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**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND
THE AUTHORITARIAN AND AUTHORITATIVE
PARENTING STYLE**

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DECLARATION:

I, **Fathima Khatib** declare that this research thesis titled: The relationship between poverty and the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles, is my original work except where

otherwise stated. I confirm that an external editor was not used. I declare that this thesis has not previously been submitted for any qualification at any other university. All sources have been acknowledged in the reference list.

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

Background: Poverty is considered as one of the triple threats in South Africa, with unemployment and inequality being the other two. Its effects are far reaching with associations found between poverty and mental illness, childhood development and academic achievement. Furthermore, research indicates that poverty has effects on a multitude of factors, including the family system encompassing parenting styles. The authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles form the focus of this study, each having individual effects on the development of the child. This study uses the 'family stress model' as the theoretical framework to investigate the relationship between poverty and the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles, in South Africa.

Aim: The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between poverty and parenting styles, in particular, the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles.

Method: This study used a secondary data analysis, quantitative design. Data was obtained from a study where the main objective was to examine the adaptation of the Collaborative HIV Adolescent Mental Health Programme (CHAMP) amongst black South Africans. Participants were placed into fewer resourced and more resourced groups, based on a poverty indicator (consisting of employment, food availability and pensions/grants received). This formed the independent variable. Four parenting style measures- the authoritative parenting scale, the punitive parenting scale, the monitoring empathy measure and the communication comfort and frequency scale, formed the dependant variables. A one way ANOVA was used to test whether there were significant differences in the above measures, between fewer resourced and more resourced parents.

Results: Findings from the study indicated that no significant differences exist between fewer resourced and more resourced parents in the authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles. However, significant differences were found in 'communication frequency' with more communication found amongst the fewer resourced group.

Conclusion: Poverty (in terms of employment, food availability and resources) is a multidimensional process requiring further research to determine its relationship with the family system (including parenting styles). Other factors (such as culture, age of the parent and child, and so forth) may mediate the relationship between poverty and parenting styles and therefore also need to be studied further.

Keywords: Authoritarian, Authoritative, Parenting styles, Poverty

Definition of Terms

Poverty

Researchers argue that no one single ‘objective’ measure can fulfil all the quantitative requirements involved in interacting with the reality of poverty in South Africa. The World Bank Organisation’s (2014) operational definition of poverty includes hunger; lack of shelter; being unable to see a doctor when sick; not having access to schools and not knowing how to read.

Parenting styles

Parenting styles can be defined as a collection of attitudes adopted by the parent, directed towards a child thereby creating an environment in which parenting behaviours are expressed (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Such behaviours include both goal-directed and non-goal directed behaviours.

Authoritarian Parenting Style

Communication in the authoritarian parenting style is characterized by strict rules, unquestioning obedience from children, and constrained and limited communication (Firmin & Castle, 2008; Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts & Fraleigh, 1987). Power assertion is used without offering explanations, to implement a child’s inferior status in the hierarchical family system (Baumrind, Larzelere & Owens, 2010). Authoritarian parents are low in autonomy granting and high in coercive or psychological control (Berk, 2009) and therefore are low in empathy. Punitive parenting is an expression of authoritarian parenting where parents reflect an attitude of punishment (Kemme, Hanslmaier & Pfeiffer, 2014; Joseph & John, 2008).

Authoritative Parenting style

Joint decision making, verbal reasoning, acceptance and involvement are displayed by authoritative parents (Dekovic & Janssens, 1992; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch & Darling, 1992). Communication with authoritative parents occurs at a more comfortable level and is less limited (Baumrind, 1971, Dornbusch et al., 1987). Monitoring of parents is characterized by positive outcomes, negotiations and empathic reasoning (Baumrind, 2012; Halpern, 1990). Inductive disciplinary practices concentrate on guiding the child, providing information and instilling a sense of responsibility within the child (Hoeve et al, 2009).

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with an orientation to the study by focusing on the outline of the research problem and background information. This is followed by the purpose or rationale of the study, aim and outline of the remaining chapters.

1.1 Background

According to the World Health Organization, the world's definitive reason of suffering is extreme poverty (WHO, 1995). Poverty can be essentially isolating and upsetting, and of particular apprehension are the uninterrupted and incidental effects of poverty (such as parenting styles) on the growth and preservation of behavioural, emotional and mental problems (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan & Maritato, 1997b; Guo & Harris, 2000; Murali & Oyeboode, 2004). Due to its multidimensional nature the conceptualization, definition and measurement of poverty is a contested issue. Most social scientists agree that an approximation of poverty consists of a combination of both income and occupational status (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Poverty can be measured via income or consumption levels, and individuals are classified as 'poor' if both or one of these levels fall below the 'poverty line', "which is the minimum level necessary to meet basic needs" (Murali et al., 2004, p 216). The World Bank's analysis of the 'poverty line' in any particular country is based on the norms for that society. Poverty is multidimensional and income provides one aspect of its many dimensions. The World Bank's (2014) operational definition of poverty includes hunger; lack of shelter; being unable to see a general physician when sick; having little or no access to schools and not knowing how to read.

Despite the advent of a democratically elected government in 1994, a patterned growth of increased economic poverty, unemployment and inequality has occurred in South Africa (Lund, Kleintjes, Kakuma & Flisher, 2010). A single official poverty line does not exist in South Africa; the government uses R799 a month per individual as an approximate guide. A poverty line is used to divide the poor and not poor, and is calculated by determining the consumable and non-consumable items essential for daily survival (Grant, 2015). Using this approximate guide, the quantity of people living below the poverty line is approximately 27 million (54%).

Poverty presents significant challenges and dangers to well-being. Individuals living in poverty are often exposed to unsafe surroundings; who (if employed) frequently have demanding, demotivating and unrewarding employment and who lack the basic provisions and facilities of life (Murali et al., 2004, Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997a, Guo et al., 2000). Thus, it has been shown that individuals living with such poverty, are more probable to undergo undesirable effects of 'risky' health behaviours than those living in better resourced environments. Moreover, due to their life circumstances, individuals in lower socio-economic classes are exposed to more stressors, and with greater vulnerability to these resources, coupled with fewer assets to manage and cope with them, they are doubly victimised (Murali et al., 2004). Poverty has been shown to be associated with higher rates of crime, violence and unemployment, less social cohesion and lower rates of social and political participation (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997a; Guo et al., 2000).

Thus, poverty and associated factors present significant risks to the development of a child (Grantham-McGregor, Cheung, Santiago, Glewwe, Richter & Strupp, 2007; Guo et al., 2000 & Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997a). Children depend on others for their well-being and as a result of their developmental status, they enter into or avoid poverty due to their families' economic circumstances (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997b). Children from low-resourced settings are exposed to pervasive environmental inequalities when compared with their financially privileged counterparts; they confront more family disorder, violence, separation from family members, volatility, and chaotic households (Evans, 2004). Such factors are often harmful and counterproductive to the physical, socio-emotional, and cognitive well-being of all family members (Evans, 2004; Duncan et al., 1994; Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997a; Aunola et al., 2005; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 2000; Coley et al., 2014). Disadvantages in the physical, socio-emotional and cognitive well-being of parents, can further impact on the type of parenting style employed which in itself can have further implications on the development of the child (Huebner & Howell, 2003; Bornstein, Putnick & Lansford, 2011; Steinberg, Catalano & Dooley, 1981; Murry, Brody & Simons, 2008; Linver, Brooks-Gunn & Kohen, 2002)

1.2 Purpose of the study

The effects of poverty on children's development, academic achievement, mental health, pro-social behaviour and so forth have been well documented and researched (Huston, 1991;

Grantham et al., 2007; Brook-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; & Bradley et al, 2002). However, there are few studies examining the relationship between poverty and parenting or child-rearing styles. Parenting styles are important when trying to understand how social factors (such as poverty) affect children's development and general well-being (Baumrind, 1980; Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1994). When focusing on the prevention of adverse or negative outcomes of childhood development, parenting interventions form an essential role in evidence-based strategy. Yet, most studies of parenting programme efficiency have been administered in higher income countries, with less conducted in low and middle-income countries (Knerr, Gardner & Cluver, 2013). Research studies of poverty and parenting styles in low and middle-income African-American populations exist, however a move is required to explore this relationship in other low and middle-income countries, populations and community settings (Rushia, 2007), such as South Africa.

Due to parenting styles influencing child outcomes, and existent literature generally underscoring the importance of economic disadvantage in the relationship between these styles and childhood outcomes (Knutson et al, 2005), it was deemed important to access factors that can affect the parenting style employed. The prevalence of poverty in South Africa demonstrates the economic and financial strain that many individuals live with. The bulk of research on poverty and income maintenance is almost exclusively centred on attaining and implementing short-term economic goals and intervention strategies (Huston, 1991). By highlighting the relationship between poverty and parenting styles, the emotive and familial outcomes can be emphasized. This is imperative as parenting style affects the child's development which in turn affects society as a whole. Children who do poorly in academics are likely to transfer the poverty to the next generation (Grantham – McGregor et al., 2007). Grantham - McGregor et al (2007) estimated that the loss of human potential is related to a 20% deficit in an adult's income and this in turn has implications for national development. Programmes or interventions serving low-income families can learn more regarding the development of comprehensive and effective programs that include the parent-child relationship. Interventions can facilitate parents to acquire additional efficient skills, including minimising harsh and punitive parenting, increasing play and caring interactions, and employing more consistent discipline and reassurance for good behaviour (Gardner, Burton & Klimes, 2000). Parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds will incorporate this information in different ways, but the need for such information cuts across economic lines (Steinberg, 2001).

By researching the relationship between poverty and parenting styles, educative and supportive programmes can be developed and followed through. Research findings suggest that parenting interventions may be feasible and effective in improving parent–child interaction and parental knowledge in relation to child development in low and middle-income countries (LMIC), and therefore may be incremental in addressing prevention of ineffective parenting styles that may be used in these settings (Knerr et al, 2013). A protective mechanism that can act as a buffer between the adverse effects of economic disadvantage is the amount of social support given to parents (Marcynyszyn, 2001; Middlemis, 2003). Social support given to low income parents can reduce the effect of some stressors thereby reducing the likelihood of nonresponsive parenting and children's maladjustment. Specifically, children residing in lower socio-economic environments may benefit from programmes designed to increase abilities or provide a sense of usefulness for parents coping with adverse circumstances (Gallo et al., 1990). A positive parent-child relationship as well as a warm family environment may protect children from the adversities of poverty (Marcynyszyn, 2001).

1.3 Aim of the study

The primary aim of this study is to examine the relationship between poverty and parenting styles in South Africa, particularly the authoritative and authoritarian parenting style. Therefore, the main question of this study is: is there a significant difference between the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles amongst fewer resourced and more resourced parents?

1.4 Outline of the dissertation

Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the study and outlines the research problem and contextual background against which the study was conducted. This is followed by a brief purpose or rationale of the study, aim and orientation to the remaining chapters.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review with research that is relevant to this study. It offers a deeper contextualization of the study and draws on studies within the same field. It begins with a discussion on the importance of parenting styles followed by the two types of

parenting styles (authoritative and authoritarian) and its effect on children. A review of poverty and its effect on parenting styles and child development is included with a focus on the 'family stress model' and the 'ecological systems theory'. The literature review concludes with a critical appraisal of poverty and parenting styles in different contexts and environments.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology with explanations and advantages and disadvantages of the specific method (secondary data analysis), are provided. The aims and objectives of the study, research questions, methodological design, sampling methods, data collection and data analysis are also discussed.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study.

Chapter 5 offers a discussion of the findings of the study in relation to the literature. It also includes the concluding remarks, suggestions for future research and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will present an outline of previous studies associated with the research question. The first part of the chapter will appraise the literature regarding the importance of parenting styles (in particular: the authoritative and authoritarian styles) and its effect on child development. The second part of the chapter will explore and discuss a review of the literature regarding the relationship between poverty and child development and poverty and parenting styles. The review also includes 'The family stress model' and the 'ecological model'. The final part of this chapter provides a review of the literature in relation to parenting styles in different contexts and an overall summary.

2.1 The importance of parenting styles

As one element of parental involvement, developmental psychologists have shown specific interest in how parenting styles influence children's social development and instrumental competencies (Fakeye, 2014). The family (including parenting styles), provides the initial form of socialisation and plays a fundamental role in nurturing values, behaviours and attitudes of children (Kemme, Hanslmaier & Pfeiffer, 2014). Parenting styles can be defined as a "constellation of attitudes towards the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parents behaviours are expressed" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p.488). These include both goal-directed behaviours that form part of the parenting styles and non-goal directed behaviours such as the tone of voice and unprompted emotional expression. The patterns used by a parent "categorize a particular parent-child relationship at a specific time" (Baumrind, 2005, p. 63) and the hierarchical or asymmetrical pattern of parent-child relationships that exist in the child's early developmental years, evolves into a more symmetrical distribution of privileges and responsibilities as the child becomes an adolescent and the adolescent becomes an adult (Baumrind, 2012).

Parenting style is representative of the parent, therefore it is an aspect of the child's external social environment (Darling et al., 1993). The developmental processes involve the degree and nature of the child's identification with the parents as it fundamentally involves both the child and the object of identification. Evidence from child developmental literature indicates

that children's socio-emotional development, attachment, self-esteem and adjustment is linked to their experiences and interactions with their parents and the actual parenting styles (Ahmed, 2009; Baumrind, 1991; Berk, 2009; Ruschia, 2007 & Wentzel, 2004). According to Baumrind (2004), parenting styles have proven to be an influential factor in predicting children's competence. Deficits in parenting behaviour or style affects a child's welfare and adjustment (Newland, Crnic, Cox, & Mills-Koonce, 2013). This perhaps is so, as children's development of healthy adjustment begins at birth and relies on a diverse range of environmental stimuli, among which is parenting style (Fakeye 2014).

Parenting that is characterized by firm limit setting, disengagement (low monitoring/supervision and parental warmth), minimisation of contact with aberrant peers, loose supervision of children's undertakings and locations, inconsistent consequences of misbehaviour and decreased constructive exchanges between the child and their caretaker(s), does make a difference in the amount of antisocial behaviour and overall functioning displayed during adolescence (Eddy and Chamberlain, 2000 & Pittman & Chase-Lansdale, 2001). Research suggests that well-functioning parenting can buffer children from a genetic risk of developing certain disorders (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington & Bornstein, 2000). Thus, generic strengths (or vulnerabilities) may not be manifested unless there is a presence of an environmental trigger, such as parenting.

The quality of child rearing will impact on how a child reacts to another's distress (Braten, 1996). The particular parenting style employed affects the overall behaviour of the child and this in turn is affected by various factors such as culture, the child's individual characteristics and poverty (Huston, Darling et al., 1993). A lack of resources has been found to be "a major barrier, which has blocked the way of parents to perform their parental duties with full attention" (Ahmed, 2005, p.3). Furthermore; erratic, weak parent-child attachments, threatening and harsh discipline and lack of supervision mediate the effects of poverty and other structural factors on delinquency (Murali et al., 2004). Thus, it is important to examine different parenting styles in relation to poverty.

2.2 Parenting styles

Parents differ in how they control or socialise their children and it's the overall pattern of interaction that shapes a child's behaviour (Berryman, Power & Holliff, 2002; Baumrind

2012). Parenting styles consist of an amalgamation of attitudes and behaviours expressed to rear children. Values, behaviours and standards of the different parenting styles differ with respect to how they are transmitted and the expectations of parents on children (Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts & Fraleigh, 1987). Schaefer (1965) cluster analysed widespread gradients of psychologists' evaluations of parental performance and identified three segments that he labelled "acceptance versus rejection, psychological control versus psychological autonomy,' and firm control versus lax control" (p.554). Developing on the conceptualizations of Schaefer, Diana Baumrind, in the 1960's, interviewed parents and analysed video-taped communication systems in which either the parent or the child endeavoured to influence (control) the other. She conducted a survey using naturalistic observation, interviews and other research methods on more than 100 preschool children (Berk, 2009) and identified four significant dimensions of parenting; expectations of maturity and control; strategies of discipline; communication styles and warmth and nurturance. Based on these dimensions, Baumrind (1968) identified a typology of three parenting styles that the majority of parents/guardians display: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive.

For Baumrind, a key element to the parental role and style involved socialising children to conform to the essential demands of other individuals whilst conserving a sense of personal veracity (Darling et al., 1993). Baumrind, Larzelere, and Owens (2010) assert that parents' responsibilities in all societies are to socialise children to adhere adequately to normative principles of behaviour, so successful functioning in the community is achieved. According to Baumrind (1991), the various parenting styles include normal disparities in parents' efforts to control and socialize their children. They encompass two crucial essentials of parenting, namely parental responsiveness and parental demandingness. Parental responsiveness is associated to the degree at which parents purposefully nurture independence; self-direction and self-affirmation (by being supportive, acquiescent and attuned to their child's special needs and difficulties). Alternatively, parental demandingness refers to the assertions parents make on their children to become integrated into the family by using techniques such as high parental supervision and monitoring and interdisciplinary efforts (involving confrontation), when a child disobeys. It is the "extent to which parents show control, maturity demands and supervision in their parenting" (Aunola, Stattin, & Nurmi, 2000, p. 206).

Additional research by Maccoby and Martin (1983) further suggested the addition of a fourth parenting style - uninvolved. A permissive parent accepts, affirms and is non-punitive

towards their child's impulses, behaviours and desires (Baumrind, 1966; Berk, 2009). Parental demandingness is limited, especially in relation to household responsibilities and orderly behaviour. Parental control is rarely exercised and externally defined norms or standards of behaviour are not encouraged to be obeyed (Baumrind, 1966, Berk, 2009). The uninvolved parent is low in parental responsiveness and parental control (Baumrind, 1966; Hoskins, 2014). Therefore, uninvolved parents fail to monitor and supervise children and offer little support or encouragement (Hoskins, 2014).

For the purpose of this study, we are only interested in the authoritative parenting style and authoritarian parenting style. These two styles have been found to be used most by parents across different ethnic groups, socioeconomic statuses, cultures and contexts (Steinberg, 2001; Berk, 2009, Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Cherry, 2004). In addition, the styles differ along the idea of various constructs (for example: punishment and discipline). Within the uninvolved and permissive parenting style, there is blurring and no clear demarcation of constructs, therefore there is an overlap with the operational definitions, making it difficult to draw differences.

2.2.1 Authoritative Parenting Style

The authoritative parents attempts to direct their child using rational explanations and reasoning behind policies (Baumrind, 1966; Berk, 2009, Barker, 2005). Parental control is not restrictive and the child's interests and opinions are considered. The authoritative parent uses warmth, empathy and affirmation of a child's attributes to set standards for the child's future (Berk, 2009; Barber, 1996; Baumrind, 1971).

Communication

Such parents engage in joint decision making (Dekovic & Janssens, 1992; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch & Darling, 1992) and have a high degree of acceptance and involvement (Berk, 2009). The child is encouraged to be involved in discussions and reasoning behind decisions are explained (Baumrind, 1971, Dornbuschet al., 1987). "The authoritative parent, or emotion coach, uses emotional moments as a time to listen to the child" (Latouf & Dunn, 2014, p. 109). Thus, problems and issues are easier to talk about and facilitate both decision making and responsiveness within the child. Communication is encouraged and not restrained or limited (Barber, 1996; Dornbusch et al, 1987). The authoritative parent values both instrumental attributes and expressive communication, both

disciplined conformity and autonomous self-will (Baumrind, 1968; Baumrind 1971; Dornbusch et al., 1987).

Clear standards are set and independence and individuality are encouraged (Miller, Bernzeig, Eisenberg & Fabes, 1991; Dornbusch et al., 1987). Parents who use the authoritative style are both power insistent in that they implement their commands in a reasonable manner, and independence supportive in that they inspire critical reflection and perceptions (Baumrind, 1991; Darling et al., 1993). This granting of psychological autonomy occurs within an environment where behavioural guidelines do exist and parental control and monitoring is adjusted to the situation (Petitt, Laird, Dodge, Bates & Criss, 2001; Dornbusch et al., 1987). In authoritative parenting, parental monitoring consists of the parents' awareness of children's whereabouts, companions and activities (Petitt et al., 2001). During adolescence, parents identify their children's heightened abilities and developmental requirements and begin to decrease earlier limitations or boundaries and offer more prospects for individuality and participation in decision making (Fulgini & Eccles, 1993, Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992). In this sense, it can be viewed as a normative practice to inculcate a system of expectations and regulations within the child. Fulgini and Eccles (1993) found that if such restrictions are not lifted and power not reduced, adolescents orientate themselves towards peers to such an extent that they are willing to forego schoolwork, parent's rules and even their own talents to gain popularity with peers. Communication between the adolescent and parent thereafter reduces or becomes strained.

Control and monitoring

Although both the authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles are similarly demanding, influential, and power-firm, they fluctuate from each other in the distinguishing kind of control and monitoring they emphasize to their children to gain compliance with parental demands. The category of power that characterizes authoritative parents is confrontive (negotiable, reasonable, outcome-oriented, and concerned with regulating rather than controlling behaviours), whereas the type of power that characterizes authoritarian parents is coercive (domineering, dictatorial, arbitrary, and concerned with creating status positions) (Baumrind, 2012). According to Halpern (1990), secure and constant, yet flexible control methods with an absence of restrictiveness are deemed important for functional development (Halpern, 1990). Authoritative parents treat their children as rational beings that are entitled

to a reason or explanation for obtrusive directives and therefore readily assert confrontive power in disciplinary encounters (Baumrind, 2012).

Methods of discipline

Authoritative control reflects inductive disciplinary practices that focus on guiding the child, providing information and instilling a sense of responsibility within the child (Hoeve et al, 2009). Power assertion in an authoritative context is characterised by overt, direct, rational, and goal-directed behaviour allowing room for the child to achieve his or her goals through more functional techniques (such as compromise and positive argument). Therefore a child's confrontation, when it occurs, "is likely to be manifested by these more functional techniques than to be manifested by evasion or subversion" (Baumrind, 2012, p.42). Authoritative parents generally use constructive disciplinary techniques where they are assertive but not intrusive (Berryman et al, 2002) and display nurturance (Wentzel, 2004) as such parents want their children to be socially responsible, self-regulated and co-operative (Cherry, 2013).

2.2.1.1 Effects on development

The unique combination of positive encouragement of the child's autonomous and independent strivings and high control can be termed authoritative parental behaviour (Baumrind, 1970). Strong evidence accrued from literature indicates that parental warmth and approval, non-punitive corrective practices, consistency in child-nurturing and inductive discipline (authoritative parenting) are related to positive developmental outcomes in children (Pittman et al., 2001; Patel, Flischer, Nikapota, & Malhotra, 2008). Levels of support and warmth is inversely related to delinquency, thus higher levels of support and warmth is linked to lower levels of delinquency and lower levels of support and warmth with higher levels of delinquency (Hoeve, Smeenk, Eichelsheim, van der Laan, Dubas & Gerris, 2009).

Baumrind (1970) found that parents who were regulatory and demanding but warm, coherent and amenable, led to children who were most self-dependent, explorative, self-organized and happy (Baumrind, 1970). Warm, supportive, authoritative, receptive and approachable parenting is usually crucial in "building prospective resilience in children, as well as helping them deal with many specific adversities" (Hill, Stafford, Seaman, Ross & Daniel, 2007, p. 37). Authoritative parenting styles tend to result in children who are successful, proficient, confident and efficacious (Dekovic et al., 1992; Berk, 2009 & Cherry, 2013). Children fostered in authoritative environments exhibit greater levels of competency, accomplishment,

self-confidence, social expansion and mental wellbeing compared with those raised in authoritarian or permissive environments (Steinberg, 1994; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Due to the combination of demandingness and responsiveness, authoritative parenting plays a crucial influence in the healthy psychosocial development in adolescents and promotes the "adolescent's sense of trust and efficacy, as well as the continuation of internal representations of the self in secure, predictable relationships with other" (Pittman et al., 2001, p.200).

Baumrind's (2005) 15-year longitudinal study found that variables representing the demandingness factor when entrenched in an authoritative arrangement had a more favourable effect on children than when embedded in an authoritarian formation (Baumrind, 2005). Demandingness conformation adjoins firm behavioural control and monitoring with support, cordiality and self-sufficiency. This configuration of high warmth, behavioural control and autonomy support, with minimal use of psychological control has a salutary effect on adolescent independence and additional qualities. The unequal power balance of parent-child relationships may often result in early adolescents feeling restricted in their opportunities for independent thinking and activity (Fulgini & Eccles, 1993), and this may further lead to distancing and ineffective communication between parents and adolescents. Healthy adolescent development and communication is thus fostered by authoritative demandingness and responsiveness where parents display control but are not restrictive (Aunola et al., 2000).

Baumrind and colleagues (2010) expected and found that because commitment and balance play a role in authoritative and authoritative-like parenting, this resulted in them having the most capable and well-attuned children (Baumrind, Owens & Larzelere, 2010). An association between effective authoritative parenting with greater connection to encouraging peer groups has been found and less effective parenting has been associated with higher affiliation to divergent peers (Knutson et al, 2004). Authoritative parenting style also favours cognitive ability of children more than other parenting styles (Fakeye, 2014). It has been found to be related to children and adolescents' school regulation; greater standards of performance (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994), strong school commitment (Steinberg et al., 1992), and progressive approaches towards schooling (Maccoby et al., 1983; Steinberg et al., 1989). In addition, studies have found that across various ethnic groups, authoritarian parenting was associated with lower grades and

authoritative parenting with higher academic performance and fewer behavioural problems (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Querido, Warner & Eyberg, 2002).

Research suggests that three explicit mechanisms of authoritative parenting contribute to the high level of academic performance and school regulation amongst adolescents: parental approval or warmth, behavioural regulation and monitoring, and psychological autonomy granting (Steinberg et al., 1989; Lamborn et al., 1991). Authoritative or responsive parenting is associated with academic achievement not only because of the “direct effect it has on the individual adolescent's work habits, but because of the effect it has on the adolescent's crowd affiliation” (Steinberg et al., 1992, p.728). Results from Aunola and colleagues’ (2000) study suggest that the type of parenting style employed plays a vital role in the development of adolescents' achievement strategies (Aunola et al., 2000). Particularly, family communication that emphasizes child disclosure, parental confidence and commitment with adequate parental control and monitoring appear to provide a foundation for the development of adaptive achievement approaches. Furthermore, authoritative control from parents can achieve responsible conformity with group standards without the loss of individual self-assertiveness or autonomy (Baumrind, 1966). Authoritativeness has been shown to help children and adolescents develop a crucial competence that is characterised by the balancing of the needs and responsibilities of the individual and society (Darling et al., 1993).

Gray and Steinberg (1999) unpacked authoritative parenting to ascertain whether each component of ‘authoritativeness’ (warmth, firmness and psychological autonomy-granting) makes a contribution to healthy adolescents. The higher the degree of connection, “autonomy granting and structure that adolescents perceive from their parents, the more positively teens evaluate their own general conduct, psychosocial development and mental health” (Gray et al., 1999, p. 584). They found that psychosocial development, in general, and academic competence is enhanced by the three aspects of authoritative parenting. Psychological autonomy granting also provided a protective mechanism against anxiety, distress and other forms of internalised suffering in adolescents. Authoritative parenting (involved/supportive parenting, including parental warmth) has been shown to predict lower levels of externalising and internalising problem behaviours, along with predicting higher levels of a variety of prosocial behaviours in children and adolescents (Barber, Stolz & Olsen, 2005). Furthermore, adolescents who have parents that are authoritative are less swayed by peers to misbehave than those reared by authoritarian parents (Fulginiti et al., 1993)

The relationship between authoritative parenting with positive aspects of children's development occurs, as it involves three elements: the nurturance and involvement of the parent makes children more receptive to parental influence, thereby more efficient and effective; the combination of structure and support enables children to function as mature, responsible and competent individuals; and the verbal give and take prominent in authoritative parent-child exchanges engages the child in a process that fosters social and cognitive competence, allowing for functioning outside the familial context (Steinberg, 2001).

2.2.2 Authoritarian Parenting Style

The authoritarian parent often attempts to shape a child's behaviours according to absolute standards set by a higher authority (Baumrind, 1968; Berk, 2009). Punitive methods of discipline are frequently used to curb the child's will and restrict autonomous decisions (Berk, 2009). Empathy is rarely exercised in the decision making process as the child's needs or opinions are not priority (Baumrind, 2010, Berk, 2009). Verbal hostility and high psychological control are two elements that are key in authoritarian parenting (Hoskins, 2014).

Communication

Such parents expect the child to follow rules without offering explanations (Dekovic et al., 1992, Dornbusch et al., 1987). Strict rules exist and unquestioning obedience from children, therefore disagreements with parents' views are not allowed (Firmin & Castle, 2008; Dornbusch et al., 1987). Furthermore, obedience from the child is fundamental and conflicts between the child's beliefs and opinions with the parent is not accepted (Baumrind, 1971). Constraining and limiting child communication figure prominently in such parents (Barber, 1996). Authoritarian parents are demanding, but not responsive, therefore parenting entails low levels of trust with little engagement between parent and child resulting in closed communication (Maccoby et al., 1983). These practices discourage the child to express opinions, ideas and views as well as the child's participation in family interactions (Hauser, Powers, Noam, Jacobson, Weiss & Follansbee, 1984). Communication with authoritarian parents is difficult as their own needs often take precedence over the needs of the child; they

become inaccessible when displeased and display a sense of personal infallibility and they are often preoccupied with their own ideas than with their child's welfare (Firmin et al, 2008).

Control and monitoring

The manner in which parents assert power, and if they do so routinely, “is a defining component of their parenting style” (Baumrind, 2012, p. 36). In authoritarian parenting, power assertion is utilised without rational explanation. This is completed to demand punctual acquiescence, unadulterated by compensatory satisfaction or mutual reassurance of the child’s ingenuity, and to implement a child’s inferior status in an inflexible hierarchical family system (Baumrind et al., 2010). Such parents are low in autonomy granting and high in coercive or psychological control (Berk, 2009). Psychological control encompasses invasive parental practices and emotional withdrawal as a method of controlling behaviour (Mason, Cauce, Gonzales & Hiraga, 1996; Berk 2009, Maccoby et al, 1983). Authoritarian parents exhibit control and monitoring efforts to keep children psychologically dependant on them by inhibiting the development of independence and self-direction (Petitt et al., 2001, Dornbusch et al., 1987). Parents endeavour to shape, regulate and evaluate the behaviours of children with “an absolute set of standards” (Dornbusch et al., 1987, p. 1245). Strict monitoring that inhibits independence is employed and is practiced by setting regularly enforced curfews and extreme supervision (Ceballo, Hearn, Ramirez & Maltese, 2003). Empathic monitoring (where the child's perspective and view is taken into consideration) is not adopted by authoritarian parents. Authoritarian monitoring is aligned with firm, restrictive disciplinary and power assertive techniques (Miller et al., 1991) that encompass harsh punishment and the withdrawal of love (Hoeve et al, 2009, Berk, 2009), to gain compliance.

Methods of discipline

Punitive parenting is an expression of authoritarian parenting where parents reflect an attitude of punishment and a tendency to display stricter sanctions over milder ones when dealing with transgressions (Kemme et al, 2014; Joseph & John, 2008). An authoritarian parenting style can be characterized as parents who communicate to their children a punitive value set (Kemme et al., 2014). Parents who find punishment as a more acceptable method of discipline, generally report higher levels of disapproval and anger (authoritarian), or poorer levels of warmth and connection (authoritative) in their relationship with their children

(Kempe et al. 2014; Ghate, Hazel, Creighton & Finch, 2003). Both authoritative and authoritarian parents use confrontive discipline, which can be described as unswerving, influential, firm and consistent. However, "authoritarian parents differ from authoritative parents in that they also use coercive discipline, which is peremptory, domineering, arbitrary, and concerned with retaining hierarchical family relationships" (Baumrind et al., 2010, p. 158). As authoritarian parents attempt to reinforce the hierarchical nature of the parent-child relationship (irrespective of the age of the child), pre-emptory orders unqualified by the use of reason are utilised and coercive power is readily accepted when dealing with disciplinary encounters (Baumrind, 2012). Within the authoritarian domain, also known as the disapproving parent, the style often used involves reprimands, discipline or punishment towards the child for emotional expression, whether the child is misbehaving or not (Latouf et al, 2014, Joseph & John, 2008). Punitive and forceful measures are frequently relied upon by authoritarian parents to curb the self-will of the child (Baumrind, 1968; McLoyd 1990).

2.2.2.1 Effects on development

Authoritarian parents, as compared to authoritative parents, are relatively unsuccessful in producing prosocial behaviour in children. Baumrind (1970) hypothesised that this may be due to the authoritarian parent's failure to encourage verbal exchange (disjointed communication) and the infrequent addition of reasons when using punishment. During the early adolescent period, adolescents who believe that there are limited chances available with parents where their thoughts and inclinations are likely to be considered and discussed, may turn to peer relationships to explore and cultivate these opinions and inclinations (Fulginiti et al., 1993). In such situations, adolescents in early stages, may be more prepared to sacrifice those things that they feel will threaten such relationships, for instance, school achievement and parental rules. Adjustment problems (for example, hostility and peer dismissal within the school environment) often result in long-term adjustment problems such as an increase in delinquency (Knutson, DeGarmo & Reid, 2004). Moreover, the authoritarian parents' disapproval and lack of trust in their control may persuade adolescents to believe that they are not proficient to solve difficult problems or that they are deficient in their own personal control to do so (Barber, 1996).

Children who are subjected to over-controlling parents (authoritarian) with extreme monitoring exhibit anxiety and aggressive behaviours (Braten cited in Berk, 2009). Authoritarian control and non-empathic monitoring may prevent a child from the opportunity

of engaging in meaningful interactions with others (Baumrind, 1966). Research findings suggest that parental demands provoke anxiety and aggression from children only when the parent is repressive (high control), restrictive (high monitoring with no empathy) and hostile (Baumrind, 1966). Psychological control is often experienced by children as overprotective, intrusive and at times passive-aggressive (Steinberg, 2001). High psychological control has consistently been found to be related to internalizing problems and sometimes with externalizing problems, as well as with conflictual relationship with parents, problematic peer behaviour and adjustment difficulty (Barber et al, 2005). Family relationships categorized by little parental involvement, a lack of parental trust, and monitoring or control with no engagement and empathy, appear to result in adolescents' use of maladaptive achievement strategies (Aunola et al., 2000).

The style adopted by a parent has long term consequences for the adolescent's development as school achievement provides a basis for an adolescent's success in socialization into adulthood (Grantham – McGregor et al., 2007, Barber, 1996). Youngsters may be placed at a disadvantage in school systems that “emphasize autonomy and self-direction, authoritarian parenting, with its emphasis on obedience and conformity and its adverse effects on self-reliance and self-confidence.” (Steinberg et al, 1992, p.728). However, some studies in different cultures have found a positive relationship between authoritarian parenting and academic achievement (Park & Bauer, 2002; Blair & Qian, 1998; Leung, Lau & Lam, 1998). An authoritarian parenting style may result in obedient and proficient children however, deficits result in their overall happiness, self-esteem and social competence (Joseph & John, 2008). A decrease in social competence exists as the child is not allowed to make autonomous decisions but unquestionably follow instructions of the authoritarian parent.

Parental monitoring with no consideration of the child's position, and disciplinary measures in middle-childhood were found to be significantly correlated with connection to antisocial peers at ages 10 and 12 (Dishion, Stoolmiller, Patterson & Skinner, 1991). However, Kerr, Stattin and Burr (2010) reported contradictory findings in their longitudinal study of adolescents and their parents, where parental monitoring did not predict changes of delinquency over time amongst the adolescents. In Steinberg and associates' (1994) longitudinal study, children from authoritarian home environments displayed a significant increase in ‘internalized distress’ over a 1-year period (Steinberg et al., 1994). It was hypothesised that the elevated levels of emotional and somatic distress conveyed by the

adolescents was linked somewhat to their sustained experience to a home context that was psychosomatically over-powering and progressively developmentally inappropriate. Rashjee and associates' (2000) study confirmed that adult patients diagnosed with major depressive disorder recollect their childhood upbringing as categorized by indifferent and overprotective (high levels of non-empathic monitoring) parenting (Rashjee & Glenn, 2000). In sum, monitoring that occurs in a hostile environment with no empathy involved (authoritarian parents), minimizes occasions for children to learn how to cope successfully with challenges by imposing functionally superfluous rules and assigning too many responsibilities (Baumrind et al., 2010). Large amounts of control and monitoring constrains the expansion of independence, which is essential for the growth of self-monitoring (Steinberg, 1989).

The detrimental effects of parents' use of coercive power assertion in the disciplinary encounter on children's individuation, self-efficacy, and emotional well-being (Baumrind et al., 2010) are likely due to the arbitrary, peremptory, status-oriented, and domineering aspects of the authoritarian discipline encounter, rather than to the assertive forcefulness. Baumrind (1970) found that parents of children who were withdrawn, discontent and distrustful (relative to the other children in the study), were themselves detached and controlling, and somewhat less warm (authoritarian) than other parents (Baumrind, 1970). The effects of severe, punitive and offensive parenting and ineffective parenting skills on child outcomes are well documented (Gershoff, Lansford, Sexton, Kean & Sameroff, 2012; Hoeve et al. 2009). A link has been found between inconsistent, harsh and low positive parenting and conduct disorders amongst adolescents (Gardner, Burton & Klimes, 2006).

Punitive discipline was found to be a feature in the development of young children's anger, with this role being reduced at the stage of development where the effects of discipline may not reach the child (Knutson, DeGarmo & Reid, 2004). Children subjected to an intimidating disciplinary style that is often accompanied with "conflict, anger, punitiveness, hostility, and aggression develop an aversive interpersonal style" (Mason et al., 1996, p. 2117). Exposure to such harsh parenting as well as inconsistent and abusive parenting can lead to disturbances in children's development of self-regulatory processes and these result in deficits in abilities to function within a school environment and establishing healthy and supportive peer relationships (Petersen et al, 2014). Deficient parenting styles (including punitive parenting, neglect and greater use of aversive and intimidating discipline) contributes to the development of antisocial or delinquent behaviour (McLoyd, 1990).

Findings from Gershoff's (2002) meta-analytic review show that, with the exclusion of short-time obedience, the effects of even mild physical punishment are negative. While the methods of harsh parenting differ across groups, punitive parenting (spanking) is not associated with positive behaviour over time (Gershoff, Lansford, Sexton, Kean & Sameroff, 2012). Punitive discipline can induce feelings of distress, anxiety, and resentment in children which in turn can lead to children avoiding parents and poor communication, thereby disrupting the parent-child relationship (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Harsh punishment (punitive practice) has been significantly related with adolescents' depressive symptomatology and distress (McLoyd, Ceballo, Jayaratne & Borquez, 1994); Punitive, hostile and non-empathic disciplinary techniques have been clearly associated with cognitive and emotional disturbances within the child, including hostile withdrawal, acting out, nervousness, personality problems, and dependency (Baumrind, 1970). Furthermore, punitive parenting has been found to be related to violence and conduct disorders. Harsh punitive parenting is the key factor in coercive parenting that reinforces aggression (Knutson, DeGarmo, Koepl & Reid, 2005) and is reflective of an authoritarian parenting style. Knutson and associates' (2004) model strongly associate punitive correction as a feature in the development of young children's belligerence, with this role being minimised at a certain developmental stage (generally when they are out of reach of such discipline) (Knutson et al., 2004).

In particular, constructive reassurance and participation with children from parents and effective non-violent discipline have been revealed to be critical, at several developmental stages, for forecasting lower levels of destructive and hazardous behaviour (Dishion, Patterson, Stoolimiller & Skinner, 1991). The relationship between financial difficulties and punitive, unreliable parenting behaviour seems to arise from amplified levels of stress, irritability, and low mood experienced by financially disadvantaged parents (McLoyd, 1990). Several studies show that an increase in externalised and internalised behavioural problems is found to be mediated by an elevated amount of harsh and punitive punishment (McLoyd et al., 1994; McLeod & Shanahan, 1993; McLoyd, 1990). Miller and associates' (1997) found that the longer the duration of poverty within a household, the more harsh and unresponsive were the parenting practices (Miller & Davis, 1997). Overall, there is direct indication that anxiety, depression, and irritability (conditions that become elevated with economic difficulty) escalate the propensity of parents to be punitive, unpredictable, one-sided, and

generally unsupportive of their children. Thus, they become more authoritarian and less authoritative in their parenting style.

2.3 Poverty and child development

Poverty is related to many long-term problems, such as “poor health and increased mortality, school failure, crime and substance misuse” (Murali et al, 2004, p.217). It is linked to poor health status and children who are born into poverty are at greater risk for developing both mental and physical ill health (Saxena, Thornicroft, Knapp & Whiteford, 2007; Patel et al, 2008, Murali 2004; Duncan, Brooks-Gunn & Keblanov, 1994). According to the South African Department of Health (1999), children residing in poor household environments are three times more probable to have a mental illness than children in better resourced environments (Department of Health, 1999). The longer children and adolescents live in an economically deprived environment, the lower their scholastic attainment and the poorer their social and psychological functioning (Duncan et al., 1994; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan & Maritato, 1997a).

Consistent with the financial capital model, impoverished families have less substantial assets and children who grow up with fewer resources have a tendency to do less well in school and other features of life (Guo & Harris, 2000, Evans, 2004). Children residing in underprivileged households receive less cognitive and emotional encouragement, have a greater propensity to suffer with well-being problems that impede with intellectual development, and therefore perform below par in school compared with their colleagues from more affluent families (McLoyd, 1998, Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997b, Guo et al, 2000). Children who live below the poverty line for many years undergo the worst outcomes (Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997a), as social disadvantage and poverty are factors most strongly related to difficulties in children’s intellectual abilities and academic attainments. Brain damage and resultant neuro-psychiatric morbidity, intellectual disability and epilepsy are more frequent in low and middle income countries than in high-income countries, and this has been shown to have an effect on the educational achievement of children and an impact on secondary morbidity (Grantham-McGregor et al., 2007). In terms of achievement, Brooks-Gunn and Duncan (2000) established that the risk for children from lower-income compared to children from higher-income households, is 2 times as high for grade repetition and dropping out of high school, and 1.4 times as high for having a learning disability. For additional conditions and

consequences, “these risk ratios are: 1.3 times as high for parent-reported emotional or behaviour problems, 3.1 times as high for a teenage out of wedlock birth, 6.8 times as high for reported cases of child abuse and neglect, and 2.2 times as high for experiencing violent crime” (p. 188). In general, it is the culmination of various risks rather than a singular risk that can be a particularly pathogenic feature of childhood poverty.

Within the behavioural domain, attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder and conduct disorder show explicit links with family economic disadvantage, and this is most noticeable for the children in family households confronting consistent economic and financial stress (Murali et al. 2004). Moreover, significant difficulties in development with regards to socio-emotional functioning, behaviour problems, and physical health have also been found (Conger & Donnellan, 2007; Brooks-Gunn et al., 2000; Evans, 2004).

Poverty affects the child's development through inadequate nutrition, lack of access to schooling environments, and fewer learning experiences. Poverty is related to children's development because it restricts parents' ability to purchase materials, involvements, and facilities that are valuable to children's growth and welfare (Linver et al, 2002, Evans, 2004, NFPI, 2000). Children from low-income households often have fewer resources (Brooks-Gunn et al., 2000; Evans, 2004) and an attitude of low expectation to succeed (Halpern, 1990). In addition, poor quality of housing amongst lower income families (For example: many family members residing in one room) may affect child development in various ways (Evans, 2004; NFPI, 2000). Various parenting patterns or styles may exist and this may confuse the child and a lack of privacy amongst the different family members may also cause confusion or distress amongst children. Lower income may be characteristic of a multitude of difficulties produced by disadvantage, such as less access to medical facilities, poorer prenatal and postnatal practices, larger social stressors that could influence foetal development, and contact with more lethal physical surroundings (such as environments containing lead).

Poverty may result in families residing in extremely poor neighbourhoods that are characterized by social disorganization (violence, large unemployment rates amongst adults, neighbours who do not supervise the behaviour of children). Moffitt (1997) proposed that such experiences can generate neuro-psychological defects that may create biological (genetic) as well as social pathways to children's intellectual functioning and behaviour

problems (Moffitt, 1997). The neuropsychological deficits affect verbal comprehension, language processing and auditory memory, thereby affecting overall intellectual functioning. Furthermore, the deficit in the verbal functioning affects behaviour as it increases impulsivity. Thus, development is adapted and modified by the quality of the environment (Grantham-McGregor, 2007).

Higher income allows parents to provide more thought-provoking home-contexts; to reside in communities with better schools, parks and libraries, to provide training and expenses related to higher education; to gain access to better quality health care; and in many other ways to provide things to better the physical and mental health and development of the child (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997b; NFPI, 2000). Family economic pressure can lead to conflict and problems in communication between children and parents and/or impaired social relationships (Conger, Lorenz, Conger, Simons & Elder, 1994; McLoyd, 1990, Evans, 2004). Economically deprived parents are likely to be less well, both emotionally and physically, when compared to those who are not financially deprived (Brooks-Gunn et al., 2000; Jackson, Bentler & Franke, 2008). Depressive symptoms and irritability, in turn, are associated with more conflictual adolescent-parent engagements resulting in less satisfactory social, psychological and intellectual development.

2.4 Poverty and parenting styles

The mechanisms by which parenting occurs can promote positive childhood and adolescent outcomes, and therefore are a critical focus. However, contextual factors have the potential to interfere or influence such a process (Pittman et al, 2001; Linver, Brooks-Gunn & Kohen, 2002). Styles of nurturance and care can only be assessed in accordance with the sociocultural context in which it exists (Halpern, 1990, McLoyd, 1990; Linver et al, 2002). It has been stressed that the contextual environment of low income and loss of income places parents and families into specific situations that influence family decisions and styles chosen (McLoyd, 1990, 1998; McLoyd, Jayaratne, Ceballo, & Borquez, 1994). Rather than being constantly and significantly correlated with children's and adolescent's behaviour and socio emotional functioning, low income emerges principally to affect children indirectly, through their adverse impact on family relationships and parenting (Mcloyd et al., 1994). There are risk factors associated with low income and it is the collective effect of these risks (including punitive or authoritarian parenting) that mediate the relationship between poverty and

dysfunctional child emotional outcomes (Conger et al., 1994; McLoyd, 1990) Thus, a third level of analysis that moves beyond the child (individual level) and the child's family (inter individual level) emphasizes the larger context (low income or fewer resources).

The first two decades of an individual's life is predominantly spent within the family system, and while early development primarily takes place in the family context, the family itself resides in multiple contexts (For example occupation or type of neighbourhood) and each have an effect on the family system and on the individuals within the family (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997). The multifarious task of parenting must be implemented within challenging circumstances for families residing in high-risk settings, including poverty; often conceding parents' capacity to provide most favourable parenting (Klebanov, Brooks-Gunn, and Duncan 1994; McLoyd 1990). A single parental characteristic (that forms a part of the overall parenting style) can be altered by the patterns of variables that exist within families.

Correspondingly, the effect of a given feature of parenting styles may be transformed by the larger social context in which it functions (Baumrind, 1970). The ecological model uses a systems standpoint to explain this, and offers a context for understanding how elements that impact on parents and children interact together within an order of four levels; sociocultural (macro system), community (exo system), family (micro system) and individual (ontogenic). This is characterised by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) work of the division of larger contexts into five systems- microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, macrosystems and chronosystems (ecological systems theory). Microsystems are those systems in which face-to-face interactions occur (school, family, peer relations). The linkages between two or more systems containing the individual form the mesosystems. Exosystems also involve linkages between settings but occurs when the person is not present (For example: the marital relationship affects the child's development even though the child is not present in such a relationship). Macrosystems consist of the culture (referring to belief systems, knowledge, lifestyles and customs) in which each of the first three systems operates. Changes in the individual and in the environment over a specific period of time, form the domain of the chromosystem. The contextual systems emphasise "the interchanges amongst individuals, among systems, and among individuals and systems" (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997, p.12).

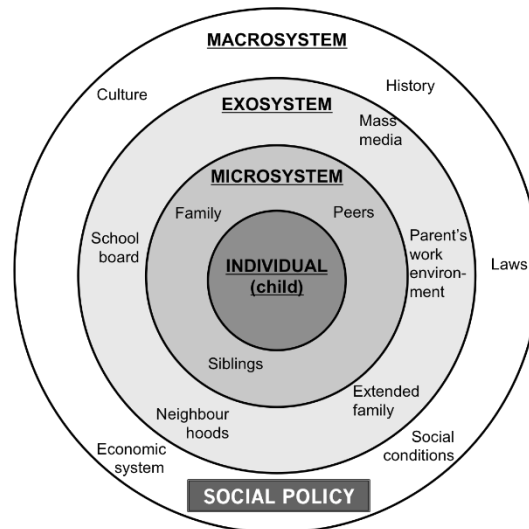


Figure 1: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model

Children who live in poor families are thought to live in different ecological systems than those children who do not. Although parenting styles are seen as an important influence on children, the effects can be best understood in light of the simultaneous influence of the broader context (such as the socioeconomic status of the family) that add to, shape and moderate these effects (Collins et al., 2000). In general, the overemphasis on the microsystem (parenting styles) on child development has placed great responsibility on parents for poor developmental outcomes and has undermined the effects of the macro system in which families are embedded (Halpern, 1990). According to Bronfenbenner (1979), it is important to consider the entire dimension of parenting and not draw conclusions without taking into consideration the larger systems that exist. Family processes and practices occur within a specific family context, and each individual within the family has their own attributes and personality, thus family processes may result in different effects or end results for families in distinct family settings (such as a poor environment). According to the 'ecological systems theory', as poverty is linked to a large amount of risks (environmental, physical, psychosocial), it is one of the foremost environmental factors linked to developmental consequences in children and adolescents (Rafferty & Griffin, 2010).

Stressors related to economic hardship “contribute to higher levels of child maladjustment” (Marcynyszyn, 2001, p.105), due to its effect on parenting styles employed. For example, Steinberg and colleagues (1981) analysed data over a thirty-month period to study the impact of unemployment (low income) on eight thousand families. The longitudinal study revealed that dysfunctional parental practices were preceded by stages of high unemployment rates

(Steinberg, Catalano & Dooley, 1981). Stress due to economic difficulties may lead to increased child maltreatment where feelings of frustration and anger are displaced onto the child. In addition, the emotional problems associated with stressful life conditions can lead to negative attributions about children (Conger, McCarty, Yang, Labey, & Kropp, 1984). This resonates profoundly amongst families with existing tension and maladaptive coping responses; coupled with the demands of parenting, this can affect the susceptible instrumental and emotional assets available, decreasing the parent's tolerance and caring capacity within the parent-child relationship (Steinberg, 1981). The study confirmed the authors' hypothesis that "undesirable economic change leads to increased child maltreatment" (Steinberg et al, 1981, p.975).

In addition, Murry, Brody and Simons (2008) found that negative life events compromised parenting styles resulting in less effective parenting, as they were often associated with reduced warmth, less monitoring and more frequent and argumentative conversations (communication problems) in families. In Linver and associates' (2002) study, family income's relation with childhood consequences were arbitrated by the home surroundings and the mother's individual characteristics — higher family income was related to a more "cognitively stimulating home environment, less maternal emotional distress, and more positive parenting practices" (Linver et al, 2002, p. 728). This in turn was linked to higher cognitive test scores in children and/or lower child behavioural complications (Linver et al, 2002). A child's development and functioning is strongly influenced by an increase in parent's pessimism, rejection and punitive behaviour which is often brought on by economic loss or strain (Elder, Nguyen & Caspi, 1985). However, Coley and Lombardi (2014) found that financial loss or stressors were not related to an increase in harsh parenting or decrease in responsive or consistent parenting practices (Coley & Lombardi, 2004). Thus, the context wherein parents' rear children and where development occurs is not just another factor in a multivariate equation but an impending contender of the child's developmental experience (Dishion & Patterson, 1991). A child developing in a poverty stricken environment has a qualitatively different experience than a child developing in a middle or upper class environment, and the progression that predicts disruptive behaviour may be dissimilar in each setting. The ecological perspective also suggests that adolescents who have different familial contexts (e.g., fewer resources vs more resources) may be affected by parental monitoring differently (Jacobson & Crockett, 2000).

People living in poor environments have a greater risk to developing psychiatric disorders. Alcohol and drug dependence assimilate with this overall pattern, with higher rates found among individuals who live in lower socioeconomic status environments (Murali et al, 2004; McLoyd, 1990). Such environmental stressors do affect the quality of parenting styles and functioning of family processes (Ceballo et al, 2003). Financial strains may cause parents to use ineffective parenting styles that require less effort (For example: the authoritarian style). Poverty appears to reduce parents' capacity to respond to their children in a consistent and sensitive manner (Marcynyszyn, 2001) and this may affect the overall parenting style involved. Elder and colleagues (1985) found that fathers who had persistent economic loss or burdens became more ill-tempered, anxious, and volatile, which in turn, increased their tendency to use punitive and uninformed disciplinary measures for their children (Elder et al., 1985). Such behaviours predicted anger, irritability, and negativism in young children and moodiness, hyper-sensitivity, feelings of insufficiency, and decreased aspirations in female adolescents (Elder et al., 1985). It is probable that poverty enforces stress on parents and that "this inhibits family processes of informal social control, in turn increasing the risks of harsh parenting and reducing parents' emotional availability to meet their children's needs" (Murali et al, 2004, p. 220).

Rewarding, clarifying, referring, and discussing with the child (authoritative parenting) are assets characteristically in short supply when parents feel distraught and overstrained in an economically deprived context (McLoyd, 1990; Conger et al., 1995). Conger, Conger and Elder (1997) reason, that parents who are already irritable with one another are more likely to respond in a hostile (authoritarian) manner during interactions with children, than parents who are not. Thus, there is a spill-over effect of the anger and irritability from the marital conflict to aversive behaviour towards children. They found that daily stressors involving family finance causes marital discord, and this affects the school performance of adolescents and reduces their self-confidence. Furthermore, Huebner and Howell (2003) found in their study that African-American parents in low-income environments also tend to employ more authoritarian parenting styles. Parents in Kenya and Philippines (both low-middle income countries) and Colombia (middle income country) were found to use greater levels of authoritarian attitudes in contrast to parents in Jordan and China (upper middle income countries) and Italy (high middle income country) who display less authoritarian parenting attitudes (Bornstein, Putnick, and Lansford, 2011). Such studies highlight that the association between poverty and parenting styles has contradictory evidence.

2.4.1 The 'Family stress Model'

According to the 'Family Stress Model' (Conger, Conger, Elder, Lorenz & Simons, 1994), poverty is a crucial factor that can put severe strains on familial relationships causing depression and increasing family dysfunction. Conger and associates' (2004, 1995) found that financial strain was indirectly related to poor parenting, via an elevated depressed mood amongst the parents, and that dysfunctional parenting was related to adolescent children's externalizing behaviours (Conger et al, 2004; Conger et al, 1995). Various demands in the contextual environment are often placed onto parents and opportunities in the immediate surroundings require different parenting styles. Individuals living in low financial environments are more "strongly affected emotionally by undesirable life events than are their higher-status counterparts" (McLeod & Kessler, 1990, p.1). Unstable employment places constraints on the economic and psychological well-being of parents which may result in inconsistent and less supportive parenting (Coley & Lombardi, 2014; Becker & Tomes, 1986; Guo et al., 2000, Conger et al, 1984, Elder et al., 1985). Myers and colleagues (1975) argue that members of the lower socioeconomic group are more affected due to their poor integration into society, accentuating the effects of life events on psychological distress (Myers, Lindenthal & Pepper, 1975). Such findings were congruent with De stone and colleagues (2016) South African study, where poverty was found to decrease positive parenting with further stress on the family. Lower income consequently led to mental health problems amongst parents, an increase in punitive parenting and an inability to provide adequate nutrition for children (De Stone et al., 2016). A positive association has been found between the socio-economic status of an individual and vulnerability to mood disorders (such as depression), with greater levels of vulnerability found among individuals with lower educational and social achievement levels (Murali, 2004, McLoyd, 1994).

The direct effect of economic resources is negative on parental depression and positive on parental optimism. Thus, greater family resources predicted lower parental depression levels and higher parental optimism levels (Brody, Stoneman, Flor, McCrary, Hastings & Conyers, 1994, McLoyd, 1994, Berk 2009). In distinguishing the mental health consequences linked with economic hardship, both depression and anxiety act as mediators connecting economic pressure and marital and parenting processes (Leinonen, Solantaus, & Punamäki, 2002). Lack of employment or a poverty stricken environment may demoralize an individual's sense of

self and determination and decrease social interactions. Such occurrences may provoke feelings of helplessness and lack of assurance about the future (emotional states linked to depression) (McLoyd et al., 1994)

Furthermore, parents who are less depressed and more hopeful are more probable to communicate with each other about child-rearing matters and are thus able to provide one another with the influential and emotional support required for parenting responsibilities (De stone et al., 2016, Conger et al., 1994., Leinonen, 2002). Maternal depression reduces the amount of attention and responsiveness to children. This can result in disturbances to cognitive, social and emotional development and interpersonal attachments later in life (Petersen et al, 2014; Patel et al, 2008, Guo et al., 2000). Demanding life circumstances endemic to “lower status adversely affect the parent's psychological orientation, or emotional state, which in turn influence parent-child interaction” (McLoyd, 1990, p.313). The model suggests that poverty can lead to emotional distress. Distress between adults can also lead to less effective parenting styles as parents may display inadequate supervision and monitoring, lack of control over the child's behaviour, lack of warmth and support and hostility (Ahmed, 2005; Baumrind, 1970; McLoyd 1994; Berk, 2009; De Stone et al., 2016). Research findings suggest that psychological anguish, whatever its cause, predisposes parents toward aversive and punitive disciplinary measures and decreases parental nurturance, maintenance, and fulfilment (McLoyd et al., 1994 & Conger et al., 1984)

Living in a poverty stricken environment for a prolonged period can result in depleted energy resource levels, as most energy is used to meet basic survival needs such as providing food for oneself or others in the family (Evans, 2004). Time and energy obtained are often used to seek employment or housing needs, thereby disrupting parenting processes, including family routines and rituals (Mayberry, Shinn, Benton & Wise, 2014). Because their resources are stretched by the stresses of daily living, individuals living in poverty are compelled to oppose unanticipated negative stimuli with an already exhausted system. Studies of African-American families living in impoverished rural areas reveal that parents have to sustain many different forms of employment to survive and support their families (Brody, Stoneman, Flor, McCrary, Hastings & Conyers, 1994). Often these jobs involve manual labour contributing to accounts of fatigue resulting in a reduced quality of communication and steadiness between children, thereby interfering in co-operative and supportive (authoritative) parenting. This results in negative psychological states (such as: depression and anxiety), which in turn

can lead to poorer relationships among family members (Gallo & Mathews, 1999). In poor families, parents generally work for survival, meeting demands of basic costs; struggling to pay for food, accommodation, education and transport. This may leave little or no time for attention, leading to children feeling isolated and excluded at times (McLoyd, 1990; McLoyd 1994 & Mayberry et al, 2014). Stress amongst poor parents can result in lack of warmth and responsiveness, negative control strategies and inadequate monitoring of children (McLoyd, 1990, Pittman & Chase-Lansdale, 2001. De stone et al., 2016).

Mothers who experience higher levels of psychological distress (such as depression), when compared to those experiencing lower levels of psychological distress, display less sensitivity and nurturance toward their children and rely less on rationalising and loss of privileges and more on intimidating techniques (e.g., punitive measures), when disciplining (Conger et al, 1984; McLoyd, 1990, Kaslow, Gray & Racusin, 1994). Mothers "experience not only depressive symptoms as a response to economic hardship, but also increased anxiety, somatization, and hostility" (Newland et al., 2013, p. 102), which in turn affects their parenting styles. Lower income may result in frequent stress, with elevated levels of psychological distress and inadequate parenting practices, which consecutively may result in more problematic behaviours in children (Linver et al, 2002; McLoyd, 1990). In their study, Pittmann et al (2001) found that a higher degree of financial tension amongst mothers was linked to worse outcomes in adolescents. Furthermore, findings from Rafferty and Griffin's (2010) study indicate that low-income mothers who experience elevated parental suffering and family conflict engage in less constructive parenting behaviours, when compared to their peers who are in high-income environments with less risks (Rafferty et al., 2010). Mothers confronting comparatively elevated figures of external burdens (such as economic or financial strain), may find that their "capacity to process and respond sensitively to their children's social cues is diminished" (Cybele, Cornell & Leadbeater, 1999, p. 523). This leads to both real and professed dysfunctions in parenting practices. When tensions (of a variability of categories: parent, child, social conditions) overshadow supports (also existing of a multitude of types), or when stressful issues are not stabilized by protective ones, the possibility to child maltreatment (harsh and punitive parenting) increases (Belsky, 1993).

2.5 Parenting styles in context

Recent work has shown that context may modify or moderate the behavioural outcome in response to parental control and monitoring (Pittman & Chase-Lansdale, 2001). Ceballo et al (2003) found that children who live in dangerous and unsafe environments view high parental monitoring and control (associated with authoritarian parenting) in a positive rather than negative regard. High parental monitoring and control was linked to effective coping abilities in adolescents (Ceballo et al, 2003). Strict submission of rules and comprehensive monitoring and control of children's locations appear to be valuable in shielding children from the adversarial effects of growing up in poor neighbourhoods (Hill, Stafford, Seaman, Ross & Daniel, 2007). Thus, the excessive monitoring adopted by authoritarian parents in the poverty stricken environment is seen as an act of parental involvement and concern, and not a form of control. Adolescents from a minority background, specifically those from financially deprived ones, may benefit from a relatively more authoritarian style of parenting (Baumrind, 1972; Dornbusch et al., 1987). This results in positive outcomes from the children.

Therefore, different parenting styles of lower income parents may not necessarily be the consequence of insufficient supervision or dysfunctional role modelling, but are perchance adaptive reactions to their situation (Katz et al., 2007). Parenting that result in healthy development may be different in low-income, high-risk communities as opposed to the successful parenting styles employed in middle-high income populations (Pittman et al, 2001). The principles of parenting styles by which parents are often adjudicated, are reflective of western, middle-class families and do not automatically relate to parents living in more demanding environments, or whose cultural standards vary from this group (Katz et al., 2007).

Regardless of the research linking poverty to poor consequences and dysfunctional parenting styles, there is similarly research that shows that majority of parents residing in poverty are amazingly resilient and acquire positive coping skills in spite of the adversity they are confronted with (Ghate and Hazel, 2002). Research has also highlighted how parents are able to deal effectively with and manage the adversities of poverty, and how they are prepared to sacrifice their own requirements to meet those of their children (Ghate and Hazel, 2002; NCH, 2004; NFPI, 2000;). Such studies have determined that poverty has a 'distal' rather

than a 'proximal' effect on parenting styles and childhood outcomes. Therefore, poverty does not have a direct effect.

Accumulation of research indicates that the stress faced by economically deprived parents when compared to parents living in middle-high income environments, is to a certain degree responsible for discrepant outcomes of children and parenting styles. Therefore, the chain of research and events should not be viewed as completely causal. At various steps in the procedure of developing a parenting style, there are opportunities for resilience and consequently for effective parenting styles. For example, a good marital connection can mediate the impact of poverty on parenting styles thereby decreasing generalized stress and maintaining parenting ability, regardless of changes to their context (Patterson, 2002; Hill et al, 2007). According to Darling and Steinberg (1993), parenting styles should be distinguished from *parenting goals* and *parenting practices*. This is significant as it explains how two categories of parents residing in dissimilar societal or cultural environments can use parallel parenting practices (for e.g. they may monitor and discipline their children in similar ways), but that the 'meaning of these practices' and the results for the children may vary contingent on the complete parenting style, which occurs in the family context. This family context is in turn "affected by the community or culture within which the family is living" (Ghate et al, 2002, p. 101).

Mayer (1997) challenged Conger and colleagues (1994, 1995) conclusions about parental stress. She found a modest link between parental income and parental stress, and between stress and children's outcomes (Mayer 1997). In addition, she rejected the association between income, depression of parents and school achievement: factors (beside parental depression) mediate the effect income has on children's school attainment. Although she agreed that parenting styles were significant for a child's overall confidence and achievement, she challenged the belief that parents' financial situation has a large impact on parenting styles. She argues that individuals living in absolute poverty (no opportunities available and basic needs are not met), may have characteristics parallel to those of a higher income group. However, when families' basic needs are met (relative poverty,) through adequate welfare donation or other facilities, and where occasions to rise out of poverty exist— then individuals who are more resourceful will tend to take advantage of the opportunities. She believes that it is the personal characteristics of parents that inhibit them from sustaining employment and from using effective parenting styles.

Quantitative results from Barnes (2004) in-depth study showed that parents living in deprived areas experienced greater stress than those in the prosperous area. They were more anxious and reclusive, and their children had more behavioural deficits. Middle-high income parents also held more progressive parenting styles. The research also produced some counter intuitive findings. For example, although families in a stable, predominantly white working-class neighbourhood had increased social support and local family members, they also described the most difficulties in the parent-child dyad. Furthermore, no significant differences were found in the use of discipline between parents in the working-class areas and disadvantaged areas.

Although control and monitoring (aspects of authoritarian parenting) have been shown to have positive outcomes in children, Steinberg (2001) asserts through his body of work and collated evidence that the authoritative parenting style on a general level (involving all aspects), fares better for children and adolescents irrespective of their racial, ethnic and socioeconomic background. A review of studies and data indicate that a minority of “children raised in authoritative homes fare better than their peers from non-authoritative homes with respect to psychosocial development and symptoms of internalised distress” (Steinberg, 2001, p.13). Although, positive effects of authoritative parenting on children and adolescents are more consistently reported in white, middle income youth yet, no large scale, systematic studies have indicated that non-authoritative parenting has more beneficial effects than authoritative parenting, irrespective of the population studied (Gray et al, 1999).

Parenting intervention strategies have been shown to minimise the possibility and occurrence of child physical mistreatment in economically deprived settings, by improving constructive parenting skills (joint decision making, less punitive and harsh parenting) and providing effective but non-punitive forms of discipline (Barlow et al. 2006). In addition, parenting programmes contribute to decreasing family tension and maternal mental ill-health (Barlow et al. 2012). In scarce resource contexts, parenting that is inadequate or insufficient effect capabilities of vulnerable children. This in turn can lead to low educational achievement, poor self-esteem and social relatedness, resulting in higher risk of developing a mental disorder and a reduction in employment or wage potential in their adult life (Petersen et al, 2014). The problem of poor child development will continue unless concerted efforts are

made to intervene with appropriate intervention programmes (Grantham-McGregor et al, 2007).

2.6 Summary

The literature and past research highlights and substantiates the importance of family parental practices and resources in the development and well-being of children (in terms of academic achievement; developmental milestones; prosocial behaviour and so forth) (Grantham et al, 2007; Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997; & Bradley et al, 2002; Demo et al., 2000). Poverty has also been shown to have effects on the overall parenting style employed by parents. The authoritative parenting style indicative of joint decision making, a high degree of acceptance and involvement and reasoning between parent and child (Dekovic et al, 1992; & Berk 2009) tends to result in children with better self-esteem, capabilities, confidence and relatively good mental health (Dekovic et al, 1992; Berk, 2009 & Cherry, 2013, Steinberg et al, 1989, Steinberg et al, 1992 & Macoby et al, 1983). On the other hand, the authoritarian parenting style is reflective of a higher degree of supervision and control, difficulties in communication and punitive methods of discipline (Berk, 2009; Baumrind, 1971; Firmin et al, 2008; Kemme et al, 2014; & Barber, 1996) and is often associated with children who have deficits in self-regulatory processes resulting in disturbances in abilities to function in a school environment, behavioural problems and reduced capability in developing healthy peer relations (Latouf et al, 2014; & Knutson et al, 2005 & Steinberg et al, 1982). Due to the economic strain placed on parents living in poverty, capacity to deal with problems encountered may lead to lower parental warmth and care-giving (authoritarian parenting style) (Conger et al, 1994; Conger et al, 1995; Ahmed, 2005; & Marcynyszyn, 2001).

Research indicates that parents in low-income families display a more authoritarian style of parenting (Huebner et al, 2003; Pittman et al, 2001; & Ruschia, 2007) than those in higher socio economic status brackets. However, the positive effects of authoritative parenting fluctuate to some extent across cultures (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Phoenix and Husain, 2007). Phoenix and colleagues (2007) found that poverty does not have a direct association with parenting. The majority of parents' living in economically deprived environments manage well and use effective parenting strategies. However, parents living in poverty are more stressed and depressed than parents in well-off areas. These studies provide snapshots and do not offer an indication of the contributory pathways. It is probable that poverty causes parents

to be more depressed and undergo higher levels of dissatisfaction, but findings from research are also consistent with the hypothesis that parents who have a greater propensity to be anxious and depressed are also more likely to be poor. Although Steinberg (2001) declares that evidence has been accrued across studies from Argentina to China, from the United States to Pakistan, that the authoritative parenting style is constantly related with superior consequences, some studies indicate a positive relationship between authoritarian parenting and academic achievement (Park & Bauer, 2002; Blair & Qian, 1998; Leung et al., 1998). Therefore, it is important to explore and understand how contextual factors outside the familial environment effect or is associated with these two styles of parenting. Thus, this study looks at the contextual factor of poverty (in a South African context) and its association with authoritarian or authoritative parenting.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to define and discuss the research method and methodology that has been applied for this research. This includes the research objectives, design of the study, location of the study, method, measures used, reliability and validity and means of data analysis administered. In addition, approaches used to increase reliability and validity are highlighted.

3.1 Research questions

The primary aim of this research study was to examine the relationship between poverty and parenting styles in South Africa. In particular, the study examines the relationship between poverty and the authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles. The main research questions of the study are outlined below;

Primary Research Question: Is there a significant difference between the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles amongst fewer resourced and more resourced parents?

Secondary Research Questions:

1. Is there a significant difference in empathic monitoring of children between parents with fewer resources compared to those with more resources?
2. Is there a significant difference in punitive measures of punishment between fewer resourced and more resourced parents?
3. Is there a significant difference in parents' communication comfort and communication frequency with children, between fewer resourced and more resourced parents?

3.2 Research objectives

Primary Research Objective: to investigate the relationship between poverty, authoritarian and authoritative parenting.

Secondary research objectives:

1. To investigate the relationship between poverty and empathic monitoring of children by parents.
2. To investigate the relationship between poverty and punitive methods of discipline.
3. To investigate the relationship between poverty and parents' communication with children.

3.3 Research method

There are generally two types of research methods used in the collection of data: quantitative and qualitative (Ghauri, Grønhaug & Kristianslund, 1995; Bryman and Bell, 2007; Foxcroft, Roodt & Abrahams, 2005). Methodical empirical studies often entail quantitative research methods which involve quantifying and analysing data, with the support of mathematics and statistical procedures (Bryman et al., 2007; Foxcroft et al., 2005). This study adopted a quantitative approach to explore the relationship between poverty and the authoritative and authoritarian parenting style. This method was chosen as data can be computed and the cumulative results presented succinctly (Lakshman, Sinha, Biswas, Charles, Arora, 2000; Durrheim, 2006). Quantitative research is often used to test and validate previously constructed theories about how and why occurrences transpire. It is also used to test hypothesis that are formed before the collection of data. It provides an exceptional method of confirming outcomes and proving or disproving hypotheses. Therefore it generally tends to produce only proved or unproven results, with little opportunity for grey areas and ambiguity.

The deductive approach was used in this study as it follows the path of logic most closely. In such an approach, “theory” is first contemplated with the purpose of generating hypotheses and is tested through the collection of data, thereby rejecting or accepting the hypotheses (Ghauri, Grønhaug & Kristianslund, 1995; Trochim, 2006). The approach is standardized, thus increasing the reliability, comparability, and accuracy of data from one region or time frame to another. The deductive method might be observed as linear where all steps in the process follow a logical procession. However, Bryman and Bell (2007) state various reasons

as to why such an approach should be adopted. Researchers' opinions of theory can change after data has been collected and analysed, as new theories may be published before conclusions are formulated. Furthermore, the significance of any data might only become clear if analysis of the data reveal an acceptance or rejection of a specific hypothesis.

Thus, reasoning in deductive research commences with a theory and results in a new hypothesis. This hypothesis is tested by statistical analysis which can either lead to a validation or a refuting of the hypothesis (Snieder and Lerner, 2009, Tredoux & Smith, 2006). Generally, studies using a deductive approach adopt the following stages:

1. '*Inferring*' hypotheses from theory examined
2. '*Formulating*' hypothesis in operative terms and proposing associations between two specific variables
3. '*Testing*' hypothesis with the use of applicable technique(s)
4. '*Investigating*' the consequence of the test, and thus validating or declining the theory
5. '*Adjusting*' theory in situations where hypothesis is not confirmed.

Using the deductive approach, it was hypothesised that there will be a significant difference in authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles relative to fewer and more resourced income parents.

H0: There will be no significant difference in the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles between fewer resourced and more resourced parents.

3.4 Design of the study

This study uses secondary data to test the hypothesis. Primary data can be described as data collected for a specific research problem with suitable methods chosen to best fit the research question (Hox & Boeije, 2005). Secondary data analysis comprises the use of data that was collected by another individual for some other purpose (Boslaugh, 2007). Material collected by other researchers can be made available for reuse and is termed secondary data (Hox et al., 2005; Boslaugh, 2007). Using large secondary data sets permits an alternate method for the gathering of primary data, thereby allowing researchers access to more information (Vartanian, 2011, Muijis, 2011). The time allocated for the study is considerably less than the time consumed on studies that utilise primary data collection (Sorensen, Sabroe & OI Sen,

1996; Hox et al., 2005). Furthermore, the cost of assessing data outcomes from specific populations can be reduced by relying on data retrieved from secondary sources (Huston & Naylor, 1996; Sorensen et al., 1996, Hox et al., 2005). Secondary data often encompasses data to answer research questions in the study that are different from the questions initially asked in the collection of primary data (Muijis, 2011).

There are various limitations to secondary data analysis. These include that the data is not tailored to answer specific questions or hypotheses, nor can variables be added or changed (Muijis, 2011). In secondary data, it is important to assess how “well the primary data meet the requirements of the current research and the methodological criteria of good scientific practice” (Hox et al, 2015, p. 595). Secondary data may not answer the specific questions of the researcher (Boslaugh 2007). In this study, each measure explores parenting styles (specifically communication, empathic monitoring and discipline methods). The measures (besides the authoritative measure) do not directly access the authoritative and authoritarian parenting style. However, literature review shows the link between parental monitoring (Dekovic et al, 1992; Berk, 2009; Petitt et al, 200; Ceballo et al, 2013); difficulty in discussing issues (Baumrind, 1971; Dekovic et al, 1992; Barber, 1996; Latouf et al, 2014) and punitive parenting (Kemme et al, 2014; Baumrind, 1971) with authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles. Therefore, the primary data used for secondary data analysis is congruent with current research thereby increasing the validity of the study. Furthermore, original data was used in establishing the empirical relationships.

The primary data for this study was collected in a study where the main objective was to examine the adaptation of the Collaborative HIV Adolescent Mental Health Programme (CHAMP) amongst black South Africans (Bell, Bhana, Petersen, McKay, Gibbons, Bannon, & Amatya, 2008). The study hypothesised that youth exposed to the adapted CHAMPSA intervention will show enhanced outcomes on the measures of the study relative to the comparison group. Youth in both groups fell between the ages of 9-13 years old, were enrolled in school and had caregivers older than 18 years. Caregivers comprised of any individual who cared for the child on a consistent and ongoing basis. Children in the comparison group did not receive the CHAMPSA intervention (Bell et al, 2008). Within the CHAMP Family Program, youth HIV risk behaviours are influenced by consolidating family connection practices, as well as targeting peer effects through improving social problem-

solving and peer mediation expertise for youths. A treatment versus no treatment “repeated-measures design was used” (Bell et al, 2008, p. 940). Measures were obtained before the implementation of the intervention and at follow-up, post implementation of the intervention. In such an investigation the researcher has control over who participates in the study, is able to manipulate the variables and observe the effects of the independent variables on the dependant variables (the outcome variable) (Hox et al., 2005). This allows for strong control over the design and process of the experiment, thereby increasing internal validity - “the degree to which the experimental design excludes alternative explanations of the experiments results” (Hox et al., 2005, p. 594).

For this study, only baseline data was used to examine the relationships between demographic information and scores from measures that relate to parenting styles (communication frequency and comfort, parental monitoring (empathy), authoritative parenting scale and punitive parenting measurement). A poverty indicator (Table 2) was calculated from the demographic information.

3.5 Location of the study

The primary data was collected in KwaDedangendlale (40km outside the city of Durban in South Africa). At the time of the study, the area was home to approximately 110,000 people, housed in approximately 31,600 households with an average household size of 3.5 people per household. Gross household density (the number of units in a given area) was 16 dwelling units (du) per hectare (ha) (StatsSA, 2001 cited in Ethekewini Municipality, 2010). This settlement was a relatively established settlement. Of the population resident in the area, 27% of the residents were under the age of 15 years, 58% were within the economically active age cohort (15 – 64 years) - of which only 32% were employed. Approximately 75% of the population had not completed secondary schooling and this aspect in all likelihood may have contributed to the low skill levels within the area. Low skilled occupations accounted for 56% of employment, blue collar and white collar work 23% and 22%, respectively. The average household income was R15, 917pa (R1, 325pm) and 43% of households earned less than R19, 200pa (R1, 600pm) (Ethekewini Municipality, 2010).

3.6 Sampling method and sample

Caregivers of students between the ages of 9-13 years were recruited into the study from randomly selected schools in the community areas of Molweni, KwaNyusawa, KwaNgcolosi and Qadi within KwaDedangendlale. Caregivers consisted of those individuals over the age of 18 years; fulfilling parenting duties; enrolled in the school and indicated agreement to participate in the study via caregiver consent and child assent. The secondary data used comprises the full sample of 477 caregivers from the baseline study. The majority of the caregivers spoke isiZulu and 64% were Christian. Table 1 illustrates the adult demographics of the sample used in the initial study (Bell et al, 2008).

Table 1: Adult Demographic Characteristics (primary data)

Adult Characteristics	Number	Percent
Gender: Male	250	52
Female	227	48
Never attended school	87	19
Grade 1 – 5	215	47
Grade 6 – 12	159	34
Post School	1	2
Employed	197	41
Unemployed	279	59
Child support grant	317	67
No child support grant	158	33
Less than 5 years in the area	123	26
Between 5 – 10 years in the area	129	27
More than 10 years	225	47

3.7 Method

An observational (between groups) research design was implemented as we wished to observe the relationship between two variables. A between group design occurs when an independent variable is influenced using different participants. In this study participants were divided into two different groups to examine the differences in parenting styles based on a poverty indicator. Independent variables are also called ‘explanatory variables’ and are observed to understand how they describe, predict, or affect other variables, called dependent variables. Dependent variables are the variables that are supposed to be impacted by independent variables. In this study, we wished to examine the relationship between poverty and parenting styles (specifically the authoritarian and authoritative parenting style), with the independent variable an indicator of poverty and the communication frequency and comfort measure, parental monitoring (empathy) scale, authoritative parenting and punitive parenting scales as the dependent variables. The independent variable comprises two levels of resources (fewer and more resourced). It is a *between-subjects* variable as different subjects were used for the two levels of the independent variable: subjects were either placed into the "fewer resourced" or the "more resourced" condition. Thus, the evaluation of the fewer resourced condition with the more resourced condition is a comparison between the subjects in one condition with the subjects in the other condition.

3.7.1 The Independent Variable: Poverty indicator

In this study, a *subjective poverty line* was used to classify the poverty levels. A subjective poverty line reflects the “population’s perception of their own wellbeing” (Statistics South Africa, 2015, p. 4), therefore the threshold between poor and non-poor is determined by monetary and non-monetary aspects. A subjective poverty line can be used as an index of poverty as the non-monetary dimension complements the monetary dimension providing a better understanding of poverty. Both inadequate food (Grantham-McGregor et al, 2007; Statistics South Africa, 2015, World Bank Organisation, 2014) and lack of income (World Bank Organisation, 2014, Statistics, 2015) are indicators of poverty. The poverty indicator was calculated from the demographic variables (employment/grants and food availability). During primary data collection, participants were asked if they were employed: and if they had grants/pensions available. The employment and pensions/grants option is nominal binary data (Black, 1999). The inadequate food option consists of ordinal data as participants were

asked how often they had been without food in the past month with options ranging from: 1 = more than 6 times; 2 = 4 to 6 times; 3 = 2 to 3 times; 4 = 1 time and 5 = never.

Participants were categorised into a fewer resourced (poor) group and a more resourced group. The fewer resourced group consists of those caregivers who have no jobs or pensions/disability grants available and households who have been without enough food to eat, for more than two times in the past month. The more resourced group consists of those individuals who are employed or have pensions available and caregiver households who have been without food ‘once’ in the past month or who have ‘never’ been without enough food to eat in the past month (Table 2 illustrates the 2 groups).

Table 2: Poverty indicator

	Group one (fewer resourced)	Group two (more resourced)
Employed	No OR	Yes OR
Pension/ Disability grant	No AND	Yes AND
Without food in the last month	> 2 times	1 time or Never

The authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles were accessed using the scores collected from the measures described below.

3.7.2 The Dependant Variable: Measures

In quantitative designs, the emphasis is on structured, close ended questions that examine precise variables which are derived from the hypotheses. Questionnaires used in the primary data are based on adults’ attitudes, perceptions and behaviours regarding parental styles using Likert scales (For example: I act cold and unfriendly if my child does something I don't like: 1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree somewhat; 3 = agree somewhat; 4 = strongly agree). Communication, empathic parental control and monitoring and authoritative traits (such as: adequate supervision and disciplinary techniques not including punishment and general warmth), are reflective of the type of parental style employed (Baumrind, 1968; Baumrind 1971; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Halpern, 1990; Berryman et al, 2002, Wentzel, 2004 & Cherry

2013). Therefore, the communication comfort and frequency; monitoring (empathy); authoritative parenting and punitive measurement scales were used to measure authoritative and authoritarian parenting respectively.

Communication comfort and frequency: Communication in authoritative parenting is deliberate and not controlled or limited (Barber, 1996, Baumrind, 1971; Miller et al, 1991 & Darling et al., 1993). Children are not allowed to express views, ideas and opinions of their own in authoritarian parenting (Hauser et al, 1984; Pettit, Laird, Dodge, Bates & Criss, 2001; Dornbusch et al., 1987) Thus if communication is ineffective, situations and issues may arise that are difficult to talk about. The measures used from the primary data were the 'communication frequency and comfort scale' comprising of a 'communication frequency' and 'communication comfort' section. Communication frequency assesses the amount of communication present between parent and child. Communication comfort questions assess if certain topics are difficult to discuss and the comfort in discussing the subjects (for example: talking about drugs or alcohol). The measures use a 4-point Likert scale ranging from very comfortable to very uncomfortable and have 7 questions each. An example of a communication frequency item is: "how often do you talk to your child about bad friends: 1 = never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = often; and 4 = a lot". A lower score reflects less communication frequency and therefore a more authoritarian parenting style. An example of a communication comfort item is: "how comfortable are you talking about this with your child (drugs): 1 = never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = often; and 4 = a lot". If issues are difficult to talk about and uncomfortable, this is reflective of a more authoritarian parenting style (Maccoby et al.; 1983, Firmin et al, 2008; Barber, 1996). Therefore, greater difficulty and discomfort in communication is associated with a more authoritarian parenting style. In this analysis, lower scores indicate a more authoritarian parenting style.

Monitoring (Empathy): Parental observation commonly refers to "parents' knowledge about a child's whereabouts and activities" (Huebner et al, 2003, p. 72). Authoritative parenting is related to autonomy and independent decision making in an empathic environment without power assertive techniques or psychological control (Miller et al, 1991, Berk, 2009, Baumrind, 1971). Often authoritarian monitoring is devoid of empathy to stunt individual independence and personal growth (Ceballo et al, 2003; Miller et al, 1991, Baumrind, 2012). The parental monitoring (empathy) measure consists of a single item (How often do you have time to listen to your child when he/she wants to talk to you? 1 = never; 2 = hardly ever; 3 =

sometimes; 4 = very often). Higher scores on this scale is indicative of higher empathy during monitoring. Therefore, a lower score indicates less empathy which is associated with an authoritarian parenting style (Miller et al, 1991, Berk, 2009, Baumrind, 1971).

The authoritative parenting scale: The authoritative adult parenting scale comprises 26 questions using a Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. The index of the authoritative parenting scale was developed to approximate the categorical scheme suggested by Baumrind (1971) and Maccoby and Martin (1983). For the purpose of this study, scale items 19-26 were not included as the authoritative and authoritarian were not measured directly. The scale was divided into two parts as the range of questions differ in their level of authoritative behaviour. In the authoritative parenting scale (part one), a higher score indicates a more authoritative parenting style (questions 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 17 are included in part 1). An example of an item is: My child can count on me to help him/her out, if he/she has some kind of problem: 1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree somewhat; 3 = agree somewhat; 4 = strongly agree. In the authoritative parenting style (part two), a higher score indicates a more authoritarian parenting style (questions 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16 and 18 are included in part 2). An example of an item is: I tell my child that my ideas are correct and that he/she should not question them: 1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree somewhat; 3 = agree somewhat; 4 = strongly agree.

Punitive Parenting Scale: The punitive parenting scale comprises 1 multiple choice question (Bell et al, 2008): When my child does something wrong, I usually: 1 = Give him/her hiding; 2 = Shout/Scream at him/ her; 3 = explain to him/her what they did wrong and tell them not to. Punitive parenting is an expression of authoritarian parenting as parents use punishment and stricter sanctions over milder ones to deal with transgressions (Kemme et al, 2014, Joseph et al., 2008; Ghate et al., 2003) such as breaking rules, expressing opinions and exploring independence. This scale is a measure of punitive parenting (more punitive to not punitive at all), therefore a lower score suggests an authoritarian parenting style.

3.8 Reliability and validity

Validity and reliability may be viewed as two different measurement instruments that demonstrate the level of trustworthiness and credibility of a study. Internal consistency is a type of reliability and is assessed by the amount to which each item in a measure correlates with each other item (Durrheim & Painter, 2006). The internal consistency of a measure is normally calculated by some formula that evaluates the average inter-item association. Cronbach's coefficient alpha (a digit that ranges from 0 (no internal consistency) to 1 (maximum internal consistency)), is the best collective estimation (Durrheim et al, 2006). In the initial study, Cronbach's alpha was used to assess the internal consistency of the items on all measures, before and after the intervention. Table 3 shows the Cronbach's coefficient alpha for the specific measures utilized. The Authoritative Adult Parenting Scale had an overall lower reliability score than the other measures, as participants who completed the scale found the reversed phrases (negative statements) confusing (Bell et al., 2008).

Table 3: Cronbach's coefficient alpha for measures (primary data)

Measure	Cronbach's coefficient alpha
Communication Frequency	0.86
Communication Comfort	0.87
Parental monitoring (empathy)	Single item
Authoritative Adult parenting scale:	
Parental involvement	0.64
Psychological autonomy	0.64
Strictness	0.57
Punitive parenting scale	0.90

In a broad sense, validity refers to the degree to which the research conclusions are sound (Van de Riet et al, 2006). It is concerned with what the test measures and how well it does so (Foxcroft et al, 2005, Durrheim, 2006). Previous studies that utilized the above measures show good construct validity (amount to which it measures the theoretical concept it is supposed to measure) (Van de Riet et al., 2006).

3.9 Data Analysis

Analysing the data involved addressing each one of the research questions or hypotheses individually. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used. The quantitative data was analysed using *Statistical Package for Social Sciences* software (SPSS) version 24.0.

3.9.1 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics summarises data by description and presents it in a significant way so that patterns that emerge can be understood (Trochim, 2006). Therefore, it is a category of statistics that allows for a more simple interpretation of data using visuals or descriptions. In this study, data was characterised by frequency tables, graphs and measures of central tendency. The mean (most common form of central tendency) and median of the independent (fewer and more resourced group) and dependent (measures) variables were described and presented, in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the data set. In addition, the standard deviation and percentages were also included. Finally, the Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient was used to describe the strength of covariation between various measures.

3.9.2 Inferential Statistics

Inferential Statistics represent a classification of statistics that allow for inferences to be drawn from sample data to the population (Trochim, 2006; Boslaugh, 2013; Tredoux et al., 2006). Specifically, they test if results (the relationship between variables) are statistically significant. These can form two types of testing: one that examines associations, and others that examine differences. As we wished to examine the differences between two variables in different groups, the SPSS independent samples one way ANOVA was used. This type of investigation allows for the assessment of the effect on an independent variable, on one or more groups by analysing variations in the dependent variable (Creswell, 2005). The purpose of this study was to assess whether the differences in groups (their means) is much greater or less than what is expected for the total population (Creswell, 2005). Thus, a one way ANOVA tests whether there is a significant difference on a quantitative/numerical variable between two groups or categories of respondents (Devonish, 2009; Van den Berg, 2014). This analysis is appropriate whenever one wants to compare the mean of two groups

(Trochim, 2006). In addition, the one-way ANOVA has an advantage over the t-test as the standard error for the difference between groups is based upon the 'within group' mean square, resulting in greater degrees of freedom; thereby providing an enhanced analysis to discover a difference (if one occurs).

The one-way ANOVA was used to investigate the difference in parenting styles between the fewer resourced and more resourced group using the above measures. The two groups are reflected as "independent samples" because none of the individual cases belong to both groups simultaneously; namely, the samples do not overlap. (Van den Berg, 2014). The one way ANOVA analysed whether the different parenting styles employed was significantly lower in the experimental group than the control group. Each research question has an independent variable with only two categories (poor/fewer resourced and more resourced group) and dependent variables (measures), which are quantitative/numerical.

To answer the first research question, differences between the two groups (independent variable) and the empathic monitoring measure (dependent variable) were examined to observe if a significant difference exists between the type of monitoring between fewer resourced and more resourced parents. The second research question was answered by examining the differences between the two groups (independent variable) and the punitive measure (dependent variable) to study if poverty is associated with more punitive measures of punishment and discipline. To assess whether parents' communication with children is affected by poverty, differences between the two groups (independent variable) and the communication comfort and frequency scale (dependent variable) were examined. Finally, the primary research question was answered by including the examination of the differences between the two groups (independent variable) and the authoritative questioning measure (part one and part two) (dependent variable) along with collaborating the information from the sub-questions. The p-value was used as an indicator of statistical significance and was set at a 0.05 (5%) level, therefore if the p-value computed from each test was less than or equal to 0.05 (5%), the result was considered statistically significant, i.e., a significant relationship between the variables exist. The next chapter presents the results of such statistical differences.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results from the analysis of data. As mentioned previously, the primary objective of this study was to investigate the relationship between poverty, authoritarian and authoritative parenting. The results are presented in the form of tables and graphs and discussed accordingly. First, demographic characteristics of the sample are provided. Reliability coefficients of the different measures (using Cronbach's coefficient alpha) are then presented to highlight the integrity and appropriateness of the measures used. Next, the results of correlations between various measures are provided for further understanding of the relationships between authoritative and authoritarian parenting style. Finally, the one-way analysis of variance was used to test the mean differences between the fewer resourced and more resourced group in relation to empathy, punitive methods of discipline, comfort (communication and frequency) and authoritative parenting.

4.1 Descriptive Statistics of general demographic characteristics

The previous chapter described the procedure used in categorising participants into a fewer resourced and a more resourced group. Demographic characteristics that characterize the participants are presented in table 1.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of caregivers

Characteristics	Number	Percent
Overall participants	476	99.6
Gender (N=475)		
Male	249	52.4
Female	226	47.6
Age (Mean age of head of household = 51.82)	476	99.6
Education (Highest grade) (N=462)		
Never attended school	87	18.8
Primary School level	215	46.5
High School level	159	34.4
Tertiary level	1	0.2

<i>Religious Affiliation (N=472)</i>		
Anglican	6	1.3
Apostolic Faith Mission	45	9.5
Shembe	38	8.1
Methodist	10	2.1
Nazareth	7	1.5
Roman Catholic	82	17.4
Zion Christian Church	113	23.9
Other	171	36.2

4.2 Descriptive statistics of the independent variable (Poverty Indicator)

Descriptive statistics pertaining to the independent variable (poverty indicator- resource level) is represented in Table 2. Table 3 and 5 and graph 1 include cross tabulations of ‘Resource level’ with ‘education level’ and ‘gender’ to present demographic characteristics *within* the two groups (fewer resourced and more resourced). Table 6 presents the results of a one-way ANOVA between ‘household density’ and ‘resource level’. Table 4 presents the findings of a one-way ANOVA between ‘education level’ and ‘authoritarian parenting’.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics: Poverty Indicator

Poverty indicator	Number	Percent (%)
<i>Resource level (N=477)</i>		
Fewer resources	359	75.3
More resources	118	24.7

Table 3: Cross tabulations: Resource level by Education level

	Income Levels		
Education Level	Fewer resourced	More resourced	Totals
No Education	73 (21.1%)	14 (12.1%)	87
Primary Education	168 (48.6%)	47 (40.5%)	215
High School Education	105 (30.3%)	54 (46.6%)	159
Totals	346	115	461

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between resource level and education. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2 (3, 462) = 14.58$, $p < .05$. A higher percentage of participants completed high school from the more resourced group than the fewer resourced group.

Table 4: One-way ANOVA: Education level and the Authoritarian parenting

	Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	515.433	2	257.717	9.554	.000*
Within Groups	11464.333	425	26.975		
Total	11979.766	427			

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of education level on authoritarian parenting in fewer resourced and more resourced parents. There was a significant effect of education level on authoritarian parenting at the $p < .05$ level for the two conditions [$F (2, 425) = 9.554$, $p < .001$]. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the ‘never attended school’ level ($M = 25.25$, $SD = 4.748$) was significantly different than the ‘primary school’ ($M = 22.33$, $SD = 5.517$) and ‘high school’ level ($M = 22.62$, $SD = 4.963$). Taken together, these results suggest that parents that have never attended school had significantly higher authoritarian scores than those with primary or secondary school.

Table 5: Cross tabulations: Resource Level by Gender

	Resource Levels		
Gender	Fewer resources	More resources	Totals
Male	174 (48.6%)	76 (64.4%)	250
Female	184 (51.4 %)	42 (35.6%)	226

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between resource level and gender. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2 (1, N = 476) = 7.59$, $p < .05$. Within the general demographic characteristics, 52.4% of males and 47.6% of females accounted for the participants.

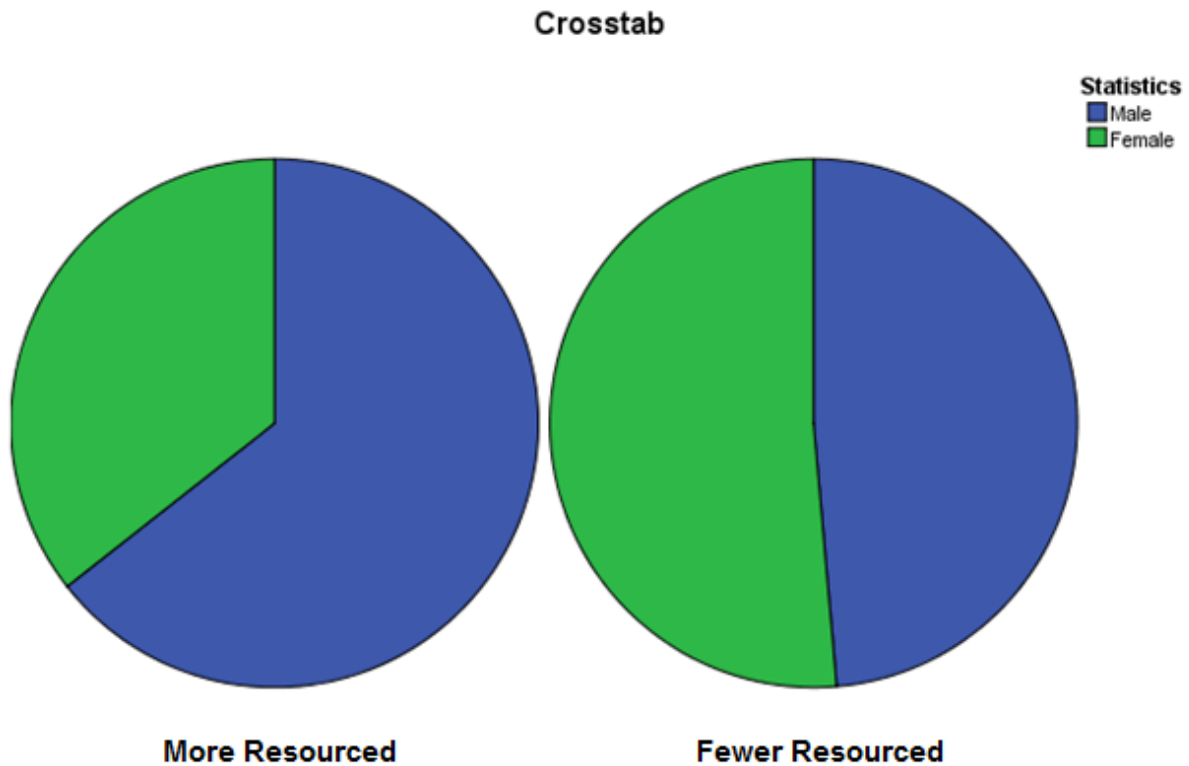


Figure 1: Cross tabulations: Gender by Resource Level

There were substantially more male participants who belonged to the more resourced group (64.4%) than females (35.6%). In contrast, male and female participants (48.6% and 51.4%, respectively), in the fewer resourced group were almost similar.

Table 6: One-way ANOVA: Resource level and Household density

	Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	47.238	1	47.238	3.516	.061
Within Groups	6180.727	460	13.436		
Total	6227.965	461			

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of resource level on household density in fewer resourced and more resourced parents. There was no

significant effect of education level on authoritarian parenting at the $p < .05$ level for the two conditions [$F(1, 460) = 3.516, p = .061$].

4.3 Descriptive statistics of the dependent variable (Measures)

Reliability

Table 7 shows the reliability coefficients for each measure using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. The results of the 'authoritative parenting questionnaire' (part one: 'authoritative' and part two: 'authoritarian'), the 'communication frequency' and 'communication comfort' measures are tabulated below. As the 'punitive parenting' and 'monitoring (empathy)' measures consist of a single item, no reliability coefficients were calculated for these.

Table 7: Cronbach's coefficient alpha for measures

Measure	Cronbach's coefficient alpha
Communication Frequency	0.86
Communication Comfort	0.87
Authoritative Adult parenting scale:	.
Part one ('authoritative')	0.64
Part two ('authoritarian')	0.67

Correlations between various measures are presented to better understand the relationship between the various aspects of authoritarian and authoritative parenting. The Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient was used to measure the relationship between the scales.

Correlations between various measures

A significant positive correlation was found between 'communication frequency' and 'authoritarian parenting' ($r = 0.13, p = .006$). Therefore, frequency of communication was associated with an authoritarian parenting style. 'Communication comfort' was significantly positively correlated with the 'authoritative parenting questionnaire (part one)' ($r = 0.11, p = .020$). Therefore, although frequency of communication was related to an authoritarian parenting style, comfort in communicating about difficult problems was related to an authoritative parenting style.

A significant positive relationship was obtained between ‘monitoring (empathy)’ and the ‘authoritative parenting questioning (part one) ($r = 0.18, p = .001$); ‘communication frequency’ ($r = 0.14, p = 0.003$) and ‘communication comfort’ ($r = 0.19, p < .001$). These results indicate that increased empathic monitoring was related to authoritative parenting, frequent levels of communication and increased comfort when communicating difficult issues.

4.4 Inferential statistics

The following section examines differences in resource level in relation to the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles with regards to empathy, punitive methods of discipline, communication (comfort and frequency) and authoritative parenting. One-way ANOVAs were used to compare the means between the two groups. Preliminary analyses indicated that there were no violations of the assumptions of normality and variance. The data is normally distributed. Levene's test of homogeneity of variances revealed that this assumption was not violated for any of the analyses. Table 8 highlights the descriptive statistics pertaining to each measure including the number of participants and means and standard deviations for each group.

Table 8: Descriptive statistics of the dependent variables

Dependent Variables	Independent Variable: Resource Levels	Means	Std. Deviation	N
Empathy	More resources	3.55	0.71	477
	Fewer resources	3.53	0.74	
Punitive parenting	More resources	2.49	0.75	474
	Fewer resources	2.55	0.74	
Communication Comfort	More resources	21.39	6.01	446
	Fewer resources	22.10	5.85	
Communication Frequency	More resources	16.93	5.46	
	Fewer resources	18.11	5.09	
Authoritative Parenting Authoritative	More resources	59.35	5.49	447

Authoritarian	Fewer resources	59.47	4.99	443
	More resources	23.26	4.73	
	Fewer resources	22.81	5.38	

4.4.1 Research question one: *Is there a significant difference in empathic monitoring of children between fewer resourced and more resourced parents?*

Table 9 summarises the results of the one-way ANOVA between empathic monitoring and resource level.

Table 9: One-way ANOVA: Monitoring Empathy and Resource level

	Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	0.031	1	0.031	0.059	.808
Within Groups	252.577	475	0.532		
Total	252.608	476			

There was no significant effect of resource levels on empathic monitoring at the $p < .05$ level [$F(1, 475) = 0.059$, $p = .808$]. Therefore, there was no significant difference found in empathic monitoring of children between fewer resourced and more resourced parents.

4.4.2 Research question two: *Is there a significant difference in punitive measures of punishment between fewer resourced and more resourced parents?*

Table 10 summarises the results of the one-way ANOVA between punitive measures of parenting and income level (low and high).

Table 10: One-way ANOVA: Punitive measures of parenting and Income level

	Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	0.307	1	0.307	0.554	.457
Within Groups	261.718	472	0.554		
Total	262.025	473			

There was no significant difference found in punitive measures of parenting between fewer resourced and more resourced parents [$F(1, 472) = 0.554, p = .457$].

4.4.3 Research question three: *Is there a significant difference in parents' communication comfort and communication frequency with children, between fewer resourced and more resourced parents?*

Table 11: One-way ANOVA: Communication comfort, Communication frequency and Resource level

	Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<i>Communication Frequency</i>					
Between Groups	117.222	1	117.222	4.370	.037*
Within Groups	12071.971	449	26.827		
Total	12189.192	450			
<i>Communication Comfort</i>					
Between Groups	41.110	1	41.110	1.186	.277
Within Groups	15389.143	444	34.660		
Total	15430.253	445			

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

A significant difference was found in communication frequency with children between fewer resourced and more resourced parents [$F(1, 449) = 4.370, p = .037$] indicating greater communication frequency in the fewer resourced group.

There was no significant effect on communication comfort at the $p < .05$ level for the two conditions [$F(1, 444) = 1.186, p = .277$], indicating that the income groups did not differ in communication comfort.

4.4.4 Primary research question: *Is there a significant difference between authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles amongst fewer resourced and more resourced parents?*

The primary research question examined the differences between resource levels (independent variable) and authoritative parenting measure (part one and part two) (dependent variable).

Table 12: One-way ANOVA: Authoritative Parenting (part one and part two) and Resource level

	Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
<i>Authoritative Parenting</i>					
Between Groups	1.179	1	1.179	0.045	.832
Within Groups	11630.000	445	26.209		
Total	11664.179	446			
<i>Authoritarian parenting</i>					
Between Groups	16.426	1	16.426	0.599	.439
Within Groups	12087.141	441	27.408		
Total	12103.567	442			

There was no significant effect of poverty on ‘authoritative parenting’ at the $p < .05$ level for the two conditions [$F(1, 445) = 0.045, p = .832$]. There was no significant effect of poverty on ‘authoritarian parenting’ at the $p < .05$ level for the two conditions [$F(1, 441) = 0.599, p = .439$]. Thus, there were no significant differences found in authoritative parenting scores (‘authoritative’ and ‘authoritarian’) between fewer resourced and more resourced parents.

4.5 Summary

General demographic statistics indicated that approximately 99% of the sample data used in this study spoke isiZulu as their home language. A larger number of participants within the more resourced group attained education at a primary school level and high school level when compared to the fewer resourced group. However, no significant differences were found between the two groups with respect to ‘never attending school’. Participants who never attended school were more likely to use an authoritarian parenting style due to the significant relationship found between these two variables. Males formed the majority of

participants within the more resourced group when compared to females. A significant positive correlation was found between ‘communication comfort’ and authoritative parenting. This indicates that communication about difficult issues is related to an authoritative parenting style. On the other hand, frequency of communication was significantly positively related to an authoritarian parenting style. Empathic monitoring was significantly positively correlated to authoritative parenting, frequent levels of communication and increased comfort when communicating difficult issues. In answering the research questions, statistical analysis found a significant difference between the fewer resourced group and more resourced group in communication frequency with greater communication frequency associated with the fewer resourced group. No significant differences were found between the fewer resourced and more resourced in communicating about difficult issues, empathic monitoring, punitive measures of parenting and the authoritative parenting measure (part one and two). Therefore, this study accepts the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in all aspects of the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles between fewer resourced and more resourced parents. However, the null hypothesis cannot be accepted or rejected with respect to communication frequency between fewer resourced and more resourced parents, as communication frequency was associated with an authoritarian parenting style. The following chapter will discuss the main findings of this research study in relation to relative literature.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this study was to examine the relationship between resources and the authoritarian and authoritative parenting style in South Africa. In particular, it was hypothesised that a significant difference would be found in the two aforementioned parenting styles between parents with fewer resources and parents with more resources. This chapter begins by discussing the findings of each research question in relation to relevant literature. It is then followed by concluding remarks of the study (drawing on the previous chapters), limitations and suggestions for further research.

5.1 Research question one

Is there a significant difference in empathic monitoring of children between parents with fewer resources compared to those with more resources?

The findings from this study indicate that there was no significant difference in empathic monitoring of children between fewer resourced and more resourced parents, which is contrary to what was expected, given the theoretical model guiding the study - the family stress model (Brody et al., 1994, Conger et al., 1994, 1995). The family stress model posits that economic variables (such as: lower income, insufficient resources) has an adverse impact on parental mental health, marital interactions and parenting styles, thereby affecting child development. The model suggests that such financial stressors can decrease the amount of empathic monitoring and understanding a parent displays towards a child, as the failing economic situation compromises parents' ability to completely concentrate on parenting skills (Guttentag, Salasin, & Belle, 1980; Pearlin & Johnson, 1977; Weinraub & Wolf, 1983; Berk 2009; Miller et al., 1991).

However, ecological systems theory suggests that developmental processes (including parenting styles) are complex, diversely determined and influenced by factors in the environmental context (Rafferty et al., 2010). Accordingly, parenting styles (including empathic monitoring) may be influenced by the environmental context. Furstenberg (2000) found that restrictive parenting and less empathic monitoring was helpful in certain

environmental contexts (such as disorganised or dangerous neighbourhoods). This was understood to be because children living in such neighbourhoods require protection from dangers that exist (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002; Teti & Candelaria, 2002, Deater-Deckard et al., 1996, Hill et al., 2007; Pittman & Chase-Lansdale, 2001; Ceballo et al., 2003). Therefore, such contexts require more authoritarian parenting styles (Baumrind, 1972; Dornbusch et al., 1987). It would seem that environmental context played a more important role than economic circumstances in informing parenting styles in the study reported on; with the sample being drawn from similar environmental backgrounds, in terms of neighbourhood and area.

5.2 Research question two

Is there a significant difference in punitive measures of punishment between fewer resourced and more resourced parents?

In this study, no significant difference was found in punitive measures of parenting between fewer resourced and more resourced parents. This finding is incongruent with studies that found that fewer instrumental resources available to parents led to decreased tolerance and increased child maltreatment (Steinberg et al, 1981; Ceballo et al, 2003; Marcynyszyn, 2001; Elder et al., 1985; McLoyd et al., 1994; McLoyd, 1990; Kaslow, Gray & Racusin, 1994; Conger et al., 1984; Cybele et al., 1999 & Murali et al, 2004). It is, however, congruent with Coley and Lombardi's (2014) study that found no relationship between financial loss and punitive or harsh parenting. In addition, Ghate and Hazel (2002) in their qualitative UK study about attitudes towards disciplinary practices, found a strong positive relationship between parents' levels of stress and physical discipline, but the relationship between poverty and punitive methods of discipline was not as straightforward. This is compatible with Barnes's (2004) finding that punitive methods of discipline is more clearly related to stressful environments than to family income or resources per se.

Demographic characteristics revealed that 99% of the sample was isiZulu speaking individuals (belonging to the same culture). Previous research has indicated that various cultures use punitive measures of discipline according to norms, values and accepted practices held by the specific culture. For example, Deater-Decard and associates' (1996) and Whaley (2000) found that European Americans view punitive measures of discipline

differently to African Americans (Deater-Decard et al., 1996 & Whaley, 2000). In the African American culture, punitive measures of discipline are more acceptable as a disciplinary strategy and are used less erratically and in a controlled manner, with variance found in negative outcomes (Whaley, 2000 & Deater-Deckard et al., 1996). Hill and Sprague (1995) also found that African American parents were more likely to use punitive measures of discipline than European American parents, irrespective of their socio-economic status and gender. Such findings suggest that cultural influences may play a fundamental role in determining how parents react to familial issues in their lives; and the type of disciplinary practices they may employ.

Developmental level and age of the child may also play a role in disciplinary practice. In this study, the children from both fewer resourced and more resourced parents had children within the same developmental stage. As Knutson et al (2004) argue, the developmental locus of the child affects the overall parenting style used by the parent, including the method of discipline. Steinberg et al. (1989), also state that psycho-social development during early adolescence (developmental stage) will most likely induce parental empathy and warmth, rather than punitive measures of discipline. Therefore, no significant differences in methods of discipline between fewer resourced and more resourced parents, could be understood in this manner. Furthermore, the absence of significant differences in punitive measures of discipline between the two groups seems to support the view that no general 'parenting deficit' exists amongst parents with fewer resources.

5.3 Research question three

Is there a significant difference in parents' communication comfort and communication frequency with children, between fewer resourced and more resourced parents?

No significant difference in communication comfort was found between fewer resourced and more resourced parents. As mentioned above, developmental age can affect communication comfort between parent and child. Difficulty in communication between parent and adolescent often occurs due to the different mind-sets of each generation (Thakkar & Sheth, 2014). Communication comfort between parents and adolescents may be linked to the actual age of the child and not the families' economic situation or parenting style. In addition, communication comfort between parents and children may be linked to the gender of the

parent and child. For example, mothers have been found to be more effective in communicating with daughters when compared to fathers (Thakkar & Sheth, 2014; Jerman & Constantine, 2010; Swain, Ackerman, & Ackerman, 2006; Nolin & Petersen, 1992). Furthermore, research evidence suggests that parents' communication with their own parents is strongly associated with how often and the type of communication they have with their children (Jerman & Constantine, 2010; Swain et al., 2006).

A significant difference was, however, found in communication frequency between the two groups, with greater communication frequency found amongst the fewer resourced parents. This is in contrast to research that found greater communication frequency amongst more resourced parents (Miller et al., 1991; McLoyd, 1990; Conger et al., 1995; Berk, 2009). As mentioned previously, parents from a low-resource context may adapt certain practices of their parenting style to better suit the needs of their children in a particular situation (Baumrind, 1972 & Dornbusch et al., 1987). Therefore, higher levels of communication could be linked to an increase in supervision and monitoring due to the environmental context (Katz et al., 2007). Findings may also suggest that fewer resourced parents may have more time to communicate with their children, as they are unemployed.

In addition, although greater communication frequency was found amongst the fewer resourced parents; the 'type' of communication is not known. As Murry and associates' (2008) found amongst lower-income parents, conversations or communication (although frequent) could be of the argumentative or controlling type. The authoritative parent communicates via recognition, respect and understanding of the child's needs and provides explanation of restrictions and demands, whilst keeping in mind a sense of separateness and autonomy (Baumrind, 1979). Communication from an authoritarian parenting style appears to be more rigid with no room for flexibility (Fulmer & Frijters, 2009). This could also explain the significant relation found between communication frequency and the authoritarian parenting style.

5.4 Primary research question

Is there a significant difference between authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles amongst fewer resourced and more resourced parents?

No significant difference was found between the authoritative and authoritarian parenting style between fewer resourced and more resourced parents. Research indicates that parents in low income contexts (such as Africa-America, Kenya, Colombia and Philippines) use more authoritarian parenting styles when compared to parent's living in middle-high income environments (for example: China and Jordan) (Huebner et al., 2003; Bornstein et al., 2011; Steinberg et al., 1981; Murry et al., 2008; Linver et al., 2002; McLoyd, 1990; Conger et al., 1995; Coley & Lombardi, 2014; Becker & Tomes, 1986; Guo et al., 2000, Conger et al, 1984, Elder et al., 1985; Mayberry et al, 2014). However, such findings are not reflected in this study. There are numerous possible reasons for these findings. Culture (concepts and constructs), children (age), parents (individual styles and gender), education, religion and family structure are the aspects that are discussed below.

5.4.1 Culture and parenting styles

The culture in this study was predominantly Zulu, therefore similar parenting styles may exist across the cultural domain despite the variance in resources, resulting in no significant differences between the authoritative and authoritarian style of parenting. Beyond the family context, cultural differences in parenting practices may contribute to variability in the parenting style. The family environment is affected by the wider community and the culture within which it lives in (Ghate et al, 2002). Therefore, the parenting style may be influenced by the cultural environment in which it occurs and differently affect adolescents' emotions, behaviour and thoughts (Gray & Steinberg, 1999), irrespective of resources available. According to Katz and associates' (2007), when the demographic profile (including culture) of families with fewer resources does not differ from the demographic profile of families with more resources (Katz et al., 2007), comparisons between them are more difficult with minimal differences between parenting styles found.

Parenting that results in healthy development may be different in low-income, high-risk communities as opposed to the successful parenting styles employed in middle-high income populations (Pittman et al, 2001). The values of parenting styles by which parents are often subjected to, may represent Western, middle-income families and do not inevitably reflect parents living in environments whose cultural customs vary from this representation (Katz et al., 2007). Authoritative parenting has generally been associated with a Western and working-class approach to child rearing, with a prevalence amongst European-American

families (Steinberg et al., 1994). According to research, the primary cultural difference between European-American families and other cultures (such as an Asian American culture) is the concept of independence (including self-expression and personal uniqueness) versus interdependence (including group solidarity and social-hierarchy) (Chang, 2007). Therefore, in South Africa, parents in both fewer and more resourced environments may use parenting styles that are more reflective of the culture they belong to than the typical authoritative parenting found predominantly in Western cultures. As the culture was homogenous across the two groups, this could result in a lack of significant differences in parenting styles based on resources available. A discussion on cultural concepts further explores this.

Cultural concepts

Recent research has indicated that ‘parenting style’ and ‘parenting practice’ are two separate concepts that require distinguishing before differences are accounted for (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Stewart & Bond, 2002; Whiteside-Mansell, Bradley, Little, Corwyn, & Spiker, 2001; Dworetzky, 1995; Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). This is noteworthy as it can also explain how parents residing in dissimilar cultural or societal environments may use a similar parenting practice (for e.g. empathic monitoring). Here, the ‘meaning of the practices’ may vary contingent on other factors, such as the familial context or individual characteristics. Parenting styles can be described as behaviours that are present across a range of situations creating a ‘code’ of interaction between parent and child. Practices, on the other hand, are specific to situations, are not consistent and have various meanings attached to them, depending on the different cultural groups, social contexts or familial contexts (Stewart & Bond, 2002 & Dworetzky, 1995). For example, Rohner and Pettengill (1985) contend that a child from Korea may react differently to an aspect of authoritative parenting (autonomy granting) and may feel rejected, as opposed to his/her Western counterpart. This reaction based on cultural norms and practices thereby affects the type of parenting style employed within the particular culture, resulting in little or no difference in the style employed.

Cultural concepts can also be used to explain the significant difference in communication frequency between the fewer resourced group and more resourced group. According to the ‘Family Communication Patterns Model’, *Protective families* (i.e. vulnerable families such as those living in economically disadvantaged contexts), communicate frequently due to their particular environment. However, in their communication they rely greatly upon conformity

and decision of a dominating family member (Samek & Rueter, 2012). Therefore, such protective families are often viewed as authoritarian in their parenting. This can be used to explain the significant relationship found between communication frequency and authoritarian parenting. It is important to note that these parenting practices are not always regarded as negative by adolescents in the family (Steinberg et al., 1992; Steinberg, 2001), therefore highlighting the need for further research recognising the role of culture and environment in parenting styles.

In addition, it is important to consider concepts in assessment measures when parenting styles and ethnicity or culture are involved. As Whiteside-Mansell and colleagues argue (2001), ‘instrument comparability’ is required, so as to discern if assessment findings are related to actual group differences, or as the result of measures not capturing the same construct across cultural or racial groups (Whiteside-Mansell et al., 2001; Querido et al., 2002). Therefore, concepts of authoritative and authoritarian parenting may have similar names, but different meanings according to the specific culture one belongs to. Differences that are observed may reflect the fact that the “instrument is measuring different constructs in the various groups rather than indicating that the groups vary on the constructs”. (Whiteside-Mansell *et al.*, 2001, p. 768). Lindahl and Malik (1999) found that the concept of ‘hierarchical parenting’ is better able to explain differences in parenting styles between Latino families and European American families (Lindahl & Malik, 1999). Although scales often focus on authoritativeness and authoritarianism, this concept was useful in understanding the parenting style employed in families that have strong traditions of collectivist values, intrafamilial boundaries and high value placed on respecting authority figures (including parents). Therefore, when using questionnaires (including those that have been pretested and revised), respondents may have different meanings attached to the specific constructs being measured, according to their particular culture. This may affect overall findings, resulting in no significant differences in parenting styles based on resources available.

5.4.2 Children

Research on parenting styles often does not include the effect that children can have on parenting. Children form part of the parent-child dyad and can have a differential impact on parenting styles (Hill et al, 2007; O’Connor and Scott, 2007). This includes the age or developmental level of the child (Ghate & Hazel, 2002; Deater-Deckard et al., 1996). As

mentioned above, the age of the children from the baseline study were all within similar ranges (the adolescent developmental stage). The following paragraph focuses on ways that the ‘age’ of a child can affect the parenting style of an adult. It also highlights how the lack of variance in the age of the children in this study, may have evoked similar parenting styles across the two groups, resulting in no significant differences in the aforementioned parenting styles.

Age

The age or developmental stage of a child affects the overall parenting style of a parent. For example, the positive outcomes associated with authoritative parenting during the pre-adolescent stage may not endure until later stages (Weiss & Schwarz, 1996). Parenting styles may be adaptive for children at a certain age but harmful for the same child at a different age (Kiff, Lengua & Zalewski, 2012). Therefore, parents may adapt their styles according to the age and particular needs required for the child at that developmental stage, irrespective of their socio-economic status. This was found by Furstenberg (2000) where constricting parenting (authoritarian) was adaptive for children at a younger age, but unhelpful and maladaptive for adolescents, resulting in negative outcomes (withdrawal and lack of autonomy). Adolescence denotes the transitioning from childhood into adulthood and poses a different set of challenges for parents. The adolescent now moves beyond the familial environment to develop external social relationships that may also play a role in the type of parenting style used. Research shows that this transition is often accompanied by punitive methods of discipline, across different cultures, financial statuses and family types (Stoltenberg, Bakermans-Kranenburg, van Ijzendoorn & Alink, 2013). Furthermore, studies also suggest the “impact of socioeconomic status is temporarily equalized during adolescence” (Kiff et al., 2012, p. 831). This highlights the importance of including relationships between parent and child when trying to understand the relationship between parenting styles and poverty.

5.4.3 Parents

Gender

Parenting styles are to some extent affected by gender. That is, different parenting styles may be used based on the parent’s gender (Leinonen, 2002). It is often assumed that parenting is independent from gender however, it is commonly the role or responsibility expected to be

assumed by females (especially in South Africa) (De Stone et al., 2016). In this study, females and males were approximately equally distributed within the fewer resourced group with additional males in the more resourced group. As the 'family model' suggests: distress amongst parents can lead to ineffective parenting (lack of warmth and support, increased aggression and insufficient surveillance (Ahmed, 2005; Baumrind, 1970; McLoyd 1994; Berk, 2009). However, such distress, whatever its cause, predisposes parents to use different parenting styles (Elder et al., 1985 & Baumrind, 1971, 1973). For example, Elder and colleagues (1985) found that economic hardship (stressor) was associated with an increase in paternal irritability, depression, harsh parenting and inconsistent behaviour when compared to the mother's parenting style (Elder et al., 1985). Gender differences in parenting styles, were also found by other studies with mothers being more authoritative and a high percentage of fathers being authoritarian (Kashahu, Dibra, Osmanaga & Bushati, 2014; Matejevic, Jovanovic & Jovanovic, (2013). These findings were further confirmed by Leinonen and associates' (2002): anxiety increased hostility and coercive methods of discipline amongst fathers when compared to mothers and decreased the amount of attention given to children, from both parents (Leinonen et al., 2002).

Such studies indicate that females generally use a more authoritative parenting style (empathic monitoring, better communication patterns, warmth and less punitive methods of discipline), than males. However, this study found no significant differences in the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles albeit the approximate equal distribution of gender in the fewer resourced group, and higher percentage of males in the more resourced group. Research shows that female parents may experience disadvantages, such as economic deprivation, at a more extreme level due to encountering greater challenges than males (De Stone et al., 2016). Many women in South Africa (in fewer resourced and more resourced contexts) are subject to abuse or stress from intimate partners and due to the little support offered (both financially and emotionally), they may be unable to meet the emotional and physical demands of their children, affecting their overall parenting style (Katz et al, 2007, De Stone et al., 2016). De Stone and associates' (2016) found that "caregiver disability, caregiver AIDS-illness, caregiver depression and PTSD were all associated with harsh (authoritarian) parenting (De Stone et al., 2016, p. 30). Therefore, albeit studies show a relationship between female parents and authoritative parenting (Elder et al., 1985 & Baumrind, 1971, 1973; Kashahu et al., 2014 & Leinonen et al., 2002), factors such as the above, can increase vulnerability of females and inability to express empathy, warmth and

frustration tolerance. Such vulnerability affects women who are parents in both fewer resourced and more resourced environments. Therefore, the vulnerability experienced and associated reduction in warmth and empathy, may have led to a homogenous, more authoritarian parenting style across the two groups resulting in no significant differences.

Individual styles

According to Belsky and Vondra (1989), parents develop individual parenting styles based on three sources: their 'developmental history', 'psychological resources and characteristics of the family' and 'contextual sources of stress and support'. Adult leisure facilities and entertainment options as well as avenues of support can affect stress and anxiety levels, thereby affecting parenting styles (Ghate and Hazel, 2002). In addition, intergenerational transmission may play a role in the type of expectations, empathy and communication each parent manifests (Ermisch & Francesconi, 2001). Meyer (1997) challenged the belief that income has a large impact on parenting styles, arguing that individual characteristics allow certain individuals to use resources that are available, to better their circumstances and develop good (authoritative) parenting skills accordingly. Therefore, parents in both groups could be using similar parenting styles based on the above factors, minimising significant differences. Furthermore, in this study the mean age of the head of household was approximately 51 years. Kashahu and colleagues (2014) found that age affects the type of parenting style used, with individuals over the age of 45 years being more authoritarian in their parenting approach (Kashau et al., 2014). Therefore, the age of the parents across the groups were homogenous resulting again in minimal differences in parenting styles. This again, points to the need to focus on parents from a holistic viewpoint when assessing parenting styles, including more elements of parenting beyond parental employment and resources available.

5.4.4 Education

Research has shown that maternal education has a stronger mediating effect than family income on parenting style employed (Smith, Brooks-Gunn & Klebanov, 1997; Davis-Kean, 2005; Querido et al., 2002). In particular, maternal education is a strong predictor of parental warmth displayed. According to Kashahu and colleagues (2014), parents with differing levels of education were found to display different parenting styles. In particular, parents at a tertiary level education were more authoritative in their parenting style, those with a

secondary level education were more authoritarian and parents with little or no schooling tended to display a neglectful parenting style (Kashahu et al., 2014). In this study, significant differences were found between fewer resourced and more resourced parents at the high school (secondary) level. However, further analysis revealed a significant relationship between 'no education' (educational level) and the 'authoritarian' parenting measure. As no significant relationship was found between the secondary level education and any of the parenting style measures, this may have resulted in a lack of significant differences in the parenting styles between the two groups. Furthermore, there was no significant difference found between the fewer resourced group and more resourced group in the level of education at the 'no education' level (which was related to the authoritarian parenting measure). Again, indicating minimal differences in parenting style across the two groups due to the relationship between 'no education' and the 'authoritarian parenting measure'.

According to Kashahu et al. (2014) and Davis-Kean (2015), little or no schooling affects parenting styles due to the structuring of the home environment and the type of interaction that occurs with children. This occurs in both fewer resourced and more resourced environments. Paruk and colleagues (2005) found that parents with little or no education often felt disempowered in relation to their ability to parent effectually, as parents believed that children perceived them as inferior (Paruk, Petersen, Bhana, Bell & McKay, 2005). Due to this disempowerment and power struggle between parent and child, parents resorted to using authoritarian parenting styles (including punitive measures of discipline) to regain control and empowerment. Thus, a lack of education can result in feelings of disempowerment and to compensate for this, parents may revert to authoritarian styles of parenting.

5.4.5 Religion

Although not well researched, religion has been shown to have an effect on parenting styles. In this study, 'other' accounted for the majority of the religious background of the sample. No significant differences in religious affiliation was found between the fewer resourced and more resourced group. Ghuman's (2003) findings in a UK based study highlight the differential impact that religion has on parenting styles. Asian parents who are Muslim appeared to value traditional gendered roles in their parenting styles, therefore using authoritarian and authoritative parenting according to the gender of the particular child.

Literature from the USA finds that any religious retention is connected to various factors such as: family structure, parent-child dyad, religious adherence by children and parents and so forth. Regardless of resources available, such factors result in differential parenting styles. Therefore, due to a similarity in religious affiliation across the two groups, similar parenting styles could have been used resulting in a lack of significant differences.

5.4.6 Family structure

The development of a child, especially in South Africa, is not only affected by the parenting styles of biological parents, but that of extended family members, close friends, neighbours or other 'caregivers'. Research in this area is particularly relevant to the South African context, where a collectivist approach to child-rearing is evident and more accepted than the typical nuclear family connections from western environments (Röttger-Rössler, 2014). Often, extended family members or relatives, neighbours and other caregivers provide care for children, as well as discipline and nurture. Research suggests that extended caregivers (family structure) affect the parenting styles of parents as they are not the sole caregivers of their children and may develop different parenting styles accordingly (Farrell, 2015). Such family structures exist across South Africa in both fewer resourced and more resourced environments (De Stone et al., 2016). In this study, participants in the more resourced group (51.4% and 28.6%) and fewer resourced group (45.7% and 34.2%), 'agreed' and 'strongly agreed' to the neighbourhood being 'close knit'. In addition, participants in the more resourced group (46.7 % and 33.3%) and fewer resourced group (44.5% and 34.3%), 'agreed' and "strongly agreed" to the neighbours being reliable enough to look after their children. Therefore, the homogenous family structure between the two groups may have resulted in a lack of significant differences in parenting styles as family structure (in particular, extended supportive networks) affects parenting styles.

In addition, although no specific measures were used to access family structure, it is important to consider that a large amount of adolescents across South Africa, in both fewer resourced and more resourced environments live without their biological parents. This is due to various factors, including high rates of violence and road accidents, labour migration, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Hosegood, Vanneste, & Timaeus, 2004). De stone and colleagues (2016) showed that parents of adolescents who were not biological parents scored lower on the parent rating measure when compared to children reared by biological parents (De stone

et al., 2016). Higher scores indicated good parenting: warmth, effective monitoring and control and positive discipline styles. In addition, they found that the greater number of adults present in a household increased the odds of good parenting. This was in contrast to Evans and colleagues (2001) study that found a significant positive relationship between household adult density and unresponsive parenting (Evans, Saegert & Harris, 2001). There was no significant difference in adult household density between the fewer resourced and more resourced group. Again, lack of significant difference in household density results in a more homogenous family structure subsequently reducing significant differences between parenting styles. This highlights the role of family structure on the type of parenting style used, and the need for further research to examine the effects and outcomes of this structure on children, in fewer and more resourced environments.

5.5. Concluding remarks

Previous research shows that families living in subjective poverty do experience family turmoil, violence and instability (less routines and structure) (Evans, 2014) and that there are differences in parenting styles between fewer resourced and better resourced parents (Huebner et al., 2003; Bornstein et al., 2011; Steinberg et al., 1981; Murry et al., 2008; Linver et al., 2002; McLoyd, 1990; Conger et al., 1995; Coley & Lombardi, 2014; Becker & Tomes, 1986; Guo et al., 2000, Conger et al, 1984, Elder et al., 1985; Mayberry et al, 2014). However, findings from this South African study show no effect of fewer resources on parenting styles. The need to better understand the way families manage parenting in resource constrained contexts in South Africa is highlighted.

The values of parenting styles by which parents are frequently judged are often reflective of Western, middle-income families and do not inevitably reflect parents who live in environments with more challenges, or whose cultural values differ from this group (Katz et al., 2007). Families are entrenched in an assortment of cultural and social systems. (Belsky, 1989; Bronfenbrenner, 1989; Parke and Buriel, 1998). This includes factors that exist outside the influences of the economic system to supportive networks and environments (community, extended families, neighbours) and individual forces (parental resources, child's characteristics, etc.) that are in place (Belsky, 1989). For example, a poorly educated, financially deprived young parent with a difficult child may display an authoritative parenting style if she has a supportive partner or family, and a personality to motivate her child to

succeed in adverse situations. Individual circumstances and personalities can mediate other systems, such as the economic system. (Katz et al., 2007). Research shows that even the poorest parents demonstrate extraordinary resilience and parenting capacity (Katz et al., 2007). Therefore, it is essential to look beyond the immediate financial environment and consider how reactions to stressful life events (such as poverty) vary according to other factors or variables that are involved (McLeod et al., 1990; Stewart & Bond, 2002; Phoenix & Hussain, 2007).

Factors that have been discussed including intra-familial personality styles, age of the child, and gender of the parent, family structure and extra-familial factors (religion, education and culture), all interact independently and with each other to affect parenting styles of parents. Results of the current study reflect a small step in the journey of achieving some understanding of the effect of poverty on parenting styles, in the South African context. However, better understanding of the factors discussed above will lead to a greater understanding of how specific stressors and economic conditions affect parenting styles in the African context. The lack of significant differences found between the fewer and better resourced groups suggests that the relationship between poverty and parenting styles is complex with many other mediating factors that require exploration.

This study adds to the limited studies exploring the complex relationship of parenting style and environmental context (specifically, the economic context). In a country that embodies a great array of cultures, family structures (multiple caregivers, no biological parents), collectivist values, gendered styles of parenting and differing personalities, it is important to research such differences as they can provide a focus for effective parenting support and potential intervention programmes, where required. Furthermore, it highlights the need for further research into other factors that may play a part in parenting styles in a South African context; and the need for more information on relational patterns that are incongruent with most research (for e.g.: increased communication in a fewer resourced environment).

The overall conclusion from this study is that the notion that under-resourced families are more prone to authoritarian parenting in South Africa is questionable and the multidimensional nature of poverty (with respect to employment and resources available) and parenting styles is highlighted. What we do know is that if parents are effective in creating an emotionally stable and stimulating environment through protective parenting styles, the

adverse effects of economic constraints can be reduced (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1997b). Identifying socio-economic groups that should be targeted for parenting interventions requires a more nuanced understanding of what comprises parenting styles that lead to poor child outcomes in South Africa; as well as risk influences for these parenting styles.

5.6. Limitations

Although this study adds to research on parenting styles between fewer and better resourced parents in South African, it is subject to a number of limitations. The disadvantage of secondary data is that the selection criteria, quality and methods of data collection are not under the control and manipulation of the researcher (Sorenson et al., 1996). The placement of participants into a fewer resource group and more resourced group was based on an operational definition of poverty (using poverty on a continuous variable), making it difficult to compare groups across the spectrum resulting in a lack of significant differences.

Furthermore, the parenting styles were accessed from measures completed by caregivers. Although self-report measures have an advantage of being efficient, inexpensive and generally easy to interpret; there is often a problem with reliability due to respondents wanting to present themselves in a favourable light (Paulhus & Vazire, 2007). This may have been reduced as the measures were anonymous in nature (Fulmer & Frijters, 2009). However, including multiple forms of assessment methods would have benefited the study and resulted in more assurance in findings.

As discussed above, the original research yielded Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients that ranged between 0.57 and 0.64, for the Authoritative Parenting Scale. This was due to the confusion experienced by participants in completing the negative statements of this scale. Furthermore, this study also derived Cronbach coefficient values that ranged between 0.64 and 0.67. Thus, the finding that very few statistical results accrued, is not surprising as the study departs from questionable statistical grounds.

The sample data was from caregivers in rural communities in South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal therefore, the results may not be generalizable to all families with fewer resources or who have economic deprivation. As mentioned previously, the family stress model has been validated in families living in urban and rural economic deprivation however; all data

included caregivers from similar environmental backgrounds (rural). Therefore, caution is required when making generalisations about the results presented in this study, to the entire population of South Africa. However, considering the dearth of evidence available on the parenting of adolescents and pre-adolescents in South Africa, this study is an important contributor to an understanding of factors that may be affecting parenting styles in South Africa.

5.7. Suggestions for further research

1. Measuring changes over time may prove to be useful as it takes into consideration the developmental aspects of children and how the stages may induce different parenting styles in parents (Kiff et al., 2012; Weiss & Schwarz, 1996; Furstenberg, 2000 & Stoltenberg et al., 2013). Therefore research on the relationship between poverty and parenting styles must include the reciprocal relationship between the parent and child and the interdependence that exist between them. It is imperative to recognize how the economic context may differentially affect parenting styles of children of various ages. It is important to measure the stability of parenting styles over time and the influence certain parenting practices may have on children during different developmental periods (Steinberg et al., 1989). For example autonomy granting might be a particular component that is more important during adolescence than infancy.
2. Parents should also be studied holistically as parenting itself can be an outcome to factors such as parental individual styles or gender, all existing within a familial and socioeconomic system. The bi-directionality of parenting styles where children's effects on parents are considered, must be included in the examination of the relationship between poverty and any parenting style (O'Connor and Scott, 2007). This can be assessed by gaining information from children themselves ('insider data') and parents. Furthermore, qualitative research may provide a valuable approach to the study of parenting styles to understand perceptions, meanings and subjective experiences of parents and the multitude of factors that may have an effect on parenting styles. Observations of the parent-child dyad may also be useful to provide insight into how particular parenting practices are translated into actual behaviours (Querido, Warner, & Eyberg, 2002). Furthermore, such studies can also provide

information from insider accounts on what parents and children from different cultural groups consider ‘good parenting’ for children of various ages and genders, and how they achieve this type of parenting. Further research needs to focus beyond the overall relationship between poverty and parenting styles to include the discrepant effects on diverse groups of parents embodying individual styles, personalities and capabilities.

3. In keeping with parenting, a further gap in the literature is the absence of gender differentiation in the concept of parenting styles. Participant data often includes females and findings reflect ‘mothering’ in parenting styles and not ‘fathering’. Poverty may affect a mothers and fathers parenting style differently and this aspect needs to be explored more profoundly. According to the ‘family stress model’, family economy impinges differentially on the mothers’ and fathers’ mental health, marital experiences and parenting styles (Leinonen et al., 2002). Therefore, there is a need to replicate this study and measure parenting styles separately for mothers and fathers. Findings of this study revealed that males formed the majority of the participants in the more resourced group. Hence, a better understanding of the dynamics of gender in parenting styles may benefit families by helping support each parent, in adverse conditions or not, to find ways of actively participating in their roles, for overall child well-being.
4. The results from this study indicate that the relationship between poverty and parenting styles is complex, and other factors (such as technological advances) may play a role in the type of parenting style employed. Communication can now occur via various means (text messages, e-mails, etcetera) and monitoring and supervision of children may require an evolution to cope with the cyber world that today’s children live in. Due to such advances, parenting styles have been forced to adapt and incorporate digital technology in the type of parenting they use (Wartella, Rideout, Lauricella & Connell, 2014). For example, parents may use mobile telephones to monitor children’s whereabouts or have stricter rules due to the large social media platforms that exist. Such factors need to be considered in further research, to gain a better understanding of parenting styles in today’s world.

5. As is evident from this study, most research based on parenting styles and poverty has been conducted predominantly in the USA (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Conger et al, 1997; Brody et al., 1994; Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997, 2000 and Coley & Lombardi, 2014), with two significant studies from the UK specifically addressing 'parenting styles and practices' and poverty (Barnes, 2004 and Ghate & Hazel, 2002). South African society differs from these western countries in a variety of social dimensions, including the poverty rate, ethnicity and culture, religion and provision of services which may all impact on the relationship between poverty and parenting styles. Studies from the USA suggest that African-American, Asian-American and Latino parents have different parenting styles when compared to white, European-American, middle-class parents. However, there is no clear agreement on how they differ and their relationship to adolescent outcomes. This is partly because research on this issue is sparse and often not as meticulously rigorous as the studies of parenting styles of white European-Americans. Refined research is required to include how the variety of parenting styles operate in, within and between the different ethnic, cultural and religious groups that exist in South Africa (Stewart and Bond, 2002). Stewart and colleagues (2002) recommend a differentiation in the assessment of 'parenting styles' and 'parenting practices' as they are more suitable for study in under researched cultures. According to Darling and associates' (1993), before concluding that authoritative parenting or authoritarian parenting is evident and more or less effective in a fewer resourced environment, we need to understand more about the goals that parents use to socialise their children and the parenting practices used to attain these goals (Darling et al., 1993). Therefore, there is a need to understand parental practices before allowing for the study of the effect of poverty on parenting styles in South Africa. Similarly, researchers should endeavour to study larger, more culturally diverse samples, and include models or assessments that incorporate supplementary environmental and parenting factors.
6. Additional research is also required to investigate the protective factors that may play a significant role in mediating the relationship between poverty and parenting styles. The manner in which circumstances existing prior to financial hardship influence both parents' and children's reaction to financial loss, is a productive area for future investigation. The dynamic and multifaceted nature of poverty and the complexity of parenting make the relationship between poverty and parenting styles extremely

difficult to study. Rather than focusing on the relationship between poverty and parenting, research should now turn to different questions, including: how does the 'duration and depth' of poverty affect parenting styles? how do the various patterns of income over time (e.g. declining income and variable income) fluctuate in their effects on different aspects of parenting styles (such as communication frequency)? How does poverty differentially affect the parenting styles of parents with children of different ages (i.e. are different parenting styles employed when children are babies as opposed to adolescents)? What are the precise instruments or particular features of poverty that affects different aspects of parenting styles (such as empathic monitoring, methods of discipline and communication comfort and frequency)?

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APPENDIX ONE: QUESTIONNAIRES

Communication Frequency

The following questions ask about talking with your child. Please read each item, and tell us how often you discuss this topic with your child. . If you have more than one child, think of your child or children around the ages of 9 to 11.

	HOW OFTEN DO YOU TALK WITH YOUR CHILD ABOUT:			
	A lot	Often	Once in a while	Never
1. Alcohol				
2. Drugs				
3. HIV or AIDS				
4. Having sex				
5. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)				
6. Bad friends				
7. Puberty (changes that happen to kids as they grow up)				

Communication Comfort

Now tells us how comfortable you feel talking about these items with your child. If you have more than one child, think of your child or children around the ages of 9 to 11. Please mark “X” for every answer that you choose.

HOW COMFORTABLE ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT THIS WITH YOUR CHILD?				
	Very Comfortable	Somewhat Comfortable	Somewhat Uncomfortable	Very Uncomfortable
1. Alcohol				
2. Drugs				
3. HIV or AIDS				
4. Having sex				
5. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)				
6. Bad friends				
7. Puberty (changes that happen to kids as they grow up)				

Authoritative parenting scale

Please answer the next set of questions about your child or children.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Agree Somewhat	Strongly Agree
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Item	SD	DS	AS	SA
1. My child can count on me to help him/her out, if s/he has some kind of problem.				
2. I tell my child that s/he shouldn't argue with adults.				
3. I keep pushing my child to do his/her best in whatever s/he does.				
4. I tell my child that s/he should give in on arguments rather than make people angry.				
5. I keep pushing my child to think independently.				
6. I make my child's life miserable if s/he gets poor marks in school.				
7. I am interested to hear about my child's schoolwork.				
8. I tell my child that my ideas are correct and that s/he should not question them.				
9. When I want my child to do something, I explain why.				
10. Whenever my child argues with me, I tell him/her that "You'll know better when you grow up."				
11. When my child gets poor marks in school, I encourage him/her to try harder.				
12. I allow my child to make his/ her own plans for things s/he wants to do.				
13. I know who my child's friends are.				

14. I act cold and unfriendly if my child does something I don't like.				
15. I spend time just talking with my child.				
16. If my child gets poor marks in school, I make him/ her feel guilty.				
17. As a family, we do things for fun together.				
18. I don't allow my child to do things with me when s/he does something I don't like.				

19. In a typical week, what is the latest you usually allow your child to stay out on SCHOOL NIGHTS (Monday-Thursday)?

S/he is not allowed out	
S/he is allowed to stay out until 5pm	
S/he is allowed to stay out until 6pm	
S/he is allowed to stay out until 7pm	
S/he is allowed to stay out as late as s/he wants	

20. In a typical week, what is the latest you allow your child to stay out on FRIDAY OR SATURDAY NIGHT?

S/he is not allowed out	
S/he is allowed to stay out until 4pm	
S/he is allowed to stay out until 5pm	
S/he is allowed to stay out until 6pm	
S/he is allowed to stay out as late as s/he wants	

How much do you TRY to know ...	Don't Try	Try a Little	Try a Lot
21. Where your child goes at night?			
22. What s/he does with his/her free time?			

23. Where s/he is most afternoons after school?			
How much do you REALLY know ...	Don't Know	Know a Little	Know a Lot
24. Where your child goes at night?			
25. What s/he does with his/her free time?			
26. Where s/he is most afternoons after school?			

Punitive Parenting

1. When my child does something wrong, I usually:

Explain to him or her what they did wrong and tell them not to do it again	
Shout/scream at him or her	
Give him/her a hiding	