EXAMINING THE LINK BETWEEN PARENTING AND CHILD PROBLEM BEHAVIORS IN AMERICAN INDIAN FAMILIES

By

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Abstract:

Parenting discipline strategies, child externalizing behavior, and acculturation of American Indian families residing in Oklahoma were examined using standardized and well-accepted measures. Sixty-four parents with children between the ages of 6 and 11 participated. Results were mixed on the use of the Parenting Scale (PS) and Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) with the current American Indian sample, as a number of the scales were significantly different than the normative samples; however, internal consistencies of the PS and APQ were good and tentatively lend support for their use with Native families in Oklahoma. Findings support that parents who use more reactive discipline are more likely to have children with disruptive behavior problems and parents who monitor/supervise their children less are more likely to have children with disruptive behavior problems. Exploratory analyses revealed conditional effects of parental involvement and acculturation on the association between overreactive parenting and child disruptive behavior. Specifically, when parental involvement is higher, the association between overreactivity and child disruptive behavior is strengthened, and when acculturation is lower, overreactive parenting has less of an effect on child disruptive behavior.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Research suggests the strategies parents use affect children's adjustment and behavior (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005). Additionally, children's adjustment may also influence their parents' childrearing practices (Harris, 1995; Hart, Newell & Olsen, 2003).

One limitation of the existing literature has been a lack of emphasis on the role of the parent-child relationship on child behavior problems in racial and ethnic minority families. Few studies have examined how particular experiences that are relevant to ethnic minorities, such as acculturation and enculturation, might affect family processes and child behaviors. One population that has been particularly underrepresented in this research is American Indian families. Research examining American Indian child behavior problems, parenting strategies, and parental involvement is extremely limited. Much of the literature focusing specifically on parenting in American Indians was published prior to 1985 and more recent articles have been primarily discussions and reviews of American Indian culture, and are not empirically based. The limited information available on American Indian families indicates there is a wealth of information to be gained regarding general parenting practices, specific parenting strategies, and child disruptive behaviors in this culture.

The author sought to address this gap in the literature by investigating the associations among specific parenting strategies, parental involvement and other parenting behaviors, and acculturation to child disruptive behaviors in American Indian families in Oklahoma. The purpose of this paper is to briefly review existing research of parenting strategies and child externalizing behaviors and the limited research of parenting and family characteristics of American Indians. In particular, extended kinship ties, discipline strategies, and noninterference will be reviewed. The methodology of the current investigation is discussed after a review of the existing literature. Next, results of the current study will be presented, followed by a thorough interpretation of these findings, clinical implications, and future directions of research based on our findings.

The purpose of the current study was to: 1) provide descriptive information about specific parenting practices and rates of child externalizing behavior in an Oklahoma American Indian sample; 2) compare the data with norms from popular parenting and child behavior measures to determine if there are significant differences; 3) assess for acculturation; and 4) examine the associations between parenting discipline strategies, parental involvement, child externalizing behavior, and acculturation.

CHAPTER II

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The United States federal government currently recognizes 566 tribes (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2013). The 2010 U.S. Census (United State Bureau of the Census, 2010) found American Indians make up approximately 1.7% (5.2 million) of the United States population living within 1,736,742 households. American Indians live in all fifty states. However, ten states represent the largest American Indian inhabitants: California, Oklahoma, Arizona, Texas, New York, New Mexico, Washington, North Carolina, Florida, and Michigan. Oklahoma has 482,760 self-identifying American Indians or Alaska Natives (alone-or-in-combination) and 55 counties with eight percent or more of the total county population comprised of American Indians. Additionally, the American Indian population is a relatively young population with only 7.3% of people 65 years old or older and 0.6% of people 85 years old or older. In 2010, 8.9% of American Indian children were younger than five years, and 31.6% under the age of eighteen (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). The large number of American Indian minors indicates that there are numerous children receiving the guidance of parents or guardians. Despite the large number of American Indian minors, few empirical studies have focused on American Indian parenting or child behaviors. Therefore, this brief review of the literature will

begin by focusing on available literature of child problem behaviors and parenting in the general population and then shift to the available literature on American Indian parenting.

The specific characteristics of problem behaviors in children are well documented within the general population, and there is evidence that they are the result of both environmental and biological factors that interact (Martin, Linfoot, & Stephenson, 2005). Problem behaviors in children can be identified as either externalizing or internalizing behaviors (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005). Externalizing behavior problems are described as overt behaviors that have a negative effect on the external environment and consist of disruptive, hyperactive, and aggressive behaviors (Liu, 2004; Hinshaw, 1987). Internalizing behaviors, in contrast to externalizing behaviors, have quite different features, including fearfulness, withdrawal, anxiety, inhibition, and unhappiness (Campbell, 2002). A recent meta-analytic study estimated externalizing disorders, such as oppositional defiant disorder (ODD) and conduct disorder (CD), to exist in approximately 3% of the global population (Canino, Polanczyk, Bauermeister, Rohde, & Frick, 2010). Prevalence rates of internalizing disorders, such as generalized anxiety disorder and post-traumatic stress disorder, have been estimated to exist in approximately 2-4% of the population (Kessler et al., 2012).

While the precise explanation of how behavior problems develop in children remains difficult, numerous research studies have pointed to the link between parenting discipline strategies and child problem behaviors. In an early experimental study by Johnson and Lobitz (1974), families with 4- to 6-year-old children were instructed to make their children look “bad” or “deviant” on three days of a six-day observation and look “good” or “non-deviant” on alternate days. The authors found the rate of child

deviant behavior, parental negative responding, and parental commands were all significantly higher on bad than good days. The results of this study clearly demonstrate how parents can manipulate the level of deviant behavior in their children by increasing their rate of negative responding and commands. Further, Gardner (1989) found that mothers of preschool-age children with conduct problems were not consistent after issuing a command and mothers who were more inconsistent engaged in more conflict with their children. Sixty-seven percent of the time, mothers gave a command that was not followed through, and did not obtain compliance from their child. In an older sample of 9- to 12-year-old children, Pederson and Fite (2014) also recently found inconsistent discipline to be associated with increased symptoms of ODD and CD.

Research has also examined short- and long-term outcomes of children with behavior problems. Preschool children with externalizing behavior disorders are at greater risk than preschool children without externalizing behavior disorders for carrying their behavior problems into early school years when they are associated with more family disruption and a negative mother-child relationship (Campbell, Breaux, Ewing, & Szumowski, 1986). More specifically, Stormont (2000) found preschoolers with hyperactivity and aggression were more likely than preschoolers with hyperactivity alone, or preschoolers without either hyperactivity or aggression, to have externalizing problems 5 years later. Other research has found that up to 67% of children with both hyperactivity and aggression in their preschool years continued to have severe behavior problems at age 9 (Campbell & Ewing, 1990).

One specific element of the parent-child relationship found to be particularly significant is parental involvement. In a longitudinal study, high levels of parental

involvement were associated with reduced symptoms of hyperactivity/inattention over time, but only in the younger (< 5 years) cohort of children (Hawes, Dadds, Frost, & Russell, 2013). These results suggest parental involvement may serve as a protective factor in the development of ADHD and particularly when children are young. Similarly, Fanti and Centifanti (2014) recently found maintenance of high parental involvement over a period of one year to be associated with decreases in conduct problems in a sample of children between the ages of 7 to 12. Further, in a study of 6- to 12-year-olds, boys with fathers who are more involved were found to have lower externalizing behaviors (Gryczkowski, Jordan, & Mercer, 2010). In a meta-analytic study, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) found adolescents with lowly involved parents are more likely to engage in delinquent behaviors and use substances; conversely, high levels of parental involvement can act as a buffer against delinquency and drug use. An additional construct known to interact with child externalizing behaviors, which may be related to parental involvement, is parental monitoring and supervision. In a sample of parents with children between the ages of 10 to 13, low parental monitoring was associated with externalizing behavior (Gaertner, Fite, & Colder, 2010). Some have suggested parental monitoring and supervision become more important in contributing to child behavior as children get older because monitoring tends to decrease as adolescents are given more autonomy (Shelton et al., 1996). Supporting this theory, when examined separately, Frick and colleagues (1999) found poor monitoring to be weakly associated with conduct problems in young children (6 to 8), but increased in its association in the middle (9 to 12) and adolescent groups (13 to 17).

With an understanding of parenting and child behavior within majority culture, attention will shift to the unique qualities of American Indian families and parenting strategies available in the literature. First, however, acculturation will be discussed. The U.S. government identifies American Indians from a biological basis of blood quantum or degree of Indian blood. However, from an individual's standpoint, acculturation is often how American Indians view themselves as being Native in relation to mainstream culture. Although traditional values are central to the lives of American Indians, it is important to note that American Indians are not a homogenous group. American Indians differ significantly in their binding to traditional values and tribal customs through differences in family structures, customs, and languages (Garrett, 1995). Additionally, at present time, nearly all American Indians are acculturated to some degree into the dominant culture; however, the level of acculturation depends on the level of the individual's own belief about preserving his or her traditions and the strength of the family's support system (Glover, 2001).

Garrett (1995) identified American Indians as falling into one of the following four descriptions of cultural commitment: Traditional (person practices only traditional beliefs and values); transitional (person holds both traditional beliefs and values and those of mainstream culture, but may not accept all of either culture); bicultural (person is accepted by the mainstream culture and also knows and practices traditional ways); and assimilated (person embraces only mainstream cultural beliefs and values). Later, Garrett and Pichette (2000) changed the transitional title to "marginal" and added a fifth dimension to the end of the continuum, pantraditional (person is an assimilated American Indian who made a conscious decision to return to the "old ways").

According to Garrett (1995), American Indians identifying as transitional and bicultural were most likely to experience a number of difficulties resulting from cultural discontinuity. Trimble (1999) referred to this dilemma of being caught between two worlds as acculturation stress. However, LaFromboise and Rowe (1983) identified bicultural American Indians as having fewer social, personal, and academic difficulties because of their ability to use a greater range of cultural communication and social behaviors in a greater variety of contexts. Moreover, Oetting and Beauvais (1991) came to a similar conclusion and suggest that individuals have the capacity to endure and grow from their ability to participate in two or more cultures.

Before discussing particular parenting strategies within American Indian families, an understanding of American Indian's family structure is important. Traditionally, American Indian families have been part of an extended family system that typically includes parents, children, aunts, uncles, and grandparents in an active kinship system (Red Horse, Lewis, Feit, & Decker, 1978). Grandparents may be responsible for passing down values such as respect, showing appreciation, hard work, quietness, pride in being Indian, and kindness (Robbins, Sherman, Holman, & Wilson 2005). According to Coleman and colleagues (2001), children are viewed as having a privileged position in American Indian society and adults with children are considered wealthy, and tradition encourages adults to treat children with kindness and gentleness. Red Horse and colleagues discuss American Indian grandparents as having an official voice in child-rearing methods and parents rarely go against corrective measures by their elders. LaFromboise and Dizon (2003) report that when a child misbehaves, it is common for information about their misbehavior to be passed from the mother to another family

member who has been recognized as being responsible for guiding the youth's character development.

LaFromboise and Dizon (2003) report autonomy is highly valued among American Indians; children are expected to operate semi-independently and family members allow children choices and the freedom to experience the natural consequences of those choices. Consequently, to the majority culture, this approach has been viewed as permissive or negligent because it appears that American Indian parents employ minimal observable control over their children.

It has been suggested by many that there are major differences in parenting in American Indian families compared to the general population (Lefley, 1976; Coleman et al., 2001; LaFromboise & Dizon, 2003). However, few of these studies examine discipline in American Indian cultures, and those that do exist are dated and have contradictory findings. For example, Glover (2001) indicates that American Indian parents do not commonly use physical punishment, whereas Lefley (1976) reports that the preferred method of punishment when needed in Mikosukee and Seminole tribes is spanking. Further, Lefley (1976) also reports that punishment is primarily administered by the mother, however, others (Red Horse et al., 1978; Joe & Malach, 1998; LaFromboise & Dizon, 2003) report extended family members are responsible for punishment and not the mother.

These discrepant findings could be due to a number of factors including differences between tribes, differences in methodology, and differences in acculturation. The current quantitative study sought to expand our understanding of parenting practices and child externalizing behavior in American Indian families in Oklahoma. Further,

parenting measures have not been previously normed with American Indians and, as a result, may not accurately portray parenting strategies that American Indians utilize; therefore, the current study examined the psychometrics of the measures used. Additionally, acculturation was taken into consideration and its effect on the resulting data were analyzed.

Hypotheses

To aid in interpretation of our findings, the first research question sought to determine whether there were significant differences between the normative data and the current Oklahoma American Indian sample on our measures of parenting and child behavior.

Drawing from existing research with non-American Indian families, it was hypothesized a significant positive association would be present between less effective parenting strategies and child externalizing behavior. Further, it was hypothesized that parental involvement would be significantly negatively associated with both less effective parenting strategies and child externalizing behavior. Given the previous research that has linked parental monitoring and child disruptive behavior problems (e.g., Gaertner et al., 2010), it was hypothesized poor monitoring/supervision would be significantly positively associated with child externalizing behavior. The second research question, and the final association tested, was whether caregiver acculturation was associated with their parenting behaviors or their child's behaviors.

Next, a moderation analysis was conducted to examine parental involvement, acculturation, and parenting strategies on child externalizing behavior. The analyses specifically targeted two research questions: 1) Does parental involvement strengthen the

association between discipline strategies and child externalizing behavior; and 2) Does acculturation strengthen the association between discipline strategies and child externalizing behavior? Conceptual models are presented below in Figures 1 and 2. Lastly, for exploratory purposes, a mediation analysis was conducted to examine parenting strategies, acculturation, and positive parenting on child externalizing behavior. These analyses specifically targeted two research questions: 1) Is the association between parenting strategies and child externalizing behavior mediated by acculturation; and 2) Is the association between acculturation and child externalizing behavior mediated by positive parenting?

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Sixty-nine parents/caregivers participated in the current study; however, five participants were excluded from analyses due to a non-Native parent completing the packet, the child being outside targeted age range, or the parent not signing the informed consent. Therefore, a final sample of sixty-four parents/caregivers were included in our analyses. In order to be included in the study, parents had to report they were the primary caregiver for a child between the ages of 6 and 11 years and report both their and their child's race/ethnicity as American Indian on the demographic form used in this investigation. Parents were recruited through tribal education programs, American Indian parent committee meetings, and pow wows. The data were collected from October 2013 to March 2014.

Parents ranged in age from 26 to 66 years (M = 38.97, SD = 7.99). Participating caregivers were biological mothers and biological fathers, and 6 were "other" caregivers (e.g., grandparents with primary caregiver responsibilities).

Twenty-three percent of the participating parents were Cherokee, twenty percent were Muscogee (Creek), and eighteen percent were Osage, and the remainder represented nineteen other tribes/nations. Forty-one of the participants were married or living with a partner, while twenty-three identified as single (i.e., never married, separated, divorced, or widowed). Partners' ages ranged from 27 to 67 years (M = 40.35, SD = 8.81). Of those who reported not being single, 34% of participant's partners were American Indian, 26% were Caucasian, 3% were African-American, and 3% were Hispanic/Latino. Participants' highest level of education completed was as follows: 9.3% did not complete high school, 25% obtained a high school diploma, 34.4% started or obtained a two-year degree, 18.8% started or obtained a bachelors degree, and 14.1% obtained a graduate degree. Total annual family income was as follows: < $10,000 (15.6%); $10,001 – 30,000 (25%); $30,001 – 50,000 (25%); $50,001 – 70,000 (11%); $70,001 – 90,000 (6.3%); and over $90,000 (15.6%). Only one participant did not report family income. The number of people living in the home ranged from 2 to 11 (M = 4.40, SD = 1.96).

Participating caregivers were asked to complete study questionnaires in regard to their child between the ages of six and eleven. If caregivers had more than one child in this age range, they were asked to choose one child and keep that child in mind while completing the study questionnaires. The children of the participating caregivers ranged in age from 6 to 11 years (M = 8.47, SD = 1.63). There were approximately equal numbers of male children (n = 33) and female children (n = 31).

Materials

Demographic Questionnaire

Parents completed a demographic form for descriptive purposes. The questionnaire assessed the participant's age, child's age, relationship to child, race/ethnicity, tribal enrollment, annual family income, years of education completed, and marital status.

Parenting Scale (PS; Arnold, O'Leary, Wolfe, & Acker, 1993)

The Parenting Scale is a brief and psychometrically sound measure of dysfunctional discipline. It was designed for early identification of at-risk parents and for detection of dysfunctional discipline strategies before severe child behavior problems develop. The PS is a 30-item scale consisting of typical discipline encounters between parents and their children. Each item identifies two different responses to a child misbehavior and parents use a seven-point scale to indicate which response is most typical for them. A sample item is: "when my child misbehaves... "I do something right away" or "I do something about it later." Half of the items are reverse scored. The scale yields a mean Total score, and three factor scores: Laxness, indicating overly permissive and inconsistent discipline; Overreactivity, indicating emotional and harsh reactions; and Verbosity, associated with overly long reprimands rather than taking direct action (Arnold et al., 1993; Irvine, Biglan, Smolkowski, & Ary, 1999). Scores on the PS can range from 1 to 7 with higher scores indicating more dysfunctional parenting strategies. Internal consistency of the Parenting Scale was reported at .86 for Laxness, .81 for Overreactivity, and .87 for the Total score (Collet, Gimpel, Greenson, & Gunderson, 2001). Test-retest correlations were .83 for Laxness, .82 for Overreactivity, .63 for

Verbosity, and .84 for the Total (Arnold et al., 1993).

Although the PS was developed for parents with children between 18 months and 4 years of age, normative data have demonstrated that the item-content and subscale scores are suitable for use with parents of older children (Irvine et al., 1999; Harvey et al., 2001). Research has demonstrated instability in the Verbosity scale; therefore, in older children the Verbosity scale is typically not used. The current study yielded Cronbach's alphas of .48 for Verbosity, .74 for Overreactivity, .86 for Laxness, and .77 for the Total score. The Total score as well as the Overreactivity and Laxness factor scores were used as measures of parenting practices.

Alabama Parenting Questionnaire- Parent Global Report (APQ; Frick, 1991)

The Alabama Parenting Questionnaire is a 42-item questionnaire used to assess five dimensions of parenting practices that can be completed by parents or children. Sums of items are created for each of the five parenting behaviors: Parental Involvement (assessed by 10 items such as "How often do you play games or do other fun things with your child?"); Positive Parenting (assessed by 6 items, such as "How often do you praise your child if he or she behaves well?"); Poor Monitoring/Supervision (assessed by 10 items, such as "How often does your child out after dark without an adult with him or her?"); Inconsistent Discipline (assessed by 6 items, such as "How often do you threaten to punish your child and then do not actually punish him or her?"); and Corporal Punishment (assessed by 3 items, such as "How often do you hit your child with a belt, switch, or other object when he or she has done something wrong?"). Items are rated on a 5-point frequency scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always) to represent the "typical" frequency in the home, and higher scores represent more of that type of parenting. In a

clinic-referred sample of 124 parents of children ages 6 to 13, it was found to be reliable with adequate internal consistency (alphas ranging from .63 to .80, except Corporal Punishment, .45) and demonstrated good construct validity (Shelton et al., 1996). The APQ has been broadly used across ethnicities and translated into 11 different languages (e.g., Haack, Gerdes, Schneider, & Hurtado, 2011; Reichle & Franiek, 2009). The current study yielded Cronbach's alphas of .85 for Involvement, .81 for Positive Parenting, .82 for Poor Monitoring/Supervision, .81 for Inconsistent Discipline, and .63 for Corporal Punishment. For the current study, the APQ was used as a measure of additional parenting strategies not assessed by the PS.

Child Behavior Checklist/6-18 (CBCL; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001)

The Child Behavior Checklist is a standardized parent-rated checklist of child competencies and problem behaviors, yielding two broad-band factors for Internalizing and Externalizing behaviors and eight narrow-band scales. The measure consists of 113 items rated on a 3-point Likert scale (not true, sometimes/somewhat true, very/often true), with higher scores indicating higher levels of behavior problems. The T-score of the Externalizing Problems scale was used in the current study and has shown sound psychometric properties (test-retest reliability of r = .92 and good criterion-related and construct validity; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001).

Native American Acculturation Scale (NAAS; Garrett & Pichette, 2000)

The NAAS is a 20-item, multiple-choice scale that assesses acculturation across several factors, including language, cultural identity, friendship choices, daily behavior, background, and general attitudes. A mean score is calculated, ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 representing a low level of acculturation and 5 representing a high level of

acculturation. A mean score of 3 represents the cutoff score, with scores below 3 identifying people holding predominantly traditional Native American values and beliefs, and scores above 3 identifying people holding predominantly the majority culture's values and beliefs. The NAAS has shown sound psychometric properties (internal consistency of .91) and has been deemed culturally appropriate by a panel of experts from various geographic, professional, and tribal affiliations (Garrett & Pichette, 2000). The current study yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .88. The NAAS was used to assess participant's degree of acculturation.

Procedures

Prior to collecting any data for this study, review and approval was always gained from appropriate administration (e.g., event coordinators, school superintendent). Recruitment of participants was completed using two primary methods: (1) flyers distributed to parents from Indian Education programs with information to contact the researchers, and (2) flyers and questionnaire packets directly distributed at pow wows, parent committee meetings, and parent-teacher meetings. Each packet contained a brief description of the project, two consent forms, the demographic questionnaire, Parenting Scale, Alabama Parenting Questionnaire- Parent Global Report, Child Behavior Checklist/6-18, and Native American Acculturation Scale. Participants either returned completed packets to the researchers at the time of recruitment or returned packets via postage-paid envelopes at a later date. After the completion and receipt of a packet, the parent was compensated with a $25 gift card and child's activity book. In addition, each participant was placed in one of three drawings for $100 held for every twenty completed packets received.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Initial data analysis focused on descriptive information regarding the background of the participating families. To aid in interpretation of subsequent analyses, descriptive statistics were used to summarize data collected on parenting strategies using the PS and APQ, child externalizing behavior using the CBCL, and acculturation using the NAAS.

The Total score and two factor scores (Laxness and Overreactivity) were calculated for the Parenting Scale. Research has shown Verbosity to be a less stable factor score (Harvey et al., 2001); therefore, the Verbosity score was not included in the analyses for this project. The mean and standard deviations were calculated for the Laxness scale (M = 2.45, SD = .979), Overreactivity scale (M = 2.81, SD = .867), and Total score (M = 2.98, SD = .581). Scores for the current sample and standardization sample are presented in Table 1. Scores for the current American Indian sample were compared to scores in the sample used by Harvey and colleagues (2001), which included a community sample of parents with children ranging in age from 5 to 12, in order to determine whether there were significant differences. A one-sample *z*-test was conducted.

Results indicated there was a significant difference between the current American Indian sample and the normative sample for the Laxness score (z = -2.54, p = .01) and the Total score (z = 2.18, p = .02), but no difference for the Overreactivity score (z = .112, p > .05). This indicates the PS scores for this American Indian sample are not entirely comparable to those in the standardization sample as the current sample had lower rates of lax parenting, but overall slightly more ineffective discipline strategies than the standardization sample. Next, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients of the PS scale scores were calculated in order to determine internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha coefficients were .86 for Laxness, .74 for Overreactivity, and .77 for the Total score. The alpha coefficients for the standardization sample were very similar for all the scales (.85 for Laxness, .84 for Overreactivity, and .87 for the Total score). While there is no statistical test to compare different alpha coefficients, these results are similar to the coefficients for the normative sample.

The individual scale scores of the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire were calculated. The means and standard deviations were calculated for the Parental Involvement scale (M = 41.67, SD = 6.14), Positive Parenting scale (M = 26.92, SD = 2.85), Poor Monitoring/Supervision scale (M = 13.66, SD = 5.03), Inconsistent Discipline scale (M = 12.49, SD = 3.88), and Corporal Punishment scale (M = 5.05, SD = 1.85). Unfortunately, while the APQ has been broadly used worldwide, no comparable non-clinical United States standardization samples exist to accurately compare our current American Indian sample. Therefore, a one-sample z-test was not conducted. Cronbach's alpha coefficients of the APQ scale scores were calculated. Cronbach's alpha coefficients were .85 for Involvement, .81 for Positive Parenting, .82 for Poor

Monitoring/Supervision, .81 for Inconsistent Discipline, and .63 for Corporal Punishment. The current sample yielded overall larger alpha coefficients than a large normative community sample in Australia (.75 for Involvement, .77 for Positive Parenting, .59 for Poor Monitoring/Supervision, .73 for Inconsistent Discipline, and .55 for Corporal Punishment; Dadds, Maujean, & Fraser, 2003) and a clinical sample in the United States (.80 for Involvement, .79 for Positive Parenting, .63 for Poor Monitoring/Supervision, .64 for Inconsistent Discipline, and .45 for Corporal Punishment; Shelton et al., 1996). Next, scale elevations were examined. Dadds et al. (2003) reported cutoff scores representing the lower 5% on positive dimensions and above 95% on negative dimensions. Using these cutoff scores, the percentage of families in our sample that were beyond these cutoff scores were as follows: 9.8% for Involvement, 4.7% for Positive Parenting, 12.9% for Poor Monitoring/Supervision, 7.9% for Inconsistent Discipline, and 9.4% for Corporal Punishment.

For child externalizing behavior, CBCL Externalizing T scores ranged from 33 to 71 (M = 46.78, SD = 9.57) and ten percent of children (n = 7) were rated in the clinical range for Externalizing problems. Scores for the current sample were compared to scores in the standardization sample (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001). A one-sample *z*-test was conducted. Results indicated significant differences were present between the current American Indian sample and the normative sample for the Externalizing T score (z = -3.45, p < .001). This indicates the CBCL scores for the current American Indian sample are not entirely comparable to those in the standardization sample, as the current sample had significantly lower Externalizing T scores.

To determine the acculturation of the current sample, the NAAS score was calculated (M = 3.21, SD = 0.59). The distribution of our sample's acculturation level was determined following the cutoff score of 3 reported by Garrett and Pichette (2000). In the current sample, 41.37% endorsed holding predominantly traditional American Indian values and beliefs (mean score < 3), 53.44% endorsed holding predominantly the majority culture's values and beliefs (mean score > 3), and 5.17% had a mean score equal to 3.0. The current sample yielded good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .88) comparable to what Garrett and Pichette (2000) reported (Cronbach's alpha = .91).

Associations Between Parenting and Child Variables

A series of replications were conducted to duplicate previous associations within the non-American Indian literature and these analyses are summarized in Table 2. First, it was hypothesized that there would be a significant positive association between less effective parenting strategies and child externalizing behavior. A Pearson product-moment correlation revealed a significant positive correlation between the Overreactivity score on the PS and the Externalizing T score on the CBCL, r (62) = .361, p = .004. However, while in the predicted positive direction, the PS Total score was approaching significance, but not significantly associated with the Externalizing T score on the CBCL, r (59) = .241, p = .066, and the PS Laxness score was not significantly associated with the Externalizing T score on the CBCL, r (62) = .076, p = .557. Therefore, our first hypothesis was partially supported. Second, it was hypothesized that there would be a significant negative association between parental involvement and less effective parenting strategies. To test this hypothesis, the Parental Involvement subscale of the APQ was correlated with the PS scale scores using a Pearson product-moment correlation.

As predicted, the Parental Involvement subscale was significantly negatively correlated with both PS Total (r (56) = -.285, p = .033) and PS Overreactivity (r (59) = -.370, p = .004). However, while in the predicted negative direction, parental involvement was not significantly correlated with the PS Laxness scale, r (59) = -.207, p = .115.

Further, it was hypothesized that lower parental involvement scores would be associated with higher child externalizing behavior. A Pearson product-moment correlation revealed a negative association between the Parental Involvement score and the Externalizing T score on the CBCL but it was not significant, r (61) = -.126, p = .335. This hypothesis was not supported, as parental involvement was not significantly negatively associated with the CBCL Externalizing T score.

Next, to test whether an association between parental monitoring/supervision and child externalizing behavior exists, the Poor Monitoring/Supervision subscale of the APQ was correlated with the CBCL Externalizing T score. As predicted, a significant positive correlation was found indicating that poor parental monitoring/supervision was associated with higher child externalizing behavior problem scores, r (62) = .359, p = .004.

Exploratory Analyses

Additional Pearson product-moment correlation analyses were used to explore associations between acculturation of caregivers and their measures of parenting/child's behavior. The NAAS average score was correlated with the subscale and total scores on the PS, APQ, and Externalizing T score on the CBCL. A significant negative association was found between the NAAS and the Positive Parenting subscale of the APQ, r (58) = -

.325, p = .013. This finding suggests that parents who identify as less acculturated (more traditionally American Indian) utilize more positive parenting methods.

Bootstrapping analyses. Next, the potential moderating effects of parental involvement and acculturation on the link between parenting strategies and child externalizing behavior were explored. To test for moderation effects, the Hayes PROCESS macro (model 1) was used (Hayes, 2013). This macro runs a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions with the product term representing the interaction of parental involvement x parenting strategies and acculturation x parenting strategies as a predictor of the child externalizing behavior outcome. The significance of the interaction effect, based on the 95% confidence interval (CI) derived from 5,000 bootstrap resamples, is indicated when the CI values do not contain zero. Because the PS Total score was not found to be significantly associated with child behavior, the PS Overreactivity score served as the predictor variable, the Parental Involvement subscale of the APQ and NAAS average score were both independent moderators, and the CBCL Externalizing T score was the dependent variable. Table 3 shows there were no main effects of parental involvement (R^2 = 0.16, b = 0.2478, 95% CI [-0.1968, 0.6923], t = 1.12, p > .05) or acculturation (R^2 = .20, b = 2.1741, 95% CI [-2.9162, 7.2644, t = 0.86, p > .05) on the association between parents' overreactivity and child externalizing behavior. Despite non-significant main effects, for exploratory purposes, these interactions were decomposed using the Johnson-Neyman technique to examine the conditional effect of parents' overreactivity on child externalizing behavior at different levels of the moderators. Figure 3 shows a clear interaction of the effect on child externalizing behavior of low and high levels of parental overreactivity at different levels of parental

involvement. It was found that when parental involvement was higher (above 36.8), the association between overreactive parenting and child externalizing behavior was stronger. This finding suggests parents who are more reactive in their parenting have a greater influence on their child's externalizing behavior problems when parents are more involved than when they are less involved with their children. Figure 4 shows the interaction of the effect on child externalizing behavior of low and high levels of parental overreactivity at different levels of acculturation. It was found that when acculturation was lower (below 2.83), the association between overreactive parenting and child externalizing behavior was weaker. This finding suggests that when parents are less acculturated, the effect of being more reactive in their parenting has less of an effect on their child's externalizing behavior problems than parents who are more acculturated. It should be noted, however, that these conditional effects should be interpreted with caution since the overall moderation models were not significant. These significant conditional effects do not suggest that there is necessarily a difference between high and low levels of the moderators, but simply that those individual values are statistically different from zero.

Lastly, two mediation models were explored to test whether the association between parenting strategies and child externalizing behavior was mediated by acculturation and if the association between acculturation and child externalizing behavior was mediated by positive parenting. Hayes' PROCESS macro (model 4) was used for these analyses (Hayes, 2013). The significance of the indirect effect, based on the 95% CI derived from 5,000 bootstrap resamples, is indicated when the CI values do not contain zero. In the first mediation model, the PS Overreactivity score served as the

predictor variable, the NAAS average score was the mediator variable, and the CBCL Externalizing T score was the dependent variable. Results indicated the indirect effect of overreactive parenting on child externalizing behavior through acculturation was not significant, b = -0.2153, CI [-1.2242, 0.1718]. In the second mediation model, the NAAS average scored served as the predictor variable, the APQ Positive Parenting scale was the mediator variable, and the CBCL Externalizing T score was the dependent variable. Results indicated the indirect effect of acculturation on child externalizing behavior through positive parenting was not significant, b = 0.5418, CI [-1.0745, 2.6621].

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study assessed parenting discipline strategies, child externalizing behavior, and acculturation of American Indian families residing in Oklahoma using standardized and well-accepted measures. This study had four primary purposes. The first purpose of the study was to provide descriptive information about specific parenting practices and rates of child externalizing behavior in an Oklahoma American Indian sample. The second purpose of the study was to compare the data with norms from popular parenting and child behavior measures to determine if there are significant differences. The third purpose was to assess for acculturation. The fourth purpose was to examine the associations between parenting discipline strategies, parental involvement, child externalizing behavior, and acculturation.

Interpretation of Results

Prior to examining multiple aspects within the parent-child relationship, parent and child characteristics were assessed independently to gain a greater understanding of American Indian families. Examination of our scores on a standardized measure of discipline strategies assessed through the PS revealed a range of scores. A number of discrepancies were revealed when our scores were compared to the normative sample

scores. The total number of ineffective disciplines strategies was higher in our sample than in the standardization sample, while the level of lax discipline strategies was lower in our sample than in the standardization sample. Overreactivity was at a comparable level in our sample. The internal consistency of the PS scale scores were good despite these observed differences, and were very comparable between the current sample and standardization sample. Given the current sample yielded good internal consistency indices on all three scales of the PS but our means differed significantly from the normative sample on the Total and Laxness scales, this may suggest that while the PS is reliably measuring these dimensions of discipline strategies, it may not be capturing the full scope of discipline strategies that Native families use. Our finding that lax discipline strategies was lower in our sample than in the standardization sample is discrepant from anecdotal reports of Native parents using noninterfering strategies of parenting (LaFromboise & Dizon, 2003). While previous literature has suggested noninterference to be a primary parenting strategy used by Native parents, no measure has been designed to specifically assess this parenting strategy. The author believes laxness in parenting may be a part of noninterference (e.g., giving in), as well as parental involvement and monitoring/supervision; however, further research is needed to test this latent construct to fully understand what makes up noninterfering parenting as it is discussed in the literature.

Parents' scores ranged widely on the APQ, another measure of parenting behavior assessing parental involvement, positive parenting, poor monitoring/supervision, inconsistent discipline, and corporal punishment. Examination of our samples' scale distributions revealed 4-12% of parents in the current sample fell within extreme scores,

indicating very low scores on parental involvement and positive parenting or very high scores on poor monitoring/supervision, inconsistent discipline, and corporal punishment. Unfortunately, to our knowledge, no comparable U.S. non-clinical samples currently exist to meaningfully compare our current American Indian sample scores. Internal consistency coefficients of the APQ scales indicated the current sample was reliably measuring the five APQ scales and were comparable to a community sample in Australia and a clinical sample in the U.S. Although we were unable to compare our sample to another U.S. community sample to determine any differences in scores, preliminary findings indicate the APQ is a reliable measure with the current sample. However, future research with this measure is needed to determine its' appropriateness with American Indian samples.

Ten percent of children in our sample displayed clinical levels of disruptive behavior problems. To our knowledge, only one other study has explicitly documented the rate of disruptive behavior problems within a community sample of American Indian children using a well-validated measure to identify children with disruptive behavior problems. Wall, Garcia-Andrade, Wong, Lau, and Ehlers (2000) included a small comparison sample of 25 Mission Native children between the ages of 8 and 13 located in southern California without an alcoholic parent. They found 8% of these children fell within the clinical level of the CBCL, which is comparable to findings of the current sample. Although the current sample yielded a similar proportion of children displaying clinical levels of disruptive behavior problems, examination of the current sample's mean indicated children in our sample were displaying significantly fewer disruptive behavior problems than children in the standardization sample.

As expected, the current sample exhibited a range of acculturation levels. Approximately 41% of the current sample endorsed answers consistent with a lowly acculturated individual or someone holding predominantly traditional American Indian values and beliefs. It would be reasonable to assume that the more acculturated an individual or sample is, the more similar their responses will be to those of the normative sample. Therefore, results of the current sample were examined within the context of acculturation. The differences between the current sample and the normative samples may be explained by the lower degree of acculturation exhibited in the current sample. For example, it is likely that more lowly acculturated families are more likely to use extended family members in raising and disciplining their children; therefore, lower rates of child disruptive behavior found in the current sample may be explained because we only assessed one family member who is one of several family members helping raise the child and witnessing the child's behavior.

A goal of this study was to examine simple associations outlined through previous research with non-Native populations. As expected, parents who used more ineffective parenting strategies were more likely to have children with higher rates of disruptive behavior problems. However, this was only partially supported, as only overreactive parenting was significantly associated with child disruptive behavior problems. Although our study did not find a significant association between overall ineffective parenting strategies and child behavior, there was a trend and may still be an area for future directions. Lax parenting was also not associated with child disruptive behavior problems. These non-significant findings were unexpected given previous research supporting their associations (Guajardo, Snyder, & Petersen, 2008; Irvine, Biglan,

Smolkowski, & Ary, 1999). One explanation for these unexpected findings may be due to the lower acculturation of the current sample and possible extended family members involved in raising the children; thus, parents who use more lax or ineffective discipline strategies may have less of an impact on child disruptive behavior because other family members may use more effective discipline strategies with the child. Additionally, discipline strategies unique to Native parents may exist, such as noninterference, which the PS may not fully capture. In the current sample, the Laxness, Overreactivity, and Total scales explained approximately 0.6%, 13%, and 6% of the variance, respectively, in prediction of child disruptive behaviors, which further supports the notion that these scales are likely not capturing the unique parenting strategies used by Native families.

Our hypothesis that parents who are less involved would engage in less effective parenting strategies was supported. Parents who were less involved used overall more ineffective discipline strategies and were more overreactive in their parenting; but less involved parents were not found to be more lax in their parenting. This is contrary to our prediction and to previous findings, that parents who are less involved would be more likely to have children with disruptive behavior problems (e.g., Haack et al., 2010; Gryczkowski et al., 2010). However, there are several possible explanations for this finding. Consistent with a community sample, only seven children in the current sample were found to display clinical elevations in externalizing behaviors. Thus, it may be difficult to find significance with fewer clinical cases. Additionally, differences in sample characteristics may explain this finding. Haack and colleagues' sample was comprised of Latino families, and Gryczkowski and colleagues' sample was comprised of Caucasian and African American families.

Consistent with our expectation and previous studies, parents who monitor/supervise their children less were more likely to have children with disruptive behavior problems. We were curious if any measures of parenting or child behavior would be associated with acculturation of parents in our sample. Positive parenting was the only variable found to be significantly associated with acculturation, such that parents who are more positive in their parenting approach (e.g., offering more praise to their child), were more likely to be lowly acculturated. That is, parents who identify more with traditional American Indian values and beliefs use more positive parenting practices. This finding is consistent with the traditional American Indian belief that children are a special gift and should be treated with kindness (Coleman et al., 2001).

Exploratory analyses were conducted next in order to assess the complex associations between the study variables. Parental involvement did not significantly moderate the association between overreactive parenting and child disruptive behavior problems. However, for exploratory purposes, conditional effects were examined. For parents who are more involved, overreactive parenting contributed to increased child disruptive behavior; this link was not evident for parents who were less involved. This finding makes theoretical sense given parents who are around their child less would have less of an impact on their child's behavior when they are overreactive. Alternatively, when a parent who is highly involved and around their child a great deal is overreactive in his/her parenting, this may potentially foster a coercive relationship with their child. Similarly, acculturation was not found to significantly moderate the association between overreactive parenting and child disruptive behavior problems. When conditional effects were examined, however, it was found that for parents who identified more with

traditional American Indian values and beliefs (i.e., lowly acculturated), overreactive parenting contributed to increased child disruptive behavior less than for parents who identified more with majority culture's values and beliefs (i.e., highly acculturated). This finding is consistent with the example provided earlier that lowly acculturated families, who likely have extended family members involved in raising their children, may have less of an impact on child disruptive behavior when they display more reactive parenting because other family members are involved. Thus, this effect may only become apparent in lowly acculturated at really high levels of ineffective parenting with multiple involved family members.

Clinical Implications

There are a number of clinical implications from the results of the current study. Results provide mixed evidence that the standardized measures of parenting and child behavior that are commonly used may be appropriate for use with American Indians in Oklahoma. The data indicate that although parents in this sample are similar in overreactive parenting strategies to the normative sample, there are also significant differences with parents reporting less lax parenting but a greater number of total ineffective parenting strategies used. While past research has pointed to American Indian families using noninterference as a primary parenting strategy, the present data do not support this, as our sample used significantly less lax parenting strategies than the normative Caucasian sample. This may suggest that American Indian parenting practices are changing over time or it may reflect a difference in parenting unique to non-reservation based American Indian families living in Oklahoma. It should be noted, however, these results likely indicate noninterference is not accurately measured solely

using the Laxness scale of the PS. These findings are important for clinicians to consider when using the PS with Native families in Oklahoma.

While an appropriate comparison sample for the APQ could not be located, results indicated some significant differences between our sample and comparison community samples on the PS and CBCL. More research needs to be conducted on the APQ in an American Indian sample before determining if this might be an appropriate measure to use with this population. Participants in the current sample were recruited from Oklahoma, so it is possible that American Indian families from other parts of the country may respond to these measures differently. Additionally, as the current sample was drawn from a community sample, future research investigating American Indian families in a clinic setting would be beneficial. Particularly given the APQ and CBCL are widely used in clinic settings, future investigations with a clinical sample would help extend interpretations to their appropriateness for Native families in such settings.

Finally, it is important to discuss the clinical implications of our findings in regard to acculturation. Although acculturation was only associated with one of the parenting variables investigated and yielded an interesting conditional moderating effect to another association, it is still an important construct important to American Indian identity within which to consider results. Therefore, it is important that acculturation of American Indians continue to be assessed and incorporated as a part of treatment in both clinical and research settings.

Strengths and Limitations

The current study has several notable strengths. We collected quantitative data on American Indian families, who have largely been neglected in parenting research and

particularly in normative samples of most psychological measures. The families represented in this sample reflect the diversity of acculturation and tribal affiliations of American Indian families living in Oklahoma who are not geographically isolated or reservation-based. This study provided a comprehensive assessment of parenting, child disruptive behavior, and acculturation where previous literature has mostly only provided anecdotal information. Another notable strength is the use of well-validated measures and our analysis of the appropriateness of these measures within the context of our interpretations. This study was the first to assess the degree to which parental involvement in American Indian families influences parenting strategies and child behavior.

This study recruited American Indians in Oklahoma. Therefore, these results are highly applicable to American Indians living in Oklahoma, who we argue have a number of unique qualities compared, for example, to American Indians living in the southwest or northwest U.S. (i.e., non-reservation based, multiple tribal affiliations). It is unclear whether these results would generalize to other non-reservation-based tribes or to American Indians living in urban settings. However, a great strength of the current study was the systematic assessment of parent and child variables, acculturation level, and demographic information of our participants. As a result, it will be possible to compare our results to future studies using similar measures with American Indians in other parts of the U.S. Therefore, this may limit the ability to generalize our results to American Indians in other states, but that was not a goal of our study. Further research is needed in order to evaluate whether these results are generalizable or are only applicable to an Oklahoma sample.

The current study has a few mentionable limitations. The current study had limited inclusion of different types of descriptive assessment. Particularly given the differences observed in the measures used between our sample and the normative samples, we may be missing important information about other dimensions of parenting. The addition of qualitative measures, such as interviews, may have provided further explanation and clearer examination of these factors. Another possible limitation of the current study was the use of only parent-report measures. Although all of the measures are widely used and well standardized, we recognize having all data based on parent-report may be a potential for shared-method variance and it is unclear how this may have influenced our results. Multi-method (e.g., parent-child interaction observation) and multi-informant (e.g., teacher-report) research would greatly support the current findings and is an area for future direction.

Future Directions for Research

There are a number of future directions for research based on our study. Although the information obtained from this study is beneficial and informative of a markedly under-researched population, much more research is needed. First in regard to samples, future studies should recruit larger and more diverse samples, which would be beneficial for a number of reasons. While the current study used statistical analysis (i.e., bootstrapping) to confront the issue of power, a larger sample would improve our confidence in the distribution that the bootstrapping method is resampling from. Further, a larger sample in theory should reproduce a more representative population by which to test our hypotheses. Future research should recruit large enough samples to make comparisons between tribes. This would allow for a better understanding of how the

results of this study are relevant to particular American Indian tribes in Oklahoma and provide specific information to tribal leaders of where intervention may be needed for their people. Future research would also benefit from seeking samples from tribes located in other regions of the U.S. to determine particular regional differences in American Indian families. Lastly, research is needed in clinical samples with Native parents and children with both externalizing and internalizing disorders. In the current sample, we had approximately ten percent of children within the clinical range, but research focusing specifically on this population would allow questions to be answered about developmental pathways to childhood disorders in Native children and provide clearer insight of where intervention is needed.

In regard to methodology, future research should seek to include multiple family members. Multi-informant research would be beneficial for a number of reasons. First, it would increase the rigor of the study and the confidence in conclusions drawn. Second, seeking information from multiple family members is more consistent with the dynamic and structure of Native families and would yield a more complete explanation of the parenting Native children are receiving and how that reflects in their behaviors. Addition of teacher-report to serve as an independent assessor would also be beneficial to more accurately measure child behavior and reduce shared-method variance. Additionally, future research should include descriptive, quantitative, and qualitative measures of parenting and child behavior, which would yield even richer data and more information to be gained. Particularly, results of the current study have led us to believe we are not fully measuring the concept of noninterference; thus, the inclusion of qualitative data would likely provide a clearer picture of this discipline strategy and potentially lead to

scale development and psychometric research to quantitatively measure noninterference. Lastly, in regard to methodology, future research should expand on the current study by having independent observers observe parent-child interactions and compare these observations to the results of parent-report measures. This would help to identify other constructs of parenting used in Native families not picked up through paper and pencil measures.

Conclusion

It is hoped the current study contributed to many gaps within American Indian parenting literature, and this study will serve as a stepping-stone for future research in this area. We collected quantitative data from a sample of 64 American Indian parents in Oklahoma using standardized measures of parenting discipline strategies, parent involvement, child disruptive behavior, and acculturation. Results were mixed on the use of the PS and CBCL with the current American Indian sample, as a number of the scales were significantly different than the normative samples. However, internal consistencies of the PS and APQ were good and tentatively lend support for their use with Native families in Oklahoma, but with further research needed. Results of our study were considered within the context of acculturation as approximately 40% of our sample exhibited low levels of acculturation. Overall, our findings support existing literature, showing that parents who use more reactive discipline are more likely to have children with disruptive behavior problems. Further, parents who are less involved are more likely to use less effective discipline strategies and parents who monitor/supervise their children less are more likely to have children with disruptive behavior problems. Lastly, our findings suggest a conditional effect of parental involvement and acculturation on the

association between overreactive parenting and child disruptive behavior. Specifically, when parental involvement is higher and reaches a certain point, the association between overreactivity and child disruptive behavior is strengthened, and when acculturation is lower, overreactive parenting has less of an effect on child disruptive behavior. It is hoped that the current project can be expanded on to provide additional contributions to the current limited American Indian literature and to the field of parenting research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1. One-sample *z*-tests

		Current Sample		Normative Sample	
	z-score	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
PS Laxness	-2.54*	2.45	0.98	2.66	0.65
PS Overreactivity	0.11	2.81	0.87	2.81	0.70
PS Total	2.18*	2.98	0.58	2.83	0.52
CBCL Externalizing T	-3.45**	46.78	9.57	50.7	9.1

Note. *CBCL* = Child Behavior Checklist; *PS* = Parenting Scale
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Table 2. Correlations, means, and standard deviations of study variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. CBCL Externalizing T	-									
2. PS Total	.24	-								
3. PS Overreactivity	.36**	.59**	-							
4. PS Laxness	.08	.84**	.19	-						
5. APQ Parental Involvement	-.13	-.28*	-.37**	-.21	-					
6. APQ Positive Parenting	-.01	-.21	-.36**	-.19	.61**	-				
7. APQ Poor Monitoring/Supervision	.36**	.38**	.23	.41**	-.33*	-.37**	-			
8. APQ Inconsistent Discipline	.26*	.62**	.24	.71	-.28*	-.28*	.50**	-		
9. APQ Corporal Punishment	.23	.28*	.55**	.14	-.35**	-.45**	.28*	.44**	-	
10. NAAS	-.17	-.03	.10	-.04	-.18	-.33*	-.06	.02	.16	-
M	46.78	2.98	2.81	2.45	41.67	26.92	13.66	12.49	5.04	3.21
SD	9.57	0.58	0.87	0.98	6.14	2.85	5.03	3.88	1.85	0.59

Note. *CBCL* = Child Behavior Checklist; *PS* = Parenting Scale;
APQ = Alabama Parenting Questionnaire; *NAAS* = Native American Acculturation Scale
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Table 3. Summary of moderated regression analyses

	Dependent variable	Predictor	*B*	SE	*t*	*p*	95% CI
Model 1	CBCL Externalizing T	APQ Parental Involvement	-0.65	0.64	-1.02	0.31	-1.93, 0.63
		PS Overreactivity	-5.73	9.09	-0.063	0.53	-23.95, 12.49
	(R^2 = 0.16)	Interaction: Parental Involvement*Overreactivity	0.25	0.22	1.12	0.27	-0.20, 0.69
Model 2	CBCL Externalizing T	NAAS	-9.05	7.17	-1.26	0.21	-23.42, 5.33
		PS Overreactivity	-2.82	8.31	-0.34	0.74	-19.49, 13.85
	(R^2 = 0.20)	Interaction: NAAS*Overreactivity	2.17	2.54	0.86	0.40	-2.92, 7.26

Note. *CBCL* = Child Behavior Checklist; *APQ* = Alabama Parenting Questionnaire; *PS* = Parenting Scale; *NAAS* = Native American Acculturation Scale

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

Figure 1. *Does parental involvement strengthen the association between discipline strategies and child externalizing behavior?*

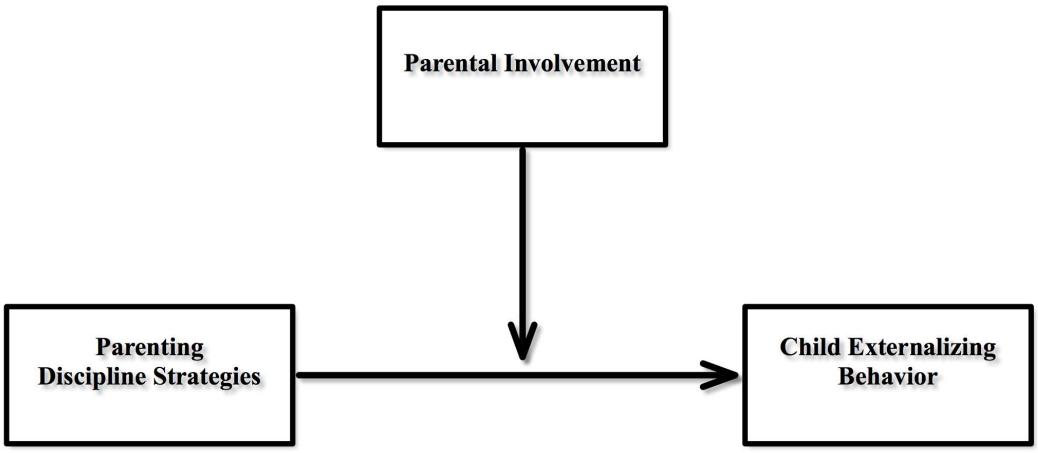
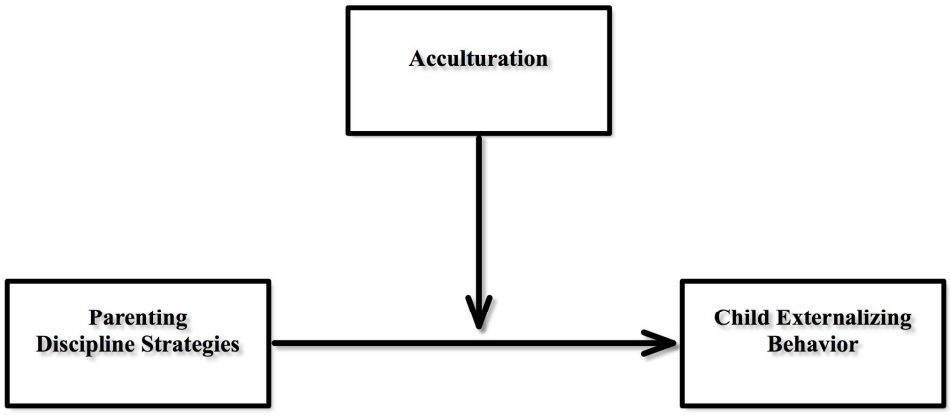


Figure 2. *Does acculturation strengthen the association between discipline strategies and child externalizing behavior?*



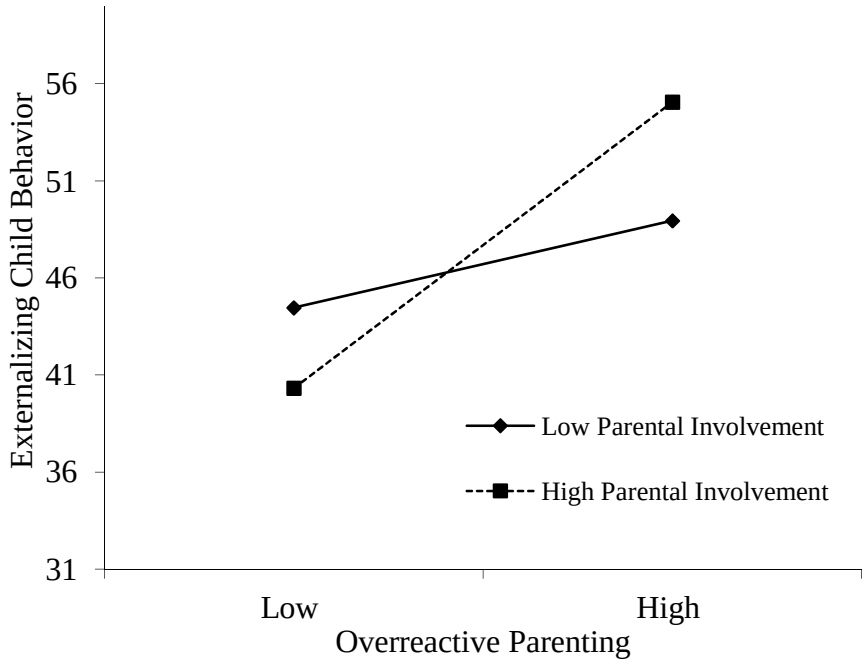


Figure 3. Conditional effect of overreactive parenting on externalizing child behavior at low and high values of parental involvement

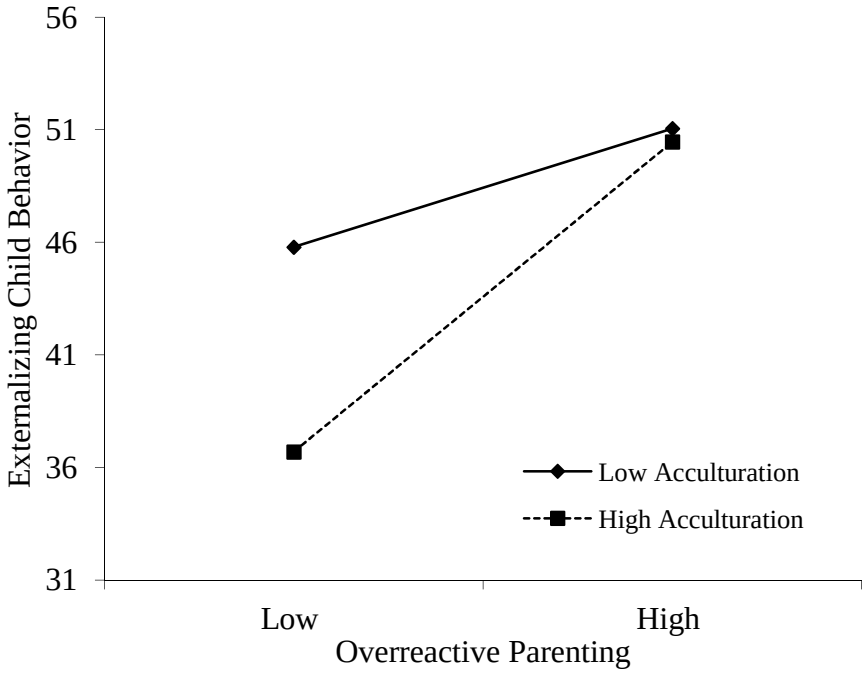


Figure 4. Conditional effect of overreactive parenting on externalizing child behavior at low and high values of acculturation

APPENDIX C

COMPLETE LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Research suggests that strategies parents use affect children's adjustment and behavior (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005). Additionally, research suggests children's adjustment may also influence their parents' childrearing practices (Harris, 1995; Hart, Newell & Olsen, 2003).

One limitation of the existing literature has been the lack of emphasis on the role of the parent-child relationship on child behavior problems in racial and ethnic minority families. Few studies have examined how particular experiences that are relevant to ethnic minorities, such as acculturation and enculturation, might affect family processes and child behaviors. One population that has been particularly underrepresented in this research is Native American families. The author seeks to address this gap in literature by examining the associations among parenting strategies, parental involvement, and acculturation to child problem behaviors in Native American families in Oklahoma.

A review of the literature is presented in chapter 2. Before examining the specific variables of interest it is first important to become familiar with the general characteristics of the culture and how they differ from the majority culture. The author provides a solid discussion of relevant population characteristics. Research examining Native American child behavior problem, parenting strategies, and parental involvement is extremely limited. Thus, a review of research in the majority culture is presented. Much of the literature focusing specifically on parenting in Native Americans was published prior to 1985 and more recent articles have been primarily discussions and reviews of Native American culture, and are not empirically based. The limited research

that is available and relevant to parenting and family characteristics of Native Americans will be discussed. In particular, extended kinship ties, discipline strategies, and noninterference will be reviewed. Subsequent chapters address the purpose of the current study and the method.

Apparent from the discussion above, there is still much to be learned about the Native American culture and parenting strategies and parental involvement, in particular. Due to the limited amount of research it is crucial that future research use both qualitative and quantitative approaches to study Native Americans. The goals of this project are to: 1) provide descriptive information about specific parenting practices and rates of problem behaviors in an Oklahoma Native American sample; 2) compare the data with norms from popular measure to determine if there are significant differences; 3) assess for acculturation; and 4) examine the associations between parenting discipline strategies, parental involvement, child problem behaviors, and acculturation.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Population Description

The Native American population has many appellations by which it has been referenced throughout history. Particularly, American Indian, First Americans, First Nations, and Native Peoples have been universally used. However, the terminology of "Native American" is considered the most comprehensive label that includes American Indians, Alaska Natives, Eskimos, Native Hawaiians, and Puerto Ricans (Willis & Bigfoot, 2003; Pritzker, 2000). Therefore, the term "Native American" will be used

throughout this manuscript as it is commonly recognized among both scholars and the people to whom it refers.

The United States federal government currently recognizes 566 tribes (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2013). For tribal groups, having federal recognition allows for certain rights and entitlements. Tribal groups also have different standards for obtaining tribal membership. For example, some tribes only require proof of an ancestor on the Dawes Rolls while others require a minimum tribal blood quantum. The U.S. Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010) only requires an individual to self-identify as Native American to be included in that category. Thus, individuals could be considered Native American by the U.S. Census but may not be enrolled members of any tribe or Native American nation or be members of a non-federally recognized tribe. The information provided in this manuscript from the U.S. Census data on the Native American population is based on the data from the "American Indian or Alaska Native tribe alone or in any combination" category on the 2010 census. According to the 2010 U.S. Census (United State Bureau of the Census, 2010), the Cherokee tribal grouping had the largest Native American population in 2010 with 819,105 individuals self-identifying as Cherokee (alone or in any combination) and the Navajo tribal grouping had the second largest with 332,129 individuals self-identifying as Navajo (alone or in any combination).

The 2010 U.S. Census (United State Bureau of the Census, 2010) found Native Americans make up approximately 1.7% (5.2 million) of the United States population living within 1,736,742 households. This total is comprised of those identifying as Native American and Alaska Native, either alone (2.9 million) or in combination with one or more other races (2.3 million). The Native American alone-or-in-combination

population has increased 26.7% (1.1 million) since the 2000 census. Native Americans live in all fifty states. However, ten states represent the largest Native American inhabitants: California, Oklahoma, Arizona, Texas, New York, New Mexico, Washington, North Carolina, Florida, and Michigan. Oklahoma has 482,760 self-identifying Native Americans or Alaska Natives (alone-or-in-combination) and 55 counties with eight percent or more of the total county population comprised of Native Americans.

The average family household of Native Americans in the United States was comprised of 3.41 people, which is slightly larger than the average family household in the United States of 3.14 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). The U.S. Native American population median age is 28.7 years, which is younger than the United States population median age of 35.8. Additionally, the Native American population is a relatively young population with only 7.3% of people 65 years old or older and 0.6% of people 85 years old or older. In 2010, 8.9% of Native American children were younger than five years, and 31.6% under the age of eighteen (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). The large number of Native American minors indicates that there are numerous children receiving the guidance of parents or guardians.

Currently, information regarding income and education for Native Americans has not been made available from the 2010 Census. However, according to the 2000 Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000), the average household income for Native American family households was $46,429 compared to the U.S. general population average household income for families of $50,046. Additionally, in 2000, 18.6% of Native American families fell below the poverty level compared to 9.2% of the U.S. general

population. Assuming these figures have remained somewhat constant, compared to the general population, it appears that Native Americans are likely to have a lower household income. It is possible that education attainment is an explanation for these discrepancies between Native American families and the general U.S. population.

According to the 2000 Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000), 68.2% of Native Americans had a high school degree or higher compared to 75.5% of the general U.S. population. Moreover, 11.5% of Native Americans had a bachelor's degree or higher compared to 21.0% of the general U.S. population.

The following few sections will focus on available literature of child problem behaviors and parenting in the general population and a section on existing Native American parenting literature will follow.

Child Problem Behaviors

The specific characteristics of problem behaviors in children are well documented, and there is evidence that they are the result of both environmental and biological factors that interact (Martin, Linfoot & Stephenson, 2005). Problem behaviors in children can be identified as either externalizing or internalizing behaviors (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005). Liu (2004) described externalizing behavior problems as overt behaviors that have a negative effect on the external environment. Furthermore, these externalizing disorders consist of disruptive, hyperactive, and aggressive behaviors (Hinshaw, 1987). Children with externalizing problem behaviors often have underdeveloped self-regulation skills as well as under-controlled behaviors (Cole, Zahn-Waxler, Fox, Usher & Welsh, 1996).

Externalizing disorders, such as attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD),

oppositional defiant disorder (ODD), and conduct disorder (CD) are associated with substantial unfavorable long-term outcomes. Zwirs, Burger, Buitelaar and Schulpen (2006) found long-term outcomes of impairments in academic and psychosocial functioning, substance use disorder, antisocial personality disorder, and delinquency. Prediction and explanation of the development of behavior disorders remains difficult. Stormont (2000) found preschoolers with hyperactivity and aggression were more likely than preschoolers with hyperactivity alone, or preschoolers without either hyperactivity or aggression, to have externalizing problems 5 years later. Other research has found that up to 67% of children with both hyperactivity and aggression in their preschool years continued to have severe behavior problems at age 9 (Campbell & Ewing, 1990). High levels of noncompliance and aggression in early childhood are risk markers, but not all disruptive preschoolers develop disorders (Campbell, 1990; Cole, Zahn- Waxler, Fox, Usher, & Welsh, 1996).

Webster-Stratton and Lindsay (1999) examined social competence and conduct problems in children between the ages of 4 and 7. Their sample consisted of 60 clinic-referred aggressive children diagnosed with oppositional defiant disorder or conduct problems, and a matched comparison group of 60 typically developing children. Four aspects of social competence were assessed: social information processing, actual observations of conflict management skills and social play interactions during peer interactions, positive social interactions with mothers and fathers at home, and teacher reports of social competence. Measures used to assess conduct problems included the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000) and Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory (ECBI; Eyberg & Ross, 1978). Results comparing the two groups

suggest that young children with conduct problems have deficits in their social information processing awareness or interpretation of social cues, such that they overestimate their own social competence and misattribute hostile intent to others.

Internalizing behaviors, in contrast to externalizing behaviors, have quite different features, including fearfulness, withdrawal, anxiety, inhibition, and unhappiness (Campbell, 2002; Eisenberg, et al., 2001; Roeser et al., 1998). Internalizing behaviors are more central to the individual rather than others and include disorders such as anxiety and depression (Martin et al., 2005). Despite less research conducted on internalizing behaviors in children, Keenan, Shaw, Delliquadri, Giovanelli and Walsh (1998) found evidence of these problems in early childhood continuing later on in life.

Research has demonstrated that both externalizing and internalizing problem behaviors remain fairly constant from early school years to later in life (Denham, et al., 2000; Keenan, et al., 1998). Further, Roeser et al. (1998) found that both internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors lead to problems in various areas of life, including peer relationships, mental health, and school.

With a fundamental understanding of child problem behaviors, attention will shift to a discussion of strategies parents use to raise their children.

Parenting Strategies and Problem Behaviors

Numerous research studies have pointed to the link between parenting discipline strategies and child problem behaviors. Most children are active, aggressive, and noncompliant to some degree. However, preschool children with externalizing behavior disorders are at greater risk than their comparison preschoolers for carrying their behavior problems into early school years when they are associated with more family disruption

and a negative mother-child relationship (Campbell, Breaux, Ewing & Szumowski, 1986). Stormont (1998) highlights family factors that appear to affect the problem behaviors, such as marital conflict and parenting stress. A child may exhibit more problem behaviors as a plea for attention in family situations that have marital discord between his/her parents. Campbell, Pierce, March, Ewing and Szumowski (1994) have suggested that persistent problem behavior reflects a combination of severe initial difficulties with self-regulation that affects functioning across settings and relationships, such as with parents, teachers, and peers. Also, by the very virtue of the child's behaviors, many parents do not afford the young child opportunities to experience positive feedback from others or the success of regulating his/her behavior or emotions. Such difficulties may be exacerbated when the family environment is more chaotic and less supportive.

Johnson and Lobitz (1974) conducted a study in which twelve families with four- to six-year-old children were asked to modify the behavior of their children. The parents were instructed to make their children look "bad" or "deviant" on three days of a six-day observation and look "good" or "non-deviant" on alternate days. Results indicated that the rate of child deviant behavior, parental negative responding, and parental commands were all significantly higher on bad than good days. The results of this study clearly demonstrate how parents can manipulate the level of deviant behavior in their children by increasing their rate of negative responding and commands.

The cyclical association between child behavior and parenting strategies can be exemplified by research that has clearly demonstrated that negative and controlling types of parenting place children at risk for developing or sustaining behavior problems.

Campbell and Ewing (1990) found that observed maternal negative control during an observation with three-year-old children was predictive of antisocial behavior and discipline problems when their children were nine years old. Similarly, Stormont (2002) examined parents of 41 male preschoolers with and without externalizing problems who participated in a 5-year follow-forward assessment. Children were placed into one of three behavior groups: stable problems, improved, and comparisons (had no externalizing problem behaviors). She found that children with more stable behavior problems had mothers who self-reported greater maternal control in child-rearing than mothers of children who had improved and comparisons. Also, children with more stable behavior problems had parents who used more aggressive tactics during conflict with each other compared to the parents in the other groups.

Research has further examined the interactions between mothers and their children with conduct problems. Gardner (1987) investigated mothers and their preschoolers with conduct problems. She found that mothers and their children with conduct problems spent 20% of their time in negative interactions (12.3 minutes per hour), a rate almost 10 times that of mothers and their children without conduct problems (2.6 minutes per hour). Also, children with conduct problems engaged in more solitary activities such as watching TV or having no activity, in comparison to children without conduct problems. Children without conduct problems were found to spend more time having positive interactions (joint activity and conversation) with their mothers than mothers and children with conduct problems. Similarly, Campbell, March, Pierce, Ewing and Szumowski (1991) found that mothers of externalizing problem behavior boys were more negative and controlling than mothers of children without problematic behavior. In

a later study, Gardner (1989) found that mothers of children with conduct problems were not consistent after issuing a command. Mothers who were more inconsistent engaged in more conflict with their children. Sixty-seven percent of the time, mothers gave a command that was not followed through, and did not obtain compliance from their child.

Martin, Linfoot and Stephenson (2005) studied the risk factors associated with problem behaviors in children. Seventy-seven participants were included from parents of children ages 3 to 5 who had been referred for serious concerns about the behavior of the young children. The surveys completed included the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000), the Parenting Stress Index (PSI; Abidin, 1995), questions about risk factors relating to parents and families, questions about the behavior of the target child at younger ages, parental confidence, perceived support, and current stressors in the lives of the respondents. It was found that the guilt and anxiety subscale scores of the PSI predicted scores on both the aggressive and delinquent subscales of the CBCL. This indicates that certain parent behaviors, such as guilt and anxiety, are predictive of future behavior problems in children, and further solidifies the link between parent and child interactions.

Given the significant influence of parenting strategies on child problem behaviors, another variable of influence on child behaviors, parental involvement, will be discussed next.

Parental Involvement

Research has demonstrated that family relationships and parenting practices, such as the parent-child relationship, have a significant influence on child and adolescent well-being (e.g., Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986; LeCroy, 1988). One specific element of

the parent-child relationship that has been found to be particularly significant is parental involvement.

Parental involvement can be conceptualized and measured in numerous ways, such as involvement in home and school activities (e.g., Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994). Additionally, some have distinguished between emotional involvement, which focuses on feeling close to parents, and behavioral involvement, which has to do with time spent with the parent (e.g., Wenk et al., 1994). Grolnick and Sloiaczek (1994) posit that involvement can vary across different life domains and define parental involvement to occur in four distinct dimensions: involvement at home (e.g., helping with homework), in cognitive activities (e.g., talking about current events), in school (e.g., attending parent-teacher meetings), and in the child's personal life (e.g., parents knowing names of friends).

One major focus of past research examining parental involvement is in the context of its influence on academic achievement. Many studies have provided support that parental involvement is an important predictor of children's achievement in school (Keith, Keith, Quirk, Cohen-Rosenthal & Franzese, 1996; Miedel & Reynolds, 1999). Englund, Luckner, Whaley and Egeland (2004) found a positive association between parental involvement and academic achievement in a longitudinal study of low-income families. The authors followed 187 mother-child dyads from birth through third grade and found that parental involvement in school activities in third grade had a significant direct effect on academic achievement in third grade. Although Englund and colleagues (2004) and others have found that parental involvement is positively linked with academic achievement, a few researchers noted little or no effect of parental involvement

on adolescent academic achievement (e.g., Keith, Reimers, Fehrmann, Pottebaum & Aubey, 1986; Natriello & McDill, 1986). Further, in a sample of 525 ninth grade students attending French-speaking high schools in Canada, Deslandes, Royer and Bertrand (1997) actually found a negative association between parental involvement in school and academic achievement. Englund and colleagues (2004) attribute these discrepant findings, in part, to varying definitions of parental involvement within the literature.

Domina (2005) examined parents' school-involvement activities and its influence on both academic achievement and behavior problems. Longitudinal data were used from the mother-child sample of the NLSY79 with a total of 1,445 children enrolled in fourth grade or lower in 1996. Children completed the Peabody Individual Achievement Test (PIAT) and parents completed the Behavior Problems Index and questions of parental involvement in 1996 and 2000. He found that when controlling for school and family background and child's prior academic achievement, the effect of each measured parental involvement activity on children's academic achievement to be negative or nonsignificant. However, results indicated that when controlling for children's family and school backgrounds, parents who volunteer at school, help their children with their homework, and check their children's homework had children with significantly fewer behavior problems. Although this study did not utilize a comprehensive measure of parental involvement, results appear to support that parental involvement, in some areas, predicts fewer behavior problems in children.

Fewer studies have explored parental involvement with less emphasis on school-based involvement, which is of greater relevance to the current study. However, Robl,

Jewell and Kanotra (2012) examined the effect of parental involvement on problematic social behaviors in 1,285 children ages 6-17 in Kentucky from the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH). Data were collected as a part of a nationwide random-digit dial telephone survey. Problematic social behavior was measured by questions of how often the child exhibited problematic behaviors including arguing too much, bullying or cruelty, disobedience, and being stubborn, sullen, or irritable. Parental involvement variables included questions of parents meeting friends of their child, meals eaten together in a week, attendance at religious services, and communication with their child. Results indicated that factors associated with children's problematic social behaviors included how well parents communicate with their children, living in a household with a single mother family structure, and poor mental health in parents. However, results of this study did not support the influence of parental involvement on social behavior problems.

Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1986) found that low levels of parental involvement were associated with delinquency and substance use behaviors. Conversely, the authors also found that high levels of parental involvement acted as a buffer against delinquency and drug use. An additional construct known to interact with child externalizing behaviors, which may be related to parental involvement, is parental monitoring or supervision. Low parental monitoring has been associated with externalizing behavior (Singer et al., 1999), alcohol use (Webb et al., 2002), and early substance use (Chilcoat et al., 1995).

Davidson and Cardemil (2009) examined associations among parental involvement, parent-child communication, acculturation and enculturation, and child

externalizing symptoms within an underrepresented ethnic minority sample. Their sample consisted of 40 Latino parent-adolescent dyads. Parents completed the following measures: Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS-ZABB; Zea, Asner-Self, Birman & Buki, 2003), Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000), Parent-Child Communication Scale (Krohn, Stern, Thornberry & Jang, 1992), and Parent Involvement Scales (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994). The authors found that children's report of parental involvement was significantly negatively correlated with externalizing behaviors in both school and personal domains. However, there was no significant association between parent reports of involvement and parent reports of child externalizing symptoms. The personal involvement domain significantly predicted child externalizing symptoms. Lastly, acculturation and enculturation gaps between parents and children did not significantly moderate the association between parent-child relationship variables (communication and involvement) and child externalizing behaviors.

With such a paucity of literature available on Native American families in general, there is one study, however, that has examined parental involvement within a sample of Native American families. Hossain and Anziano (2008) conducted a study examining mothers' and fathers' involvement with children's care and academic activities. Mother and father dyads from 34, two-parent Navajo families (residing on the Navajo Reservation) with a second- or third-grade child participated in the study. A Navajo college student who spoke both English and Navajo interviewed parents. Two questionnaires were used in the interview: a sociodemographic questionnaire and the Parent-Child Interaction Questionnaire (PCIQ). The PCIQ is a 10-item questionnaire

developed by the authors to explore maternal and paternal involvement and is organized into three domains: routine care (e.g., playing with the child, doing household chores with the child, assisting child with daily hygiene and appearance), care on demand (e.g., buying clothes and other materials for the child, taking the child to the doctor), and academic activities (e.g., helping the child with homework, buying school materials for the child). Results indicated that mothers spent significantly more time in care on demand and academic activities than did fathers. Amount of time in routine care with their children was similar for mothers and fathers. Lastly, fathers' involvement in routine care was significantly negatively correlated with the number of work hours, and was the only sociodemographic variable significantly correlated with involvement.

Acculturation

The U.S. government identifies Native Americans from a biological basis of blood quantum or degree of Indian blood. However, from an individual's standpoint, acculturation is often how Native Americans view themselves as being Native in relation to mainstream culture. Although traditional values are central to the lives of Native Americans, it is important to note that Native Americans are not a homogenous group. Native Americans differ significantly in their binding to traditional values and tribal customs through differences in family structures, customs, and languages (Garrett, 1995). Additionally, at present time, nearly all Native Americans are acculturated to some degree into the dominant culture; however, the level of acculturation depends on the level of the individual's own belief about preserving his or her traditions and the strength of the family's support system (Glover, 2001).

Garrett (1995) identified Native Americans to fall into one of the following four descriptions of cultural commitment: Traditional (person practices only traditional beliefs and values), transitional (person holds both traditional beliefs and values and those of mainstream culture, but may not accept all of either culture), bicultural (person is accepted by the mainstream culture and also knows and practices traditional ways), and assimilated (person embraces only mainstream cultural beliefs and values). Later, Garrett and Pichette (2000) changed the transitional title to "marginal" and added a fifth dimension to the end of the continuum, pantraditional (person is an assimilated Native American who made a conscious decision to return to the "old ways").

According to Garrett (1995), Native Americans identifying as transitional and bicultural were most likely to experience a number of difficulties resulting from cultural discontinuity. Trimble (1999) referred to this dilemma of being caught between two worlds as acculturation stress. However, LaFromboise and Rowe (1983) identified bicultural Native Americans as having fewer social, personal, and academic difficulties because of their ability to use a greater range of cultural communication and social behaviors in a greater variety of contexts. Moreover, Oetting and Beauvais (1991) came to a similar conclusion and suggest that individuals have the capacity to endure and grow from their ability to participate in two or more cultures.

Native American Family Characteristics

Extended kinship involvement in child rearing. Traditionally, Native American families have been part of an extended family system that typically includes parents, children, aunts, uncles, and grandparents in an active kinship system (Red Horse, Lewis, Feit & Decker, 1978). Clan relationships in some tribes permit for the care of

nieces and nephews as daughters and sons, which offers a traditional method for taking on the role of grandparent for those aunts and uncles who may not have a biological child (Byers, 2010). Commonly, childcare responsibilities are divided among family members, such that an uncle or aunt may assume the primary role as disciplinarian and grandparents may be responsible for spiritual guidance (Coleman, Unrau and Manyfingers, 2001).

LaFromboise and Dizon (2003) reported that extended family members work together to help children develop a sense of personal worth and well-being. Further, they report that Native American women are less likely to ever marry and are more likely to be divorced than women in the overall U.S. population, and this appears to be highest on reservations with high unemployment and poverty rates. As a result, extended family involvement is even more important for single mothers. The specific roles of family members and the organization of extended families vary across tribes and between families within tribes. Nevertheless, stark differences can be seen when Native American families are compared with families in the general population. In part, these larger family systems are reflective of Native people's values for interconnectedness and group orientation (Coleman, Unrau and Manyfingers, 2001).

Red Horse and colleagues (1978) discussed the importance placed on official and symbolic leadership of grandparents in the family communities. Official leadership is characterized by close proximity of grandparents to family and witnessed through the behavior of the children who seek daily contact with their grandparents and by grandparents monitoring parental behavior. Moreover, Native American grandparents have an official voice in child-rearing methods and parents rarely go against corrective measures by their elders. Symbolic leadership is characterized by the inclusion of

unrelated elders into the family and is typical both during the absence of a natural grandparent and in addition to the presence of a natural grandparent.

Robbins, Sherman, Holman and Wilson (2005) conducted a study of Native American grandparent's roles in the enculturation process, such as passing down values, stories and songs, and their function as nurturer and protector. Eighteen of the twenty participants were from Oklahoma, represented nine different tribes, and included seven grandfathers and thirteen grandmothers. Eight participants in the study reported that they spoke their tribal language fluently and seven indicated that the grandchild they described lived with them. Participants were interviewed and asked to describe their roles in the lives of one of their grandchildren using open-ended questions. The authors found that all of the participants engaged in active efforts to pass on Native American traditional knowledge and story form was the most commonly mentioned method of cultural preservation. Also, grandparents consistently mentioned being responsible for passing down values, such as respect, showing appreciation, hard work, quietness, pride in being Indian, and kindness. The participants taught these values by role modeling and through direct verbal communication. Some grandparents also mentioned their children were not teaching these values to their grandchildren and showed concern that these values could be lost if they did not strive to preserve them.

Discipline. The use of discipline in Native American families has been found to be quite different than other ethnicities and the majority culture. LaFromboise and Dizon (2003) report that when a child misbehaves, it is common for information about their misbehavior to be passed from the mother to another family member who has been recognized as being responsible for guiding the youth's character development.

Consequences of the misbehavior may involve an apology to each of the family members who worry about the child or are embarrassed by the youth's wrongdoing. The authors suggest that this pattern of discipline within the family serves to protect the bonds between parents and youth and reinforces extended family involvement in maintaining the children's behavior.

In an early quantitative study conducted by Lefley (1976), acculturation, child-rearing, and self-esteem were examined in two Native American tribes (Miccosukee and Seminole). This quantitative study used standardized measures that showed test-retest reliability, internal consistency, and concurrent validity beyond the .05 level for each tribal group. The author found that the common response for both tribes was to "talk and reason" rather than to reprimand as the primary means of handling their child's misbehavior. However, when punishment was required, the preferred modality was spanking and was administered by the mother. Most commonly, the response in both tribes, regarding strictness and rules, was to report the use of "no rules" in certain tasks and homework.

Glover (2001) reported that discipline in Native American families is often administered in ways and forms not noticeable to outsiders. Moreover, Native American children are typically not punished often, nor are they in constant fear of punishment. The author also suggests that disciplining may include the use of strategies such as ignoring the child or using disapproving words. According to Coleman and colleagues (2001), children are viewed as having privileged position in Native American society. Adults with children are considered wealthy, and tradition encourages adults to treat children with kindness and gentleness.

Autonomy and Noninterference. Within the literature of parenting in Native American families, the concept of autonomy/noninterference is often highlighted as being quite different than the majority culture. Jones and colleagues (2001) reported that Native American parents permit their children to develop in their own time, with minimal rules, and are expected to learn through observation.

LaFromboise and Dizon (2003) reported that autonomy is highly valued among Native Americans and children are expected to operate semi-independently and make their own decisions at an early age. The authors reported that family members allow children choices and the freedom to experience the natural consequences of those choices. Consequently, to the majority culture, this approach has been viewed as permissive or negligent because it appears that Native American parents employ minimal observable control over their children.

Yates (1987) asserted that Native American children are not perceived as the property of their parents but as equal and autonomous individuals who are responsible for their own choices. As a result, toddlers are allowed to choose when to eat or to sleep and attendance in grade school is up to the child. Since there is no "right" way to raise children, parents do not interfere with the predicted course of development (Yates, 1987). Coleman and colleagues (2001) suggest that parenting styles are non-coercive and aim to foster self-determination of children and are not to be bound by expectations of developmental timing. Joe and Malach (1998) posit that Native children are taught a natural order to life and that one must be accepting of natural and non-natural events. If child rearing is effective, then children will have learned to accept both the good and the bad things that happen in life.

Summary

It is evident from reviewing the existing literature on Native American parenting strategies that further research is greatly needed and warranted in this area. Although there is a growing field examining parenting variables within the Native American population, there is much more to be discovered about this unique culture. The limited and dated literature on the Native American population on associations between parental involvement, parenting strategies, and child disruptive behavior problems contributes to the difficulty in understanding and establishing key interactions within the parent-child relationship. Further, without information that is accurate and current regarding this population, successful interventions will prove to be difficult. Specifically, more research is warranted to understand how parental involvement and parenting strategies may affect childhood behavior problems.

It has been suggested by many that there are major differences in parenting in Native American families compared to the general population (Lefey, 1976; Coleman et al., 2001; LaFromboise & Dizon, 2003). However, there are very few of these studies examining discipline in Native American cultures, and those that do exist are dated and have contradictory findings. For example, Glover (2001) reports that Native American parents do not commonly use physical punishment, whereas Lefley (1976) reports that the preferred method of punishment when needed in Mikosukee and Seminole tribes is spanking. Further, Lefley (1976) also reports that punishment is primarily administered by the mother, however, others (Red Horse et al., 1978; Joe & Malach, 1998; LaFromboise & Dizon, 2003) have reported that other extended family members are responsible for punishment.

These discrepant findings could be due to a number of factors including differences between tribes, differences in methodology, and differences in acculturation. Lefley (1976) utilized a quantitative design that used standardized measures with two specific tribes, whereas others (Red Horse et al., 1978; Joe & Malach, 1998; LaFromboise & Dizon, 2003) have been based upon anecdotal reports and observations of Native Americans as a whole that were not quantifiably measured. Since it is unknown how these different factors interact precisely, future studies should seek to use standardized measures and blend quantitative and qualitative approaches together. However, it must also be taken into consideration that the results may not accurately portray Native American parenting strategies because parenting measures have not generally been normed with Native Americans. Therefore, future studies must seek to report the psychometrics of the measures used. Additionally, acculturation should be taken into consideration and its effect on the resulting data should be analyzed, as no previous studies of parenting with Native Americans have done this.

While no studies to date have examined a broad enough sample of tribes to determine if there are between tribe differences in parenting variables, many anecdotal reports have conceptualized Native American parenting as one group. This is particularly relevant and should be addressed considering the expansive spread of tribes across the United States, with some reservation-based and geographically isolated while other tribes, such as those in Oklahoma, are not reservation-based. However, studies, such as Lefly (1976) and others, have given rich and detailed information about particular tribes, but these studies are not necessarily generalizable across all Native American tribes. Conversely, Native Americans in Oklahoma often identify with more than one

tribe because of the large number of tribes residing in Oklahoma, which has resulted in much intermarriage. This is unlike many reservation or geographically isolated tribes. Therefore, it is important to recognize the many differences in Native American tribes when considering the generalizability of those results.

Only one study of parental involvement with a Native American population has been conducted (Hossain & Anziano, 2008). This study had participants from one reservation-based tribe and examined involvement in academic activities and compared paternal and maternal involvement. Future studies need to examine how parental involvement interacts with disruptive behaviors in children and should seek to recruit more tribes to examine between tribe differences, possible geographic differences, and possible urban, rural, and reservation-based differences.

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