

Psychopathology and Personality: Parenting Styles and Child Development

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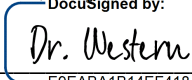
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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to examine the nature of parental influence and the effects that parenting styles may have on the development of children. The study's objectives were to determine the association between psychopathology and normal development and parenting styles, to examine the factors that might also be involved in this association, and to determine which factors might contribute to the children's vulnerability or resilience to otherwise harmful parenting. The sample consisted of ten pairs of parents. Five of the couples were parents of well-adapted children with no pathology present, while five of the couples were parents of children who manifested certain psychopathology: behavioural problems, emotional problems and eating disorders. Data was analysed using thematic analysis of information collected in semi-structured interviews. The findings indicated that parenting style might be associated with a child's level of aspirations, both school-related and in general, resilience to stress, self-esteem (especially relevant might be the development of a growth-mindset), could be associated with unhealthy eating habits, behavioural problems, and emotional problems. Furthermore, the concordance between the parents' and a child's temperaments, the concordance between parenting practices among the parents, and socioeconomic status could also be considered to be important factors in determining the effects of parenting on a child. Finally, other family members and relatives in a child's life could have a protective role against psychopathological manifestations, while inborn vulnerability should be considered when determining the causes of a child's disorder, according to the present study's findings.

Keywords: parenting styles, child development, psychopathology, adaptive traits

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CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Parenting style can be defined as a pattern of parental attitudes towards the child; these attitudes are communicated to the child, and their entirety creates an emotional atmosphere in which the parents express their behaviours (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Parenting styles regard both goal-directed behaviours, such as parenting practices, as well as non-goal-directed behaviours, such as general tone in which parents communicate to their children and spontaneous affective expressions (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The interest in parenting styles can be found very early in the development of psychology as a science and was present in the works of psychologists of different theoretical orientations. Traditionally opposing schools of thought, psychoanalysis and behaviourism, both deliberated on the influence that parents have on their children. These theoretical and empirical discussions were focused around two general issues, which were the modal patterns of practices in child-rearing, and the developmental consequences of these different practices (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The same issues remain a subject of examination to this day.

Considerable research, qualitative and quantitative, have been conducted in order to determine how different parenting styles affect the developmental trajectories of children. Parenting styles were found to be associated with a range of both pathological manifestations and non-pathological traits of children, adolescents, and, in consequence, adults. As an example, the differences in self-regulatory competence, accomplishment, development of social functioning, self-confidence, mental health in general, learning goals, and emotional intelligence were all found to be related to differences in parenting styles (Huang & Prochner, 2003; Sung, 2010; Turner, Chandler & Heffer, 2009; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007 as cited in Chong & Chan, 2015). Furthermore, parental influence in the form of parenting

styles can have either a causal or moderating role in certain psychopathological manifestations (e.g. gambling, as demonstrated in the study by Dixon et al., 2016).

The present study aimed to examine the issues above and aspired to contribute to the knowledge base about patterns in parents' behaviour towards their children and differential influence it may have on an array of children's traits and mental health, both during childhood and adolescence. The study offered an examination of the issues that might benefit from a qualitative, in-depth exploration of the problem. These questions were reached based on the research of the current empirical studies and theoretical considerations. In order to reach a comprehensive understanding of the parental influence on a wide display of psychological phenomena in children and adolescents, thematic analysis of the interviews with two groups of parents, one who have well-adapted children, and the other who have a child that suffers from a mental disorder was performed and the findings compared to the extensive literature review.

Background of the Problem

Parents present a primary socialisation agent in a child's life (Braden et al., 2014), which is the reason why the causality of the majority of traits that develop under the effect of nurture can be attributed to parental influence. Exploring different pathways of this influence formed a substantive body of knowledge in the field of psychology and psychopathology of childhood and adolescence.

Parenting styles of one or both parents were examined in their role in a range of psychological phenomena. As an example, Braden et al. (2014) examined the influence of parenting style on the child's emotional eating, Gau and Chang (2013) explored how maternal parenting style affects psychopathological manifestations among children with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder, while Berkien, Louwerse, Verhulst and van der Ende (2012) studied the influence of children's perception of how dissimilar their parents'

parenting styles are on internalizing and externalizing problems. Adalbjarnardottir and Hafsteinsson (2001) showed that authoritative parenting tends to result in a greater resilience towards substance use in adolescents, while neglectful parenting style is associated with a higher inclination towards such behaviour.

The present study examined the different impact that the patterns in parents' behaviour towards their children may have on a range of children's traits and mental health. Specific factors that could also be of importance for this relationship, such as culture and children's temperament, were also considered. The question of possible variables that might be accountable for children's vulnerability or resilience towards parenting that is expected to have negative impact on their development were addressed.

Statement of the Problem

The question about whether parenting practices affect a child's development meets almost exclusive consensus among the psychologists. However, there are still many questions regarding the parenting styles and how they influence the differences in the child's personality traits and psychopathological manifestations. Specifically, the underlying mechanisms of this influence, including different factors that might affect it, as well as protective and risk factors, remain an issue that is researched and discussed among psychologists, while it is of great theoretical and practical importance. Furthermore, different parenting styles are associated with differences in children's and adolescents' capacities and adaptation in one culture, while the same parenting style has different effects on children in different cultures (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The present study examined which factors could be associated with different effects that parenting styles have on children, in addition to determining which parenting practices tend to be common in families of well-adapted children and those with children who experience a mental disorder or behavioural problems.

Purpose of the Study with Research Questions

The present study aimed to reach answers to several research questions that fall under the study's objective, which was determining the nature of the parental influence and the effects that parenting styles have on the development of certain personality traits and psychopathological manifestations in children. The research questions were:

RQ1. With which personality traits and psychopathological manifestations in children are parenting styles associated with and how?

RQ2. What other factors, other than personality traits and psychopathological characteristics impact upon parenting styles?

RQ3. What factors contribute to the children's resilience or vulnerability to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of the psychopathology of childhood?

The research questions listed above were aimed at providing a thorough understanding of the researched problem as well as a systematic frame for conducting the present study.

These research questions presented a wide area of research that was expected to result in a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the influence that parenting styles and practices may have on the occurrence of different mental disorders among children and youth. The research questions were answered by qualitative research involving thematic analysis of twenty participants' (ten parenting couples) semi-structured interviews. The current paper also explored the association between parenting styles and non-pathological traits of children and adolescents, in order to determine whether certain mechanisms of parent-child interaction might explain the occurrence of both pathology and non-pathology, that is, to reach a conclusion about whether the way in which mental disorders occur differs from the way in which personality traits develop.

Theoretical Framework

The interest in parenting styles and their effect on children and adolescent development dates back to the very beginnings of this scientific discipline. Psychoanalysis and behaviourism both were interested in the influence that parenting styles have on children's psyche. Psychodynamic researchers and practitioners dedicated their attention to the emotional relationship between parents and children and examined how this aspect of the child-parent relationship affects the child's development (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Behaviourists, on the other hand, focused their examination to parenting practices and utilised the findings from research of learning to explain the influence parents have on their children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Even though the earlier researchers discussed the patterns in child-rearing practices, the primary theoretical concept being researched concerning parenting styles is Baumrind's typology (Pellerin, 2005). Baumrind established her theoretical framework in the 1960s and kept elaborating on the initial observations in the field of developmental psychology (Pellerin, 2005). Her research yielded a person-centred theoretical frame that was based on two dimensions, responsiveness and demandingness. Responsiveness is represented by parents' warmth, reasoned communication with the child, and support the development of the child's autonomy. Demandingness concerns the parents' regulation, control and monitoring of the child's behaviour, as well as confrontation (Baumrind, 2005). These dimensions produce three different parenting styles – authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. Baumrind (2005) expanded this initial typology by a fourth style, which is disengaged parenting. After 15 years of her longitudinal study each of these parenting styles was further differentiated into eight categories by Baumrind (1991, as cited in Baumrind, 2005), which were authoritarian-directive, nonauthoritarian-directive, permissive, democratic, rejecting, neglecting, good-enough, and authoritative. Empirical research has repeatedly demonstrated

that these different parenting practices can be associated with various outcomes in children and adolescents, and the effects range across the competences and adjustment spectrum. The exact pathways in which these influences are executed present a fruitful area of discussion and research, which will also be a subject of the present study. Baumrind's theory will present a foundation for the present study's research of different parenting practices, the mechanisms by which they influence the children's development, and their effects in the areas of normal development and psychopathology of children and youth.

Significance of the Study

The current study presents a contribution to the existing body of knowledge in the field of parental influence on the development of their children's personality traits and psychopathology that emerges as a consequence of parenting practices and general affective tone during formative years. The findings provided a systematisation of the research on the subject, and attempt to provide answers to the questions about the association between parenting styles and children's traits and pathology through thematic analysis. The study aimed to offer answers to the questions about the exact mechanisms of the influence, or more precisely, which aspects of parenting styles and other variables are responsible for the emergence of children's traits, capacities, and adaptation, both pathological and non-pathological.

The study also had practical significance, since the findings are applicable to the area of parental education on how to improve their parenting skills in order to assure best outcomes for their children. This psychoeducation can be available both directly to parents by assembling guidelines for parenting based on the findings, but also in psychotherapeutic practice, in cases in which a therapist works with adults, families, and children.

Furthermore, the findings are also relevant for clinical practice when working with children and youth who manifest pathological changes in their cognition, affect, and

behaviour. By understanding how parental influence might have contributed to their disorders, and how a change in parenting or other outside factors could potentially be used in psychotherapy, the present study may contribute to the more effective and efficient treatment of children and adolescents with mental health problems.

Finally, the study was expected to contribute to society in general by playing a role in improving public mental health through the impacts mentioned above on individuals and families as elements of society.

Limitations and Delimitations

The study, being qualitative research, was presented with several methodological limitations that are imbedded into this type of studies (Anderson, 2010). The first is in that the quality of the data collection, analysis, and conclusions reached relied heavily on the researcher's skills and was prone to be influenced by biases. The rigour was also harder to maintain. The volume of the data collected posed difficulty in interpreting the results in light of the research questions and earlier findings. The researcher's presence in the interviews could have influenced the participants. The major limitation of the present study was the wide range of the subject that was researched, which presented a challenge in summarising the findings into cohesive conclusions.

A potentially very significant delimitation of the study was its attempt to offer a comprehensive understanding of the researched phenomena. That is, such wide intention had a potential of limiting the depth of the understanding, as opposed to the possibility of researching a narrower problem to greater detail. By conducting a qualitative analysis of answers provided to semi-structured interviews, the researcher ensured that original inputs could be made by the participants without the limitations of a more structured but restricting quantitative study.

Definitions and Key Terms

The key terms for the present study are parenting styles, parenting practices, personality traits, and mental disorder.

Parenting style. “[...] a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parents’ behaviours are expressed” (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 488).

Parenting practices. “[...]specific, goal-directed behaviours through which parents perform their parental duties” (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 488).

Personality traits. “[...]stable characteristics of individuals that can be used for selection, measured in percentages, and expect to be normally distributed in a population” (Yilmaz, O’Connor, Colomo-Palacios & Clarke, 2017, p. 101).

Mental disorder. “[...]A mental disorder is a syndrome characterised by clinically significant disturbance in an individual’s cognition, emotion regulation, or behaviour that reflects a dysfunction in the psychological, biological, or developmental processes underlying mental functioning” (DSM-5 American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 20).

Vulnerability and resilience. “[...]Vulnerability has been defined as the individual's predisposition "to develop varied forms of psychopathology or behavioural ineffectiveness" or "susceptibility to negative developmental outcomes that can occur under high-risk conditions" [...] resilience is the opposite: it is the individual's predisposition to resist the potential negative consequences of the risk and develop adequately.” (Engle, Castle & Menon, 1996, p. 622)

These definitions provide a theoretical and terminological frame on which the present study was founded.

The Organisation of the Study

The present study offered a thorough consideration of parenting styles and their effects on children. In order to respond to the research questions listed above, the study begun by conducting a secondary literature review, which was presented in Chapter 2. The current findings and persisting theoretical views were discussed. Chapter 3 proceeded to explain the methodology used in this research. It was qualitative study that aimed to reach an overall understanding of the problem. Chapter 4 presented the results of the study, systematising the answers to each research question. Finally, Chapter 5 discussed the findings in light of their significance for psychology as a theoretical and applied science, and wider societal application of the study results.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of parenting styles was proposed in an attempt to operationalise the otherwise scientifically rather elusive emotional and behavioural exchange between parents and children. It describes the pattern of parental attitudes towards the child. These attitudes are communicated to the child in everyday interaction, and their entirety creates an emotional atmosphere in which the parents express their behaviours (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Researching parenting practices and their developmental effect on children has a long history in psychology, which resulted in a substantive body of knowledge on the subject. All researchers agree on the fact that parents influence their children and vary only in the significance that they attribute to parenting practices or emotional exchange, as well as in the particular aspects of parenting that they believe play the most important role in this process. Parenting styles were found to be associated with an array of both pathological manifestations and non-pathological traits of children and adolescents. Furthermore, this concept was researched to establish either a causal or a moderating and mediating role in certain psychopathological manifestations.

The following sections will examine recent empirical findings on patterns in parents' behaviour towards their children and the different impact it may have on a range of children's traits and mental health, both during childhood and adolescence. Specific factors that could also be of importance for this relationship, such as culture and children's temperament, will also be examined. In these considerations, possible variables that might be accountable for children's vulnerability or resilience towards parenting that is expected to have negative impact on their development will be outlined. Finally, theoretical framework for the current study will be presented.

Empirical Research on Parenting Styles and Childhood Outcomes

Baumrind (1967) expressed the guiding thought of her initial research and many similar studies that followed, stating that parents create their children not only physically, but also psychologically. When this general assertion is analysed into a more measurable concept, it becomes evident that parents, conscious and conscientious in different levels, shape their children's physical, cognitive, and social development, as Baumrind argues. At the time that this author was making her case, the debate about the extent of influence nature and nurture have on a child's development was still vigorous discussion. Baumrind argued that even aspects of a child's development such as his or her energy levels, curiosity, and sociability are developed under the influence of the parents' manner of interaction with the child, the stimulation that he or she is exposed to, and structure and regiment that they grow up under, not only under the effect of genetic structure. Furthermore, the inherited cognitive potential of a child can be either fully developed by rich and adequate stimulation, or inhibited in case of inadequate and poorly timed stimulation. The child learns not only his or her opinions, but also how to think in general, and how to relate to others and how to view individuals and social issues in their environment (Baumrind, 1967).

All this is acquired through the child's interaction with parental actions. More precisely, parents use rewards and punishments, and the child reacts to these events in a unique way. This interaction results in the shaping of the child's future likes and dislikes, ethical values, and core characteristics. Baumrind (1967) argues parents differ amongst themselves in many characteristics. Some parents attempt to influence their children more, and some less, some practice prolonged intensive affection, while some are uncomfortable with such close contact with their children; parents differ, as Baumrind depicts, in demands, values, and communication styles.

These variables were operationalised and used as a basis of numerous studies on parenting styles and their effects throughout the history of psychology. The following sections will present a range of studies that examined two aspects of parenting styles and the possible consequences of different parenting practices. These two subjects regard the pathology of children and youth in association with parenting styles and general non-pathological characteristics.

Parenting Styles and Children Pathology

Parenting (and in a wider sense, early childhood experiences) has been considered to be in the roots of many pathological phenomena of children and youth throughout the history of psychology. As a result, a vast body of knowledge has been developed. The following sections will present a range of findings that were reached in the exploration of parenting styles and their association with different forms of maladaptive behaviour and psychopathology in children and adolescents. This section will examine the recent results of studies that researched parenting styles and practices and addiction spectrum problems, emotional disorders, eating disorders and obesity, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and a range of other behavioural problems and disorders in children and youth.

Addictive disorders and behaviours in children and adolescents. Kandel (1990) summarised the existing knowledge about those adolescents who present any addictive behaviour (but especially about those who abuse psychoactive drugs) concluding that addicts tend to have more liberal political attitudes, to be more delinquent, and to be less religious. In short, these adolescents are more likely to present less conventional values than non-users. As this author further emphasises, all of these values are transferred to children through socialisation process, and primarily as a result of parental influence. Although this author did not examine parenting styles as postulated by Baumrind, her findings are based on a longitudinal study of 222 pairs of children aged six or over and their parents, and present

important insight into the development of addictive behaviour in children in relation to different parental behaviours. The results demonstrate that those parents who report that they are close to their children also more likely report reciprocated closeness by their children, less behavioural problems, greater independence, and better adjustment, while those parents who use more punitive rearing practices report greater disobedience, more frequent and pronounced aggressive behaviour, and more control problems.

Furthermore, Kandel found that maternal parenting practices are associated with wider range of children's behaviour than those of fathers in her study. The factor that was found to be the most significant in regard to children's substance use in this study was maternal drug use or heavy alcohol use. As alcoholism and drug abuse are closely associated with a range of negative consequences for the users, alcohol abuse results in negative parenting practices and a decrease in warmth and sensitivity, as Kachadourian, Eiden and Leonard (2009) found. Therefore, substance abuse directly results in a range of negative parenting behaviours that can be expected to induce or contribute to the children's pathology in general, and especially to addictive behaviours. In a sense, parenting behaviour can act as a mediator between parental substance abuse and that of their children.

Adding to this effect of substance abuse among parents, another possible mechanism of influence on apparently increased vulnerability towards addictive behaviours among children of addicts can be learning via modelling of parental behaviour and identification with them (Bandura, 1969). Rossow, Keating, Felix and McCambridge (2016) conducted a narrative analysis of cohort studies that totalled in over 26.000 families and concluded that the evidence supporting the assertion that higher rates of parental drinking and associated problems are associated with more similar manifestations in offspring. Among other possible causes these authors list social learning or learning through modelling, although they emphasise that causal relations cannot yet be established with complete certainty.

Merianos, King, Vidourek and Nabors (2015) explored this issue in even closer relation to this thesis' subject. These authors explored the effects of parenting styles, as understood by Baumrind (1967), and their effects on alcohol use among Hispanic youth, nearly 3.500 participants aged 12-17. The study concluded that adolescents who were exposed to low authoritative parenting were at an increased risk of alcohol use and binge drinking at this age. Similar findings were reached in a study by Adalbjarnardottir and Hafsteinsson (2001), who examined concurrently and then longitudinally Iceland youth aged 14-17 in regard to their use of tobacco, alcohol, hashish and amphetamines. These researchers found that authoritative parenting style acted as a protective factor against addiction, as such adolescents presented the lowest levels of substance abuse. The participants whose parents were neglectful reported the highest incidence of addictive behaviour in the sample. Choquet, Hassler, Morin, Falissard and Chau (2007) reached a more general conclusion about the importance of parental control, which was associated with lower levels of substance abuse among French 12-18-year-olds. The effects of parental control were more prominent in regard to tobacco and cannabis use than to alcohol consumption. These authors also revealed another possible factor that needs to be considered when examining the effects of different parenting practices and styles on children's behaviour and attitudes, which is the children's gender. Both emotional support and parental control had more prominent effects on girls compared to boys in this study. In addition to parental control and emotional support, as Simonen, Kataja, Pirskanen, Holmila and Tigerstedt (2017) demonstrate, adolescents perceive trusting relationship based on dialogue to be the most important factor that will possibly differentiate between subsequent addiction and controlled alcohol use.

Hadži-Pešić, Mitrović, Car and Stojanović (2014) examined the question of addiction from the position of transactional analysis and concluded that alcohol addicts, whether young or adults, tend to present drivers Please others, Be perfect and Try hard more than non-

addicts. Since these drivers are installed to children through parenting messages while they are at a very young age, it can be argued that parenting styles and practices in general influence the person's inclination towards maladaptive behaviours such as addiction in their later life. A study that would examine the interaction between these constructs and variables thoroughly might reveal another possible mechanism through which parenting styles contribute to children and adolescent's addictive behaviours.

Similar to alcohol and drug addiction, gambling disorder among youth can also be associated with parenting styles. As an example, Dixon et al. (2016) argue that a range of factors are presumed to contribute to adolescent problem gambling, among which the exact nature of the interaction is still to be determined. One of these factors is unhelpful parenting practices. These authors found that parenting in which consistent disciplinary practices are employed may serve as a buffer of gambling problems when adolescent present low-level gambling involvement. On the other end is the result showing that inconsistent discipline plays a role in the emergence of gambling problems.

Given the extensive presence of media and technology in the lives of modern children and adolescents, a number of studies explored the tendency towards smart devices and internet addiction. For example, Xiuqin and colleagues (2010) examined approximately 300 adolescents to determine that those who exhibited internet addiction perceived their parents as lacking emotional warmth, being overly involved but also rejecting, and they also rated their mothers as being punitive. The parents were described as using too intrusive and punitive practices and as unresponsive to their children's needs and emotional sharing. Thorough research of the association between internet addiction and parenting styles suggests that parenting practices might have indirect effect on internet addiction (Kalaitzaki & Birtchnell, 2014). In specific, Kalaitzaki and Birtchnell (2014) found that negative relating to others mediated the fathers' influence on children's internet addiction, while mothers'

sadness served as such mediator. Whether parenting influences internet addiction through general parenting practices or through specific parenting behaviours that are directed towards children's internet behaviour is still a subject of research. Chou and Lee (2017) examined specific parenting activities that they termed internet parenting styles and found that they can affect changes in the adolescents' internet expectancy and internet addiction tendency.

Adverse socioemotional development. Parental involvement and how child-rearing occurs within a family plays a significant role in both the emergence of different emotional problems and in the successfulness of their treatment (Mendlowitz, 1999). The crucial importance of parenting in relation to emotional disorders becomes apparent in situations in which child maltreatment is present, as it is strongly related to psychopathology (although partially mediated by emotion regulation, as Jennissen, Holl, Mai, Wolf & Barnow, 2016, demonstrated). However, similar to previously discussed issue, the exact nature of this association is still a subject of empirical research. The following paragraphs will present a selection of papers that explore parenting in relation to anxiety and depression in children and youth.

Perceived parental warmth, in general, is associated with lower levels of trait anxiety, and authoritarian parenting style in specific was found to be significantly related to anxiety in Wolfradt, Hempel and Miles' study (2003). Given the characteristics of authoritarian parenting style, especially the relationship between demands and nurturance (Baumrind, 1967), it is possible that it provokes and even causes trait anxiety in children. A longitudinal study over ten years concluded that if mothers presented low support for children's autonomy, the anxiety in children would be higher than among those whose mothers nurtured autonomy (Asselmann, Wittchen, Lieb & Beesdo-Baum, 2015). Authoritarian style is associated with lower levels of autonomy that last throughout life, compared to the effects of authoritative parenting (Chan & Chan, 2009). Conflicts in parent-child relationship are

associated with higher levels of anxiety in children, although this can also be associated with a temporary disorder and not anxiety as a trait, as Smokowski, Bacallao, Cotter and Evans (2015) showed in their study. These authors explored the effects of current and past parent-child conflicts in families with adolescents and found significant effects on anxiety and depression, as well as aggression and lower self-esteem of rural youth.

Parenting styles and their effects were examined in regard to social anxiety using functional neuroimaging in Guyer and colleagues' study (2015). These authors initiated their research from the assumption that developmental outcomes associated with temperament termed behavioural inhibition (characterised by social restraint and withdrawal from novel situations) can be influenced by the context in which a child is raised. Behavioural inhibition as a temperamental disposition was hypothesised to be associated with social anxiety by these authors, and parenting styles were observed as possible moderators in a child's neural reaction to social rejection. Both authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles were found to be associated with differences in reactions to peer rejection in this study. The findings in Guyer and colleagues' study suggest that behavioural inhibition in early years of life is associated with greater neurobiological sensitivity to variance in parenting styles that endures until adolescence. These findings indicated that such sensitivity is especially prominent with regard to harsh parenting.

Parenting styles are also researched in association with depression in children and youth. As an example, Garber, Robinson and Valentiner (1997) found that maternal acceptance was significantly negatively associated with depressive symptoms in children (mean age in this study was 11 years). On the other hand, the higher levels of maternal psychological control were associated with more prominent depressive symptoms in children. Furthermore, as discussed above, the complexity of this and other found relations is apparent from the partial mediation through the children's perceived self-worth. Nevertheless, it can be

debated whether self-worth perception is also built through parenting practices, and how these phenomena are related amongst each other. Emotional autonomy presents one of the most important developmental goals in adolescence, and detachment is a part of this phenomenon, as Pace and Zappulla (2010) argue. These authors found that detachment contributes to suicidal ideation in boys who are already at risk because of diagnosed depression. Since detachment and separation occur in the development of parent-child relationship in adolescence, parenting style may result in both positive and negative outcomes in emotional lives of the children.

Eating disorders and obesity. Feeding practices constitute a significant portion of parent-child interaction in early childhood, and as such an important subject in the research of parenting styles and their effect. Feeding practices present an aspect of broader approach to parenting, as literature suggests (Blissett & Haycraft, 2008). Hubbs-Tait, Kennedy, Page, Topham and Harrist (2008) used feeding practices to explore whether these will predict parenting styles and confirmed their hypotheses, demonstrating that feeding presents one of aspects that constitute parenting styles, especially authoritative parenting. Langer, Seburg, JaKa, Sherwood and Levy (2017) conducted a research that examined the exact role of parenting styles in relation to childhood obesity and concluded that parenting styles as a concept act as moderators of specific feeding practices within a family and childhood obesity. Such studies reveal the complexity of the roles of parenting styles in feeding and potentially disordered feeding-related behaviour in children. Empirical research in this field suggests that authoritative parenting tends to bring smaller risk of children becoming overweight and experiencing eating disorders than authoritarian, permissive and neglectful parenting, while authoritarian parenting style carrying five times greater risk of children becoming overweight than children of authoritative parents (e.g. Kakinami, Barnett, Séguin and Paradis, 2015; Rhee, Lumeng, Appugliese, Kaciroti & Bradley, 2006). Yet, this association should be

examined in relation to other variables that appear to act as moderators, such as economic status, as Kakinami, Barnett, Séguin and Paradis (2015) found. This moderating effect of poverty was observed among preschool children that were not living in poverty. That is, in poor households parenting styles were not significantly associated with obesity risk, while among school-aged children authoritarian parenting predicted obesity regardless of economic status of the household (Kakinami et al., 2015).

Although obesity is not considered to be a mental disorder, it is commonly closely associated with certain eating (e.g. binge-eating) and other (depression, bipolar disorder, schizophrenia) disorders, can be a cause of or contributor to the development of certain disorders (e.g. depression, social anxiety disorder) and is included into DSM-5 as a condition that may be a focus of clinical attention (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Childhood obesity presents a risk factor for bulimia nervosa (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), is found to be in part associated with parenting practices, and is thus closely associated with the subject of this study. As Braden and colleagues (2014) demonstrated, emotional eating, which can be accepted as a form of maladaptive coping with stress and negative emotional states through certain parenting practices, creates vulnerability to obesity in childhood and adulthood. On the opposing end of this dimension is the modelling of healthy eating habits (Stang & Loth, 2011). Concerning these deliberations are findings from the study by Lucas-Thompson, Graham, Ullrich and MacPhee (2017). These authors found that limit setting dimension of parenting styles was of importance during grocery shopping and is associated with healthier food choices. Therefore, limit setting is a dimension of parenting that promotes self-regulation and autonomous limit-setting (Lucas-Thompson, 2017) in a child and can serve as a protector against vulnerability towards emotional eating, obesity, and a range of eating disorders.

In girls, overly sexualised behaviour present at a very young age of 5-8, as well as body image concerns were examined in relation to certain maternal characteristics in the study conducted by Slater and Tiggemann (2016). These authors determined that a significant proportion of Australian girls of that age engaged in teen culture and manifested “grown-up” behaviour, used makeup, and manifested concerns about their appearance. The findings reveal that maternal self-objectivization and materialism are associated with such behaviour in young girls, while authoritative parenting acts as a protective factor against engaging in teen culture and sexualised behaviour in girls aged 5-8.

Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder. Derakhshanpour, Khaki, Shahini, Vakili and Saghebi (2016) examined the role of maternal mental health and parenting styles in families with children who suffer from attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). These authors examined 64 cases of 7-12-year-old children diagnosed with ADHD and 64 children with no psychiatric diagnosis in the control group. The mothers of ADHD children were more anxious, more depressed, and had worse physical health than mothers in control group, which is assumed to be a consequence of caring for such child. However, these mental and physical health problems can also have negative consequences on the child and form a vicious circle in such families. Even though ADHD is presumed to be largely caused by biological factors (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), Alizadeh and Andries (2002) suggest the role of parenting styles as well. These authors found that authoritative parenting is associated negatively with the occurrence of ADHD, while authoritarian parenting correlates positively with ADHD. Such association could be explained by a perceived need for authoritarian parenting when dealing with an ADHD child, but could potentially also indicate more complex relationship and interactive nature of the origins of this disorder. Parenting styles influence the children’s self-image, with authoritarian parenting being associated with significantly lower self-esteem among children who suffer from ADHD

(Kurman, Rothschild-Yakar, Angel & Katz, 2015). Therefore, parenting styles can be used as a tool in the treatment of such children, not merely as a factor in the occurrence of the disorder. Tancred and Greeff (2015) argue that teaching mothers to rear their ADHD children using authoritative parenting can be expected to result in better coping for the entire family and its adaptation to the life with this diagnosis. This association is, however, mediated by parents' emotions about their children, the parental couple's marital relationship, and the effects of the child's disorder and associated behaviour on the family's social life (Muñoz-Silva, Lago-Urbano & Sanchez-Garcia, 2017).

Additional adverse outcomes. Parenting styles are examined in relation to a range of other problem behaviours. As an example, Linebarger (2015) researched the association between video gameplay and problem behaviours and included parenting styles as a moderating variable that could potentially account for inconsistencies in results in this area of study. This author found that responsiveness in parenting acts as moderator between these phenomena and that when parenting styles are covaried out the association between problem behaviours and video gameplay, the results become insignificant.

When examining the nature of the influence of parenting styles, it appears that low levels of parental support, combined with rejecting controlling behaviour can account for a range of internalizing (e.g. depression, anxiety, withdrawal) and externalizing (e.g. aggression and delinquency) behavioural problems (Pereira, Canavarro, Cardoso & Mendonça, 2009). It is possible to argue, as Ray and colleagues (2017) did in their examination of delinquent behaviour, that contextual factors, parenting style being among one of them, acts as a moderator between a child's traits and the subsequent behaviour. That is, warmth and supervision were shown to lower the influence of delinquent peer influence, and can, thus, to a certain extent, prevent such behaviour in children and adolescents. Interestingly, as will be presented in greater detail in the section discussing findings that examined parenting styles in

different cultures, Rosli (2014) found no significant relationship between parenting styles, and consistency in parenting styles, and emotional and behavioural problems in Muslim youth in the USA. It might be possible that the acculturation process influences the effects of parenting on a child or an adolescent in such way that additional variables cause a lack of significant association and could act as interfering variables.

Parenting styles were also examined in relation to obsessive-compulsive disorders (OCD). A study by Taberner and colleagues (2012) was conducted to test the hypothesis that disgust and experience that they describe as “not just right” (Taberner et al., 2012, p. 1266) will be associated with contamination/cleaning and symmetry/ordering dimensions of OCD in children. These researchers found that these dimensions in parents do not predict contamination/cleaning and symmetry/ordering in children and suggested that the same dimensions of symptoms are the best predictors of equivalent symptoms in children instead. In addition to these findings and deliberations, the authors suggest that certain general parenting practices and behaviours could contribute to the development of this disorder. Wilcox and colleagues (2008) confirmed such presumption in a study that involved nearly 500 families. These authors concluded that there is an independent yet additive influence of maternal overprotection on the occurrence of OCD in children. Furthermore, paternal care served as a protective factor in cases in which neither of the parents presented OCD symptoms, while in families with an adult who suffered from OCD such effect could not be established. Such conclusion, combined with the findings by Taberner and colleagues (2012) indicates that relationship between parenting practices and the occurrence of OCD is complex and needs to be examined in greater detail.

Summary

Parenting styles and their aspects (control and nurturance in general) are extensively researched by practitioners and theoreticians that aim to determine how parents influence the

occurrence of pathological manifestations in their children. Such knowledge presents not only theoretical achievement but also invaluable empirically-based guidance for parents and everyone involved in child-rearing on how to ensure that parenting will not result in maladaptive behaviour and disorders. Furthermore, such understanding of the effects of parenting can serve as a preventive measure in designing interventions and recommendations for parents. The almost absolute majority of the studies that were reviewed in the present research indicates that authoritative parenting style and its balance between control, warmth, and promotion of autonomy in children and adolescents serves as a protective factor against a range of pathological phenomena. Such conclusion can be made in regard to emotional disorders, addiction, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, eating disorders and obesity, and a range of other problems such as obsessive-compulsive spectrum disorders or delinquency. Therefore, promotion authoritative parenting and practices based on such general concept could potentially serve as a protector against a range of problems in children, adolescents, and later, in adults.

Parenting Styles and Non-Pathological Traits in Children

Psychology and social sciences confirm the fact that family plays a crucial role in the development of innumerable traits and characteristics of children. The previous section discussed how parenting styles and practices influence the development of pathology in children and adolescents, demonstrating the most detrimental consequences of certain parental actions on developing the psyche. The body of knowledge in this field is extensive. Yet, the discussion about parenting styles and their effects would not be complete if non-pathological characteristics that can be associated with them were not discussed. The following section will present diverse empirical findings that explore the diversity of the effects of parenting styles on children.

General considerations. As implied in the discussion of pathology amongst children that are possibly induced by parenting styles and certain practices, authoritative parenting style appears to be the one parenting style that ensures the lowest risk of developing certain disorder and problem behaviours. In her early research, Baumrind (1967) indicated that parenting practices have the power to influence a broad range of children characteristics. She examined preschool children and their parents' behaviour in order to locate styles of parenting that are associated with both maladjustment and adapted behaviour in children and demonstrated a connection that will be bountifully confirmed in the subsequent studies. When it comes to well-adapted children, Baumrind described children that were both socialised and independent. These children were self-controlled, which means that they had the ability to consistently redirect a behaviour that was deemed inappropriate (for example disruptive expressions of anger or joy, not waiting in line, inability to sustain effort and attention, incomppliance to school tasks). These children were also affiliative and were willing to express warmth towards their peers. Nevertheless, such children were also self-reliant when they needed to address their affairs independently on their peers, authority figures, and when spending some time on their own. Furthermore, they were eager to explore their environment and reacted positively to new, unexpected, stressful stimuli, and they were self-assertive in interaction with others. Compared to children who presented the opposite of these well-adapted traits, children from this group were also more content, more realistic, and more competent, as Baumrind concluded. All of these traits were found to be related to parental actions (and not to gender or birth order, for example). Moreover, these parental characteristics were that the parents of such children were noticeably consistent, loving, conscientious, and secure, compared to the parents whose children manifested maladapted behaviour of different kind. Such parents respect their child's decision, but also exhibit the ability to maintain their stand once they had assumed a position. In giving directions, parents

of well-adjusted children offer a reason behind such decision as well. These parents are supportive and communicate freely and openly with their children, and they manifest firm control at the same time, which, as discussed above, appears to be a combination of parental behaviours that yields positive results in children's development. By providing arguments for their rearing practices and decisions to their children, and by offering high nurturance and support, the parents of well-adapted children achieved respect towards their resolutions without provoking passivity or rebellion in children. The pressure that is posed in front of a child does not provoke maladaptive reactions, rather stimulates the child to thrive, when it is combined with parental warmth and clear reasons behind these demands. The households in which these adapted children grow, the friction is less frequent than in those in which there are maladapted children, and conflicts are resolved assertively. The power is asserted openly and without the use of manipulation (and without inner conflicts of the parents), but these children are more content compared to children from other households (Baumrind, 1967).

Baumrind (2005) demonstrates that, when parenting styles are even further analysed into more narrow categories, authoritative parenting is associated with the least maladjusted and most competent youth, compared to all other parenting styles (namely all directive parenting styles). More precisely, as will be discussed in the following section in greater detail, the youth of authoritative parents is more individuated and better in their academic achievements, which are two important factors when considering a young person's mental health and development. To explain these findings even further, Baumrind asserts that it is intrusiveness and low support that can be considered responsible for children's maladaptation, not high behavioural control, which is one of the characteristics of authoritative parenting. This concept refers to parental actions that aim to direct a child's behaviour towards accepting family or wider social norms (Baumrind, 2005). Behavioural control can be distinguished from psychological control, with first being associated with

greater child competence and the latter with maladjustment. When examined from this angle, it becomes apparent that greater child adjustment when they are exposed to authoritative parenting could be attributed to high warmth, autonomy support, and behavioural control, in combination with low psychological control. Other forms of parenting, such as nonauthoritarian- directive also imposes low psychological control, but the key component in this combination of positive characteristics of parenting is autonomy support or support for critical reflection and reasoning. The final element that needs to be taken into account in this discussion is the question of differentiating between issues over which a stricter behavioural control needs to be imposed, and those that allow for more flexibility in parental actions (such as permissiveness relating to personal issues of children), which is a parenting requirement that is well developed amongst authoritative parents (Baumrind, 2005). Therefore, assuming a pejorative attitude towards power assertion in parenting as such is not warranted, as Baumrind (2013) argues, as it can account for a number of positive outcomes when part of authoritative parenting and in combination with autonomy and reasoning support. Authoritative parents allow their children to present arguments for their initiatives and argue against parents' actions. Therefore, authoritative parents do not avoid conflicts as permissive nor are they intolerant towards "talking back", but they are argumentative at times while not being aggressive. This conjoint use of power assertion and reasoning is responsible for children developing higher levels of autonomy (Baumrind, 2013). As will be argued in the following presentation of empirical findings, this kind of autonomy in children and adolescents could make them resilient towards different kinds of psychological and social maladjustment.

Factors that influence parenting styles. It can be assumed that the association between authoritative parenting and well-adapted children, or a lower occurrence of pathology in children, to be more precise, originates from a parent's support in developing

autonomy provided to the child. Such parental behaviour can be assumed to come from a secure attachment style (Pistole, 1989). In this regard, Doinita and Maria (2015) assumed that parental attachment style would be associated with parenting styles. Attachment theory, as these authors explain, proposes that early interaction with the primary caregiver forms cognitive/affective schemas that tend to last a lifetime and to affect every subsequent relationship a person forms. As such, it is substantiated to assume that these attachment styles (secure, dismissing, preoccupied, fearful; Doinita & Maria, 2015) will significantly influence how a parent approaches their child. The findings from Doinita and Maria's study (2015) showed that securely attached parents have significantly greater tendency towards authoritative parenting style. Secure attachment in parents seems to be associated with more responsiveness in parenting, which is one of the crucial traits of authoritative parenting, as these researchers conclude.

Not only does attachment style relate to how a parent will interact with their child, but personality also plays a significant role in parenting behaviours, as Huver, Otten, de Vries and Engels (2010) demonstrate in their research of nearly 700 Dutch parents of adolescents. These authors chose to assess the association between parenting styles and Big Five based personality traits, as such theoretical structure of personality has been confirmed in many studies and can be expected to contribute to the understanding of personality of different types of parenting. Huver and colleagues used regression analyses and established several associations. Higher levels of support were associated with extraversion and agreeableness. Furthermore, more emotionally stable parents implement less strict control. Authoritarian parenting was negatively associated with extraversion, and agreeable parents were less likely to be authoritarian or uninvolved.

In conclusion, these authors suggest that extraversion and agreeableness as personality traits result in a more supportive and warm child-rearing, a more positive

approach, as they describe it, which, in turn, has greater potential of yielding positive results for the children that extend to the adolescent age. The emotional instability of parents appears to be associated with a greater need for strict control of their children, indicating that, as was mentioned in the previous section, mental health of parents presents an important factor in the development of their children. Furthermore, in the light of the present subject, it needs to be emphasised that personality, speaking generally, appears to be more closely related to the affective aspect of parenting, rather than the control assertion.

Understanding the factors that influence the choice of parenting style would not be complete if the transgenerational transmission of parenting was mentioned. In addition to understanding why the current generation of parents might behave in a certain manner, this also adds to the explanation of parenting effects on children, as their developing mind is highly susceptible to the inputs from social environment and they become integrated into their personality and worldview. Lomanowska, Boivin, Hertzman and Fleming (2017) rely on the studies with animals and humans to determine how parenting behaviour (principally mothering) in early life affects mothering when the child becomes a mother herself. Intergenerational transmission of mothering styles was observed in this study, testifying about the importance of interventions that would prevent the transmission of adverse parenting. As these authors argue based on their extensive research, both adverse and beneficial childhood experiences can translate into their repetition throughout generations. Such occurrence could be partially explained by taking neurological consequences of early adverse experiences into account (namely the disrupted regulation of hypothalamic–pituitary–adrenal axis activity, which affects how mothers react to offspring), as well as physiological foundations of mother-offspring relationship. Although Lomanowska and colleagues focus on adverse parenting and its intergenerational transmission, such conclusions could be, with certain

necessary reserve, extrapolated to favourable parenting that could set path towards healthy generations of children and adults.

School-related behaviour and academic achievements of children and adolescents. In school-aged children, academic achievement presents one of the factors that testify about the child's adjustment and mental well-being. If a household is dysfunctional, it is often the child's achievement in school tasks that is the first to deteriorate and can be deemed a symptom of a range of problems in a family and the child's mental health (Amato & Keith, 1991). For that reason, academic achievement and different school-related behaviours present one of the subjects that are commonly examined in relation to parenting styles and their effects on children.

Matejevic, Jovanovic and Jovanovic (2014) examined earlier studies (e.g. Lamborn et al., 1991; Turner et al., 2009, as cited in Matejevic et al., 2014) regarding this association and concluded that findings indicate that authoritative parenting is closely associated with academic success and fewer problems in academic achievements in children and adolescents. However, Matejevic and colleagues also proposed that this subject could not be examined without taking parental involvement in school life of children and adolescents into account. More precisely, they postulate that parental involvement in this area of children's lives declines with children's age, and academic achievements of adolescents present a more complex issue that involves the question of autonomy as an important factor. Matejevic and colleagues used factor analysis to determine that mothers tend to be more involved in the children's school activities and extracurricular activities, as well as communication and cooperation with the school when it comes to the child's academic success. In their sample, mothers tended to be more authoritative, while fathers were more authoritarian, which may be an influence of the cultural environment in which the study took place (a traditionally patriarchal society of Serbia). Authoritarian parenting style has a potential of inducing either

rebellion or maladapted defiance in adolescents. Yet, given the greater involvement of mothers when it comes to school activities, their authoritative parenting has greater influence on the children and their academic success, and this influence tends to be positive and promote achievement. Inam, Nomaan and Abiodullah (2016) also examined school success of high school students, aiming to determine whether there will be a difference between parenting styles of children underachievers and those who realise success in school. Similar to the findings in Matejevic and colleagues' (2014) study, Inam and associates confirmed that authoritative parenting results in positive academic results, which is the most prominent result of their research. Interestingly, they also found that among high achievers, the best results manifested the children whose parents were permissive, which was in opposition to earlier findings (e.g. Tiller, Garrison, Block, Cramer & Tiller, 2003, as cited in Inam et al., 2016). However, these authors postulated that such findings could be interpreted as considering permissiveness a consequence of a child's high academic achievement, rather than a factor that preceded it. This inconsistency alerts to the complexness of the relationship between parenting and children's capacities yet again.

Mirzaei and Kadivarzare (2014) approached this matter from the perspective of hardiness, a concept that describes a child's (or a person's) personality style that makes them able to cope with stress in a way that will ensure that they remain healthy and successful. These researchers assumed that parental influence would play a significant role in how much a child develops this trait, and indirectly, how well they will perform in school under pressures that every child inevitably encounters during schooling. The findings indicated that both authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles explain the variance in hardiness among high school students, which can potentially be explained by a shared trait of those styles, which is control assertion. Nonetheless, given the extensive evidence regarding the benefits of authoritative and perils of authoritarian parenting style, it can be advised that authoritarian

parenting is avoided at the benefit of authoritative to achieve optimal development of children. In support of this claim, the findings from Sepehrianazar and Babae's study (2014) demonstrate that the combination of approach-performance goals in parenting and authoritarian parenting style can account for the occurrence of mathematics anxiety in elementary school students, while mastery goals, which are significantly negatively associated with mathematics anxiety, are associated with authoritative style. Even more precisely, children of authoritative parents appear to be confident enough to strive for mastering of knowledge and skills and enjoy learning, without feeling anxiety and stress when facing school pressures and challenges. Interestingly, these authors also found that indulgent parenting does not seem to have a negative effect on approach orientation in children, which can be explained by the positive influence of educational system and wider societal norms when parents do not dominate in this area of a child's development.

In association with, but not limited to, academic success, are children and adolescent's goal orientation and achievement strategies. Gonzalez, Holbein and Quilter (2002) determined that maternal authoritative parenting style correlates with mastery orientation, which is in accordance with previously mentioned findings (Sepehrianazar & Babae, 2014). Parental involvement was presented as an important factor that was associated with mastery orientation throughout the sample in this study. Aunola, Stattin and Nurmi (2000) explored how achievement strategies of 300 adolescents were associated with parenting styles that they are exposed to. Achievement strategies are very closely related to academic achievements. As expected, those children from families where authoritative parenting was employed demonstrated the most adaptive achievement strategies (and neglectful and authoritarian parenting styles produced children with fairly maladaptive achievement strategies). In specific, these children had low levels of failure expectation, used very little behaviour that was irrelevant to task and had low levels of passivity and self-

enhancing attributions. The authors of this study emphasised that authoritative parents encourage their children and promote competence through constructive feedback, but also promote autonomy. Furthermore, the level of challenging that is promoted within authoritative families is, arguably, ideal for the development of self-regulation and intrinsic motivation in education. The support that is high in authoritative parenting has a potential of cultivating self-esteem, which is a trait that has a positive influence not only on academic achievement but on achievement strategy in general. Finally, Aunola and colleagues argue that authoritative parents present positive role-models for their children through their task engagement and positive attitude.

Other traits of children and adolescents. Apart from academic achievements, parenting styles are examined in relation to numerous other traits and competencies of children and adolescents. Following is a brief review of some of the recent investigations in this field.

Parenting styles were found to be associated with psychosocial adjustment in general in a study performed by Yazdani and Daryei (2016) on over 200 adolescents, both gifted and normal. As might be expected based on the previous discussion, the findings indicated that parents of gifted adolescents, compared to normal adolescents, implemented authoritative parenting more, and authoritarian parenting less. Furthermore, from the gifted adolescents' perception of their parents became apparent that they saw their parents more positively than normal adolescents did. Moreover, the self-concept of gifted adolescents was higher, and the occurrence of pathological manifestations lower. The findings from this study offered a general conclusion that has already been outlined in the previous discussion, which is that authoritative parenting style positively influences psychological adjustment of both the gifted and normal adolescents. Rinaldi and Howe's (2012) findings support this claim. These authors conducted a study on parents of toddlers and assessed which factors influence the

children's internalising, externalising, and adaptive behaviours. The mothers' permissive parenting and the fathers' authoritarian parenting predicted externalising behaviours of toddlers, while authoritative parenting style was again demonstrated to be a predictor of adaptive behaviour in children. This study determined that fathers' authoritativeness presents especially significant factor in toddlerhood in order for adaptive coping and behaviour to develop, presumably because of the toddlers' need for exercising autonomy. As discussed earlier, appropriate support of children's autonomy is a feature of authoritative parenting and can, thus, be assumed to play a crucial role in adaptive development.

Parenting styles are associated with the children's emotional intelligence, as Chong and Chan (2015) demonstrate in their study. These authors explored how trait emotional intelligence related to paternal and maternal parenting styles, as well as positive self-talk of adolescents. Even though this study was conducted on Asian adolescents, the findings supported the existing knowledge about the beneficial influence of authoritative parenting on the development of children's capacities. Both maternal and paternal authoritativeness was shown to predict different aspects of trait emotional intelligence, presumably because the affective warmth and support that is conveyed in this parenting style. Such an approach can be expected to promote awareness and acceptance of different emotions in children and assist in the development of social skills. Yet, the association between trait emotional intelligence and authoritative parenting style was mediated by another important variable. In specific, positive self-talk mediated this association, which reveals the complexness of the association between different parenting practices and children's traits. Authoritative parenting is also associated with more positive and less negative self-talk of adolescents (Chong & Chan, 2015).

Finally, a study by Nijhof and Engels (2007) examined parenting styles in relation to first-year college students' coping strategies and their expression of homesickness. The

results showed that children of authoritative and permissive parents experienced higher intensity of homesickness, but they were also equipped to cope with these emotions more effectively, through the use of support-seeking and problem-solving and presented less internalising and externalising problems at pathological levels. Nijhof and Engels, therefore, conclude that nurturing and loving home environment presents a fruitful basis for close affective connection that is responsible for the occurrence of homesickness, but also for healthy ways of coping with these but also other emotions and pressures.

Summary

Parenting presents possibly the single most important factor in the majority of children's development. It can account for many pathological changes, but it also influences a wide range of other, non-pathological traits in children and adolescents. The research in this field testifies about the beneficial influence of positive parenting practices, with clear favouring of authoritative parenting style. As it seems, authoritative parenting presents a valuable combination of behavioural control and autonomy support in children, as well as affective warmth, which produces well-adjusted children who are equipped to cope with pressures and challenges healthily and productively.

Factors That Influence the Relationship Between Parenting Styles and Children Development

Research on parenting styles could be summarised crudely in an assertion that parenting styles greatly influence children's development without any doubt, although the exact pathways of this effect are not always direct or entirely explained. The most important problem that occurs in research is the question of other factors that could explain a part of the variance in this association. The following sections will outline several possibly relevant factors that were selected based on earlier empirical findings presented in the previous

section of the dissertation, which are culture and cultural differences, children's temperament, and correspondence between a mother and a father in their parenting.

Culture as a factor that influences the relationship between parenting styles and children development. In researching parenting styles, the majority of authors that was guided by Baumrind's typology of parenting styles found confirmation for this concept among West European and American children (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). Baumrind's work presents a theoretical framework that is based on two dimensions, responsiveness and demandingness, that produce four different parenting styles – authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and disengaged parenting. After 15 years of her longitudinal study on European American children, each of these parenting styles was further differentiated into eight categories: authoritarian-directive, nonauthoritarian-directive, permissive, democratic, rejecting, neglecting, good-enough, and authoritative. As Sorkhabi and Mandara (2013) summarise their review of the extensive theoretical and empirical body of knowledge, it is not clear whether the same concept can be applied to non-European American parenting styles with equal validity. More precisely, whether authoritative parenting style will be found in different cultures and whether it will be an optimal style in any cultural context is still a subject of debate and research. The present section will review current empirical and theoretical findings in this area of research from two main perspectives, cultural specificity perspective and cultural equivalence perspective, in order to reach conclusions about the applicability of Baumrind's typology to different societies.

Empirical findings from studies that explored parenting styles among non-European American cultures. Cultural differences in parenting were observed in the early studies of parenting styles. For example, Baumrind (1972, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013) noticed a difference between European American and African American parents, with nearly 50% of African American parents practising authoritarian style, while merely 13% of

European Americans could be characterised as authoritarian parents. However, female children of African American parents were more assertive and independent than those from European American families, according to Baumrind's study. She hypothesised that it is the difference in the children's perception that could account for such inconsistencies with her model. More precisely, African American children did not perceive authoritarian parenting as cold and rejecting, rather as nurturing. Furthermore, identification with strong female role models that African American girls found in their mothers could also be the factor that contributed to such difference in effect. This initial research inspired a vast number of diverse studies among different cultures.

Dornbusch et al. (1987, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013) found that Asian parents are least likely to be authoritative compared to European, African, and Hispanic. A number of studies examined the effects of parenting styles among Asian families and reached a more detailed understanding of this issue. Chong and Chan (2015) explored how parenting styles (paternal and maternal separately and combined) and positive and negative self-talk of Asian adolescents relates to trait emotional intelligence. The findings support Baumrind's (1972, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013) assumption about the importance of the children's perception of parents' practices. In this case, parenting practices appeared to interact with different facets of emotional intelligence. Furthermore, these researchers indicated that positive and negative self-talk should also be examined when parenting styles are explored in relation to different traits. In specific, among Asian children, positive self-talk mediated the relationship between authoritative parenting style as perceived by the children and trait emotional intelligence, while negative self-talk suppressed the association between maternal authoritarian parenting style and self-management of emotions (Chong & Chan, 2015).

Lian, You, Huang and Yang (2016) examined another possible mediator between parenting styles and its effects, in this case, the parenting styles' influence on modern technology addiction, which is a prominent problem in Asian culture. These authors found that virtues (relationship, vitality, and conscientiousness) mediated this relationship, but also emphasised that even this concept should be examined within the given culture in order for it to yield valid findings. More precisely, parenting results in the development of these virtues in children, and these are culturally conditioned, as Lian et al. demonstrated. Wang and Jiang's paper (2016) might further explain the specifics of this relationship. These authors determined that parenting styles could affect the Chinese adolescents' well-being, with self-esteem acting as a moderator in some aspects of this relationship. It is necessary to thoroughly examine the interconnectedness of values, self-esteem and well-being, in order to understand how exactly parenting styles in Asian cultures affect the children's development.

Nam and Chun (2014) attempted to shed light on this issue by examining the factors that influence mothers' parenting style and their effects on young children who are at risk for developmental delay in South Korea. They determined that parenting stress should also be taken into consideration as a possible mediator. Nam and Chun concluded that mother's employment, mother's age, parenting stress and social support all have a significant association with mother's parenting style, which, on its side, has important impact on possible developmental delay of the child. The findings in similar area of research in the Western societies need to be compared to determine what factors in parenting and developmental delays might be independent on culture, and which factors are specifically tied to Asian and other cultures.

Vuković and colleagues (2015) examined the effects that parental mental disorders may have on the children's development through its effects on parenting. In specific, they explored war-related post-traumatic stress disorder of Croatian parents and concluded that it

does influence parenting style, and it is through this association; it also influences the children's development. The effects were observed in emotional, behavioural, and problems in family functioning, as well as parental control.

In order to examine the specific effects of a given culture to a person's parenting style and its effects, it is possible to approach this issue methodologically by examining individuals from one culture when removed from it, or when being a minority in a significantly different social environment. Yu, Cheah and Calvin (2016) examined parenting styles of 164 first-generation Chinese immigrant mothers in the United States, and their paper offers an insight into the influence a different culture may have on parenting styles once an individual has been removed from their culture. According to Yu and colleagues, it is essential to promote acculturation through policies that would be independent on the culture or bicultural so that optimal adaptation for both the parents and the children is ensured. This conclusion was reached after statistical analysis found that American orientation among the participants was significantly associated with positive psychological well-being. This phenomenon then led to more authoritative parenting and less authoritarian parenting. Furthermore, authoritarian parenting associated with more prominent depressive symptoms, which were a result of the interaction between American and Chinese orientations. In a study that, similarly, addressed the issue of parenting in a culture within another majority culture is the work by Rosli (2014) who examined the effects that parenting styles have on emotional and behavioural problems of Muslim children of different ethnicities in the United States. This author concluded that authoritative parenting was the most frequent parenting style among Muslim fathers, and Muslim mothers in this study most frequently employed authoritarian parenting. Rosli also concluded that acculturation needs to be taken as an important, possibly crucial variable in similar studies, and practical interventions among minority groups.

The study by Körük, Öztürk and Kara (2016) yielded rich results in the understanding of parenting styles effects among 400 Turkish adolescents. The findings, among others, indicate that symptoms such as depression, anxiety and hostility were significantly predicted by the adolescents' perception of their parents as being pessimistic/fearful and belittling/captious in the case of a mother, and as being overprotective/worrywart in the case of a father. These findings indicate the importance not only of the parenting styles as reported by the parents or as observed objectively, but they indicate another important variable that will be addressed in greater detail in the following sections, which is the perception of parenting styles by the children and adolescents.

Yakoh, Chongrukasa and Prinyapol (2015) provided an invaluable comparison of cultures by examining the relationship between children and adolescent pathology and parenting styles in a Thai social welfare home. These authors found that authoritarian parenting style was the most prominent in this group of children and youth, and made recommendations that foster families ought to implement authoritative parenting in order to mend damage made to these children.

Cultural specificity perspective. Baumrind (1972, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013), initially argued that her findings cannot be extrapolated to other cultures and that they apply specifically to European American parents. She supported this claim by her small-scale exploratory study on African American parents, and asserted that each culture should be explored within its context and it should not be expected that what applies to one culture when it comes to parenting styles, can, without a loss in accuracy, be translated to different cultures and their specifics. Such opinion formed cultural specificity perspective within this area of research, which served as a counterpart to the possibly ethnocentric position (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). Cultural specificity perspective addressed several core beliefs: that goals put in front of a socialisation process as well as values that this process is based on

differ amongst cultures, that the same parenting style may have different effects on children and youth in different cultures, as well as that children and youth perceive and interpret parenting styles in different ways, and finally, that authoritarian parents from different cultures differ amongst themselves in cognitive and emotional characteristics (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013).

As Sorkhabi and Mandara (2013) argue, the first of the four arguments presents the most prominent assertion within this perspective. That is, the most general distinction being made in this regard is the difference in values of two major groups of cultures, of individualistic and collective cultures. Collectivistic societies were found to promote duty towards the group, obedience, reverence towards authorities, while the individualistic societies value independence, pursue one's self-actualisation and needs, and competitiveness. These differences are apparent in collectivistic and individualistic societies throughout the world, whether it is a marked difference between Asian and American culture, or it is a difference between individual European countries (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Wilson, 2014). In that sense, as the proponents of cultural specificity perspective argue (e.g. Chao, 1994, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013), the description of an authoritarian parent cannot be applied to Asians, as these cultures derive their parenting from Confucian tradition and understanding of roles. As such, the concept of training needs to be employed to understand the outcomes and forms of Asian parenting, rather than ideas of control and responsiveness.

The second argument for the cultural specificity perspective is based on the assertion of adaptive function certain cultural phenomena have. More precisely, as Sorkhabi and Mandara (2013) explain, the sheer fact that one parenting style is a dominant style in the specific culture only means that it was proven to be the most effective and yielded positive results in that society. As some authors argue (e.g. Baumrind, 1972, as cited in Sorkhabi &

Mandara, 2013), different cultures and subcultures require different skills of their young in order to thrive. For example, Baumrind (1972, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013) suggests that those urban African American children who then lived in dangerous environments benefited more from strict and more controlling rearing in order to remain safe and not to engage in dangerous activities.

Associated with this argument is the one that maintains that different parenting styles are perceived differently by the children of a given culture. As an example, parenting that would be perceived as strict, domineering and cold by West European and European American children is seen as caring and involved by Asian children (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013).

Finally, the cultural specificity perspective argues that emotional and cognitive characteristics of authoritarian parents in different cultures vary in such manner that authoritarian parenting is associated with one set of characteristics in one culture, and another in another culture (i.e. with a low or high level of nurturance). This association is dependent upon the values of the given culture, and it affects the perception of parenting by children (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013).

Cultural equivalence perspective. The opposing perspective is cultural equivalence perspective, arguing that the main characteristics of authoritative parenting are consistent across different cultures (Steinberg, 2001, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). In the foundation of this perspective is the assertion that there are several aims of socialization that are universal for every culture in the world (self-control, sense of agency, and care for others), and that in order for children to develop these characteristics, they also universally need to feel loved, protected and respected, and to have guidance and structure throughout their formative years (Lamborn & Felbab, 2003, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). Therefore, authoritative parenting would then be the model that ensures these values

regardless of the culture in which it is practised. Cultural equivalence perspective is based on four arguments that were designed to respond to the four assertions of cultural specificity perspective. According to the proponents of this viewpoint, general values of parents in all cultures are rather similar, and if directive parenting style is introduced it may explain the apparently high prevalence of strict parenting in collectivistic cultures. This perspective further argues that the same parenting style has very similar effects on children and youth across different cultures, and their interpretation of the parenting style is the same, as well as the emotional and cognitive characteristics of the parents (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013).

Summary. The four parenting styles, as described by Baumrind (1972, as cited in Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013), authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and disengaged were empirically proven to be present in every world's culture that has been examined. When the available literature is analysed, it also seems that the frequently noticed differences between cultures could be explained. In this typology, authoritative and directive style were demonstrated to be the most desirable manners to rear the children to ensure their positive development in all cultures, although a difference in the extent of the impact authoritarian parenting has on children's development is still noticeable (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). Yet, as Sorkhabi and Mandara (2013) argue, it can be said that children from all cultures feel the difference between (and manifest the different effects of) parenting that is punitive and arbitrary and one that is seemingly similar in actions but guided by responsiveness and care, and it is this observation that needs to be taken into consideration when theoretically postulated concepts are discussed and researched.

Children's temperament as a factor that influences the relationship between parenting styles and children development. Among the important factors that could account for the complexity of the relationship between parenting styles and their effects on children's competencies and traits development and pathology, is the child itself. More

precisely, the child's temperament has been demonstrated to influence the parenting style itself. Temperament is largely a child's characteristic that is inherited and can shape how parents interact with the child to a great extent (Putnam, Sanson & Rothbart, 2002). This genetically based characteristic could facilitate the relationship between a parent and a child, especially in the case of similarity between parental temperament and that of the child, but could also jeopardise the interaction and evoke parenting styles practices that cannot be described as optimal. Yet, warm and responsive parenting could, on the other hand, decrease potentially negative displays of temperament and emotionality, in the same manner as irresponsible and harsh parenting could elicit it (Putnam et al., 2002).

Empirical research has demonstrated this association between a child's temperament and how parents raise the child. For example, Coplan, Reichel and Rowan (2009) explored how maternal personality and child's temperament both related to the display and regulation of emotions, showing the extent to which this factor influences different aspects of parenting styles and their influence. As discussed in one of the earlier sections, parental personality has effect on the choice of parenting style and practices. Coplan and colleagues aimed to determine whether a child's temperament acted as a moderator of this association. The findings showed that the association between neuroticism of the mother and her overprotective parenting increased in intensity when the child was described as shy. Furthermore, emotionally dysregulated children have influenced the negative association between harsh and coercive parenting practices and agreeableness (Coplan et al., 2009).

In an earlier study, Rubin, Nelson, Hastings and Asendorpf (1999) aimed to examine how parental attempts to socialise their children were influenced by the child's social wariness and inhibition. A longitudinal study that focused on children when they were two, and four during the second testing, and their parents, indicated that there is strong support for the assumption that a child's temperament can induce a difference in the manner in which the

parent rears the child. More precisely, the results from this study indicated that if the parent described the child as shy at the age of two, at the age of four there will be a lack on independence encouragement by the parents. Such findings support the assumption that a child's temperament can evoke certain parental behaviour and a parenting style, or at least contribute to the choice of parenting practices.

The goodness of fit model, proposed by Chess in the 1970s (Hipson & Séguin, 2017), posits that ideal development of a child occurs when the child's temperament and the environment interact in a concordant manner. Although temperament can be considered responsible for some developmental outcomes, according to this model, the child also interacts with the given environment. This interaction then yields the majority of developmental outcomes and mitigates or intensifies other outcomes that are attributable to the child's temperament. More precisely, according to this theoretical model, the interaction between a child and the environment can be either adaptive or maladaptive. In the case of a consonant relationship between a child's temperament and the environment, the child's development is expected to be optimal. The opposite is also true, and dissonance in this regard will put a strain on the child's development and outcomes (Hipson & Séguin, 2017).

Correspondence between paternal and maternal parenting styles as a factor that influences the relationship between parenting styles and children development. Given the importance of parenting styles, as extensively discussed in the previous sections, the correspondence between how a father and a mother rear their child presents a significant factor in children's development. Furthermore, it is also possible that certain inconsistencies in the empirical literature on parenting styles could be explained if both parents and the correspondence between their parenting practices and styles are taken into consideration. Gamble, Ramakumar and Diaz (2006), for example, found that mother's and father's perception of their parenting styles and how they react to their children's emotions are mostly

unrelated. Moreover, mothers and fathers in their study did not share the opinion on how emotions in their children ought to be socialised. These authors, therefore, argued that examining both parents about their own and their partner's parenting could reveal information that would otherwise remain concealed (e.g. dissimilarities in mother's assessment on their levels of authoritative parenting and their objective behaviour as assessed by the father). In addition to the methodological importance of taking both parents' styles into account, Gamble and colleagues' study demonstrated that interdependence of parenting styles influences the development outcomes, but these authors also emphasised the gap in research in this matter. One of the studies that also examined perceived correspondence and dissimilarities in parenting styles between the parents was that of Winsler, Madigan and Aquilino (2005), who investigated parents of preschool children and came to similar findings as Gamble and colleagues. The similarity in parenting styles in one household was only modest. Authoritative parenting was not found to be significantly corresponding between mothers and fathers, while permissive and authoritarian practices were somewhat shared amongst the partners. The more similar the parenting styles of parents were, the more accurate the assessment of the partner's behaviour was. This study, similar to Gamble and associates' research, emphasised the need to consider this variable when researching parenting styles, as well as in practical interventions regarding childhood development and parenting.

Vulnerability and Resilience to Parenting Styles That are Associated with the Occurrence of Psychopathology Among Children and Adolescents

The previous sections extensively presented the immense importance of parenting on a child's development in both non-pathological development and pathology. Factors that affect the relationship between parenting styles and their effects on children were also discussed, such as a child's temperament. This section will offer a brief discussion on the

questions of factors on a child's side that could promote resilience towards negative effects of detrimental parenting practices, or contribute to the vulnerability towards such parenting.

Resilience towards negative effects of harmful parenting practices can be discussed from the perspective of factors that contribute to a child's coping capacities in general and regarding this specific aspect of their lives. As effective parenting presents probably the most important resilience factor in a child's early life in general (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000), it is important to understand what factors protect a child when this condition is not satisfied. This is a complex problem that requires extensive research, but it can be assumed that the following factors contribute to the child's adaptability and good adjustment: an adaptable temperament, which allows a child to stimulate positive responses from adults, certain skills, abilities, and guiding values that lead into formulating realistic goals in academic achievement and life, and, parents and adults who promote a child's self-confidence and raise him or her with competence; or, in the light of our discussion, this role can be filled by a person who is not the child's parent but presents an important (role-model) figure in the child's life. Moreover, resilient children have the capability to seek an environment that would reward and reinforce their abilities, have more prominent internal locus of control, better-defined self-concept, and a responsible attitude towards life and its challenges (Werner, 1984, as cited in Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000). Average or above-average intelligence is also an important ability that can serve as a resilience factor, as well as well-developed interpersonal skills and problem-solving abilities (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000). Good-enough parenting, forming a bond with at least one parent who implemented positive parenting practices, or bonding with a replacement role-model all seem to act as protective factors when a child faces adversity in the primary family. Additionally, the importance of external support systems is also a significant variable to be considered and has a potential to serve as a buffer in cases in which family presents a potential risk factor for future occurrence of

psychopathology in children and adolescents (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000). On the other hand, apart from the opposite poles of these characteristics, socioeconomic factors that surround a family (especially chronic poverty) could contribute to a child developing vulnerability towards maladaptive parenting practices (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000).

One theoretical concept that attempted to explicate the observed sensitivity of some children to environmental influence was Boyce and colleagues' Orchid and Dandelion model (Kennedy, 2013). These authors proposed that, although the majority of children are sturdy and can cope with even adverse environments (are dandelions, in the model's language), some children are more neurobiologically sensitive to the influence of their environments. The origins of this sensitivity are mostly sought after in hereditary factors or pre-natal stressors (Kennedy, 2013). What is especially interesting for the present study are findings that suggest that highly negatively reactive infants tend to benefit the most from interventions that teach parents how to develop a secure attachment (Kennedy, 2013). Therefore, the significance of the interplay between nature and nurture is confirmed yet again.

Theoretical Framework

Early Research on Parenting Styles

The interest within psychology in parenting styles and their effect on children and adolescents dates back to the very beginnings of this scientific discipline. Psychoanalysis and behaviourism both were interested in the influence that parenting styles have on children's psyche. Parenting style as a notion of study developed as a continuation of the deliberations and research on socialisation that was conducted during the early 20th century. Socialisation studies were focused around the same problems that are still a subject of interest of current scholars. The researchers' examination revolves around modal patterns of parental behaviour and the consequences of parenting practices on children. Attempts to answer these questions

were made by academics of different theoretical orientations at the beginning of the 20th century. Psychodynamic researchers and practitioners dedicated their attention to the emotional relationship between parents and children and examined how this aspect of child-parent relationship affects the child's development (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Behaviourists, on the other hand, focused their examination to parenting practices and utilised the findings from the research of learning to explain the influence parents have on their children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Parenting style as a concept was developed as a means of approaching the elusiveness of parenting practices and emotional exchange between parents and children, as a heuristic tool. The main components that were encapsulated in this notion were parenting behaviours and practices, the emotional exchange between parents and children, and parents' belief system (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Yet, as this tool was used by theoreticians and practitioners of different orientations, the description was not uniform. Psychoanalytical researchers, following the general focus of their school of thought, concentrated their attention to the emotional exchange between parents and children, arguing that differences in this exchange must be a result of differences in parents' attributes, in attitudes in specific (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). On the other hand, the researchers who based their work on behaviourism and social learning theory focused on specific parenting practices and behaviours, arguing that the differences in parenting outcomes were consequences of different environments the children are exposed to (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The similarities in dimensions that were of interest for researchers operating within different theories when deliberating parenting, and the consensus about the consequences of different parenting on children was, as Darling and Steinberg (1993) notice, remarkable. In short, children who were deemed model (well socialized, friendly, honest, adapted in various areas of life, and emotionally stable) were found to come from families in which parents were

warm, provided clear and rational boundaries and supported autonomy within them, and were clear about their expectations and rationale for them. With such empirical foundation at her disposal, Baumrind was able to propose a concept that would merge the focus of both psychoanalytic and behaviourism and social learning theory into one cohesive theoretical structure (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Baumrind's Theoretical Conceptualization of Parenting Styles

Even though the earlier researchers reached a substantive understanding of the patterns in child-rearing practices in general and from their theoretical focus, the primary theoretical concept the researchers of parenting styles utilise in their exploration is Baumrind's typology (Pellerin, 2005). Baumrind established her theoretical framework in the 1960s and kept elaborating on the initial observations in the field of developmental psychology (Pellerin, 2005). Her guiding postulation was that the key parental role was to socialise the child to conform to the demands of the society, while also promoting personal integrity, and that parents differ in how they use parental control to achieve these goals. She understood control, not as a linear function, which was explicitly or implicitly accepted by earlier researchers, rather as a three-dimensional notion that can be observed as permissive, authoritative, and authoritarian, as will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs.

Furthermore, Baumrind (1968, as cited in Darling & Steinberg, 1993) notices that there are certain naturally occurring patterns of parental behaviour (affects, values, and practices) that are shaped through parents' beliefs about their role and their child's nature. She believed that the definition of parenting styles should be approached configurationally, meaning that the influence of any aspect of parenting is entirely dependent upon the configuration of remaining aspects (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). This configurational approach to parenting styles presented an important change in the direction of research, as it meant abandoning the tradition of factor-analytic and circumplex approaches (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Baumrind's grounding of her research in naturally occurring patterns of parental behaviour rather than founding it on theoretical concepts alone resulted in an ecologically valid, widely accepted and empirically extensively confirmed framework.

Baumrind's extensive research yielded a person-centred theoretical frame that is based on two dimensions, responsiveness and demandingness. Responsiveness is represented by parents' warmth, reasoned communication with the child, and support the development of the child's autonomy. Demandingness concerns the parents' regulation, control and monitoring of the child's behaviour, as well as direct confrontation (Baumrind, 2005). These dimensions produce three different parenting styles – authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. Baumrind (2005) expanded this initial typology by a fourth style, which is disengaged parenting. After 15 years of her longitudinal study each of these parenting styles was further differentiated into eight categories by Baumrind (1991, as cited in Baumrind, 2005), which were authoritarian-directive, nonauthoritarian-directive, permissive, democratic, rejecting, neglecting, good-enough, and authoritative. Empirical research has repeatedly demonstrated that these different parenting practices can be associated with various outcomes in children and adolescents, and the effects range across the competences and adjustment spectrum. The exact pathways in which these influences are executed presented a fruitful area of discussion and research. These questions were also a subject of research in the present study through the examination of different factors that might play a role in the effects of parenting styles on the children, as well as contributors to the children's resilience and vulnerability. Baumrind's theory was taken as a foundation for an analysis of different parenting practices and their differing effects on the children's development, both in the area of normal development and resulting psychological traits, and psychopathology of children and youth.

Implications of Baumrind's Model for the Present Study

In researching the questions about the factors that might play a role in the effects of different parenting styles and could account for the differences found in the available literature, Baumrind's deliberations about the deciding role of a social and cultural milieu were carefully considered. More precisely, Baumrind (1972, as cited in Darling & Steinberg, 1993) believed that the parenting styles as she described them needed to be assessed with considering culture. She, for example, found that the same parenting style that evoked fearful, timid and compliant behaviour among European American children was associated with assertiveness among African American girls. Therefore, parenting styles can be assumed to act in interaction with other important factors, which was the subject of the present study exploration.

Another reason why Baumrind's model presents an adequate theoretical framework for the present study is the assertion that children also play a role in their upbringing through their influence on their parents (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Such influence could be another possible factor that could account for different effects of parenting styles and possibly contribute to the vulnerability or resilience to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of psychopathology among children and adolescents. Baumrind was not the first to notice that the child's temperament might affect parents' behaviour, but she attempted to provide theoretical framework that would disentangle parental actions from that of children. Therefore, her operationalisation of parenting styles is deemed to be the most appropriate conceptualisation of the subject and is to be used in the present study.

Finally, Baumrind's concept presents socialisation as a dynamic process, one that allows for differences in results based on how open the child is towards parental attempts to socialise him or her. Therefore, the parenting style could also change as a result of this dynamic interaction. As an example, Baumrind (1967, as cited in Darling and Steinberg,

1993) argued that authoritative parenting enhances children's cognitive abilities. This induces better compliance with parental guidelines that are clearly articulated in authoritative parenting. As a result of this, parents' ability to act as an agent of socialisation is enhanced, and the circle of positive influence can be repeated. Such understanding of socialisation was also considered in the present study in researching how different parenting styles affect children in different ways and could such dynamic nature of socialisation account for vulnerability or resilience to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of psychopathology among children and adolescents.

In conclusion, Baumrind's theoretical conceptualisation of parenting styles, as well as the operationalisation of the same presents a framework of choice for the present study because it has been developed in an attempt to perfect existing understanding of parenting and its effect, and was extensively accepted and supported in subsequent theoretical deliberations and empirical research.

Conclusion

Parenting presents what is potentially the most significant factor in the development of children, the effects of which can extend over the entire lifetime. Parenting styles present a concept that has been repeatedly empirically confirmed across the cultures and has been related to many children's capacities and characteristics. The previous sections presented examination of extensive body of knowledge based on the recent empirical findings on patterns in parents' behaviour towards their children and different impact it may have on a range of children's traits and mental health, both during childhood and adolescence. The relationship between parenting styles and addictive disorders and behaviours, emotional problems, eating disorders and obesity, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and other disorders and problems were discussed. Specific factors that could also be of importance for this relationship, such as culture and children's temperament was also be examined. In these

considerations, possible variables that might be accountable for children's vulnerability or resilience towards parenting that is expected to have negative impact on their development were outlined. Baumrind's theoretical framework was presented. In conclusion, it can be said that the extent of the influence of parenting styles on children, as well as the complexness of this relationship, presents a significant area of research, and the present study aimed to investigate this matter further.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Although the question about whether parenting practices affect a child's development meets almost exclusive consensus among the psychologists, there are still many questions regarding the parenting styles and how they influence the differences in the child's personality traits and psychopathological manifestations. The present study aimed to contribute to the understanding of these gaps in knowledge by trying to reach answers to several research questions that fall under the study's objective, which was determining the nature of the parental influence and the effects parenting styles have on the development of certain personality traits and psychopathological manifestations in children. The research questions were set as follows:

RQ1. With which personality traits and psychopathological manifestations in children are parenting styles associated with and how?

RQ2. What other factors, other than personality traits and psychopathological characteristics impact upon parenting styles?

RQ3. What factors contribute to the children's resilience or vulnerability to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of the psychopathology of childhood?

These research questions presented a wide area of research that was expected to result in a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the influence parenting styles and practices may have on the occurrence of different mental disorders among children and youth, as well as a systematic frame for conducting the present study.

Research Method

The present study was conducted using a qualitative method in research, and was based on phenomenology, as an approach that was expected to provide a clear, rich, and detailed account of the participants' experience and meanings that they attribute to these

experiences (Usher & Jackson, 2014). This approach was chosen as an effort to locate new variables and new information in an already well-researched problem. Similar to some earlier studies, as the study conducted by Ainbinder and colleagues (1998) in which the experience of parents of children with special needs was researched, qualitative method in the present study was expected to reveal different components of parenting styles and the mechanisms of their influence that might be inaccessible to a quantitative study based on existing instruments. Furthermore, as in the study by Holt, Tamminen, Black, Mandigo and Fox (2009), qualitative approach might reveal delicate variations in factors that regards parenting styles upon closer examination and follow-up questions, unlike in quantitative research. When discussing the other possible methods for the research, it can be said that theoretical study might have offered new insights, but no new data would be gathered, while the researcher intended to find new information that would enrich the existing knowledgebase. Finally, using mixed method would not be a productive endeavour, as there are already enough quantitative studies based on which research questions could be formulated to continue with qualitative research.

An extensive literature review was conducted to reach a comprehensive understanding of the parental influence on a wide display of psychological phenomena in children and adolescents, and as a result, three research questions were formulated. These were answered using thematic analysis of twenty respondents' (ten families) answers to approximately 90-minutes long semi-structured interviews. As a result, the problem, the context, the issues, and the lessons learned were addressed, as Creswell suggests (1998, as cited in Williams, 2011).

Participants

The sample in the present study consisted of a total of ten pairs of parents, that is, of 20 mothers and 20 fathers. Five of the couples were the parents of children who manifested no pathology, while five of the couples were the parents of children who manifested certain

psychopathology. The psychopathological manifestations of the children were disruptive, impulse-control, and conduct disorders (referred to as behavioural problems in the following text), emotional problems and eating disorders. The sample was selected as a convenience sample, using snowball approach that was implemented primarily in selecting parents with children who manifest psychopathology.

The mothers' age ranged from 34-45, the fathers' age ranged from 36-53, and the children were aged 6-10. Given the intention of the study to detect a wide range of aspects of parenting styles and other possible protective or vulnerability factors, the sample was not balanced in the variables such as parents' age, education level, socioeconomic status, ethnic groups, and the number of family members. The inclusion criterion was for the parents to be married or living in a common-law marriage, and that they were both living with the child in the same household. The second inclusion criterion was that the children are school-aged but still not in puberty, to be able to examine data within one developmental phase to reduce the developmental disparities to minimum. The children manifested different psychopathologies. This step was decided upon based on the researcher's intention to try to locate shared traits of parenting styles and practices that might be in common to psychopathology in children.

Location. The interviews were conducted in a library conference room to ensure enough privacy for the participants to be able to respond honestly and without distractions. The interviews were led separately with each of the parents, at the time of their choosing so that they would have enough time at their disposal to answer all follow-up questions that might have arisen.

Instrumentation

The present study aimed to reach answers to three research questions that elaborate the study's objective, which was determining the nature of the parental influence and the effects parenting styles have on the development of certain personality traits and

psychopathological manifestations in children. The research questions examined with which personality traits and psychopathological manifestations are parenting styles associated with and how, which factors other than parenting style itself may be of importance for this association, and what factors contribute to the resilience or vulnerability to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of psychopathology among children and adolescents.

These research questions were answered through the analysis of qualitative data collected based on semi-structured interviews (Appendix A) with both parents of children who either present psychopathology or do not manifest any psychopathology. These interviews aimed to explore in detail several significant issues: detailed demographic information, the parenting styles of each of the parents, the presence of different characteristics in children, both pathological and non-pathological (based on the findings of the current empirical research in the field), the course of the development of the child, and the parent's beliefs and values. All of the questions were based on the extensive literature review that was conducted in preparation for the present study.

The examination of parenting styles was based on Baumrind's work, as portrayed in the previous chapters of the paper. Her research yielded a person-centred theoretical frame that is based on two dimensions, responsiveness and demandingness. Responsiveness is represented by parents' warmth, reasoned communication with the child, and support the development of the child's autonomy. Demandingness concerns the parents' regulation, control and monitoring of the child's behaviour, as well as direct confrontation (Baumrind, 2005). These dimensions produce three different parenting styles – authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. Baumrind (2005) expanded this initial typology by a fourth style, which is disengaged parenting. The questions in the interviews were based on the questionnaire developed to explore these parenting styles (Kimble, 2014; Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen & Hart, 1995).

The remainder of the interview examined specific factors that could be of importance for the research questions, such as culture, children's temperament, and the correspondence between the mothers' and the fathers' parenting styles. In one section of the interview, possible variables that might be accountable for children's vulnerability or resilience towards parenting that is expected to have a negative impact on their development were explored.

Validity

Since the study presented qualitative research, the issue of reliability and variability differed from that in quantitative studies. As Howitt and Cramer (2007) explain, unlike in quantitative studies where reliability and validity are tested using statistical tools, in qualitative studies one umbrella term, such as credibility or trustworthiness of the study, is used. In other words, the concepts of reliability and validity originate from a positivist tradition and might not be fully applicable to an alternative way of approaching the truth, which is in the roots of qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003).

Nonetheless, there are means to ensure that the present study meets academic criteria and presents a valuable contribution to the body of knowledge in the field. The following steps were applied to ensure the credibility of the study. Both recommended approaches were implemented to ensure the credibility of this research, the one that focuses on methodology, and the other that focuses on the interpretation of the results (Leung, 2015). In designing the questions, the Critical Appraisal Skills Program checklist for qualitative studies was consulted (Leung, 2015). Furthermore, in conducting the analysis, the demand for transparency and systematicity was adhered to. In the overall process, the following criteria for assessing the quality of the research were aimed to be met: to have a solid clarification and justification for the research subject and method, to have a representative sample, to implement procedural, interpretative, reflexive and evaluative rigor, and to ensure transferability or generalizability of the findings (Leung, 2015).

Data Collection

The sample was assembled using a snowball approach, starting from one married couple who raises a child with psychopathology and who is familiar with other such families. The participants were not recruited from a single (if any) organisation. The initial couple was approached upon contacting Ngala, an Australian organisation providing support and information to parents, who then directed the researcher towards the most suiting way to approach participants. The prospective participants were contacted via emails by the researcher upon being acquainted with the study by the couple who was contacted before them. In these email conversations, the participants were explained what the study aimed to explore, and they were asked to allow for the researcher to initiate further steps in case that they meet the criteria for the study, which were being married or in a civil marriage, living together, and raising a child aged 6-10. After the initial email contact, the prospective participants were further contacted via a telephone call to provide all the additional details to the prospective participants. Upon their verbal agreement with the study, the timeline was scheduled.

The initial contact with the prospective participants included 14 couples, in order to ensure that the sample would not be reduced in case that some of the participants decided to withdraw from the study, or their situation changed so that they no longer meet the inclusion criteria at the moment of the interviews. To these couples, consent forms were sent via email to have enough time to review them and ask questions if any; hard copy versions of the consent forms were signed by the participants at the beginning of the interviews.

The interviews were conducted in a library conference room to ensure enough privacy for the participants to be able to respond honestly and without distractions. The schedule of the interviews were tailored to the participants' schedules, aiming to finish interviewing both parents from one family before continuing to the next participant, to ensure the researcher's

focus and ability to ask relevant additional questions or to examine the same issue from the other parent's perspective, without an interference of the information from different families. The interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes each.

The interviews were audio-recorded with the participants' permission and then transcribed verbatim to be analysed in the data analysis phase of the study. The audio recordings were stored on a password-protected computer and available only to the researcher so that any possibility of inadvertent identification was prevented, for five years after the study was finished. The transcripts were made under a pseudonym for each participant. None of the interviews was available to other participants, including those of the spouses.

Data Analysis

The present study was based on qualitative methodology applied to data collected in the semi-structured interviews. Collected information was analysed using thematic analysis. This choice was made based on the fact that the study aimed to acquire new insights and to collect and evaluate new information in light of the existing knowledge about the subject. That is, thematic analysis is not founded in any specialised theory (Howitt & Cramer, 2007) and as such meets the needs of the present study in its versatility. The data collected were thoroughly analysed in the search for several themes that offer knowledge about the research questions. The procedure began by several rounds of reading through the transcripts to get familiarised with the information provided by the participants, followed by the initial coding of the data. These codes were open to modifications during the process, as the researcher proceeded with the analysis, in the light of subsequent observations and conclusions. The following step was to analyse these codes and reach a list of themes and subthemes that enclose several codes into coherent concepts. Themes in thematic analysis present such patterns that emerge within the data that have a potential of describing and explaining the phenomenon that is being researched, while the subthemes will be used only if a theme is

notably divided into specific subcategories that appear relevant to the understanding of the subject (Howitt & Cramer, 2007). This list was subject to change during the data analysis process, as several rounds of such review of the codes were performed to reach relevant and valid themes in the light of the research subject. Examples illustrative of each theme were chosen and presented with the results of the analysis. In cases in which this is purposeful and justified, the researcher was to provide quantitative estimates, as Howitt and Cramer (2007) recommend.

To avoid researcher bias, a deliberate effort to compose interview questions so that they do not allow for bias was made, applying a high level of reflexivity. This was achieved by relying on Baumrind's work, as discussed in the Instrumentation section. During data collection, the researcher behaved in such manner that does not allow for bias to occur. Finally, in the data analysis procedure, the researcher continuously reflected on whether any unintentional attempts to skew the analysis towards reaching desirable findings were being made. By being transparent about the analysis process itself, the researcher ensured confirmability of the study and the findings, which is a way to avoid bias in qualitative research (Bryman, 2015). An audit trail was left through associating the themes and the conclusions with particular examples and statements made by the participants, allowing for subsequent reviewers of the results to assess the justifiability of the conclusions.

Summary

The present study was conducted using a qualitative approach, semi-structured interviews with twenty parents. The interview questions were designed to collect demographic information, information about parenting styles, the children's traits, as well as to search for potentially significant variables that can be expected to influence the relationship between parenting styles and children's characteristics. This approach was deemed to be the most suitable to provide new insights and to examine the insights in depth.

The data were analysed using thematic analysis. A deliberate effort was placed to minimise limitations of the study and potential ethical and methodological issues.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The broad aim of the present study was to examine the nature of parental influence and the effects that parenting styles have on the development of certain personality traits and psychopathological manifestations in children. In specific, it presented an attempt to determine which factors could be associated with different effects that parenting styles have on children, in addition to determining which parenting practices tend to be common in families of well-adapted children and those with children who experience a mental disorder or behavioural problems. Parents present a primary socialisation agent in a child's life (Braden et al., 2014), which is the reason why the causality of the majority of traits that develop under the effect of nurture can be attributed to parental influence. The study's objectives were to determine the association between psychopathology and normal development and parenting styles, to examine the factors that might also be involved in this association, and to determine which factors might contribute to the children's vulnerability or resilience to otherwise harmful parenting. Therefore, the study was conducted with the following research questions as the guiding issues to examine:

RQ1. With which personality traits and psychopathological manifestations are parenting styles associated with and how?

RQ2. Which factors other than parenting style itself may be of importance for this association?

RQ3. What factors contribute to the resilience or vulnerability to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of psychopathology among children and adolescents?

The sample in the present study consisted of a total of 20 parents, i.e. of 10 couples, five of which were parents of children who presented no pathology, and five were parents of

children who manifested different psychopathologies. This step was decided upon based on the researcher's intention to try to locate shared traits of parenting styles and practices that might be in common to psychopathology in children as a whole. The number of participants was chosen to collect as much information as estimated adequate to maintain the efficacy of data collection and analysis, considering the chosen methodology. As a result, the problem, the context, the issues, and the lessons learned were addressed, as Creswell suggests (1998, as cited in Williams, 2011). The inclusion criteria for the sample were for the parents to be married or living in a common-law marriage, and that they were both living with the child in the same household; the second inclusion criterion was that the children were school-aged but still not in puberty, to be able to examine data within one developmental phase. This criterion was included to reduce the possible developmental disparities to a minimum.

The parents (ten men and ten women) were aged between 34 and 53. Mothers in the sample were aged 34 – 44, while fathers were aged 38 – 53. The children were aged 6 - 10. The families came from different cultural backgrounds. The study also involved people of colour and immigrants from different European countries. The families also had different socioeconomic status. Seven families could be described as middle-class families, one belonged to the upper class, and two could be best situated into the lower class. Out of ten mothers, four had a college degree, and the remainder of the sample consisted of women who reached a high-school diploma. Six fathers had a college degree, and four a high-school diploma. Six mothers worked full-time, and four were stay-at-home mothers and housewives. All fathers worked full-time. Three families lived in a shared household with other family members. In two cases out of three, they lived with grandparents, and one family lived with the father's sister and her family. Another three families lived close to other family members, and the remaining four families' family and cousins lived far away.

The participants were recruited as a convenience sample using the snowball sampling technique; that is, they were not recruited from a single organisation. The initial couple was approached upon contacting Ngala, an Australian organisation providing support and information to parents, who directed the researcher towards the most suitable way to approach participants. Upon being informed about the study and signing the consent form, the interviews were conducted in a library conference room to ensure enough privacy for the participants to be able to respond honestly and without distractions. The schedule of the interviews was tailored to the participants' schedules, aiming to finish interviewing both parents from one family before continuing to the next participant, to ensure the researcher's focus and ability to ask relevant additional questions or to examine the same issue from the other parent's perspective, without an interference of the information from different families. The data gathering process took place December 2018 through February 2019.

The results, as will be presented in detail in the following section, provided several important findings regarding the research questions. Their significance and possible meaning and limitations will be discussed in Chapter Five of the present report. Research Question One (With which personality traits and psychopathological manifestations are parenting styles associated with and how?) was assessed upon reviewing the existing literature that indicated the importance of parenting styles for the development of children's traits. The results reveal that parenting practices could be associated with a child's academic achievements, resilience to stress, and self-esteem; furthermore, parenting style could be associated with eating disorders, behavioural problems, and emotional problems in children. Regarding the Research Question Two (Which factors other than parenting style itself may be of importance for this association?), the findings indicated towards the importance of how complementing the temperaments between the parent and the child are. Furthermore, the concordance between the mother's and the father's parenting practices appeared as an

important theme in the findings. Also, cultural differences and socioeconomic status seem to affect the effects of a given parenting style. Finally, in regard to the Research Question Three (What factors contribute to the resilience or vulnerability to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of psychopathology among children and adolescents?), thematic analysis of the findings indicated towards the importance of the positive role of grandparents and other family members in providing resilience towards pathological manifestations in children. Also, the theme of possible inborn vulnerability emerged in the interviews with the parents. The detailed review of the findings and the themes that the research came to will be presented in the following section.

Results by Research Question

The present study was initiated to determine how parenting styles affect children's development. The data were collected using semi-structured interviews with parents of two groups of children, those who exhibit psychopathology and those who do not. The interviews were based on Baumrind's theory of parenting styles, more precisely, on the questionnaire developed to explore these parenting styles (Kimble, 2014; Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen & Hart, 1995). In specific, the questions presented rephrased items so that their tone is more conversational and more fit for an oral interview. The remainder of the interview examined specific factors that could be of importance for the research questions, such as culture, children's temperament, and the correspondence between the mothers' and the fathers' parenting styles. In one section of the interview, possible variables that might be accountable for children's vulnerability or resilience towards parenting that is expected to have negative impact on their development was explored. All of these questions were designed to provide data on the three research questions discussed in the previous section. The data collected were analysed using thematic analysis, and the process yielded the following themes, presented in the order of the research questions.

Results Research Question One

Research question 1. explored the broadest issue within this case study, which is the question of which personality traits and psychopathological manifestations parenting styles are associated with and in what way. This question yielded results that are entirely in concordance with the existing knowledge in this area of research. Following are the themes describing both personality traits as well as psychopathological manifestations in children based on the parents' accounts.

Theme 1. Aspirations. This theme captured the observed positive effects of authoritative parenting on the children's aspirations, especially when it comes to their academic success. In general, parents who, according to their responses, practiced authoritative parenting style (10 or 11 parents' responses classified them as authoritative, with one mother from the families with children with psychopathologies provided responses that put her somewhere in between authoritative and permissive style) (e.g. Mother 1: "I try to always find the balance between what he [her son, 6] wants, and what I think is good for him. At least, I try to pay respect to his wish in any way, be it in recognising it verbally, while explaining why things need to be done my way.") also reported that their child has high aspirations (8 out of 10, 11 respectively, parents mentioned their child's high aspirations). For example, the same participant described her son as being "very ambitious", "he wants to try everything, and when he tries it, he also wants to be best at it".

This theme also includes the opposite side of this issue. Among parents who did not practice authoritarian parenting style, there were reports of problems in school and poor academic achievements as a manifestation of the child's generally low aspirations (5 of 10, 9 respectively, such parents reported this spontaneously). An authoritarian father, for example, described his son (aged 8) as a "life slacker" (Father 6). Another parent who, based on the first part of the interview, could be classified as using neglectful parenting style (Father 7:

“I’m not some helicopter parent. I grew up on the streets, and I’m fine. He [his son, 9] will also do just fine, if not better, if I just let things run their course”), also described his son in such way that it can be concluded that his aspirations are low: “Yeah, he isn’t that into school or those extracurricular activities and all that. He doesn’t like to try too hard. But can you blame him, honestly?”

Theme 2. Self-esteem. This theme was apparent because of repeating accounts by the parents who implemented authoritative parenting that their children had high self-esteem (6 of 10, 11 respectively). Mother 3 says: “She’s [her daughter, 10] much more confident than I am.”, or Father 1: “My boy is fierce. When he fails, he just shakes it off like nothing happened and moves on!” Mother 2 speaks of her eight-year-old daughter: “She has a lot of faith in her ability to do whatever she sets her mind on, school or play-related.” Children of authoritative parents seem to have developed a healthy dose of self-esteem, based on realistic image of what is necessary to succeed in an activity (e.g. Father 3 reports: “She [his daughter, 10]. isn’t confident to the point of believing she can go to college at the age of 10, you know what I mean; but she knows that if she puts in some effort, she can do better or get a better grade and so.” On the other hand, authoritarian parenting (e.g. in Family 8, and in Family 10) appears to result, at least in some children, in just an appearance of confidence, while the child is in fact overly anxious and merely presents an appearance of self-esteem; Mother 8 reports: “Well, she does great at school [daughter, 10], you know. She gets good grades. But, the problem arises when she doesn’t. She just crumbles, she starts to panic, and she spends the entire day crying and in shock. She doesn’t seem to know how to cope with it.”

Subtheme 2.a. Growth mindset. A subtheme in the area of children’s self-esteem that was not predicted when research questions were formulated and during the literature research relates to developing a growth mindset as a factor that supports the children’s confidence. It appears that authoritative parents in most (if not all) cases also promote such cognitive

orientation in children thanks to the appropriate levels of discipline combined with parental warmth and expression of the belief in their potential to learn and develop. For example, authoritative Mother 1 teaches her son, aged 6, that: “[...] when he succeeds, I don’t tell him “Oh, how smart you are!”, I instead tell him “See what you can do when you try hard enough!” I think that in that way when he fails, he won’t think he’s stupid or something, he’ll think that he just didn’t try hard enough”. This was observed in two, possibly three (this would need further exploration, more focused on the specific issue in a follow-up, which currently falls beyond the scope of the present study) of the families with well-adapted children. On the other hand, authoritarian Mother 8 explains how she praises her ten-year-old daughter: “I try to show all my belief and pride when she’s doing well [...]. I tell her that she’s a genius”. This child, apart from having emotional problems, anxiety in specific, as discussed above, also has problems with her fragile self-esteem, which is dependent on never failing.

Theme 3. Resilience to stress. Very importantly, the children in families that practised authoritative parenting were not observed to be under stress due to either their ambitions or failures when they occur (such responses were spontaneously provided by 7 out of 10, 11, respectively, authoritative parents). Father 3 reports: “My daughter [aged 10] has a fascinating approach to not succeeding in something. She’s so wise! She says to me: “Daddy, it’s ok, right? I learned that this doesn’t work, so I’ll try something else.” Similarly, Mother 1 was observant of the development of her son’s resilience to stress: “He’s learning how to deal with it, he loses it sometimes, hahaha. But he’ll get there. Good thing is that he doesn’t get too frustrated or upset when he doesn’t succeed, which I see some kids get.” As will be discussed in the following section, such supportive attitude (even when the child still did not completely master the skill in question) is a characteristic of authoritative parenting that is believed to have a beneficial influence on children’s development.

Theme 4. Unhealthy eating habits. This theme arose based on the observation that three of the children of parents did not exercise authoritative parenting were obese, and one had an eating disorder. Although obesity is not considered an eating disorder, it is a representation of unhealthy eating habits and could also lead to an eating disorder, which is why it was considered significant. Permissive Mother 6. reports: “Yeah, his [her son, 8] father tells me I should send him to his bed without dinner when he misbehaves. What mother does that?! So, I sneak him some food later on and he spends half of the night eating, he’s got some appetite. He likes fast food the best, also snacks and all that. But he’s so happy when he eats, I couldn’t deny him that joy!” A girl aged nine in Family 10 was diagnosed with binge eating. Her parents are authoritarian (e.g. Father 10: “Yes, she is under strict control, but I believe in tough love, it made me into the man I am today”). Her mother speaks of her disorder: “She will eat enormous amounts of food at single sitting, you wouldn’t believe it could fit into such tiny body. [...] It’s usually so that she has a hard day at school or something, and when we confront her with that, she often overeats later that day. She’s got problems with accepting responsibility for her failures, which I don’t think is good for her.”

Theme 5. Behavioural problems. Among the children with psychopathology, three had some sort of behavioural problems, in families 6, 7, and 9. In these families, parents did not practice authoritative parenting (Family 6 has a combination of an authoritarian father and a permissive mother, Family 7 is neglectful, and Family 9 is a combination of a neglectful father and a mother that is somewhat authoritative, but more so permissive, based on her description of her parenting practices). The boy from Family 6 is eight-years-old, is obese and bullies children in school, as his mother explains her perspective on this matter: “I think it’s because he’s not really good at school, he’s a bit lazy. And he’s also bigger than other children. I think he had to make a decision whether he’ll let them bully him or he’s going to be the one bullying them.” Father 7 reports: “Sure, he [his son, 9] misbehaves here

and there, he seems a bit wild and angry. His teacher complained that he's making teaching impossible. But I think school should be able to handle that." Mother 9 describes her anxiety about her son's, aged 7, behaviour: "Now he pinches other children or hides their stuff. But sometimes I can't sleep over what he will be doing when he's 20, you know what I mean."

Theme 6. Emotional problems. Emotional problems were noticed among three of the five children who manifested psychopathology in this sample. These were noticed in families 7, 8, and 9 (Family 7 is neglectful, Family 8 is authoritarian, and Family 9 is a combination of a neglectful father and a mother that is somewhat authoritative, but more so permissive, based on her description of her parenting practices). The two boys in the sample, from families 7 and 9, present with a combination of behavioural problems and emotional problems that can be described as defiant, impulsive, and disruptive for others or the course of their classes (e.g. Mother 7 reports: "He would get into a fit that would scare a lion!"). The girl from Family 8 was diagnosed with anxiety, which is usually triggered by challenges in school or extracurricular activities. She is an "overachiever" (Mother 8), but at every indication of a possible failure, she "crumbles and you can see that she would most gladly run into a mouse hole and hide there forever if she could". Even more precisely, her anxiety rises when she is faced with her parents' expectations regarding the activity. Her father reports: "I would like her to be sturdier, she just withdraws and starts to have cold sweats when I ask her about her plans how to do good at something."

Discussion Research Question One

As will be discussed in the following section in detail, the findings, in general, support the assumption that parenting style has an observable, and arguably deciding effect on the child (Baumrind, 1967). The results also indicated parenting styles as possible determinants of the development of a child's aspirations, healthy coping skills, as well as self-esteem. These findings are in accordance with our earlier knowledge on authoritative

parenting style, which Baumrind (2005) marked as the most potent parenting style in raising competent and well-adjusted youth. Participants' responses suggested that authoritative parenting might also result in developing a child's mindset aimed towards growth, instead of believing in fixed abilities. In other words, parents in this study revealed that authoritative parenting practices teach a child that he or she can develop skills and knowledge through learning, practice, or change of approach. The present study also found that parenting styles other than authoritative parenting might be associated with three forms of pathological manifestations in children – unhealthy eating habits (which was a theme that captures both eating disorders and obesity), emotional and behavioural problems. The chosen methodology does not allow for any such definite statements that would argue causality, or that would allow for a generalisation of findings. However, other empirical studies have also noticed such association. The following chapter will present some of the relevant findings.

Results Research Question Two

Research question 2. explored possible factors that might be of importance for the association between parenting and a child's characteristics, other than parenting styles themselves. This question yielded results that indicate three major categories of factors that should be further explored in future studies. Following are the themes describing the factors that were noticed in the present study.

Theme 1. Concordance of parents' and child's temperaments. This theme describes the possible influence of dissonance and concordance of parental temperaments with the child's temperament as a potentially moderating variable when it comes to the effects of parenting styles on the child. During the analysis, what stood out most was the issue of concordance between parental (especially maternal) temperament and the well-adapted child's temperament. Such accounts were found in four of five families with well-adapted children. As an example, the mother in authoritative Family 4 explains: "We were

always so similar in our tempers. I think he's [her son, 10] equally mild as I am, and it made my life easier as a mother." Father 2, similarly, reports: "She [his daughter, 8] is so much like me [...]. I believe that was the secret to me being able to be a good father to her and be composed enough to think all of my actions with her through."

Among the families in which children presented psychopathology, the same theme appeared to be of significance (three of five such families reported a lack of such concordance). Mother 10 speaks of her daughter (nine years old): "I think that if she were a bit more like me or her father, a little less wild and angry, a bit more composed, we wouldn't have to be so strict with her." Father 9 reports: "He's [his son, 7] much more like his mother, they get each other very well, much better than the two of us. I find it hard to connect with him, his personality is very different from mine." The same father also says: "I find it easier to just walk away when he has his outbursts. I don't get it, I'm much more laid back and relaxed, I just can't deal with the anger and shouting and screaming and all that."

Theme 2. Concordance of the mother's and the father's parenting practices. This theme was reached as a result of repeated accounts (in four of five families with well-adapted children) of parents discussing their partner's actions and observed effects on their child. Concordant parenting actions may have a positive effect on the child, especially in authoritative families, and vice versa, as can be postulated from the responses given in the present study. This assumption will be discussed in the following section. As an example, Mother 1 states: "I think the most important tool my husband and I have is that we're approaching the rearing of our boy [her son, 6] as a team. We discuss our goals and opinions here and there, but we intuitively agree when it comes to how and when we're going to discipline him." Mother 3 explains: "I like how my husband somehow matches my level of affection [...]. He knows how to be gentle and warm with her [her daughter, 10], not just to be the disciplinarian." Father 10 says: "We're strict, yes, but I think our daughter (nine years

old) benefits from the stability that she knows she can expect from us. My wife and I are on the same page and we act united.” The mother from the same family also explains: “I think she would be much more troubled if we weren’t this consistent. I believe she actually calms down when she sees that we both permit or deny her something.”

The opposite side of this theme was also noticed, as parents in all five of the five families with children with psychopathology mentioned a lack of such concordance. Mother 6 speaks of her husband’s practices in parenting: “We are really different, as personalities, and as parents. He’s really strict and firm. I don’t believe in that. He says I’m overly permissive and that it confuses our son [her son, 8, who suffers from obesity and behavioural problems]” In Family 5, although the child is well-adapted and with no psychopathological manifestations, the mother notices: “I think our daughter (seven years old) suffers from our disagreements in parenting. He [her husband] sometimes says no to something that I would allow her, and she gets confused and I can see her becoming insecure and kind of sad.”

Theme 3. Socioeconomic status. Low socioeconomic status appears to be associated with mental health disturbances in children in the present study, as four out of the five families with children who manifested some psychopathology described themselves as being a part of the lower-income class. Mother 9 describes this in the following way: “We aren’t poor, but you could say we’re close to being poor. My husband isn’t all that invested into providing for us, and I’m doing the best that I can, but I don’t have a degree, so it’s not much.” She also associates this with her son’s (seven years old) problems: “I know he’s angry and acts out because of our situation [talking about low income]. He doesn’t really know it, but it makes us all a bit tense and he can sense it and he reacts the way he does.”

The same theme surfaced on the opposite side of the spectrum in the spontaneous observations of two parents, Father 4: “By having our financial situation sorted out, we ensured that we can focus on being parents. You know, when people are stressed over paying

their bills, they can't really give their best at being good and dedicated parents. They give in to their frustrations and often relieve the tension onto their kids. We make sure that this never happens in our family." Mother 2 shares a similar view: "You need to have a certain level of education and financial security to be able to understand what parenting means and to be able to never allow anything else to stand between you providing the best for your child emotionally and in terms of values." She goes on to explain: "[...] I know mothers who are great people; but, they have but a high school diploma, and I think it makes them susceptible to bad advice from others, from family or friends. They often don't have the capacity to think things through themselves."

Discussion Research Question Two

Findings suggest that a child benefits from a sort of harmony that originates from concordance between the child and the parents and concordance between the mother's and the father's parenting practices. These findings are not surprising given that the positive effects of stability and a harmonious environment on a child's development, in general, are well-known (Blythe, 2010). Earlier research (e.g. Putnam et al. 2002) has found an association between parenting and a child's temperament in the direction of the child's temperament affecting how the parents behave, which is in accordance with the participants' accounts in the present study.

Results Research Question Three

Research question 3. researched possible factors that could contribute to the resilience or vulnerability to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of psychopathology among children and adolescents. This question yielded results that indicate two major issues that should be further explored in future studies. Following are the themes describing the factors that were noticed in the present study.

Theme 1. Protective role of other family members. The data collected during the interviews revealed a theme that was not predicted based on previous literature research. The participants' experience testifies of the importance of extended family or having close relatives present in the child's life contributes to their wellbeing and builds resilience towards negative effects of certain parenting practices and styles. Given the nature of the present study, as will be discussed in the following section, this is merely an observation that could serve as a hypothesis for further research. All of the families with children who were well-adapted either lived in a shared household (e.g. Mother 2: "We have a two-storey house, we live on the first floor, and his [her husband's] parents on the second, so it's pretty much a shared household."), or their relatives lived close by with children spending significant amount of time with them and their children (e.g. Mother 5: "Her [her daughter, 7] aunt lives just some five minutes away, and she spends a lot of time in their house, she plays with her cousins and even has lunch there often. Their children also come over here a lot.")). Apart from this mere observation of a pattern among children with no psychopathological manifestations, in one of the families where pathology was present (family 10, with a nine-year-old girl with binge eating disorder), parents notice that relatives who live close by might have a positive effect on their daughter's problems. Father 10 reports: "[...] she eats a lot less when she spends more time with her [the child's aunt's] children." Mother 10 explains this further: "[...] she looks up to her cousins, as they're big girls in her eyes, they're both in their teens. So, she sees them eating healthy and moderately, and she gets motivated to do the same, the same as she wants us to buy her identical sneakers as they have [...]"

Theme 2. Inborn vulnerability. The last theme that was reached in the process of thematic analysis reflects some of the parents' observations about their child's inborn or inherited vulnerability. As will be discussed in the following section, these are merely the

participants' observations and should be taken as possible indicators towards further research with different methodological design.

Four out of five families with children who exhibit psychopathology gave responses that could be classified as Theme 2 in research question 3. Only in Family 6, there was no such explanation of the child's problems. In this family, the mother expressed her belief that it was the father's authoritarian practices that caused the son's (eight years old) obesity and behavioural problems: "I know it's because of how strict and cold he [her husband] is. My boy is overly sensitive, and he doesn't react well to such discipline, I can tell." Father 7 reports about his son, age nine: "None of us [his wife or himself] did anything wrong, we never pushed him or anything. Let me tell you, I'm sure he's that way because of his grandfather, my wife's father, he was the same." Mother 8 shares her observations: "She [her daughter, 10] was born that anxious over everything." Mother 9 believes that the boy (seven years old, with behavioural and emotional problems) inherited this from his father's side of the family: "You won't hear it from him [her husband], but his entire family is like that." Finally, Father 10 attributes his daughter's (nine years old) binge eating disorder to inborn inclination towards food: "My wife's family is obese, they even have a couple of morbidly obese family members, so it's no wonder that my girl has to fight this genetic burden."

Discussion Research Question Three

Although parents in some instances asserted that their children have an inborn inclination towards certain behaviours and mental health problems, this is a debatable belief. As Baumrind (1967) argued, even those aspects of a child's personality that can be assumed inherited, such as curiosity, energy levels, or sociability, can be and are modulated and modified by the parents' and the environment's influence. The following section will examine arguments that might support the opposite argument too. The present study confirmed present standing on the importance of socioeconomic status in families' dynamics

and children's development (e.g. Yunus & Dahlan, 2013). Participants from families with a child manifesting psychopathology reported that their financial (and related) struggles affected not only their children but also how they behaved as parents. The findings indicated the possible protective role of a child developing positive and close relationships with other family members. This observation is, as will be discussed later, important both in terms of theory and practice. As earlier research has revealed, bonding with a replacement role-model seems to act as protective factors when a child faces adversity in the primary family. Additionally, the importance of external support systems has a potential to serve as a buffer in cases in which family presents a potential risk factor for future occurrence of psychopathology in children and adolescents (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000).

Summary

The present study was conducted to explore how parents of children who are well adapted, as well as those who manifest certain psychopathology, perceive their and their partner's parenting, as well as its influence on their children. The study also attempted to explore what additional factors should be considered when discussing how parenting practices affect children. The findings revealed that parenting style might be associated with a child's level of aspirations, both school-related and in general, self-esteem (especially relevant might be the development of a growth-mindset), could be associated with unhealthy eating habits, behavioural problems, and emotional problems. Furthermore, the concordance between the parents' and a child's temperaments, the concordance between parenting practices among the parents, and socioeconomic status could also be considered important factors in determining the effects of parenting on a child. Finally, other family members and relatives in a child's life could have a protective role against psychopathological manifestations, while inborn vulnerability should be considered when determining the causes of a child's disorder, according to the present study's findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The present study was initiated to examine the problem of the nature of the influence that parenting practices and other related factors might have on a child's development. Although the body of research in this area is rather extensive, there are still many questions regarding the parenting styles and how they influence the differences in the child's personality traits and psychopathological manifestations. The present study aimed to contribute to the understanding of these gaps in knowledge by trying to reach answers to several research questions that fall under the study's objective:

RQ1. With which personality traits and psychopathological manifestations in children are parenting styles associated with and how?

RQ2. What other factors, other than personality traits and psychopathological characteristics impact upon parenting styles?

RQ3. What factors contribute to the children's resilience or vulnerability to parenting styles that are associated with the occurrence of the psychopathology of childhood?

These research questions were designed to cover a wide area of research that was expected to result in a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the influence parenting styles and practices, as well as other relevant factors, may have on the occurrence of different mental disorders among children and youth.

The present study was conducted using a qualitative method in research. This approach was chosen as an effort to locate new variables and new information in an already well-researched problem. The qualitative method in the present study was expected to reveal different components of the researched problem that might be inaccessible to a quantitative study based on existing instruments. Furthermore, qualitative approach might reveal delicate variations in factors that regards parenting styles upon closer examination and follow-up

questions, unlike in quantitative research. More precisely, the research questions were addressed using thematic analysis of twenty respondents' (ten families) answers to approximately 90-minutes long semi-structured interviews. The following section will discuss the meaning of the findings in the light of the relevant theory and existing empirical knowledge, and discuss their practical implications.

Findings

The present study yielded significant findings in two directions. The first was a confirmation of the information about the nature of the influence of parenting styles and practices on a child's development, and other relevant factors for this phenomenon that was presented thoroughly in this dissertation's Chapter Two. The other way in which the present study was significant in that it indicated towards at least two new subjects that could be further researched within this fairly complex field. This section will discuss both, and seek ways to tie the existing knowledge, the study's findings, and the author's reflections into a cohesive presentation of the results of this research.

The findings, in general, support the assumption that parenting style has an observable, and arguably deciding effect on the child (Baumrind, 1967). Although parents in some instances asserted that their children have an inborn inclination towards certain behaviours and mental health problems, this is a debatable belief. The parents are not experts on this matter, although they are experts on their children. Furthermore, these statements were made by parents whose children exhibited psychopathological manifestations, which might mean that they would be eager to attribute their children's problems to factors that were out of their influence, to relieve their responsibility or perceived guilt. In other words, their statements that their children have inherited some traits or problems might not be truly scientifically supportable. Arguments in both directions can be made. As Baumrind (1967) contended in the midst of the heated discussion on the influence of nature versus nurture,

even those aspects of a child's personality that can be assumed inherited, such as curiosity, energy levels, or sociability, can be and are modulated and modified by the parents' and the environment's influence.

On the other hand, current research and some theoretical models seem to support the present study's participants' expressed assumption about inborn vulnerability towards some of the disorders that were included in the study's sample. In specific, Boyce and colleagues' Dandelion and Orchid model of an inborn increased neurobiological sensitivity to external conditions and psychological stress (Kennedy, 2013) seem to support the beliefs of some of the parents in this sample. When it comes to empirical studies, anxiety and depression were shown to have a genetic foundation in earlier research, and a recent study explored specific neural systems that mediate the inborn risk for developing them in rhesus monkeys (Fox et al., 2015). Behavioural problems in childhood are long-believed to be largely induced by certain neural mechanisms and largely inherited, and the current research aims to determine the exact proportion of this influence (e.g. Pappa et al., 2015). Therefore, the issue of nature versus nurture is still an ongoing debate, and the present study's findings reflected this as well.

The results also indicate that parenting styles as possible determinants of several traits of children. Authoritative parenting seems to promote or support the development of a child's aspirations, resilience to stress, as well as self-esteem. These findings are in accordance with our earlier knowledge of the authoritative parenting style, which Baumrind (2005) marked as the most potent parenting style in raising competent and well-adjusted youth. Such parenting is associated with low psychological control, but high behavioural control, high warmth, and autonomy support (Baumrind, 2005). In specific, when we examine the present study findings, we can assert that the attribute of authoritative parenting that promotes self-esteem among children might be such parents' willingness to allow the child to present their

arguments and respect them if they are valid. Such parents also do not avoid asserting control when necessary. By doing so, the child is possibly taught to approach his or her demands rationally and can gain confidence when they see that their wishes will be respected as long as they are reasonable and well-thought-through. Empirical findings based on quantitative methodology support this observation made in the present study, even among participants of different cultural backgrounds (e.g. Lerdpornkulrat, Koul & Sujivorakul, 2010; Roman et al., 2015). It can be argued that these aspects of authoritative parenting also contributed to the well-adapted children's resilience to stress, as the present study's findings indicated. The participants reported that their children had healthy coping strategies, were successfully learning them, or that they would quickly recoil from a stressful situation. Such a description fits into the definition of resilience, being a process of a successful adaptation despite challenging circumstances (Zakeri, Jowkar & Razmjoei, 2010). Zakeri and colleagues (2010) explored the parent-child relationship in regard to such resilience and determined that acceptance and involvement in parenting are predictive of a person's later resilience. Findings from earlier research suggest that authoritative parenting has an advantage in preparing children and adolescents for healthy coping with stress, while this association might be mediated by self-esteem (e.g. Mayseles, Scharf & Sholt, 2003). Such an explanation could also be applicable to the present study's findings, as the parents' responses presented an image of such mutual interconnectedness of these phenomena.

Related to this discussion is a subtheme that emerged with no prior expectation to find it by the researcher, which was the possible connection between authoritative parenting style, growth mindset in children, and self-esteem. Participants' responses suggested that authoritative parenting might also result in developing a child's mindset aimed towards growth, instead of believing in fixed abilities. In other words, parents in this study revealed that authoritative parenting practices teach a child that he or she can develop skills and

knowledge through learning, practice, or change of approach. The results also indicated that such a mindset seems to be associated with the children's confidence. This is not a commonly explored topic regarding parenting styles. Growth mindset was shown to be associated with higher levels of self-esteem in many studies (e.g. Schmitt, 2018). Furthermore, growth mindset was found to be associated with parenting practices (Haimovitz & Dweck, 2017). Nonetheless, the examination of the three variables is not an extensively researched subject, and recommendations for further research in this field will be made in the later section. The present study aligned this perceived association with authoritative parenting since the theoretical basis of this research was based on the basic premises of Baumrind's work. However, what should also be considered is a new construct, a new parenting style that was associated with a growth mindset, although this association was not causative, rather moderating in one study (Loton & Waters, 2017), and that is strength-based parenting. This style somewhat encapsulates the positive aspects of authoritative parenting but appears to go beyond its positive effects on a child, especially in the development of the child's unique set of talents and skills, academic achievements, and wellbeing, as studies have found (Waters, 2015; Waters, Loton & Jach, 2018). As will be further discussed in the following section, these findings reveal that this extensive and complex matter is even more intertwined with additional variables and requires even more research.

The present study also found that parenting styles other than authoritative parenting might be associated with three forms of pathological manifestations in children – unhealthy eating habits (which was a theme that captures both eating disorders and obesity), emotional and behavioural problems. The chosen methodology does not allow for any such definite statements that would argue causality, or that would allow for a generalisation of findings. However, other empirical studies have also noticed such association. Feeding practices are a part of parenting styles, especially in the case of authoritative parenting (Hubbs-Tait, et al.,

2008). Langer and colleagues (2017) demonstrated that parenting styles affect feeding practices and could be responsible for children's unhealthy eating habits and possibly eating disorders and obesity. The present study also indicated towards the possibility of parenting styles being a factor in the development of emotional problems, which is in line with earlier knowledge on emotional disorders in children (Asselmann, et al., 2015; Chan & Chan, 2009; Guyer et al., 2015). Similarly, certain aspects of parenting, such as levels of warmth and support versus cold and controlling behaviour, were shown to be directly and indirectly associated with a range of behavioural problems in childhood (Pereira, et al.2009; Ray et al., 2017), which is in accordance with observations made in the present study. In conclusion, the present study's findings confirmed the assumptions made based on the earlier literature research, and that is that parenting styles and practices influence the development of psychopathology and maladaptive traits in children. Nonetheless, the exact nature of this association still evades a definite stance.

Upon examining the possible factors that could influence the association between parenting styles and their effects on children, three themes emerged, two of which could also be viewed from the stance of concord. It seems that a child benefits from a sort of harmony that originates from concordance between the child and the parents and concordance between the mother's and the father's parenting practices. These findings are not surprising, given that the positive effects of stability and a harmonious environment on a child's development, in general, are well-known (Blythe, 2010). Such findings even apply to the concordance between parental practice and teachers' pedagogical approach (Howes & Matheson, 1992). Therefore, it is no surprise that how the parents cooperate and balance their approaches to parenting affects how the child adapts to different situations. Earlier research has found an association between parenting and a child's temperament in the direction of the child's temperament affecting how the parents behave, which is in accordance with the participants'

accounts in the present study. However, the chosen methodology puts limitations on reaching a conclusion about the direction of this association. These accounts, could be supported by the Goodness of fit model, which suggests that a balance between the child's temperament and the environment result in an optimal development (Hipson & Séguin, 2017). Earlier research has also yielded no significant relationship between parenting and children's temperaments in some studies, indicating the prospect of mediating and moderating variables (Bornstein, 2005). As with other aspects of the researched problem, these findings reveal the complexity of this issue and should be used as a basis for further exploration using a different methodology.

The present study confirmed present standing on the importance of socioeconomic status in families' dynamics and children's development (e.g. Yunus & Dahlan, 2013). Participants from families with a child manifesting psychopathology reported that their financial (and related) struggles affected not only their children but also how they behaved as parents. This is in line with an extensive body of knowledge on different factors that could and usually do affect a person's coping abilities and actions under stress (Baum, Garofalo & Yali, 1999). Parenting is, thus, also expectedly affected by stress of low income and struggles associated with it. Low socioeconomic status was assumed to be a factor contributing to a child's vulnerability to certain parenting practices (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000), which could indicate towards another possible mechanism of influence of such conditions on a child's development.

Finally, the findings indicated the possible protective role of a child developing positive and close relationships with other family members. This is, as will be discussed later, an important observation both in terms of theory and practice. As earlier research has revealed, bonding with a replacement role-model seems to act as protective factors when a child faces adversity in the primary family. Additionally, the importance of external support

systems has a potential to serve as a buffer in cases in which family presents a potential risk factor for future occurrence of psychopathology in children and adolescents (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000).

In conclusion, and this will be elaborated on in the subsequent sections, the findings both confirmed earlier findings and indicated towards certain less commonly explored questions. Parenting styles were found to be associated with both non-pathological traits and pathological manifestations; other factors were related to how parents act in their parental roles and how children might react to this; the issues of potentially inborn vulnerability and extended family as a protective factor were raised. These findings present a significant contribution to our understanding of parenting styles, their effects, and associated factors, and support the author's belief that they should remain in the researchers' focus, regardless of how extensive research has already been assumed in this field.

Implications for Professional Practice

The present study is significant in that it indicates possible steps that can be taken by professionals in working with children and youth, as well as their parents. In specific, the study suggested that parenting practices can have a far-reaching effect on the developing psyche in both the negative and the positive direction, which opens up the path towards helping families prevent or mend psychopathology. Furthermore, additional factors that were discovered during the analysis of the data collected reveal possible indirect ways to ensure optimal care for children's mental health and development. This section will discuss the implications for professional practice.

The findings in the present study indicated towards authoritative parenting style as being the optimal form of parenting that promotes the development of healthy aspirations and adaptive self-esteem in children. These traits in children then further support other positive outcomes. For example, healthy aspirations were found to lead to academic success (Dubow,

Boxer & Huesmann, 2009). Academic success, on the other hand, apart from opening numerous possibilities for a young person, has positive mental health outcomes itself (García Bacete, Marande Perrin, Schneider & Blanchard, 2014). Moreover, parenting practices that were not authoritative were found to be present in families of children who exhibited eating disorders or unhealthy eating habits, emotional and behavioural problems. Therefore, this study suggests that mental health professionals should focus on educating parents on how to alter their parenting styles towards authoritative parenting to ensure their child's most adaptive development. This might be executed in practice either on individual bases, such as in counselling, on smaller groups in group therapy, or could be incorporated into government and non-government (e.g. school-based) programmes on parenting education.

In addition to the previously suggested practical implication of the present study's findings was the observed association between authoritative parenting, resilience to stress, a child's self-confidence, and growth mindset. Given the potential that this mindset might have on developing adaptive traits, such as coping with failure and self-esteem (Schmitt, 2018), it is of importance to incorporate conscious efforts to develop such mindset in children. As will be discussed in the following section, upon conducting a study that would directly examine the nature of this observed association, more specific pragmatic recommendations could be made. However, based on the current findings, it could be recommended that practitioners in the field of developmental psychology and family counsellors educate parents on how to support growth mindset in their children. In other words, non-authoritative parenting could receive information not only on how to adopt authoritative parenting practices but also on how to purposely promote growth, as opposed to fixed mindset.

Finally, the present findings indicated the possible protective role of a child's relationship with extended family members. In other words, external support systems and close and warm extended family relations might serve as a buffer in cases in which family

presents a potential risk factor for future occurrence of psychopathology in children and adolescents. As bonding with a replacement role-model seems to act as a protective factor when a child faces adversity in the primary family, psychologists and social workers could focus on searching for such support for a child with problems whenever possible.

Recommendations for Research

As outlined in the previous section, the present study can be used as a basis for further research. Given its methodology and study design, it was not possible to reach causative explanations or even correlative conclusions. Nonetheless, the study intended to explore whether new insights regarding this subject would be reached, such as new factors or possibly significant variables. Therefore, the findings can be considered a valuable contribution to empirical knowledgebase. As such, they indicated the need to explore several areas further.

First, as discussed, some of the parents were under the impression that some of the pathological manifestations in children might be contributable to their inborn vulnerability. This might be in line with some current research that explores neurological foundations of emotional and behavioural problems (e.g. Fox et al., 2015; Pappa et al., 2015). The present study contributes to this area of research with findings that are somewhat anecdotal compared to experimental or neurobiological studies. Yet, the results of the present study confirm the need to further explore the exact mechanisms in play in the development of childhood psychopathology.

Next, an examination of the association between authoritative parenting style, growth mindset in children, and self-esteem is not an extensively researched subject. More precisely, directly explored connection between the three variables is not familiar to the author of the present study. As discussed in the previous section, an assumption that authoritative parenting yields growth mindset in children can be theoretically supported, while its influence on a

child's self-esteem has been empirically documented. However, a study that would focus on the association between the three variables and the exact mechanisms of influence might contribute to the understanding of the extent to which parenting styles affect a child. Also, research of a new construct, a new parenting style that was associated with growth mindset, although this association was not causative, rather moderating in one study (Loton & Waters, 2017), strength-based parenting, is still scarce. Nonetheless, based on the findings of the present study, it might be recommended that further exploration of this concept, as well as its relation to authoritative parenting, is conducted.

Findings also revealed that how the parents cooperate and balance their approaches to parenting affects how the child adapts to different situations. Earlier research has found an association between parenting and a child's temperament in the direction of the child's temperament affecting how the parents behave, which is in accordance with the participants' accounts in the present study. However, the chosen methodology puts limitations to concluding the direction of this association, but findings reveal the complexity of this issue and should be used as a basis for further exploration using different methodology.

Finally, the earlier discussed possible protective role of a child developing positive and close relationships with other family members should be further explored. In specific, given the aforementioned pragmatic significance of this observation, it would be important to determine the exact extent of this positive influence such a relationship might have on a child. Also, associated variables that might influence the quality of a child's attachment to an extended family member should be examined, such as parental attitudes towards those individuals, temperamental concordance, and other variables found relevant for this issue.

Conclusions

The present study was initiated with an intention to explore a subject that is both broad and extensively researched already. Nonetheless, upon reviewing the existing literature

in this field, a qualitative study that would aim to explore any additional important variables was deemed justified. The majority of research conducted in the area of parenting styles was quantitative, and it yielded many significant insights. Nonetheless, a qualitative study offered the ability to gain an understanding of other potentially important factors, which this study did. It indicated the need to explore the mechanisms of transgenerational transfer of psychopathology. In specific, the debate between nature versus nurture seems to be far from concluded. Both inherited, and neurological foundations of a psychopathological manifestation and learning and acquisition of behaviour and traits through upbringing and parental messages are possible. However, further and more methodologically advanced research in the field might reveal whether the parents in this study that attributed their children's problems to inborn vulnerability were right, or they were finding more acceptable explanations compared to the prospect of inadequate parenting practices that induced or exaggerated the child's mental health issues.

Moreover, the study was significant in providing several pragmatically applicable observations. In specific, based on the findings, the professionals working with children and their parents could rely on several tools to either enhance the child's development, to prevent the occurrence of mental health disturbances, or to mend the existing damage. Educating parents on how to engage in authoritative parenting could be expected to have positive effects on children and the family as a whole. Furthermore, to support a child's wellbeing, nurturing a growth mindset in a child and assuming the appropriate parenting practices to promote such mindset could be advised by psychologist in the field. This is also, as discussed above, a potential area of further research and deepening of our understanding of parenting styles and their influence on children. Finally, professionals involved in securing children's psychological wellbeing should also focus on alternative paths towards securing a healthy development for children. It appears that concordance of parenting styles and practices

between parents is of significance for a child's development, which opens path towards prevention and intervention that does not necessarily involve the child in question.

Furthermore, a family's social status should also be put as an area of intervention in a multidisciplinary approach to vulnerable children and families. Psychologists should put effort into highlighting the importance of governmental support for low-income families from the perspective of children's development. The final practical and theoretical point of consideration that is based on the present study's findings is the importance and potential of a child's extended family. In other words, as discussed above, it appears that having other close and warm adults with whom the child can form an attachment serves as a shield in front of potentially negative effects of sub-optimal parenting.

In conclusion, the present study both confirmed the existing findings and discovered new areas that require further research. It yet again highlighted the deciding importance of parenting styles and intentional effort to provide a balance between warmth and discipline to a child. It also suggested practically applicable solutions that deserve to be incorporated into psychologists' daily work aimed to ensure that children develop their full potentials and lead healthy and productive lives.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

Gender:

Age:

Education level:

Ethnicity:

Employment:

Household:

Socioeconomic status:

Years of marriage:

Number of children:

Which one in the row is X? (the child that is the participant in the study):

Age of the participant:

Gender:

We will now talk about the way in which you usually behave with X. Please note that these questions touch on your actions in general, in the majority of the cases.

Would you say that you are responsive to X's feelings and needs and to what extent?

Do you take X's wishes into consideration before you ask him/her to do something?

Do you explain to X how you feel about his/her good/bad behavior, and do you provide him/her with the reasons behind your disciplinary actions?

Do you encourage X to talk about his/her feelings and problems, or to freely "speak his/her mind", even if he/she disagrees with you?

How do you act when X is upset?

How often do you compliment X?

When you make plans for a family trip, for example, or some other family activity, to what extent would you say you take into consideration X's preferences?

How often do you tell X that he/she needs to do something because you said so, you are his/her parent, or because that is what you want?

How do you punish X?

Do you believe criticism is a valuable pedagogical tool?

How often do you yell at X, explode in anger, spank him/her, or threat him/her?

Do you sometimes withhold emotional expressions, like kisses and cuddles, as a punitive measure?

Do you find it difficult to discipline X?

Do you give into X when he/she causes a commotion about something?

Would you say that you spoil X?

Do you ignore X's bad behavior?

Do you threaten child with punishment more often than actually giving it?

How often does it happen that you punish X without giving explanations about why he/she is being punished?

Now, let us talk a little about X.

Describe X, how is she/he like?

How was X growing up?

How is X at school?

Does he/she engage in any extracurricular activities?

What he/she enjoys the most?

What is he/she best at?

How does X get along with others?

Does he/she have a lot of friends?

Does X express his/her emotions well?

How does he/she cope with stress?

What is X's temperament like?

How well do your personalities match?

(for children with psychopathology)

When did these problems start?

Describe main symptoms X experiences.

What do you think contributed to it?

How does the family as a whole cope with X's problems?

What are your extended family's views on this?

How would you compare your parenting to what is socially accepted within your community and culture?

Do you feel something in your parenting is associated with any of the things we just talked about and how?

Finally, a few additional questions.

How would you describe your spouse's parenting?

Do you feel that your approaches to parenting differs or is it fairly similar?

What would you say are the most important values for you and what are they for your spouse?

How is your social life as a family?

Do you see X's grandparents or uncles/aunts often?

How would you describe X's relationship with them?

How involved are X's teachers?

Thank you for your time and your responses, they were very valuable for my study. If you have any questions, I am at your disposal now or later via email or telephone. If you do not wish to ask any questions now, this concludes this segment of my study.

Doctoral Project Assessment Rubric

Student:		Date:			
Committee Chair:					
		Rating Scale			
Second Member:		4	3	2	
Third Member:		Outstanding	Very Good	Acceptable	Unacceptable
Holistic Assessments		L- Learner	1-Chair	2-2d Member	3-3d Member
The doctoral project follows a professional scholarly appearance		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Correct grammar used with proper punctuation, spelling, and APA formatting		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Written in a scholarly language that is clear, precise, and logically organized		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Abstract					
Abstract follows APA guidelines.		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Chapter One - Introduction					
The introduction Includes a clear problem statement		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Presents issues or challenges related to the problem –Background of the Problem		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Describes the context in which the question arises – Statement of the Problem		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Describes the purpose of the study		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
The research question to be addressed is clearly presented		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Articulates benefits of the study or contribution-Significance		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Provides a roadmap for readers		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Chapter Two - Review of Selected Literature					
The review Is comprehensive and current (5 years)		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Shows a command of the literature		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Highlights issues/concerns from the current literature		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Includes a discussion of the literature that is selective, thematic, and reflects synthesis		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Chapter Three - Research Design & Methodology					
The methods applied or developed are appropriate		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
An understanding of the methods' advantages/disadvantages are clearly presented		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
In alignment with the question addressed and the theory		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Instruments (Protocols) detailed and presented		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Data Collection Procedures are detailed and clear		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Data Analysis is sound and clearly described		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Chapter Four - Results					
Results logically interpreted		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Aligns with the research questions		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Reflects application of results with theoretical framework		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Chapter Five - Discussion					
Asserts findings clearly from results and with detail		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Findings linked to literature		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Highlights alignment or misalignment with Theoretical Framework		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Modifications to Limitation or Delimitations highlighted		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Implications for Practice linked to findings and detailed		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Recommendation for Research to extend or improve study		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3
Conclusion is insightful and compelling and clearly articulates the significance of the research		4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3 2 1	4 3

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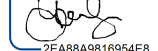
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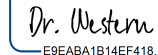
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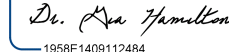
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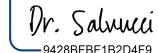
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