	135	1.4	.64		
Urban	189	2.1	1.2		
CAPI				9.38	.000
Rural	135	26.9	5.0		
Urban	195	21.1	6.2		
Educational Attainment				4.67	.000
Rural	135	13.1	2.1		
Urban	195	12.0	2.0		

Potential for Child Abuse:

A t-test was also performed to see if there were significant differences in scale means for the CAPI in the urban and rural groups. CAPI scores were found to be significantly different when the urban and rural groups were compared (urban $m=21.1$, rural $m=26.9$; $t=9.38$; $p < .000$). This mean difference suggests that those respondents that came from rural areas have less potential for abusing their children than the urban group.

Demographic Variables:

A t-test was also performed to see if there were any significant differences between educational attainment in urban and in rural areas. There was a significant difference suggesting that those respondents that came from the rural sample had a higher educational attainment ($m=13.1$ years) than those living in the urban sample ($m=12.0$ years; $t=4.6$; $p < .000$).

In Table III a Chi-Square analysis was performed to see if there were differences in age, marriage status, and living arrangement between the rural and urban groups. The analysis of the relationship between age in rural areas and urban areas was performed and a significant difference was found. There were more mothers under the age of 25 in the urban areas and more mothers over the age of 25 in the rural areas.

The analysis of differences in marriage status in rural and urban groups was performed and a significant difference was found. There were more mothers in the rural areas that were married than those living in the urban areas.

The analysis of differences between living arrangements in rural and urban groups was performed and a significant difference was again found. There were more mothers living with a spouse in the rural areas than the urban areas; more mothers who lived with a male friend lived in the urban areas; more mothers who lived with a family member other than a male friend or a spouse lived in the urban areas.

Further another analysis was run regrouping the living arrangements into two categories of support systems. The first support system was comprised of family members not including a male friend or spouse. The second support system was comprised of a spouse or male friend with or without other family members. The results of the chi-square indicated that the second system had the highest number of respondents (n=109) who lived in the rural areas. This result suggests that more mothers who lived in the rural areas were living with a male friend or a spouse than those mothers living in the urban areas.

Isolation:

It was also of interest to see if those variables designated as factors of isolation (marital status and presence of support system) contributed to differences in the potential for abuse regardless of urban vs. rural residence. A t-test was performed to see if there were any significant differences between CAPI scores of those who were married and those who were not married. There was a significant difference between mean scores (married $M=25$; unmarried $M=20$; $t=6.9$; $p<.000$). This mean difference suggests that those respondents who were married had less potential to abuse. This is represented by the higher mean score for married respondents on the CAPI.

A t-test was performed to see if there were any significant differences between CAPI scores of those who live with a spouse or male friend and those who live with other family member not including spouse or male friend. There was a significant difference between the mean scores (live with a spouse or male friend $M= 25$; without spouse or male partner $M=19.0$; $t= -6.4$; $p<.000$). This mean difference suggests that those respondents who live with a spouse or a male friend have less potential for abusing their children. This is represented by the higher mean score on the CAPI for respondents who live with a male friend or spouse. A higher CAPI score suggests less potential for abuse.

Table III

Chi-Square Analysis of Age, Marital Status, Living Arrangements and Educational Attainment for Mothers Participating in W.I.C. Program by Urban and Rural Groups.

Variables by Urban Significance	Pearson Chi-Square	Degrees of Freedom	
Age	13.67	1	.00022
Marstat	44.767	1	.00000
Livarr	50.497	14	.00001
Edatt	50.56	16	.00002

Table IV

Pearson Correlations of all Parenting Strategies and CAPI for Mothers Participating in the W.I.C. Program.

	Reason	Praise	Allow	Spank	CAPI
Reason	1.0000	.2188***	.0955	-.0213	.1047
Praise	.2188	1.0000	-.0314	-.0143	-.0775
Allow	.0955	-.0314	1.0000	.0247	.2022***
Spank	-.0213	-.0143	.0247	1.0000	.1864***
CAPI	.1047	-.0775	.2022	.1864	1.0000

* $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$
 *** $p < .001$

Correlations:

In order to perform the regression analysis it was necessary to investigate the zero order correlations between the variables in the equations. This allows a preliminary look at the simple relationships and is a test for multicollinearity. Table IV presents the intercorrelations of the strategy subscales as a group and between the strategy subscales and the CAPI. Two strategies were found to significantly correlate and two strategies were found to significantly correlate with the CAPI. The strategies reason and praise were found to significantly correlate. This correlation suggests that the more a parent uses reason the more the parent will also use the parenting strategy praise. The strategy allow correlated with the CAPI. This finding suggests that the less a parent uses the parenting strategy allow the less likely there is a potential for the parent to abuse their child. The strategy spank correlated with the CAPI also. This correlation suggests that the less a parent uses the parenting strategy spank the less likely there is a potential for the parent to abuse their child.

Multiple Regression:

Table V presents the multiple regression results for the independent variables (i.e., age, educational attainment, parenting strategies, support group, and the

urban/rural sample) as regressed on the dependent variable, potential for child abuse. The independent variable living arrangement was divided into two support groups. The first support group (coded as 0), was comprised of a family member not including a spouse or a male friend. The second support group (coded as 1), was comprised of a spouse, male friend with or without other family members. Since support group designation was also related to marital status, marital status was not entered into the equation. The urban vs. rural place of residence was included because of the differences

TABLE V

Multiple Regression results for Mothers Participating in the W.I.C. Program for the Full Model with the CAPI as the Dependent Variable using Forced Entry and Stepwise Procedure.

	Direct			R2 change	Stepwise	
	r	B	F		B	F
URBAN	-.4617	-.2464	14.56***	.21***	-.2672	19.04***
SUPGRP	.4346	.2975	25.35***	.07***	.3051	26.97***
EDATT	.2537	.1018	3.12	-	.1319	5.66*
AGE	.2586	.0771	1.71	.02*	-	-
REASON	.1412	.0580	1.07	-	-	-
SPANK	.1281	.0900	2.70	-	-	-
ALLOW	.2737	.1932	11.97***	-	.1912	11.78***
PRAISE	-.0895	.0343	.35	.04**	-	-
R2=.35 F(8,223)=15.57 p<.000 R2=.34 F(4,227)=29.4 p<.000						

* p<.05
 ** p<.01
 ***p<.001

demonstrated between the two samples. This was entered as a dummy variable (rural =0; urban =1).

The multiple regression was performed to explore the combinations of independent variables and their contribution to the dependent variable. A hierarchical multiple regression was performed by entering the urban vs. rural residence first, then support group followed by age and educational attainment as a block, and the parenting strategies as a block. A stepwise procedure was then completed to find the best predictors for the potential to abuse by eliminating those variables that contributed the least to the amount of variance accounted for.

The results in Table V indicate that all the predictor variables account for 35% of the variance in the potential for child abuse ($F=15.57; p<.000$). Urban vs. rural residence created a .21 change in R^2 which was significant, support group also created a significant change in the R^2 at .07. Educational attainment and age created a .02 change in R^2 which was significant. Finally, the parenting strategies entered together created a .04 change in R^2 , while controlling for all other variables in the equation which was again significant. The results of the stepwise procedure suggest that the best predictors for potential for child abuse were urban vs. rural residence, support

group, educational attainment, and the parenting strategy - allow ($F = (4, 227) = 29.4; p < .000$) accounting for 34% of the variance while controlling for all other variables in the equation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

The major objective of this study was to examine the extent to which several specific variables derived from a careful review of the research literature would predict the degree of the potential for child abuse that W.I.C. participant mothers might exhibit. In addition, the relationship between the potential for child abuse and parenting strategies was explored. Four predictor variables (i.e., age, educational attainment, living arrangements, and four parenting strategies) were examined in relation to the potential for child abuse. The results of these analysis were presented in Chapter Four and are discussed in this chapter.

Since urban vs. rural residence created differences, it was important to control for this in the analysis. Even when controlling for urban vs. rural residence, support group or availability of spouse or male partner added significantly to amount of variance accounted for. With these two variables controlled for educational attainment and age also added significantly to the amount of variance accounted for. Finally controlling for all demographic variables, parenting strategies still accounted for a significant amount of variance. The best predictors of the

potential for child abuse were the parenting strategy allow, educational attainment, support group, and urban vs. rural residence. These results suggest that although demographics such as age and education are important, the context of parenting (urban vs. rural, support group) and parenting style (allow) are the best predictors of the potential for child abuse.

Parenting Strategies:

Four parenting strategies (i.e., spank, reason, allow and praise) were tested for their power in predicting the degree of the potential for child abuse, because previous literature suggests that there are specific parenting strategies that are more likely to have the potential for child abuse. Only allow was found to be a significant predictor for the potential for child abuse. Parents who allow their children to do what they want may be sending inconsistent messages to their children. Parents tend to give a command and then send an inconsistent message by allowing the child to do what they want, therefore taking back the original command. Parents may be getting frustrated when children then begin to push limits with the parent, thus increasing the potential for angry feelings, frustration, and feelings of inadequacies as a parent, resulting in an increase in the potential for abuse.

These results are consistent with previous research. Maccoby and Martin (1983) described permissive/indulgent parents as ones who allowed their children to regulate their own behavior and offered few rules. The children of these parents tended to lack impulse control, self-reliance, social responsibility, and independence. Keane, Nelson, and Herbert (1987) found mothers who reported feelings of anger and frustration tended to spank or threaten their children which could increase the potential for child abuse.

Surprisingly, the parenting strategy spank did not show any relationship to the potential for child abuse. One explanation for the non-significance of the parenting strategy spank is that the instrument used to measure this parenting strategy was inaccurate. The respondent was only given the choice of spanking the child for a certain action. She was asked to agree or disagree. Respondents might also assume that spanking was a negative answer and therefore answer falsely on the questionnaire.

Demographic Variables:

Educational attainment was found to be a predictor of the potential for child abuse. This finding is consistent with the literature. Gecas and Nye (1974) found that college educated parents tended to discuss problems and to reason with their children, whereas high school educated parents were more likely to use physical punishment in order

to discipline their children. Simons et al. (1990) found only three variables that had an affect upon the constructive parenting of children. Education was found to be one of the three variables. Highly educated women are more likely than women with little education to prepare for parenthood by taking courses and reading books on parenting and child development. It follows that if a mother knows what is developmentally expected of a child she will be less frustrated and more satisfied with her parenting role.

Educational attainment was found to be significantly different in urban and in rural areas. This difference suggests that those respondents that came from the rural sample had a higher educational attainment than those living in the urban sample. With the knowledge that the rural sample was found to have a higher educational attainment, it would logically follow what has also been established that the rural sample was found to have less potential for abuse.

Age was not found to be a significant predictor of the potential for abuse. Unfortunately, these categories were broad in range (i.e., under 25 and over 25) and therefore did not capture the variation of maternal ages. A mother at the age of 15 or 16 likely would answer differently than a mother at 25. Thus the variance in age scores was suppressed by the way that the question was asked. More

variation in the ages of the mothers may have shown that age was a significant predictor of the potential for child abuse.

The literature suggests that age is, in fact, a predictor of a constructive parenting strategies. Parental age has been mentioned in the literature as a factor in abusive family situations (Zuravin, 1987). The findings of this study do not support the literature, but this is most likely due to measurement issues. Marital status and living arrangements were combined into a category renamed support group. The first support group (0) was defined by family members not including a male friend or spouse. The second support group was comprised of a spouse, male friend, and/or a family member. It was of interest to see if those variables designated as factors of isolation contributed to differences in the potential for abuse regardless of urban vs. rural residence. The support group was found to be a predictor for the potential for child abuse. The results found that respondents who live with a spouse or a male friend have less potential for abusing their children.

This finding supports previous results. According to Crockenberg (1987), social support is an important factor when looking at the parent-child relationship and the potential for punitive parenting practices. Crockenberg (1987) also found evidence that mothers who had good

partner support at least 2 years postpartum were significantly less angry and punitive with their children. In addition the literature supports that isolation is a factor in the limitation of parents learning new patterns of disciplining. Abuse has been associated more often with families who do not have social support networks and who, in turn, have rigid views about isolating themselves from the outside world (Strong, 1983).

Urban vs. rural residence created differences in most of the variables of interest in the present study. Stereotypically speaking, rural residence is often thought to be more isolating than urban residence. According to previous literature isolation plays a major role in child abuse. However, those in the rural group in this study had a lower potential for abuse than the urban sample. The rural group was also more likely to be living with a spouse or a male partner. Thus, isolation, per se, needs to be viewed as availability of support rather than geographical location. It may be that urban residents, though surrounded by other people, have less access to support than rural residents.

Overall, it would appear that the context within which parenting occurs can be used to determine the potential for abuse. That is, urban vs. rural residence and the availability of a male partner are significant predictors of

the potential for abuse. When these contextual variables are controlled for, education, age, and parenting strategies add significantly but less strongly to the variance explained. Thus, it would appear that in order to eliminate or reduce the potential for abuse in at-risk mothers access to social support especially from a male partner would best be encouraged.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND RESEARCH

The review of the literature led to hypotheses that suggested that demographic variables and parenting strategies would affect the potential for child abuse. The results of this study supported this view. However, other variables may contribute to the potential for child abuse.

Along with demographic and parenting strategy variables, researchers could also pose questions about the child's behavior, and how the mother herself was raised. There is literature to support the theory that children will most likely experience the parenting strategies that their parents experienced as children. Many studies have looked at the possible intergenerational transmission of violence using a systems theory perspective. Because physical abuse is one facet of a parent-child relationship characterized by frequent expression of anger, control, and a cycle of escalating and often unpredictable punishment, it is appropriate to consider theory and research on the

antecedents of child abuse in an attempt to understand the origins of angry and punitive parenting (Crockenberg, 1987).

CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

Knowing which factors predict child abuse could be useful in determining which mothers are more at risk for abusing their children. Realizing that demographic factors and parenting strategies are not the only factors predicting the potential for child abuse is important. Professionals must look at all areas of mothers' lives to determine their risk for abusing their children.

Mothers attending W.I.C. clinics may be reaching out to the only social support resource available in their lives at that point. This social support resource could be used more effectively to identify mothers at-risk for abusing their children and identifying other support networks to refer them to. Findings from this study suggest that access to support is a predominant factor in the potential for child abuse.

Intake interviews might identify those mothers lacking parenting skills, mothers needing counseling services, mothers in abusive relationships, mothers needing family planning, mothers who lack social networks, mothers lacking spousal support or a male partner and mothers needing help with problem-solving. These mothers might be referred to parenting classes, health care professionals, therapists,

and support groups for women with children with various focuses.

All mothers could benefit from parenting classes. There should be some way that mothers, and fathers too, are encouraged to take parenting classes. Especially with this population of W.I.C. mothers, the government has an excellent way of tracking and capturing this population of at risk families. The government could set up parenting classes for W.I.C. mothers who bring their infants in for health care and food vouchers.

LIMITATIONS

This study may have been affected by several limitations. The sample of mothers in the W.I.C. program is not representative of the entire population of parents. It is also not representative of all low SES mothers. The mothers in this sample all come from two regions of the United States (i.e., Montana and California). Mothers in other areas of the country and of different ethnicities may be different. Results of this study on the potential for child abuse may not explain the potential for child abuse in other mothers.

The measure of the mother's parenting strategies may also be a limitation. Since only four or five questions were asked for each parenting strategy without an

alternative parenting choice available, the true scope of a mother's parenting may not have been assessed.

Self report questionnaires in themselves are limiting. Mothers may report what they believe to be the socially acceptable answer as opposed to their true practices. Forced answer questionnaires also have limitations. Mothers may be forced to choose a response which might not be exactly what they wish to answer.

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Appendices

Appendix A
Parenting Strategy Questionnaire

Please circle the number that most closely approximates your 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 Strongly
Agree Disagree

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <p>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.</p> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <p>2. If your child came in from playing the first time you call him/her, you would praise him/her for this.</p> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <p>3. If your child was jumping up and down on the furniture, you would try to reason with him/her about it.</p> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <p>4. If your child was "showing off" and embarrassing you in front of company, you would remove him/her from the room.</p> | 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 request that she/he apologize for hitting a friend, you would spank him/her. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. If your child had just knocked over a large box of bobby-bins 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 were 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 would 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
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. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. If your child thanked someone for giving him/her an ice cream cone, you would praise him/her for it. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
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. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. If your child broke a toy that belonged to a friend, you would send him/her to his/her room. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
19. If your child had just pulled all the books off a shelf and left them on the floor after you asked him/her to pick them up, you would spank him/her. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
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 can cause cavaties. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
21. If your child "talked back" to you when you corrected him/her for something, you would spank him/her. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
22. If your child continued to whine when you told him/her she/he could not go play with a friend, you would let him/her. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
23. If your child used an obscene word which you had told him/her to stop using, you would send him/her to his/her room whe she/he used the word. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix B

Child Abuse Potential Inventory Questionnaire

Circle One

- | | | |
|---|-------|----------|
| 1. I often feel very alone. | Agree | Disagree |
| 2. I am usually a quiet person. | Agree | Disagree |
| 3. I often am lonely inside. | Agree | Disagree |
| 4. Children should never be spoiled. | Agree | Disagree |
| 5. Sometimes my behavior is childish | Agree | Disagree |
| 6. A good child keeps his toys and
clothes neat and orderly. | Agree | Disagree |
| 7. A five-year old who wets his bed
is bad. | Agree | Disagree |
| 8. I have headaches. | Agree | Disagree |
| 9. I have several close friends in
my neighborhood. | Agree | Disagree |
| 10. I have many personal problems. | Agree | Disagree |
| 11. I sometimes worry that I will not
have enough to eat. | Agree | Disagree |
| 12. Other people do not understand
how I feel. | Agree | Disagree |
| 13. Sometimes I feel all alone in
the world. | Agree | Disagree |
| 14. I often feel alone. | Agree | Disagree |
| 15. My home must be spotless. | Agree | Disagree |
| 16. Children should always be neat | Agree | Disagree |
| 17. Little boys should never learn
sissy games. | Agree | Disagree |

18.	I am often depressed.	Agree	Disagree
19.	Children should never disobey	Agree	Disagree
20.	Things have usually gone against me in life.	Agree	Disagree
21.	Few people have as many problems as I do.	Agree	Disagree
22.	I sometimes wish that my mother would have loved me more.	Agree	Disagree
23.	Teenage girls need to be protected.	Agree	Disagree
24.	I sometimes fear that my children will not love me.	Agree	Disagree
25.	I often feel rejected.	Agree	Disagree
26.	A home should be spotless.	Agree	Disagree
27.	Everything in a home should always be in its place.	Agree	Disagree
28.	These days a person does not really know on whom one can count.	Agree	Disagree
29.	I sometimes fear that I may spoil my child.	Agree	Disagree
30.	I do not trust most people.	Agree	Disagree
31.	A parent must use punishment if he wants to control a child's behavior.	Agree	Disagree
32.	My family has many problems.	Agree	Disagree
33.	I enjoy having pets.	Agree	Disagree

- | | | |
|---|-------|----------|
| 34. Sometimes I fear that I will
lose control of myself. | Agree | Disagree |
| 35. I have a good sex life. | Agree | Disagree |
| 36. I am not very attractive. | Agree | Disagree |
| 37. People do not understand me. | Agree | Disagree |

Appendix C

Demographic and Family Status Questionnaire

The Parenting Project

1. What county do you live in? _____
2. What community/town do you live in? _____
3. Was your childhood for the most part spent in: (Check one).

<input type="checkbox"/> open country, open range	<input type="checkbox"/> town of 50-500 people
<input type="checkbox"/> town of 500-1,000	<input type="checkbox"/> town of 1,000-5,000
<input type="checkbox"/> city of 5,000-10,000	<input type="checkbox"/> city of 10,000-50,000
4. When is your birthday (month and year) _____
5. What is the birthday of each of your children? (month and year)

Boys _____

Girls _____
6. Are you married? yes no
 What year were you married? _____
7. Was your previous marriage ended because of: (check one)

<input type="checkbox"/> divorce	<input type="checkbox"/> never married
<input type="checkbox"/> desertion	<input type="checkbox"/> death
8. Who lives with you? (check those that apply)

<input type="checkbox"/> spouse	<input type="checkbox"/> parent(s)
<input type="checkbox"/> brother or sister	<input type="checkbox"/> grandparent(s)
<input type="checkbox"/> male friend	<input type="checkbox"/> 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)?

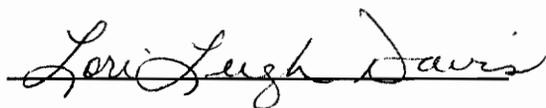
_____ In a few words, please tell us what you do

12. What is your husband or partner's occupation (if he or she has one)? _____

In a few words, tell us what he or she does.

Vita

Lori Leigh Davis was born in Raleigh, North Carolina November 21, 1962. She graduated from George Mason University with a Bachelor of Arts in Clinical Psychology in 1985. From 1985 to 1990 Lori worked as a counselor for Fairfax County Government, Fairfax, Virginia providing therapy for delinquent female adolescents and their families. In 1990 Lori transferred within the Fairfax County Government to the Department of Human Development and worked as a social worker with impoverished and homeless families in Reston, Virginia. Lori presently works in this capacity and also works as a Graduate Assistant for the Family and Child Development Department at Virginia Tech, Falls Church, Virginia. She has worked at The Center for Family Services in the clinic which is located in the Family and Child Development Department as a peer supervisor for the past year.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lori Leigh Davis". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Lori Leigh Davis