THE EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED PARENTING STYLES ON PSYCHOPATHOLOGY,

ATTACHMENT, SELF ESTEEM AND GRIT IN AMERICAN

AND INDIAN STUDENTS

By

Mazneen C. Havewala

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Chair:

James Gray, Ph.D

Carol Weissbrod, Ph.D.

GiShawn Mance, Ph.D.

Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

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Dedicated to all future parents.

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ABSTRACT

Research indicates that among the various factors that could play a role in determining the personality and psychological well-being of a person, the parenting style is a major one. In the present study, the variables of perceived parenting styles, i.e. the ways in which one perceives his or her parents and the effect of culture were studied in relation to psychopathology, the nature of attachment, self-esteem and grit. The sample consisted of North American and Indian college/university students belonging to the age group of 18-25 (N = 256). Tools like the Parental Authority Questionnaire, the Outcome Questionnaire, the Relationship Questionnaire, Rosenberg's Self-esteem scale, and the 12-item Grit Scale were used to measure perceived parenting, psychopathology, attachment, self-esteem and grit respectively. The results indicated that the group that perceived their parents as authoritative had lesser psychopathology, tended to be more secure in their relationships, had higher self-esteem and higher grit, as compared to the groups that perceived their parents as authoritarian or permissive. Also, the group that perceived their parents as authoritarian showed worse outcomes on all the dependent variables. A majority of both, American and Indian participants perceived their parents as authoritative. However, the American participants displayed a greater amount of symptom distress as compared to the Indians participants. Perceived mother's authoritarianism emerged as a significant predictor of pathology and poor self-esteem. These and other findings, along with their implications are discussed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES.	v
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.	1
CHAPTER 2: METHODS.	15
CHAPTER 3: RESULTS	23
CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION	59
APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESIONNAIRE – INDIAN PARTICIPANTS	68
APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE – AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS	70
REFERENCES	72

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Demographics	15
2.	Perceptions of Americans and Indians (Males and Females) of their Mothers and	
	Fathers (%)	23
3.	Correlation between Perceived Levels of Mothers' and Fathers' Permissiveness,	
	Authoritativeness and Authoritarianism and the Dependent Variables (Symptom	
	Distress, Interpersonal Relations, Social Role, Total Pathology Score, Self-Esteem,	
	and Grit) for the Entire Sample.	24
4.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Perceived Mother's Style	27
5.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Perceived Father's Style	28
6.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Mother's Style and Nature of	
	Attachment	31
7.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Father's Style and Nature of	
	Attachment	31
8.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Perceived Mothers' and Fathers' Style	
	Combined	34
9.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Perceived Parenting Style	
	(Combined) and Nature of Attachment.	35
10.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Consistent and Inconsistent Parenting	36
11.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Perceived Parenting Style	
	(Consistent vs. Inconsistent) and Nature of Attachment	37
12.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Consistent and Inconsistent Parenting	
	(Excluding Participants who perceived both Parents as Authoritative)	38

13.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Perceived Parenting Style	
	(Consistent vs. Inconsistent) and Nature of Attachment (Excluding Participants who	
	perceived both Parents as Authoritative)	39
14.	Perceptions of Americans and Indians towards their Parents	40
15.	Correlation between Perceived Levels of Mothers' and Fathers' Permissiveness,	
	Authoritativeness and Authoritarianism and the Dependent Variables (Symptom	
	Distress, Interpersonal Relations, Social Role, Total Pathology Score, Self-Esteem,	
	And Grit) for the American and Indian Sample.	41
16.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Culture.	46
17.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Culture and Nature of	
	Attachment	47
18.	Perceptions of Males and Females towards their Parents.	48
19.	Correlation between Perceived Levels of Mothers' and Fathers' Permissiveness,	
	Authoritativeness and Authoritarianism and the Dimensions Measured (Except	
	Attachment) for all Males and Females.	49
20.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Gender	54
21.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Gender and Nature of	
	Attachment	54
22.	Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Culture and Gender Combined	56
23.	Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Culture-Gender and Nature of	
	Attachment	57

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Various developmental psychologists and researchers consider the parents to be the first and most important agents of socialization. Children learn to experience their surroundings through their parents, and parents play a vital role in influencing their thoughts and belief system, as well as in shaping their personality. Children are dependent on their parents for emotional as well as financial needs for at least the first eighteen years of their lives. The age range of 18-25, which is now termed as emerging adulthood is a period of life where the individual has left behind the dependency of childhood and adolescence, but has not yet entered the enduring responsibilities of adult life. According to Arnett (2000), "Emerging adulthood is a time of life when many different directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life's possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of the life course". Most research on parenting has focused on the childhood and adolescent periods, and not many researchers have explored whether the effects of parenting and early childhood experiences continue to affect mental health and psychological functioning during the crucial period of 18-25, where the individual is in a transition stage toward personal financial responsibility.

The present study addresses the effects of perceived parenting styles on emerging adults with relation to psychopathology, nature of attachment, self-esteem and grit. Since this is a period of time characterized by changes, choices and decisions, it is likely that individuals face a higher level of stress, which could affect their mental health. This is one of the reasons as to why psychopathology was chosen as a variable in this study. According to Erickson (1985), this period is also one in which one looks for intimacy and close relationships, and thus the nature of

attachment in significant relationships was assessed. Finally, self-esteem and grit were chosen as variables because they could play a role in determining success in academic/occupational fronts as well as other important domains of life. The present study also examines the importance of culture in parenting, and its effects on psychopathology, attachment, self-esteem and grit.

Parenting Styles – Definition and Types

According to Vandeleur, Perrez and Schoebi (2007), growing up in a comforting home and experiencing a stable and secure relationship with one's parents is absolutely essential for the child's socialization. Darling and Steinberg (1993) defined a parenting style as "a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and create an emotional climate in which parents' behaviors are expressed".

Many researchers have spoken about parenting styles and their effects, but Baumrind's (1971) classification is considered to be the most comprehensive. She distinguished between three types of parental child rearing typologies, namely authoritative (demanding but also warm and responsive), authoritarian (demanding but not warm and responsive), and permissive (responsive but not demanding). Authoritative parents are warm and nurturing, listen to their children, allow them to express their opinions, are open to discussing their problems and encourage them to explore options. However, authoritative parents also set expectations of proper behavior and take appropriate measures to discipline their children. Because of this, the children grow up in an environment where they feel accepted and loved. Moreover, since authoritative parents are open to discussion, the children feel comfortable in expressing themselves without the fear of being scolded or ridiculed, and therefore tend to have better emotion-regulation, good social skills and higher self-esteem. On the other hand, authoritarian parents set down strict rules and regulations, and the children are expected to follow them;

failure to do so results in punishment. Moreover, authoritarian parents do not allow their children to express their opinions, and because of this the children may be obedient, but inhibited and lacking in self-esteem. Permissive parents on the other hand, give in to their children's demands, and do not make attempts to discipline them. Due to this, the children tend to have poor self-regulation, and difficulty in complying with authority figures.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) extended Baumrind's typology based on combinations of warm/responsive, unresponsive/rejecting dimensions and included a fourth type of parenting – disengaged, which is characterized by neglect and lack of involvement, i.e. neither warm and responsive nor demanding. Such parents may satisfy the basic needs of the child (food and shelter), but remain distant from them and are emotionally unavailable. According to Maccoby and Martin (1983), this is the worst kind of parenting style, as the child feels totally neglected, which in turn leads to poor self-esteem and low competence.

Perceived Parenting and Psychopathology

Various studies have pinpointed the effects of negative parenting on the child's psychological development. It has been repeatedly reported, for example, that some children who could be described as over-dependent, fearful, emotionally labile, and so on, have had mothers described as over-attentive for dependency needs and punitive for independent actions, i.e. "overprotective" (Damon and Lerner, 2008). Other dysfunctional rearing practices, especially those defined as hostile, punitive, shaming, rejecting, or over-controlling, are significantly related to the development of different patterns of aggression (Perris et al., 1983); this also appears to be the case in non-Western cultures (Damon and Lerner, 2008).

More interestingly, there have been various studies that have suggested a relationship between the way in which a child perceived his parents' behavior toward him and his

psychosocial development, for example, adolescents with Conduct Disorder or Oppositional Defiant Disorder perceived their parents as more overprotective and less caring. (Rey, F.R.A.N.Z.C.P., Plapp, 1990). The effects of perceived parenting on depression, anxiety, social phobia and alcohol/drug abuse are discussed in the following sections.

Perceived Parenting, Depression, and Suicidal Ideation

In a study by Shah (2000) on Parental Style and Vulnerability to Depression, where he compared a group of depressed outpatients (N = 60) with a healthy community sample (N = 67), it was found that depression was associated with perceived levels of low parental care and high overprotection. Studies done along the same lines in other cultures also reported findings similar to the study by Shah (2000). For example, Lai and McBride-Chang (2001), found that suicide ideation was found to be significantly associated with perceived authoritarian parenting, low parental warmth, high maternal over-control, negative child-rearing practices, and a negative family climate in 120 Hong Kong students aged 15–19. Biggam and Power (2002) did a study on incarcerated Scottish young offenders and utilized the Parental Bonding Instrument [PBI] in a group of 125 incarcerated Scottish young offenders aged 16–21 to study the effects of parental style in relation to depression, anxiety and hopelessness during incarceration. Findings revealed that parental overprotection played in role in creating psychological distress, leading to feelings of depression, anxiety and hopelessness.

Perceived Parenting, Anxiety, Sleep Disturbances and Somatization

A study conducted by Brand, Hatzinger, Beck and Holsboer-Trachsler (2009) examined the role of parenting styles with respect to adolescents' sleep patterns and symptoms of depression and anxiety. Findings suggested that adverse parenting styles were highly correlated with low sleep quality, negative mood, increased daytime sleepiness, and with increased

symptoms of anxiety and depression. Adolescents with low positive and high negative parenting styles displayed the most unfavorable sleep-related personality traits. Along similar lines, Wolfradt, Hempel and Miles (2003) who investigated the relationship between perceived parenting styles, depersonalization, anxiety and coping behavior in a normal high school student sample (N=276), found that perceived parental psychological pressure correlated positively with depersonalization and trait anxiety among the adolescents. Perceived parental warmth was positively associated with active coping and negatively correlated with trait anxiety in the adolescents.

Lackner, Gudleksi and Blanchard (2004) highlighted the role of perceived parental rejection and hostility in a group of patients with somatization. It was found that abuse was not associated with somatization, and that higher levels of rejection and/or hostility among fathers (not mothers) were more strongly correlated with somatization than was abuse.

Perceived Parenting, Social Phobia, and Paranoid Thinking

Lieb, Wittchen, DiplStat, Magrernat, Stein and Merikangas (2000) examined the associations between social phobia and parental psychopathology, parenting style, and characteristics of family functioning in a representative community sample of 1047 adolescents between the age group of 14-17. They found that parental overprotection and rejection was found to be associated with social phobia in respondents. Riggio and Kwang (2011) did a study on paranoid thinking, quality of relationships with parents, and social outcomes among young adults. The subjects were undergraduate students (N = 179), who completed self-reports of paranoid thinking, quality of relationships with mothers and fathers, loneliness, and social isolation. Paranoid thinking was associated with poor-quality relationships with parents and loneliness, including when both variables were considered simultaneously.

Perceived Parenting and Alcohol/Drug Abuse

A couple of studies on perceived parenting and substance abuse have very similar findings; children and adolescents who perceived their parents as authoritative were more protected against substance abuse than by those whose parents were neglectful and permissive. Baumrind, (1991) did a study on139 adolescents and their parents from a predominantly affluent, well-educated, Caucasian population. Parenting types that were identified differed on the bases of commitment, and balance of demandingness and responsiveness. Authoritative parents who were highly demanding and highly responsive were remarkably successful in protecting their adolescents from problem drug use. Similar findings were reflected by Cohen and Rice (1997) who did a study on a total of 386 matched parent-child pairs from eighth-and ninth-grade students, who were analyzed for parent and student classification of parents as authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, or mixed parenting styles. Child tobacco and alcohol use was associated with child perception of lower authoritativeness, and higher permissiveness.

Perceived Parenting and Attachment

Studies on perceived parenting and nature of attachment in relationships in adolescence and adulthood indicate a strong correlation between perceived authoritative parenting and secure attachment. (Bogart, 2009; Muris, Meesters and Berg, 2003). A study by Karavasilis, Doyle and Markiewicz (2003) reflected similar findings, where they studied the associations between parenting style and quality of child–mother attachment in middle childhood (n = 202; grades 4–6) and adolescence (n = 212; grades 7–11). A positive association was found between authoritative parenting (higher scores on all three dimensions) and secure attachment, whereas negligent parenting (lower scores on all three dimensions) predicted avoidant attachment.

Bringle and Bagby (1992) conducted a questionnaire study with young adults (M = 26) in which they characterized the degree of problems experienced in their family as adults and during childhood, through construals of their relationship with their mother and father (warm, cold, or inconsistent), and construals of their adult romantic relationships (secure, avoidant, or anxious). Avoidant adult romantic attachment style was associated with cold parenting styles.

Matsuoka, Uji, Hiramura, Chen, Shikai, Kishida and Kitamura (2004) did a study on a total of 3,912 senior college students (1,149 men and 2,763 women) ages 18-23 (men's M = 20.1 years, women's M = 20.0 years) who were administered a set of questionnaires including Relationship Questionnaire (to measure adult attachment), the Parental Bonding Instrument (perceived rearing), and a list of early life events. It was found that in men, positive adult total attachment style was predicted by the scores of paternal care and low scores on maternal overprotection. On the other hand, in the women, positive adult total attachment style was predicted by the scores of paternal care, and low score on maternal overprotection.

Perceived Parenting and Self Esteem

Studies conducted in the area of perceived parenting and its impact on the child's self-esteem indicate that perceived authoritative parenting leads to higher self-esteem.

Perceived Parenting and Self-esteem Studies on Children and Adolescents

A study by DeHart, Pelham and Tennen (2004) found that young adult children who reported that their parents were more nurturing reported higher implicit self-esteem compared with those whose parents were less nurturing. Also, children who reported that their parents were overprotective also reported lower implicit self-esteem. On similar lines, Kernis, Brown and Brody (2000) reported that children (aged 11 and 12) with unstable self-esteem reported that

their fathers were more critical and psychologically controlling, and less likely to acknowledge their positive behaviors or to show their approval in value-affirming ways. In addition, fathers of children with stable high self-esteem were viewed as especially good at problem solving.

Children' self-esteem level related to perceptions of mothers' communication styles very similarly as to how it did with fathers.

Similar findings have been reported by researchers in other cultures. For example, Herz and Gullone (1999) did a study on 118 Vietnamese Australian and 120 Anglo-Australian adolescents, aged 11 to 18 years. Findings suggested that parenting characterized by high levels of overprotection and low levels of acceptance related negatively with self-esteem for both samples of adolescents.

The relationship between perceived parental warmth and acceptance and higher selfesteem also held true in adolescents with heart disease (Cohen, Mansoor, Gagin and Lorber, 2008).

Perceived Parenting and Self-Esteem Studies on Adults

Oliver and Paull (1995) examined associations among self-esteem and self-efficacy, perceived unfavorable Parental Rearing Style (perceived PRS) and unfavorable family climate in the family of origin, and depression in 186 undergraduates at a Midwest Catholic university still in frequent contact, at least 10 waking hours per week, with their families. It was found that perceived affectionless control in perceived parental rearing style and family climate accounted for lower self-esteem. A study by Pawlak and Klein (1997) on 122 young adults on marital conflict and self-esteem demonstrated how perceived parenting could not only affect self-esteem but also quality of relationships in marriage. The results showed that perceived inter-parental conflict and parental style discrepancies in nurturance and in authoritarianism were significantly

and negatively related to self-esteem, but the best predictors of self-esteem were the parental styles themselves. Warm, nurturing parents were more likely to have high self-esteem children and demonstrated less conflict in marital partnerships.

Perceived Parenting and Grit

Grit can be defined as firmness of character, resilience, perseverance, or indomitable spirit. There have been no studies reported that have studied grit as an outcome of parenting styles. However, academic achievement and academic performance could be indicators of grit to some extent, and a good deal of research has been done in this area. All findings suggest a positive relationship between perceived authoritative parenting and higher academic performance.

Studies on Perceived Parenting and Academic Achievement

Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch and Darling, (1992) examined the impact of authoritative parenting, parental involvement in schooling, and parental encouragement to succeed on adolescent school achievement in an ethnically and socio-economically heterogeneous sample of approximately 6,400 American 14–18-year-olds. Adolescents reported in 1987 on their parents' general child-rearing practices and on their parents' achievement-specific socialization behaviors. In 1987, and again in 1988, data were collected on several aspects of the adolescents' school performance and school engagement. Results showed that authoritative parenting (high acceptance, supervision, and psychological autonomy granting) led to better adolescent school performance and stronger school engagement. Similar findings were reported in a study by Cohen and Rice (1997) on eighth and ninth graders where high grades

were associated with child and parent perception of higher authoritativeness, lower permissiveness, and lower authoritarianism.

Aunola, Stattin and Nurmi (2002) aimed to study the extent to which adolescents' (14 year olds) achievement strategies were associated with the parenting styles they experienced in their families. It was found that adolescents from authoritative families applied the most adaptive achievement strategies, characterized by low levels of failure expectations, task-irrelevant behavior and passivity, and the use of self-enhancing attributions. Adolescents from neglectful families, in turn, applied maladaptive strategies characterized by high levels of task-irrelevant behavior, passivity and a lack of self-enhancing attributions.

In a study by Gonzalez, Holbein and Quilter (2002) that examined the relationships among perceived parenting and perceived involvement and mastery and performance goal orientations of high school students, it was found that maternal authoritativeness was related to a mastery orientation, and that maternal authoritarianism and permissiveness were related to a performance orientation.

Perceived Parenting and Culture

Researchers have tried to investigate whether effects of parenting have similar effects in different cultures. An article by Dewar (2011) cited studies carried out in the context of parenting in the United States, China, Turkey, South America, Spain and Netherlands, which stated that authoritative parenting enhanced social functioning, while children of authoritarian parents were less resourceful and less socially-adept. Authoritarian parenting was linked to emotional and psychological distress for all ethnic groups, but the effect was strongest for Caucasians. However, research on adolescents in the Middle East failed to find a link between authoritarian parenting and psychological problems. It is likely that culture could be playing a

role here, where children are less distressed by authoritarian parenting if it is perceived to be normal and mainstream.

There have been a few studies on perceived parenting styles in different nations. For example, Shek (1997), Cheung and McBride Chang (2008) explored the variable of perceived parenting in the Chinese context, where Shek (1997) reported that secondary school children perceived their fathers as less responsive, less concerned and more harsh as compared to the mothers, while Cheung and McBride Chang (2008) found that perceived maternal warmth was related to child's learning motivation. Buschgens, Aken and Swinkles (2009) did a study on perceived parenting and externalizing behavior in Netherlands, where perceived parental warmth reduced the risk of problem behavior. Koydemir-Ozden and Demir (2009) studied perceived parenting among the Turkish youth, highlighting the role of parental attitudes in the development of self-image and fear of rejection in the child.

However, there have been fewer attempts to compare the effects of perceived parenting styles across different cultures. Moreover, there is a dearth of research on perceived parenting and its effects in the contemporary Indian context.

Parenting in the Indian Culture

India's cultural heritage has its base in values like truth, non-violence, obedience, respect for elders, and a warm and welcoming attitude towards guests. In spite of the diversity in the Indian continent, these values are cherished. The importance of prayer in India in some form or the other is seen in all sections of society. Whether it is at home or at the place of work, the day starts off with a prayer. The old and infirm are taken care of at home and family ties are very strong. Complying with norms and not questioning authority are also commonly found in the Indian society. Honesty and integrity are high on the list of cherished values. Children learn from

what they see, so parents are expected to set an example by being honest themselves.

Compared to the American culture, the Indian culture is very conservative and traditional in its attitudes toward a number of things. For example, sex is perceived to be sacred and it is considered immoral to engage in sexual activities before marriage, and generally not permitted. Also, loyalty and devotion to the spouse is greatly emphasized upon.

In the American culture, autonomy and independence are looked upon favorably, and it is not uncommon to find children beginning to live independently and supporting themselves as soon as they are out of high school. In contrast, in the Indian society, although parents put in their best efforts to provide their children with a good education so that they can have successful careers of their own, strong family ties such as staying together as one extended family are the norm.

Due to these factors, parents in America and parents in India may adopt different styles of child rearing. For example, because obedience and compliance to rules are stressed upon in the Indian culture, parents may try to adopt a stricter approach to discipline their children so that these values are ingrained right from childhood.

A few researchers have expressed their opinions about how parenting differs in these two cultures, which is summarized in the next paragraph.

Ghandy (2005), the author of an article "East Vs. West" suggests that Indian culture is more conservative as compared to the American culture and that parents in India are stricter. In another article, Sandhu (2010) writes that Indian parents are very overprotective and obsessed about the safety of their children, due to which the children are less exposed to their surroundings and possible threats, which in turn leads to lower levels of confidence and lower levels of general initiative as compared to American children. Another article by Wittmer and

Peterson (2006) discussed the effects of parenting in the Western and Asian cultures. In Western cultures, indulgent parenting led to greater self-esteem, but it also led to behavioral problems and problems in school. Children with authoritarian parents did well in school, but they had poor self-esteem, depression and poor social skills; while children with authoritative parents were socially and intellectually competent. On the other hand, Asian children with strict parents developed well if that strictness was paired with warmth and closeness. These results could be attributed to differences in culture, where American culture focuses more on individualism and freedom, while Asian culture is more restricted in that respect.

Present Study

Different studies have examined perceived parenting styles with relation to different variables like personality, academic performance, coping styles, problem solving behaviors, psychological symptoms, etc., individually. Also, very few studies have explored the effects of perceived parenting in emerging young adults. The goal of the current study was to gain a more extensive understanding of the effects of perceived parenting styles with relation to psychopathology, nature of attachment in relationships, self-esteem and grit in emerging adults. Moreover, the study also attempted to understand the perception of students in India versus students in America with regards to their parents' behavior, and its corresponding effect on their development.

The following hypotheses were evaluated:

- 1. According to past research, participants who perceive their parents as authoritative will have less pathology, high self-esteem, high grit and secure attachment styles as compared to participants who perceive their parents as authoritarian or permissive.
- 2. Based on past research and an understanding of the cultures, a majority of the American participants will perceive their parents as authoritative, while a majority of the Indian participants will perceive their parents as authoritarian. In addition, perceived parental authoritarianism in the American sample will be associated with greater pathology, lesser self-esteem, lesser grit and insecure attachment as compared to perceived parental authoritarianism in the Indian sample.
- 3. To explore and test the differences between males and females in their perceptions towards their parents, and how that could affect them on all the dependent variables.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

<u>Participants</u>

Two hundred and fifty six college/university students (121 males, 135 females) participated in the current study. Out of these, 144 participants were Indian and 112 participants were American. The sample ranged in age from 18 to 25 (M = 20.035, SD = 1.544501). A majority of the sample were undergraduate students, who were unmarried (98%). A majority of the sample belonged to the middle and upper middle class. A majority of the American participants were Caucasians, while all the Indian participants belonged to the Indian-subcontinent race. For details on sample demographics, see Table 1.

Recruitment of participants took place on the campuses of the colleges. Those students who were brought up by only one parent, either because the parents were separated, divorced or because of death of a parent; and those students who were not been brought up by their parents (i.e. students brought up by grand-parents, relatives, etc.) were excluded from the sample. As far as Indian students were concerned, only students who were fluent in English were chosen.

Table 1

Demographics

Marital Status		US	Indian	Total
	Married	0.00%	3.47%	1.95%
	Single	100.00%	96.53%	98.05%
Sex		US	Indian	Total
	Female	50.00%	54.86%	52.73%
	Male	50.00%	45.14%	47.27%

Social Economic Status		US	Indian	Total
	Low	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	Lower Middle	8.93%	9.03%	8.98%
	Middle	27.68%	52.78%	41.80%
	Upper Middle	50.89%	37.50%	43.36%
	High	12.50%	0.69%	5.86%
Family Type		US	Indian	Total
	Extended	2.68%	27.78%	16.80%
	Nuclear	97.32%	72.22%	83.20%
Birth Order		US	Indian	Total
	Only child	12.04%	9.22%	10.44%
	First born	39.81%	47.52%	44.18%
	Second born	33.33%	33.33%	33.33%
	Third/Later born	14.81%	9.93%	12.05%
Race		US	Indian	Total
	African American	3.57%	0.00%	1.56%
	Asian American	6.25%	0.00%	2.73%
	Caucasian/White	77.68%	0.00%	33.98%
	Hispanic	6.25%	0.00%	2.73%
	Mix/Other	6.25%	0.00%	2.73%
	Indian Subcontinent	0.00%	56.25%	56.25%

Parents' Status		US	Indian	Total
_	Living together	80.36%	97.22%	89.84%
	Divorced	12.50%	0.00%	5.47%
	Separated	4.46%	0.69%	2.34%
	Parent Deceased	2.68%	2.08%	2.34%

Measures

Demographic Information Measure

Participants first filled out a questionnaire on their basic demographic information including their age, gender, educational qualifications, socio-economic status, religion, place of birth and the number of years they had been in the country. The socio-economic status was determined by the participants' responses on their parents' and their spouse's education and occupation, which is based on Hollingshead SES measure. (Appendix A)

Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ by Dr. Buri, 1991)

The Parental Authority Questionnaire was developed for the purpose of measuring Baumrind's (1971) permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative parental authority prototypes. It consists of 30 items per parent and yields permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative scores for both the mother and the father; each of these scores is derived from the phenomenological appraisals of the parents' authority by their son or daughter. The participant is supposed to respond to each of the questions by indicating how much he agrees or disagrees with a statement on a scale of 1-5 (where, 1= not at all, 5= completely agrees). There are a total of 10 questions for each of the parenting styles (permissive, authoritarian and authoritative), and the score on each is calculated by adding up the responses of the participants on those items. The

index that yields the highest score would be considered to be the perceived parenting style. The results of several studies have supported the Parental Authority Questionnaire as a psychometrically sound and valid measure of Baumrind's parental authority prototypes. The test retest reliability and internal consistency reliability for the 6 indices are presented respectively (N = 61, Mean age = 19.2 years): r = .81, .75 for mother's permissiveness, r = .86, .85 for mother's authoritarianism, r = .78, .82 for mother's authoritativeness, r = .77, .74 for father's permissiveness, r = .85, .87 for father's authoritarianism and r = .92, .85 for father's authoritativeness. For content validity, a criterion for 95% agreement among the judges was established for the inclusion of a particular questionnaire item in the final pool of the questions for PAQ. The current study demonstrated strong internal consistency for majority of the indices as demonstrated by the Chronbach's alpha levels ($\alpha = .74$ for mother's permissiveness, $\alpha = .83$ for mother's authoritarianism, $\alpha = .80$ for mother's authoritativeness, $\alpha = .67$ for father's permissiveness, $\alpha = .86$ for father's authoritarianism and $\alpha = .84$ for father's authoritativeness). The Outcomes Ouestionnaire (OQ-45.2 by Lambert and Burlingame, 1996)

The OQ-45.2 measures patient progress in therapy, and can also be used on the non-clinical population. It was designed to include items relevant to three domains central to mental health: subjective discomfort, interpersonal relations, and social role performance. It had a total of 45 questions and took approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. According to the instructions, the participants were supposed to fill out the questions while reflecting on their last week. However, for the purpose of obtaining on overall idea of the participants' functioning, they were instructed to ignore the 1 week time-frame, and respond to the questions in general. The OQ appears to have high reliability and evidence to suggest good concurrent and construct validity of the total score. Previous psychometric evaluations have revealed internal consistency

levels of .93 and test-retest reliability of .84 (Kadera, et. al., 1996; Umphress, et. al., 1997). Test-retest reliability for subscale scores have been estimated to range from .78 to .82 with internal consistency estimates from .71 to .92 (Lambert et al., 1994). The current study showed a very strong internal consistency with a Chronbach's alpha level of .91.

The Relationship Questionnaire – (RQ by Griffin and Barthelomew, 1994)

The RQ is a single item measure made up of four short paragraphs, each describing a prototypical attachment pattern as it applies in close adult peer relationships. Participants were asked to rate their degree of correspondence to each prototype on a 7-point scale. An individual might rate himself or herself something like: Secure 6, Fearful 2, Preoccupied 1, Dismissing 4. These ratings (or "scores") provide a profile of an individual's attachment feelings and behavior. The RQ can either be worded in terms of general orientations to close relationships, orientations to romantic relationships, or orientations to a specific relationship (or some combination of the above). It can also be re-worded in the third person and used to rate others' attachment patterns. The RQ was designed to obtain continuous ratings of each of the four attachment patterns, and this is the ideal use of the measure. However, if necessary, the RQ can also be used to categorize participants into their best fitting attachment pattern. The highest of the four attachment prototype ratings can be used to classify participants into an attachment category. For the psychometric qualities of the tool, stability and change in adult attachment representations over 8 months in a sample of young adults (N = 144; Mean age = 24.5 years) were examined. Attachment patterns were assessed by categorical and continuous ratings across three methods: self-report ratings, expert ratings based on semi-structured interviews, and reports of romantic partners; and they showed moderate stability. Interview ratings tended to show higher stability than self-report ratings. The relationship between reliability and stability was

discussed, and where the "true" stability could be estimated independent of unreliability, it was found to be very high (r's ranging from .72 to .96).

The Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES by Dr. Rosenberg, 1965)

While designed as a Guttman scale, the RSES is now commonly scored as a Likert scale. The 10 items are answered on a four point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The original sample for which the scale was developed in the 1960s consisted of 5,024 high school juniors and seniors from 10 randomly selected schools in New York State and was scored as a Guttman scale. The scale generally has high reliability: test-retest correlations are typically in the range of .82 to .88, and Cronbach's alpha for various samples are in the range of .77 to .88. The internal consistency of the measure in the present study was $\alpha = .87$. Studies have demonstrated both a one-dimensional and a two-factor (self-confidence and self-deprecation) structure to the scale. The scale ranges from 0-30, with 30 indicating the highest score possible.

The Grit Survey (By Duckworth)

The Grit Survey measures the Character Strength of Perseverance. It was developed by Duckworth in 2007 at the University of Pennsylvania. Duckworth defined grit as "perseverance and passion for long-term goals". As far as the reliability is concerned, both factors (perseverance and passion) showed adequate internal consistency and were strongly inter-correlated, r = .59, p < .001. In the same sample, the 1-year test–retest stability of the Grit–S (r = .68) compared favorably with the Robins, Fraley, Roberts, and Trzesniewski (2001) finding that NEO Five-Factor Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1992a) conscientiousness scores correlate across 4 years at r = .59. The internal consistency of the measure in the present study was $\alpha = .82$.

Procedure

The study was approved by the IRB at American University. For the students in India, permission was sought from the Head of the institutions from where the participants were recruited for the study, after which the investigator approached the students, introduced herself and gave a background of her study. Then, after building a brief but satisfactory rapport, the consent form was presented to the students, which they were asked to read and sign if they agreed to participate in the study. After the informed consent was taken, the investigator presented the tools (Demographic information measure, Parental Authority Questionnaire, Outcome Questionnaire, Relationship Questionnaire, Rosenberg's Self-esteem scale and Grit Survey). Instructions were printed on the respective questionnaire, and verbal instructions were given as well. It took approximately 40-45 minutes to complete all the tests. Since the tests were administered in a group, extra care was taken to make sure that all students understood the instructions correctly. Also, there were 2 other people assisting the investigator in this task. All participants were entered into drawing for a 500 rupee gift certificate to compensate them for their time and as a token of appreciation.

For the American students, participants were recruited on the American University campus. Fliers regarding participation in the research were put up on the AU psychology department notice board, and other academic buildings' notice boards. For interested students, the same procedure as with the Indian participants was carried out. As compensation, all American participants were entered into a raffle to win a \$75 gift card, or were awarded 1.0 course credit, per their choice.

After all the data was collected, it was compiled together and statistically analyzed.

Statistical Procedures

Descriptive statistics were used to examine sample demographics. To statistically analyze all the hypotheses, Pearson's correlations between perceived parenting/ culture/ gender and all the dependent variables (except attachment) were calculated. Differences between groups (males and females; Americans and Indians, those who perceived their parents as authoritative, or authoritarian, or permissive) were calculated using One-way ANOVAs. The Post-hoc Bonferroni test of significance was also used. In order to study the relationship between perceived parenting/ culture/ gender and attachment, the Chi-square test of significance was used. Finally, a backward linear regression analysis was used to study the relationship between the predictor (perceived parenting, culture and gender) and outcome (psychopathology, attachment, self-esteem and grit) variables.

All data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) – 20.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The present study was aimed at obtaining a comprehensive understanding of perceived parenting styles. The variables of culture and gender were also studied. This chapter evaluates each of the hypothesis related to perceived parenting, culture and gender, and presents the findings of the regression model that best describes the relationship between the predictor variables (perceived parenting, culture and gender) and outcome variables (symptom distress, interpersonal relations, social role, pathology, nature of attachment, self-esteem and grit).

A majority of both, American and Indian participants perceived their parents as authoritative as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Perceptions of Americans and Indians (Males and Females) of their Mothers and Fathers (%)

Parenting style	American participants		Indian p	articipants
	Male	Female	Male	Female
		Mother's style		
Permissive	2	9	18	13
Authoritarian	25	14	8	10
Authoritative	73	77	74	77
		Father's style		
Permissive	11	11	22	18
Authoritarian	39	39	14	18
Authoritative	50	50	65	65

Evaluation of Hypotheses

Research Question 1 (Parenting style): It was hypothesized that participants who perceive their parents as authoritative will have less pathology, high self-esteem, high grit and secure attachment styles compared to participants who perceive their parents as authoritarian or permissive.

Pearson Correlations between perceived levels of mothers' and fathers' permissiveness, authoritativeness and authoritarianism, and the dependent variables (symptom distress, interpersonal relations, social role, total pathology role, self-esteem and grit) for the entire sample are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Correlation between Perceived Levels of Mothers' and Fathers' Permissiveness,
Authoritativeness and Authoritarianism and the Dependent Variables (Symptom Distress,
Interpersonal Relations, Social Role, Total Pathology Score, Self-Esteem, and Grit) for the
Entire Sample

Perceived Mother's Style	Symptom Distress	Disturbance in Interpersonal relations	Disturbance in Social role	Pathology	Self esteem	Grit
Permissive	243**	096	203**	222**	.056	.050
Authoritarian	.230**	.233**	.267**	.265**	191**	167**
Authoritative	240**	313**	271**	295**	.240**	.258**

Perceived Father's Style	Symptom Distress	Disturbance in Interpersonal relations	Disturbance in Social role	Pathology	Self esteem	Grit
Permissive	221**	111	102	192**	.037	060
Authoritarian	.249**	.229**	.180*	.259**	167**	117
Authoritative	252**	226**	152*	254**	.226**	.144*

Note. *= p < .05, **= p < .01. N = 256 for all analyses.

Findings for each of the dependent variables are presented below:

Symptom Distress: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness were negatively correlated with symptom distress, r(256) = -.243, p < 0.01; and perceived levels of father's permissiveness were also negatively correlated with symptom distress, r(256) = -.221, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with symptom distress, r(256) = .230, p < 0.01, and r(256) = .249, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with symptom distress, r(256) = -.240, p < 0.01, and r(256) = -.252, p < 0.01 respectively.

Disturbance in Interpersonal relations: Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations, r(256) = .233, p < 0.01, and r(256) = .229, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations, r(256) = -.313, p < 0.01, and r(256) = -.226, p < 0.01 respectively.

Disturbance in social role: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness were negatively correlated with disturbance in social role, r(256) = -.203, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in social role,

r(256) = .267, p < 0.01, and r(256) = .180, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with disturbance in social role, r(256) = -.271, p < 0.01, and r(256) = -.152, p < 0.05 respectively.

Total Pathology: Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's permissiveness were negatively correlated with pathology, r(256) = -.222, p < 0.01, and r(256) = -.192, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with pathology, r(256) = .265, p < 0.01, and r(256) = .259, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with pathology, r(256) = .295, p < 0.01, and r(256) = -.254, p < 0.01.

Self-esteem: Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritarianism were negatively correlated with self-esteem, r(256) = -.191, p < 0.01, and r(256) = -.167, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritativeness were positively correlated with self-esteem, r(256) = .240, p < 0.01, and r(256) = .226, p < 0.01 respectively.

Grit: Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were negatively correlated with grit, r(256) = -.167, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritativeness were positively correlated with grit, r(256) = .258, p < 0.01, and r(256) = .144, p < 0.05 respectively.

One-way ANOVAs were done to compare the mean scores of the 3 groups of participants who perceived their mothers and fathers as authoritative, authoritarian or permissive on all the dependent variables (except attachment). Prior to the analysis, a preliminary analysis of the data was done, and all ANOVA assumptions were met. Tables 4 and 5 present the findings from the ANOVAs, and the post-hoc analyses.

Table 4
Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Perceived Mother's Style

Dimensions measured	Per	ceived Mother's s	style		
	Permissive	Authoritarian	Authoritative	F	η^2
Symptom distress	24.93 _a	34.71 _b	28.15 _a	5.686*	.043
	(9.65)	(14.52)	(12.21)		
Interpersonal Functioning	11.93 _a	15.77 _b	11.87 _a	8.017**	.059
Tunetioning	(4.72)	(7.26)	(5.02)		
Social role	10.25 _a	12.40 _a	10.90 _a	2.640	.02
	(3.25)	4.38	4.06		
Pathology	47.11 _a	62.89 _b	50.92 _a	6.727**	.05
	(15.03)	(23.52)	(19.07)		
Self esteem	21.50 _a	19.43 _a	21.22 _a	1.971	.015
	(4.27)	(5.70)	(5.11)		
Grit	3.22 _a	3.15 _a	3.39 _a	2.684	.021
	(.81)	(.80)	(.55)		

Note. *=p < .05, **=p < .001. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means. Means with differing subscripts within rows are significantly different at the p < .05 based on Bonferroni's post hoc paired comparisons.

Table 5
Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Perceived Father's Style

Dimensions measured	Per	rceived Father's s	tyle		
,	Permissive	Authoritarian	Authoritative	F	η^2
Symptom distress	27.07 _a	33.54 _b	26.95 _a	7.100**	.053
	(13.06)	(13.83)	(11.22)		
Interpersonal Functioning	11.72 _{ab}	14.30 _a	11.74 _b	5.569*	.042
	(5.49)	(5.68)	(5.24)		
Social role	11.60 _a	11.61 _a	10.62 _a	1.839	.014
	(4.76)	(3.81)	(3.94)		
Pathology	50.40_{ab}	59.45 _a	49.32 _b	6.514*	.049
	(21.27)	(21.24)	(17.20)		
Self esteem	21.03 _a	19.97 _a	21.47 _a	1.990	.015
	(5.34)	(5.59)	(4.82)		
Grit	3.34 _a	3.23 _a	3.38 _a	1.401	.011
	(.57)	(.79)	(.56)		

Note. *=p < .05, **=p < .001. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means. Means with differing subscripts within rows are significantly different at the p < .05 based on Bonferroni's post hoc paired comparisons.

The ANOVA and Post-hoc findings suggest that there was a significant difference between the groups on the dependent variables of:

Symptom distress: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA for perceived mothers' style was statistically significant, F(2,255) = 5.686, p = .004. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on symptom distress for the group

that perceived their mothers as authoritative (M = 28.15, SD = 12.21) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their mothers as authoritarian (M = 34.71, SD = 14.52), F(2,255) = 6.56, p < .005. The post-hoc analysis also indicated that the average score on symptom distress for the group that perceived their mothers as permissive (M = 24.93, SD = 9.65) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their mothers as authoritarian (M = 34.71, SD = 14.52), F(2,255) = 9.79, p < .005.

The overall F for the one-way ANOVA for perceived father's style was also statistically significant, F(2,255) = 7.100, p = .001. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on symptom distress for the group that perceived their fathers as authoritative (M = 26.95, SD = 11.22) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their fathers as authoritarian (M = 33.54, SD = 13.83), F(2,255) = 6.58, p < .005. The post-hoc analysis also indicated that the average score on symptom distress for the group that perceived their fathers parents as permissive (M = 27.07, SD = 13.06) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their fathers as authoritarian (M = 33.54, SD = 13.54), F(2,255) = 6.46, p < .005.

Disturbance in Interpersonal relations: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA for perceived mothers' style was statistically significant, F(2,255) = 8.017, p = .000. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on disturbance in interpersonal relations for the group that perceived their mothers as authoritative (M = 11.87, SD = 5.02) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their mothers as authoritarian (M = 15.77, SD = 7.26), F(2,255) = 3.91, p < .005. The post hoc analysis also indicated that average score on disturbance in interpersonal relations for the group that perceived

their mothers as permissive (M = 11.93, SD = 4.72) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their mothers as authoritarian (M = 15.77, SD = 7.26), F(2,255) = 3.84, p < .005.

The overall F for the one-way ANOVA for perceived father's style was also statistically significant, F(2,255) = 5.569, p = .004. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on disturbance in interpersonal relations for the group that perceived their fathers as authoritative (M = 11.74, SD = 5.24) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their fathers as authoritarian (M = 14.30, SD = 5.68), F(2,255) = 2.56, p < .005.

Total Pathology: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA for perceived mothers' style was statistically significant, F(2,255) = 6.727, p = .001. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on pathology for the group that perceived their mothers as authoritative (M = 50.92, SD = 19.07) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their mothers as authoritarian (M = 62.89, SD = 23.52), F(2,255) = 11.97, p < .005. The post hoc analysis also indicated that average score on pathology for the group that perceived their mothers as permissive (M = 47.11, SD = 15.03) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their mothers as authoritarian (M = 62.89, SD = 23.52), F(2,255) = 15.78, p < .005.

The overall F for the one-way ANOVA for perceived father's style was also statistically significant, F(2,255) = 6.514, p = .002. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on pathology for the group that perceived their fathers as authoritative (M = 49.32, SD = 17.20) was significantly lower than the group that perceived their fathers as authoritarian (M = 59.45, SD = 21.24), F(2,255) = 10.13, p < .005.

A chi-square test was performed to examine the relation between perceived mothers' and fathers' style and nature of attachment. See Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Mother's Style and Nature of Attachment

Perceived mother' style		Attachment style				χ^2
, <u> </u>	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive		
Permissive	9	3	2	14	28	20.539**
Authoritarian	9	10	8	8	35	
Authoritative	87	44	29	33	193	

Note. ** = p < .01

Table 7

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Father's Style and Nature of Attachment

Perceived father' style	Attachment style					χ^2
_	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive		
Permissive	16	4	6	14	40	13.313*
Authoritarian	22	23	9	13	67	
Authoritative	67	30	24	28	149	

Note. * = p < .05

The findings suggest that the relation between perceived mother's style and attachment was significant, $\chi^2(6, N=256)=20.539$, p=.002. Also, the relation between perceived father's style and attachment was significant, $\chi^2(6, N=256)=13.13$, p=.038. In both cases, the individual scores suggest a trend that participants who perceived their mother/father as authoritative were more likely to have a secure attachment style.

Research Question 1a (Parenting style): It was hypothesized that participants who perceive both their parents as authoritarian would be prone to greater pathology, lower self-esteem, lower grit and insecure attachment as compared to participants who perceive one parent as authoritarian but the other as authoritative.

According to all the combinations, participants could be divided into the following groups: both parents authoritarian, both parents authoritative, both parents permissive, one parent authoritative and other authoritarian, one parent authoritative and other permissive, and one parent authoritarian and the other permissive. However, since there were insufficient number of participants in each of these groups, the following four groups were compared on all the dependent variables: both parents perceived as authoritative, both parents perceived as authoritarian, mother perceived as authoritative and father as authoritarian, mother perceived as authoritative and father as permissive.

One-way ANOVAs were done to compare the mean scores of the 4 groups of participants on all the dependent variables (except attachment). See Table 8.

Results suggest that there was a significant difference between the groups on the dependent variables of:

Symptom distress: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(3,213) = 6.398, p = .000. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on symptom distress for the group that perceived both parents as authoritative (M = 26.192, SD = 10.67) was significantly lower than the group that perceived the mother as authoritative and the father as authoritarian (M = 34.619, SD = 13.58), F(3,213) = 8.43, p = .001.

Disturbance in Interpersonal relations: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(3,213) = 5.877, p = .001. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on disturbance in interpersonal relations for the group that perceived both parents as authoritative (M = 11.354, SD = 4.88) was significantly lower than the group that perceived both parents are authoritarian (M = 15.476, SD = 7.11), F(3,213) = 4.12, p = .005. The Post-hoc analysis also indicated that the average score on disturbance in interpersonal relations for the group that perceived the mother as authoritative and the father as permissive (M = 10.952, SD = 5.32) was significantly lower than the group that perceived both parents are authoritarian (M = 15.476, SD = 7.11), F(3,213) = 4.52, p = .005.

Social Role: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(3,213) = 2.859, p = .038. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on disturbance in social role for the group that perceived both parents as authoritative (M = 10.377, SD = 3.90) was significantly lower than the group that perceived both parents are authoritarian (M = 12, SD = 4.30), F(3,213) = 1.62, p = .005.

Total Pathology: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(3,213) = 6.129, p = .001. The Post-hoc analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that average score on total pathology role for the group that perceived both parents as authoritative (M = 47.923, SD = 17.07) was significantly lower than the group that perceived both parents are authoritarian (M = 61, SD = 24.67), F(3,213) = 13.08, p = .005. The Post-hoc analysis also indicated that average score on total pathology role for the group that perceived both parents as authoritative (M = 47.923, SD = 17.07) was significantly lower than

the group that perceived the mother as authoritative and the father as authoritarian (M = 60.262, SD = 19.92), F(3,213) = 12.34, p = .005.

Table 8

Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Perceived Mothers' and Fathers' Style Combined

	Perceived Mother's and Father's style					
Dimensions measured	Both parents Authoritative	Both parents Authoritarian	Father Authoritarian, Mother Authoritative	Father Permissive, Mother Authoritative	F	η^2
Symptom distress	26.192 _a (10.67)	33.524 _{ab} (14.93)	34.619 _b (13.58)	27.333 _{ab} (14.36)	6.398**	.084
Interpersonal Functioning	11.354 _a (4.88)	15.476 _b (7.11)	13.905 _{ab} (4.92)	10.952 _a (5.32)	5.877**	.077
Social role	10.377 _a	12.00 _b	11.738 _{ab}	12.476 _{ab}	2.859*	.039
Pathology	(3.90) 47.923 _a	(4.30) 61.00_b	(3.48) 60.262_{b}	(5.47) 50.762 _{ab}	6.129**	.081
Self esteem	(17.07) 21.715 _a	(24.67) 19.857 _a	(19.92) 19.619 _a	(23.64) 21.381 _a	2.152	.030
Grit	(4.90) 3.413 _a	(6.46) 3.210_a	(5.08) 3.313 _a	(6.00) 3.377 _a	.852	.012
	(.54)	(.90)	(.57)	(.65)		

Note. *=p < .05, **=p < .001. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means. Means with differing subscripts within rows are significantly different at the p < .05 based on Bonferroni's post hoc paired comparisons.

A chi-square test was performed to examine the relation between the combined effects of perceived mother's and father's style and nature of attachment. See table 9.

Table 9

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Perceived Parenting Style (Combined) and Nature of Attachment

	Attachment style					
Perceived mothers' and fathers' style	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive	χ^2	
Both parents Authoritative	5	7	2	7	12.280	
Both parents Authoritarian	15	15	7	5		
Father Authoritarian, Mother Authoritative	62	26	19	23		
Father Permissive, Mother Authoritative	10	3	3	5		

The findings suggest that the relation between these perceived mothers' and fathers' style combined, and attachment was not significant, $\chi^2(9, N = 214) = 12.280$, p = 0.198.

Research Question 1b (Parenting style): It was hypothesized that participants who perceive both their parents as using the same parenting style will be prone to lower pathology, higher self-esteem, higher grit and secure attachment as compared to participants who perceive one parent as a certain type and the other parent as another.

One-way ANOVAs were done to compare the mean scores of the 2 groups of participants (consistent and inconsistent parenting) on all the dependent variables (except attachment). See Table 10.

Table 10

Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Consistent and Inconsistent Parenting

Dimensions measured	Consistent	Inconsistent	F	η^2
Symptom distress	26.99	31.95	9.368**	.036
	(11.48)	(13.81)		
Interpersonal Functioning	11.88	13.41	4.52**	.018
	(5.35)	(5.67)		
Social role	10.55	11.95	7.04**	.027
	(3.93)	(4.16)		
Pathology	49.42	57.32	9.51**	.036
	(18.53)	(21.14)		
Self esteem	21.45	20.17	3.61	.014
	(5.06)	(5.20)		
Grit	3.38	3.34	2.46	.010
	(.59)	(.63)		

Note. * = p < .05, ** = p < .001. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means. n = 168 for consistent, and n = 88 for inconsistent.

Results suggest that there was a significant difference between the groups on the dependent variables of:

Symptom Distress: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(1,255) = 9.368, p = .002, where the average score for the consistent group (M = 26.99, SD = 11.48) was significantly lower than that of the inconsistent group (M = 31.95, SD = 13.81).

Disturbance in Interpersonal Functioning: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(1,255) = 4.52, p = .034, where the average score for the consistent group (M = 11.88, SD = 5.35) was significantly lower than that of the inconsistent group (M = 13.41, SD = 5.67).

Disturbance in Social Role: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(1,255) = 7.04, p = .008, where the average score for the consistent group (M = 10.55, SD = 3.93) was significantly lower than that of the inconsistent group (M = 11.95, SD = 4.16).

Total Pathology: The overall F for the one-way ANOVA was statistically significant, F(1,255) = 9.51, p = .002, where the average score for the consistent group (M = 49.42, SD = 18.53) was significantly lower than that of the inconsistent group (M = 57.32, SD = 21.14).

Although there were no significant differences between the two groups on the other dimension, examinations of the mean scores suggested a trend that the consistent group had marginally higher self-esteem and grit.

A chi-square test was performed to examine the relation between perceived consistent vs. inconsistent parenting and nature of attachment. See Table 11.

Table 11

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Perceived Parenting Style (Consistent vs. Inconsistent) and Nature of Attachment

	Attachment style					
Perceived mothers' and fathers' style	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive	χ^2	
Consistent	73	34	22	39	3.759	
Inconsistent	32	23	17	16		

The findings suggest that the relation between perceived mothers' and fathers' style – consistent vs. inconsistent, and attachment was not significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 256) = 3.759$, p = 0.289.

The findings for hypothesis 1b could have been driven by the participants who perceived both parents as authoritative, and so when the same analysis was conducted by excluding the participants who perceived the parents as authoritative, there no longer existed a significant difference between the two groups as shown in Table 12, but the relationship between parenting and attachment was significant as shown in Table 13.

Table 12

Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Consistent and Inconsistent parenting (Excluding Participants who perceived both Parents as Authoritative)

Dimensions measured	Consistent	Inconsistent	F	η^2
Symptom distress	29.71	31.95	.703	.006
	(13.74)	(13.81)		
Interpersonal Functioning	13.68	13.41	.057	.000
	(6.46)	(5.67)		
Social role	11.16	11.95	.991	.008
	(4.01)	(4.16)		
Pathology	54.55	57.32	.439	.004
	(22.34)	(21.14)		
Self esteem	20.53	20.17	.730	.001
	(5.53)	(5.20)		
Grit	3.27	3.25	.021	.000
	(.73)	(.70)		

Note. n = 38 for consistent, and n = 88 for inconsistent.

Table 13

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Perceived Parenting Style (Consistent vs. Inconsistent) and Nature of Attachment (Excluding Participants who perceived both Parents as Authoritative)

	Attachment style					
Perceived mothers' and fathers' style	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive	χ²	
Consistent	11	8	3	16	8.869*	
Inconsistent	32	23	17	16		

Note. * = p < .05; n = 38 for consistent, and n = 88 for inconsistent

The findings suggest that the relation between perceived mother's and father's style and attachment was significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 126) = 8.869, p = .031$.

Research Question 2 (Culture): Based on past research and an understanding of the cultures, it was hypothesized that a majority of the American participants would perceive their parents as authoritative, while a majority of the Indian participants would perceive their parents as authoritarian. It was also hypothesized that perceived parental authoritarianism in the American sample would be associated with greater pathology, lesser self-esteem, lesser grit and insecure attachment as compared to perceived parental authoritarianism in the Indian sample.

Findings suggest that a majority of both American and Indian participants perceive their parents as authoritative, as shown in Table 14.

The findings suggest that the relation between perceived mother's and father's style and nationality was significant, $\chi^2(2, N=256)=10.865$, p=.004, and $\chi^2(2, N=256)=18.458$, p=.000 respectively. Thus, although a majority of both, American and Indian participants perceived their parents as authoritative, the individual scores suggest a trend that Indians were

less likely to perceive their parents as authoritarian, and more likely to perceive their parents as permissive and authoritative as compared to their American counterparts.

Table 14

Chi-Square Table Showing Perceptions of Americans and Indians towards their Parents

Parenting Style	American Participants	Indian Participants	χ^2
	Mother	r's Style	
Permissive	6	22	10.865**
Authoritarian	22	13	
Authoritative	84	109	
	Father	's Style	
Permissive	12	28	18.458**
Authoritarian	44	23	
Authoritative	56	93	
N-4- ** < 01			

Note. ** = p < .01

The findings suggest that the relation between perceived mother's and father's style and nationality was significant, $\chi^2(2, N=256)=10.865$, p=.004, and $\chi^2(2, N=256)=18.458$, p=.000 respectively. Thus, although a majority of both, American and Indian participants perceived their parents as authoritative, the individual scores suggest a trend that Indians were less likely to perceive their parents as authoritarian, and more likely to perceive their parents as permissive and authoritative as compared to their American counterparts.

Pearson Correlations between perceived levels of mothers' and fathers' permissiveness, authoritativeness and authoritarianism, and the dependent variables (symptom distress,

interpersonal relations, social role, total pathology role, self-esteem and grit) for the American sample and the Indian sample are displayed in Table 15.

Table 15

Correlation between Perceived Levels of Mothers' and Fathers' Permissiveness,
Authoritativeness and Authoritarianism and the Dependent Variables (Symptom Distress,
Interpersonal Relations, Social Role, Total Pathology Score, Self-Esteem, and Grit) for the
American and Indian Sample

Parenting style	Symptom Distress	Disturbance in Interpersonal Relations	Disturbance in Social role	Pathology	Self Estee m	Grit
		Americar	n participants			
		M	other			
Permissive	138	101	259**	164	.178	.080
Authoritarian	.185	.159	.212*	.201*	181	025
Authoritative	392**	424**	382**	437**	.374**	.303**
		F	ather			
Permissive	125	002	114	100	.040	121
Authoritarian	.204*	.168	.121	.197*	138	037
Authoritative	261**	211*	207*	262**	.269**	.121
		Indian p	participants			
		M	other			
Permissive	199*	066	130	173*	059	.075
Authoritarian	.267**	.315**	.323**	.328**	210*	320**
Authoritative	086	208*	173*	151	.095	.232**

		Indian p	participants			
		F	ather			
Permissive	197*	205*	052	195*	.057	.017
Authoritarian	.265**	.301**	.237**	.304**	-	220**
					.222**	
Authoritative	187*	238**	077	203*	.180*	.192*

Note. *= p < .05, **= p < .01. n = 112 for the American participants; n = 144 for Indian participants.

Findings for each of the dependent variable are presented below.

Symptom distress: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness were negatively correlated with symptom distress, r(144) = -.199, p < 0.05 among the Indian sample, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample. Also, perceived levels of father's permissiveness were negatively correlated with symptom distress, r(144) = -.197, p < 0.05 among the Indian sample, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with symptom distress among the Indian sample, r(144) = .267, p < 0.01 but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with symptom distress in the Indian sample, r(144) = .265, p < 0.01 and in the American sample, r(112) = .204, p < 0.05.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with symptom distress among the American sample, r(112) = -.392, p < 0.01but there were no significant correlations between the two in the Indian sample. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness

were negatively correlated with symptom distress in the American sample, r(112) = -.261, p < 0.01 and in the Indian sample, r(144) = -.187, p < 0.05.

Disturbance in Interpersonal relations: There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of mother's permissiveness and disturbance in interpersonal relations in both, the American and Indian samples. Perceived levels of father's permissiveness were negatively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations among the Indian sample, r(144) = -.205, p < 0.05, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations in the Indian sample, r(144) = .315, p < 0.01, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations, in the Indian sample, r(144) = .301, p < 0.01, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations among the American sample, r(112) = -.424, p < 0.01 and in the Indian sample, r(144) = -.208, p < 0.05. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations both American sample and Indian sample, r(112) = -.211, p < 0.01 and r(144) = -.238, p < 0.01 respectively.

Disturbance in social role: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness were negatively correlated with disturbance in social role in the American sample, r(112) = -.259, p < 0.01, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the Indian sample. There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of father's permissiveness and disturbance in social role in both, the American and Indian samples.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in social role in the American sample, r(112) = .212, p < 0.05, and in the Indian sample, r(144) = .323, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in social role in the Indian sample, r(144) = .237, p < 0.01, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations among the American sample, r(112) = -.382, p < 0.01 and in the Indian sample, r(112) = -.173, p < 0.05. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with disturbance in social role in the American sample, r(112) = -.207, p < 0.05, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the Indian sample.

Pathology score: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness and father permissiveness were negatively correlated with pathology in the Indian sample, r(144) = -.173, p<0.05, and r(144) = -.195, p<0.05 respectively, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with pathology in the American sample, r(112) = .201, p < 0.05, and in the Indian sample, r(144) = .328, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with pathology in the American sample, r(112) = .197, p < 0.05, and in the Indian sample, r(144) = .304, p < 0.01.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with pathology among the American sample, r(112) = -.437, p < 0.01 but there was no significant correlation between the two in the Indian sample. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with pathology in the American sample, r(112) = -.262, p < 0.01 and in the Indian sample, r(144) = -.203, p < 0.05.

Self-esteem: There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of mother's/father's permissiveness and self-esteem in both, the American and Indian samples.

Perceived levels of mother's and father's authoritarianism were negatively correlated with self-esteem in the Indian sample, r(144) = -.210, p < 0.05; r(144) = -.222, p < 0.01 respectively but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were positively correlated with self-esteem among the American sample, r(112) = .374, p < 0.01but there was no significant correlation between the two in the Indian sample. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were positively correlated with self-esteem in the American sample, r(112) = .269, p < 0.01 and in the Indian sample, r(144) = .180, p < 0.05.

Grit: There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of mother's/father's permissiveness and grit in both, the American and Indian samples.

Perceived levels of mother's and father's authoritarianism were negatively correlated with grit in the Indian sample, r(144) = -.320, p < 0.05; r(144) = -.220, p < 0.01 respectively, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the American sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were positively correlated with grit among the American sample, r(112) = .303, p < 0.01 and in the Indian sample, r(144) = .232, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were positively correlated with grit in the Indian sample, r(144) = .192, p < 0.05, but there were no correlations between the two in the American sample.

Another set of Pearson correlation tests were conducted to determine whether the relationship between perceived parenting styles and the dependent variables was significantly different between the American and the Indian sample. Findings suggested that there was a

significant difference between the American and Indian sample only on the dimensions of symptom distress, r(256) = -.216, p < 0.01, and total pathology, r(256) = -.165, p < 0.01.

One-way ANOVAs were done to compare the mean scores of the two groups of participants (American and Indians) on all the dependent variables (except attachment). See Table 16.

Table 16
Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Culture

Dimensions measured	American	Indian	F	η^2
Symptom Distress	31.76	26.31	12.433**	.047
	(12.68)	(11.92)		
Interpersonal	12.71	12.17	.589	.002
Functioning	(5.76)	(5.29)		
Social Role	11.38	10.77	1.397	.005
	(4.03)	(4.07)		
Pathology	55.84	49.26	7.142	.027
	(20.51)	(18.78)		
Self esteem	21.13	20.91	.120	.0004
	(5.97)	(4.40)		
Grit	3.36	3.31	.439	.002
	(.60)	(.65)		

Note. ** = p < .001. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means.

Findings suggest that there was a significant difference between the groups on the dependent variable of Symptom distress F(1,255)=12.433, p=.001, where the average score on

symptom distress for Americans (M = 31.759, SD = 12.68) was significantly greater than Indians (M = 26.313, SD = 11.92). There were no significant differences between the two groups on any of the other dimensions. However, examinations of the mean scores suggest a trend that Americans are more likely to have greater pathology and a greater disturbance in interpersonal functioning and social role, while Indians are more likely to have lesser self-esteem and grit.

A chi-square test was performed to examine the relation between culture and nature of attachment. See Table 17.

Table 17

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Culture and Nature of Attachment

Attachment style					
Culture	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive	χ^2
Americans	46	31	24	11	20.24**
Indian	59	26	15	44	

Note. ** = p < .01

Findings suggest that the relation between these variables was significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 256)$ = 20.241, p< 0.01. The scores suggest a trend that Indians were more likely to have secure attachment as compared to Americans.

Exploratory Hypothesis 1 (Gender): The differences between males and females in their perceptions towards their parents, and how that could affect them on all the dependent variables were explored.

Findings suggest that a majority of both male and females participants perceive their parents as authoritative, as shown in Table 18.

Table 18

Chi-Square Table Showing Perceptions of Males and Females towards their Parents

Parenting Style	Males	Females	χ^2		
Mother's Style					
Permissive	13	15	.803		
Authoritarian	19	16			
Authoritative	89	104			
	Fathe	r's Style			
Permissive	20	20	.152		
Authoritarian	31	36			
Authoritative	70	79			

The findings suggest that the relation between perceived mother's and father's style and gender was not significant, $\chi^2(2, N=256)=0.803$, p=.669, and $\chi^2(2, N=256)=0.152$, p=.927 respectively, i.e. males and females did not differ in their perceptions of their parents' styles.

Pearson Correlations between perceived levels of mothers' and fathers' permissiveness, authoritativeness and authoritarianism, and the dependent variables (symptom distress, interpersonal relations, social role, total pathology role, self-esteem and grit) for the male and female participants are displayed in Table 19.

Table 19

Correlation between Perceived Levels of Mothers' and Fathers' Permissiveness,
Authoritativeness and Authoritarianism and the Dimensions Measured (Except Attachment) for all Males and Females

Parenting style	Symptom Distress	Disturbance in Interpersonal Relations	Disturbance in Social role	Pathology	Self Esteem	Grit
	Male participants					
		N	Mother			
Permissive	214*	126	097	188*	006	.037
Authoritarian	.265**	.306**	.262**	.305**	.120	250**
Authoritative	319**	413**	298**	377**	.332**	.330**
Parenting style	Symptom Distress	Disturbance in Interpersonal Relations	Disturbance in Social role	Pathology	Self Esteem	Grit
			participants			
]	Father			
Permissive	197*	108	058	165	014	069
Authoritarian	.231*	248**	.128	.240**	107	142
Authoritative	327**	276**	171	316**	.296**	.236**
		Female	participants			
		N	Mother			
Permissive	269**	060	298**	252**	004	.113
Authoritarian	.207*	.160	.297**	.234**	102	193*
Authoritative	183*	226**	255**	231**	074	.103

Father						
Permissive	245**	103	147	216*	.102	.075
Authoritarian	.265**	.205*	.226**	.272**	140	146
Authoritative	197*	188*	137*	205*	.023	.086

Note. *= p < .05, **= p < .01. n = 121 for the Males; n = 135 for the Females

Findings for each of the dependent variable are presented below:

Symptom distress: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness were negatively correlated with symptom distress among the male and female participants, r(121) = -.214, p<0.05, and r(135)=-.269, p<0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of father's permissiveness were also negatively correlated with symptom distress among the male and female participants, r(121) = -.197, p<0.05, and r(135) = -.245, p<0.01respectively.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with symptom distress among the male and female sample, r(121) = .265, p < 0.05, and r(135) = .207, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with symptom distress in the male and female participants, r(121) = .231, p < 0.05, and r(135) = .265, p < 0.01 respectively.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with symptom distress among the male and female participants, r(121) = -.319, p < 0.01, and r(135) = -.183, p < 0.05 respectively. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with symptom distress in the male and female participants, r(121) = -.327, p < 0.01, and r(135) = -.197, p < 0.05 respectively.

Disturbance in Interpersonal relations: There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of mother's/ father's permissiveness and disturbance in interpersonal relations

in both the male and female populations. Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in interpersonal relations among the male participants, r(121) = .306, p < 0.01, but there were no correlations between the two in the female sample. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with symptom distress in the male and female participants, r(121) = .248, p < 0.01, and r(135) = .205, p < 0.05 respectively.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with symptom distress among the male and female participants, r(121) = -.319, p < 0.01, and r(135) = -.183, p < 0.05 respectively. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with symptom distress in the male and female participants, r(121) = -.327, p < 0.01, and r(135) = -.197, p < 0.05 respectively.

Disturbance in social role: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness were negatively correlated with disturbance in social role in the female participants, r(135) = -.298, p < 0.01, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the male participants. There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of father's permissiveness and disturbance in social role in both, the male and female participants.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in social role in the male sample, r(121) = .262, p < 0.01 and in the female sample, r(135) = .279, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with disturbance in social role in the female sample, r(135) = .226, p < 0.01but there were no significant correlations between the two in the male sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with disturbance in social role among the male participants, r(121) = -.298, p < 0.01 and in the female participants, r(135) = -.255, p < 0.01. There were no significant correlations between perceived

levels of father's authoritativeness and disturbance in social role in either the male or female participants.

Pathology score: Perceived levels of mother's permissiveness were negatively correlated with pathology in both, males and females, r(121) = -.188, p < 0.05, and r(135) = -.252, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of father's permissiveness were negatively correlated with pathology in the female sample, r(135) = -.216, p < 0.05, but there were no significant correlations between the two in the male sample.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were positively correlated with pathology in the male sample, r(121) = .305, p < 0.01 and in the female sample, r(135) = .234, p < 0.01. Perceived levels of father's authoritarianism were positively correlated with pathology in the male sample, r(121) = .240, p < 0.01 and in the female sample, r(135) = .272, p < 0.01.

Perceived levels of mother's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with pathology among the male and female participants, r(121) = -.377, p < 0.01, and r(135) = -.231, p < 0.01 respectively. Perceived levels of father's authoritativeness were negatively correlated with pathology in the male sample, r(121) = -.316, p < 0.01 and in the female sample, r(135) = -.205, p < 0.05.

Self-esteem: There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of mother's/ father's permissiveness, authoritarianism or authoritativeness and self-esteem among the female participants. For the male participants, perceived levels of mother's and father's authoritativeness were positively correlated with self-esteem, r(121) = .332, p < 0.0, and r(121) = .296, p < 0.01respectively. There were no other significant correlations between the two.

Grit: There were no significant correlations between perceived levels of mother's/father's permissiveness, authoritarianism or authoritativeness and grit among the female

participants, except that perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were negatively correlated with grit, r(135) = -.193, p < 0.05. For the male participants, perceived levels of mother's authoritarianism were negatively correlated with grit, r(121) = -.250, p < 0.01; perceived levels of mother's and father's authoritativeness were positively correlated with grit, r(121) = .330, p < 0.01, r(121) = .236, p < 0.01 respectively.

Another set of Pearson correlation tests were conducted to determine whether the relationship between perceived parenting styles and the dependent variables was significantly different between the male and the female sample. Findings suggested that there was a significant difference between the male and female sample only on the dimension of disturbance in interpersonal relations, r(256) = -.130, p < 0.05.

One-way ANOVAs were done to compare the mean scores of the two groups of participants (Males and Females) on all the dependent variables (except attachment). See Table 20.

Findings suggest that there was a significant difference between the groups on the dependent variable of Disturbance in Interpersonal relations, F(1,255)=4.336, p=.038, where the average score on disturbance in interpersonal relations for males (M=13.157, SD=5.65) was significantly greater than females (M=11.733, SD=5.29).

A chi-square test was performed to examine the relation between gender and nature of attachment. See table 21.

Findings suggest that the relation between these gender and nature of attachment was not significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 256) = 6.866$, p = 0.076.

Table 20
Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Gender

Dimensions measured	Males	Females	F	η^2
Symptom distress	28.59	28.79	.017	.00
	(11.73)	(13.25)		
Interpersonal	13.16	11.73	4.336*	.016
Functioning	(5.65)	(5.29)		
Social role	10.76	11.28	1.052	.0004
	(3.79)	(4.29)		
Pathology	52.50	51.81	.079	.0003
	(19.11)	(20.44)		
Self esteem	20.61	21.36	1.371	.005
	(5.11)	(5.14)		
Grit	3.29	3.37	1.055	.004
	(.69)	(.57)		

Note. * = p < .05. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means.

Table 21

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Gender and Nature of Attachment

Attachment style					
Gender	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive	χ^2
Males	52	20	24	25	6.866
Females	53	37	15	30	

Exploratory Hypothesis 2 (Culture and Gender combined): The researcher was interested in exploring the differences between American males, American females, Indian males and Indian females in their perceptions towards their parents, and how that could affect them on all the dependent variables.

One-way ANOVAs were done to compare the mean scores of the 4 groups of participants (American males, American females, Indian males and Indian females) on all the dependent variables (except attachment). See Table 22.

There was a significant difference between the groups on the dependent variable of Symptom distress, F(3,255)=4.342, p=.005. The Post analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the average score on symptom distress for American males (M = 32.17, SD = 13.15) was significantly greater than Indian males (M = 25.49, SD = 9.41), F(3, 255) = 6.69, p < .05.

A chi-square test was performed to examine the relation between culture-gender and nature of attachment. See table 23.

Findings suggested that the relation between culture-gender combined and nature of attachment was significant, $\chi 2(9, N = 256) = 32.813$, p < 0.01. Scores suggest a trend that Indian males were most likely to have secure attachment as compared to the other groups.

Table 22

Scores on all Dimensions Measured for Culture and Gender Combined

		Cultur	e and Gender con	nbined		
Dimensions measured	American males	American females	Indian males	Indian females	F	η^2
Symptom distress	32.18 _a	31.34 _{ab}	25.49 _b	26.99 _{ab}	.005*	.049
distress	(13.15)	(12.31)	(9.41)	(13.69)		
Interpersonal Functioning	13.86 _a	11.55 _a	12.55 _a	11.86 _a	.107	.024
Tunctioning	(6.26)	(5.02)	(5.04)	(5.50)		
Social role	11.14 _a	11.61 _a	10.43 _a	11.05 _a	.461	.010
	(3.92)	(4.17)	(3.67)	(4.38)		
Pathology	57.18 _a	54.50 _a	48.48 _a	49.90 _a	.052	.030
	(21.67)	(19.37)	(15.67)	(21.07)		
Self esteem	20.46 _a	21.80_{a}	20.74 _a	21.05 _a	.542	.008
	(5.83)	(6.07)	(4.44)	(4.38)		
Grit	3.27 _a	3.46 _a	3.31 _a	3.32 _a	.415	.011
	(.62)	(.58)	(.75)	(.55)		

Note. * = p < .05. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means. Means with differing subscripts within rows are significantly different at the p < .05 based on Bonferroni's post hoc paired comparisons.

Table 23

Chi-Square Table and Results for the Relations between Culture-Gender and Nature of Attachment

Culture-Gender	Attachment style				χ^2
Culture-Gender	Secure	Fearful	Preoccupied	Dismissive	λ
American males	21	14	17	4	32.81**
American females	25	17	7	7	
Indian males	31	6	7	21	
Indian females	28	20	8	23	

Note. ** = p < .01

Relationship between Predictor and Outcome Variables

Backward linear regression analysis was used to test if the perceived parenting styles, culture and gender significantly predicted participants' ratings of the dependent variables. The results of the best model (one that yielded the highest F value) are presented for each of the outcome variable.

Symptom Distress: The results of the regression indicated that three predictors explained 12.5% of the variance (R^2 =.125, F(3,255)=13.152, p =.000). It was found that mother's authoritarianism (β = .20, p = .001), father's authoritativeness (β = -.21, p = .001) and American culture (β = .168, p = .005) significantly predicted symptom distress.

Disturbance in Interpersonal Relations: The results of the regression indicated that four predictors explained 13.1% of the variance (R^2 =.131, F(4,255)=10.58, p=.000). It was found that mother's authoritarianism (β = .15, p=.020), mother's authoritativeness (β = -.21, p=.002),

father's authoritativeness (β = -.13, p=.04) and male gender (β = .11, p=.046) significantly predicted disturbance in interpersonal relations.

Disturbance in Social role: The results of the regression indicated that two predictors explained 10.9% of the variance (R^2 =.109, F(2,255)=15.45, p=.000). It was found that mother's authoritarianism (β = .20, p=.002), and mother's authoritativeness (β = -.21, p=.001) significantly predicted disturbance in social role.

Pathology: The results of the regression indicated that three predictors explained 13.3% of the variance (R^2 =.133, F(3,255)=14.09, p=.000). It was found that mother's authoritarianism (β = .20, p=.001), mother's authoritativeness (β = -.16, p=.019) and father's authoritativeness (β = -.17, p=.007) significantly predicted pathology.

Self-esteem: The results of the regression indicated that two predictors explained 7.4% of the variance (R^2 =.074, F(2,255)=11.16, p=.000). It was found that mother's authoritarianism (β = -.17, p=.004), and father's authoritativeness (β = -.21, p=.001) significantly predicted self-esteem.

Grit: The results of the regression indicated that one predictor explained 6.3% of the variance (R^2 =.063, F(1,255)=18.16, p=.000). It was found that mother's authoritativeness (β = -.26, p=.000) significantly predicted pathology.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Past research suggests that authoritative parenting is highly correlated with fewer behavioral problems and better adjustment in the child (Damon & Lerner, 2008; Perris et al., 1983; Shah, 2000). However, there have been relatively few studies looking at this relationship in emerging adults. Also, the belief that authoritative parenting is equally beneficial in all cultures does not necessarily hold true. There is a dearth of studies reflecting the influence of culture on parenting styles and its corresponding effects on the child. The proposed study was an attempt to see whether students in America and India perceived their parents' styles differently and if so, whether it led to different outcomes in symptom distress, disturbance in interpersonal relations, disturbance in social role, psychopathology, nature of attachment, self-esteem and grit.

It was hypothesized that participants who perceived their parents as authoritative would have less pathology, high self-esteem, high grit and secure attachment styles compared to participants who perceived their parents as authoritarian or permissive. The findings supported the hypothesis, where perceived levels of both, mother's and father's authoritativeness were highly correlated with lesser symptom distress, good interpersonal relations, good social role, lesser pathology, higher self-esteem, higher grit and more secure attachment. Findings also suggested that perceived levels of parental authoritarianism led to the worst outcomes on all the dependent variables. Perceived levels of parental permissiveness were highly correlated with lesser pathology, but not with self-esteem or grit. Findings also indicated that there was a significant difference between the groups who perceived both parents as authoritative and both parents authoritarian on the dimensions of symptom distress, interpersonal relations and psychopathology, with the group perceiving the parents as authoritarian having the greatest

disturbance. These findings once again show that authoritative parenting proves to be most beneficial as far as the psychological development of the child is concerned. Findings on this dimension are supported by previous research findings (Bogart, 2009; Furham and Cheng, 2000; Lai and McBride-Chang, 2001; Wofradt, Hempel and Miles, 2003).

It was also hypothesized that participants who perceived both their parents as authoritarian would be prone to greater pathology, lower self-esteem, lower grit and insecure attachment as compared to participants who perceive one parent as authoritarian but the other as authoritative. This hypothesis was partially supported. Although the findings failed to show a significant difference between these groups, an examination of the mean scores suggested that the group that perceived both the parents as authoritarian was prone to greater pathology, and lesser secure attachment as compared to the group that perceived one parent as authoritarian but the other as authoritative. This means that if at least one parent was warm and responsive, it served as a protective factor against the development of pathology. However, once again, the group that perceived both parents as authoritative had the best outcomes, while the group that perceived both parents as authoritarian showed the greatest amount of disturbance.

It was further hypothesized that participants who perceived both parents as the same type, i.e. consistent, would have lesser pathology, higher self-esteem, higher grit and secure attachment as compared to the participants who perceived one parent as one type and the other as another, i.e. inconsistent. This hypothesis was made on the assumption that a child receiving contradictory messages from the parents would be conflicted. The findings did suggest that perceiving both parents the same way had lesser symptom distress, lesser disturbance in interpersonal relations, lesser disturbance in social role and lesser pathology. However, this finding was basically driven by the participants who perceived both their parents as authoritative,

and when the analysis was conducted without their scores, there was no longer a significant difference between the perceived consistent parenting group and inconsistent parenting group on all dimensions except for attachment, where the inconsistent parenting group was more likely to have secure attachment as compared to the consistent group (both parents authoritarian and both parents permissive). This suggests that it does not necessarily matter whether the child perceives both parents in the same way to have good mental health. In fact, if the child perceives one parent as authoritarian, but the other as authoritative or permissive, it may protect the child from the negative effects of authoritarian parenting.

Based on past research and an understanding of the cultures, it was hypothesized that a majority of the American participants would perceive their parents are authoritative, while a majority of the Indian participants would perceive their parents are authoritarian. Findings suggested that a majority of both, American and Indian participants perceived their parents as authoritative. In fact, Indians were more likely to perceive their parents as authoritative and permissive, and less likely to perceive their parents as authoritarian as compared to the Americans. The finding about Indian participants perceiving their parents as authoritative was not expected, but it could be explained by the following factors: First, the study was conducted in a metropolitan city (Ahmedabad) of India, which may not be truly representative of the Indian culture. Secondly, it is likely that people in Indian cities are gradually being influenced by Western culture, and are becoming more liberal in their outlook as compared to what they were a few years ago.

It was also hypothesized that perceived parental authoritarianism in the American sample would be associated with greater pathology, lesser self-esteem, lesser grit and insecure attachment as compared to perceived parental authoritarianism in the Indian sample. Contrary to

the hypothesis, the Indian participants reacted more negatively to parental authoritarianism as compared to the American participants, especially on the dimensions of symptom distress, interpersonal relations, pathology, self-esteem and grit. This result can also be explained by the change in Indian society, as it moves from insistence and overemphasis on strict rules, discipline and obedience, towards a balance of warmth and control.

When the American and Indian participants were compared on all the dependent variables, they differed on the dimension of symptom distress, where Americans suffered from greater symptom distress. A possible explanation for this could be the difference in social support. In the Indian culture, extended families are still very much in existence, where the individual has a very good support system, and generally has someone or the other to talk to about his problems. The sample for this study consisted of students between the age group of 18-25. Most of the students in India were living with their parents, and thus they had parental support and guidance during these transition years. On the other hand, a majority of the students in America had moved out of their parents' homes, were trying to launch their careers and support themselves financially. This increased stress could be a cause of an increase in symptom distress. Another dimension that the American and Indian participants differed on was that of the nature of attachment, where Indian participants displayed a secure attachment style as compared to the American participants. This again could be attributed to strong social support. Another possible reason could be the fact that 97% of the parents of the Indian sample were living together, which created stronger attachment in the child, as compared to 80% of the parents of the American sample who were still living together.

Besides the primary hypotheses discussed above, the study also explored the variable of gender, i.e. whether males and females differed in their perceptions towards their parents, and on

the dependent variables being measured. Findings suggested that there were no significant differences between males and females in their perceptions towards their parents. However, both males and females perceived their mothers to be more authoritative as compared to their fathers. As far as the effect of the parenting style was concerned, both males and females reacted in almost similar fashions, where higher levels of authoritativeness were associated with lesser pathology, and vice versa, and higher levels of authoritarianism were associated with greater pathology, and vice versa. However, males and females reacted differently with regards to parental authoritativeness and its effect on self-esteem and grit, where perceived levels of parental authoritativeness were highly correlated with self-esteem and grit for the males, but not for females. This particular finding is surprising and hard to explain, but it could probably suggest that males and females differ in their development of self-esteem and grit. Males appear to draw support and inspiration from their parents. On the other hand, a lot of other factors could affect the self-esteem of females, such as appearance, intelligence, or peer groups. Similarly, Grit in females could also be affected by their teachers and the company of their peers. When males and females were compared on all the dependent variables, they did not differ on selfesteem or grit, but on the variable of interpersonal relations, where males showed a greater disturbance in interpersonal relations as compared to the females. This finding is also a little difficult to explain, but it simply suggests that the females in the present sample were more skilled at dealing with other people compared to the males in the sample, or that they had more satisfying interpersonal relationships and lesser problems as compared to the males.

Along with the variable of gender, the researcher also wished to explore the variable of gender and culture combined, i.e. explore the differences between American males, American females, Indian males and Indian females in their perceptions towards their parents, and how that

could affect them on all the dependent variables. Findings suggested that there were no differences in the way the four groups perceived their parents, where most participants in all groups perceived their parents to be authoritative. Also, there were no differences in the effects of the parenting style on the four groups, where authoritative parenting led to best outcomes, and authoritarian parenting led to worst outcomes on all the dependent variables. The groups did not differ on any of the dependent variable except that of symptom distress and nature of attachment, where American males showed the greatest amount of symptom distress, while Indian males displayed the least amount. Indian males were also most likely to have secure attachment styles as compared to the other groups. These findings could be explained through the difference in societal structure, where American culture emphasizes independence, which could put extra pressure on the males to go out into the world and establish themselves. As stated earlier, with greater financial responsibilities, and lesser social support as compared to their Indian counterparts, American males could have a higher level of stress, which in turn could lead to a rise in their symptom distress.

Finally, the relationship between the predictor variables and outcome variables was examined. For symptom distress, mother's authoritarianism and father's authoritativeness were the most robust predictors along with culture, where participants of American culture were more prone to symptom distress. This suggests that where perceived mother's authoritarianism could be a major causative factor in symptom distress, perceived father's authoritativeness could serve as a strong protective factor. For disturbance in interpersonal relations and pathology, perceived mother's authoritarianism once again proved to be a robust cause; while both parents perceived as authoritative were protective factors. Moreover, the findings suggested that males were much prone to suffering from disturbance in interpersonal relations. For disturbance in social role and

self-esteem, perceived mother's authoritarianism proved to be detrimental, while mother's authoritativeness predicted higher social functioning and father's authoritativeness predicted greater self-esteem. Finally, for grit, mother's authoritativeness was the only robust predictor in the positive direction. Looking at these findings, it is clear that if the mother is perceived as authoritarian it tends to have a negative impact on the child's psychological development/mental health. Thus, it is important to highlight the role of the mother, as compared to the father, to be warm and nurturing in order to minimize the development of psychopathology and poor self-esteem. At the same time, if the father is perceived as authoritative, the child is less likely to suffer from symptom distress and disturbance in social role, implicating the importance of the father's role in the child's healthy development. Perceived parental permissiveness was not a significant predictor.

Thus, if all the findings of the study are taken in totality, it is clear that perceived parental authoritativeness is most beneficial for the optimal development of the child, while perceived authoritarian parenting, especially perceived authoritarian mothers prove to be most detrimental for the child's development.

Implications

The findings of the study will be beneficial to Clinical Psychologists, Child Psychologists and other Mental Health Workers, as they will be able to understand their patients' problems better by looking at them in the context of how the patients feel about their parents' behavior, and whether that has played a role in the development of their symptoms/problems. Apart from mental health professionals, even the lay population, especially future parents can also gain useful insights about parenting and can be cautioned about the harmful effects of negative

parenting on their child, and thus try to be better parents. Moreover, the findings implicate the role of social support and culture in sound mental health.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current study highlights the significance of perceived parenting in the psychological development of the individual. Moreover, the role of culture, its impact on parenting, and on the development of the individual is also emphasized. However, there are a certain limitations of the work that should be addressed and should be considered while conducting further research in this direction in the future.

First, the sample was non-representative of a national culture. The Indian sample was collected from a metropolitan city, and a majority of the sample belonged to the middle/upper middle class. The findings could have come out differently had the sample be more representative of the Indian population. Second, participants could have faked responses on the questionnaires to appear socially desirable, for example, it would not be socially desirable to agree to the authoritarian questions on the parental authority questionnaire. However, that seems unlikely since a lot of care was taken to build rapport with the participants, and they were assured about the confidential nature of the study. Thirdly, since there were a number of statistical tests performed, one needs to be cautious about the findings reported at the .05 level.

In addition, a couple of other interesting issues emerged from this study that can be studied in the future. For example, India is a highly heterogeneous country, and individuals from almost 10 different religions participated in the study. Although they all identify themselves as belonging to the Indian subcontinent, there may be differences in their upbringing and value system; and thus a future study could explore whether there is a difference between these various

subgroups. Another area that can be further studied in the future is that of social economic class (SES) and parenting. A majority of the participants in the present study belonged to middle class or upper middle class, and thus there wasn't enough scope to investigate whether SES influenced parenting.

Appendix A

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE -INDIAN PARTICIPANTS

Name :	Age:	Sex : Male / Female
Email ID :	Conta	ct number:
Marital Status : Single / Married / Other -		
Education and Occupation :		_
Father's highest educational degree and oc	-	
Mother's highest educational degree and o		
Spouse's highest educational degree and o	ccupation:	
Religion: (a) Hindu (b) Muslim (c) Chr	istian (d) Sikh	(e) Jain (f) Zoroastrian (g) Other -
Have you been born and brought up in Ind	ia? (a) Yes (b) No
Is your father of Indian origin? (a) Yes	(b) No	If not, from where -
Is your mother of Indian origin? (a) Yes	(b) No	If not, from where -
Did you live with your parents till you wer	re at least 15 yea	rs old?
Was your mother present or available for y	ou till you were	at least 15?
Was your father present or available for you	ou till you were a	at least 15?
Did/do you live in a nuclear family or an e	extended/joint far	mily?
If you lived/live in an extended/joint famil	y, who were the	family members?

Presently, are your parents?		
(a) Living together	(b) Separated	(c) Divorced
If your parents are separated or divo	rced, how old were yo	u when that happened?
Are you the:		
(a) First born child of your parents		
(b) Second born child of your parent	ts	
(c) Third born/later born child of yo	ur parents	

(d) Only child of your parents

Appendix B

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE- AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS

Name :	Age:	Sex : Male / Female
Email ID :	Contact number:	
Marital Status : Single / Married	/ Other	
Education and occupation :		
Father's education and occupatio	n :	
Mother's education and occupation	on :	
Spouse's education and occupation	on :	
Race: (a) Caucasian(White) (b)	African American (c) Asia	n American (d) Latino
(e)Native American		
Have you been born and brought	up in the United States of An	nerica? (a) Yes (b) No
Did you live with your parents til	ll you were at least 15 years o	ld?
Was your mother present or avail	able for you till you were at l	east 15?
Was your father present or availa	ble for you till you were at le	ast 15?
Did/do you live in a nuclear fami	ly or an extended/joint family	y?
If you lived/live in an extended/jo	oint family, who were the fam	nily members?
Presently, are your parents?		
(b) Living together	(b) Separated (c)) Divorced
If your parents are separated or d	ivorced, how old were you w	hen that happened?

Are you the:

- (a) First born child of your parents
- (b) Second born child of your parents
- (c) Third born/later born child of your parents
- (d) Only child of your parents

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