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Relative Effects of Parenting Practices on Child Development in the Context of Family Processes[☆]



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ABSTRACT

Previous family studies mainly treated parenting behavior as corresponding to family socialization, which is in fact a multifaceted concept. In the present study, two family socialization constructs, family processes and parenting practices, were simultaneously investigated for their relative effects on the adolescent development of internalizing and externalizing problems. Data for analysis were collected from a sample of 223 Chinese parent–child dyads (mothers = 179, boys = 124; child mean age = 16.7, SD = 2.16), and hierarchical linear regression models were employed to examine the relationships. Results showed that both positive family processes and effective parenting practices were predictive of less internalizing and externalizing problems in children, but the former was more pronounced than the latter. More importantly, the robust predictive effects of parenting resumed after inclusion of the interaction term of parenting by family processes, which lends support to the conditionality of parenting with the moderating effect of family processes. This indicates that parenting functions are more important in the home environment with low positive family processes, and shows convergence in the family context of highly positive family processes. Implications of the findings for educational and human development practices and future research directions are also discussed.

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Efectos relativos de las prácticas de crianza sobre el desarrollo adolescente en el contexto de los procesos familiares

RESUMEN

En su mayoría, los estudios familiares previos han abordado el comportamiento de crianza como algo correspondiente a la socialización familiar, lo cual es, de hecho, un concepto de múltiples facetas. En el presente estudio se investigaron de forma simultánea dos componentes de socialización familiar, así como procesos familiares y prácticas de crianza con el objetivo de identificar sus efectos relativos sobre el desarrollo de las capacidades para internalizar y externalizar los problemas en individuos adolescentes. La información necesaria para el análisis fue recolectada a partir de una muestra de 223 díadas de padreshijos de nacionalidad china (madres = 179, hijos = 124; edad promedio de los hijos = 16.7, DT = 2.16); además, se emplearon modelos de regresión lineal jerárquica para examinar las relaciones. Los resultados

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mostraron que tanto los procesos familiares positivos como las prácticas efectivas de crianza predecían una menor internalización y externalización de problemas en los hijos, siendo la anterior más pronunciada que la última. Aún más importante es el hecho de que los efectos predictivos de mayor solidez se reanudaron después de la inclusión del término de interacción de la crianza a través de procesos familiares, lo cual respalda la condicionalidad de la crianza al combinarla con los efectos moderadores de los procesos familiares. Esto indica que las funciones de crianza son más importantes en ambientes familiares con procesos familiares de bajo positivismo y muestra convergencia en el contexto familiar de procesos familiares altamente positivos. Se discuten las implicaciones de estos descubrimientos para las prácticas del desarrollo humano y educativo, y para las futuras directrices de investigación.

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Introduction

Family has been well reckoned as one of the most influential social institutions affecting children's various dimensions of growth and well-being. Informal family socialization in the early life stages of children has been highlighted by Bronfenbrenner (1990) as a "powerful prerequisite of the child's subsequent social success in other domains of life, including school, work, and family (p. 28)." In fact, over the past couple of decades, it is well established that if children who are raised in adverse home context are most likely to suffer from unfavorable developmental outcomes, while the reverse is true for children to have better psychosocial and behavioral accomplishments if they are brought up in a favorable family socialization environment (Burt, Simons, & Simons, 2006; Fischer, Forthun, Pidcock, & Dowd, 2007; Fuentes, García, Gracia, & Alarcón, 2015; Simons, Simons, Chen, Brody, & Lin, 2007; Yeung, 2015; Yeung & Chan, 2016).

However, when studying effects of family socialization on child development, most prior studies predominantly focused on the role of parenting behavior, assuming that it is tantamount to the whole concept of family socialization (Burt et al., 2006; Garcia-Moral, Sanchez-Queija, & Gomez-Veiga, 2016; Korelitz & Garber, 2016; Yeung, 2016). This is inadequate as latest research indicates that the concept of family socialization should be boarder than that of parenting behavior, which includes family processes as a socialization agent in the home environment in influence of child development (Berger & McLanahan, 2015; Crandall, Ghazarian, Day, & Riley, 2016; Fischer et al., 2007; Prioste, Narciso, Goncalves, & Pereira, 2015; Yeung & Chan, 2010). The concept of family processes refers to the general home climates in terms of relational qualities, communications, behavioral interactions, and mutual support patterns among family members (Brody, Kim, Murry, & Brown, 2005; Cobham, McDermott, Haslam, & Sanders, 2016; Yeung & Chan, 2014). Therefore, when examining the effects of family socialization, researchers should take both parenting behavior and family processes into account for their contribution to child development simultaneously.

A general review of recent studies reveals that both parenting practices and family processes exert impacts children's psychological and behavioral outcomes. For instance, research indicated that effective parenting was positively related to children's psychosocial adjustment (Fuentes et al., 2015; Schwartz & Finley, 2006), cognitive and social competence (Pancer, Pratt, Hunsberger, & Alisat, 2007;), psychological health and self-esteem (Rodrigues, Veiga, Fuentes, & García, 2013), and was also reversely associated with less emotional distress and depression (Goosby, 2007; Kim et al., 2003), problem behaviors and delinquency (Goosby, 2007; Gracia, Fuentes, García, & Lila, 2012), as well as drug dealing and

substance misuse (Anderson, Sabatelli, & Kosutic, 2007; Little & Steinberg, 2006). In addition, prior studies reported that if a family manifests positive family processes, namely cohesive family relationship, positive communications and interactions, and mutual support among members, children in this family can have multiple better developmental outcomes (Brody et al., 2005; Little & Steinberg, 2006; Prioste et al., 2015; Mack, Peck, & Leiber, 2015; Yeung, 2015; Yeung & Chan, 2016). In fact, Yeung and Chan (2014) recently found that positive family processes were independent of the effects of parenting practices in prediction of children's development of psychosocial maturity and future orientation, as well as reduction in both internalizing and externalizing problems. Nevertheless, they did not examine the possible influence of parenting practices on children's developmental outcomes that would be moderated by family processes, hence leaving unknown about the relative effects of both parenting and family processes in relation to child development.

The main purpose of the current study was to investigate the relative effects of effective parenting and positive family processes as well as their interactive effects on adolescent children's internalizing and externalizing problems in Chinese families. To investigate the above mentioned relationships is consonant with the theoretical perspectives family transmission model (Petterson & Albers, 2001) and the observational learning theory (Snyder, Bank, & Burraston, 2005) in explanation of the relationship between family socialization and child development, in which children may develop their dispositional properties and behavioral propensities through observing, learning, and receiving the emotional, attitudinal and behavioral manifestations of adult family members in home either explicitly by parenting practices or tacitly by family processes or conjointly by the both, especially from their parents. On the other hand, according to the stress-buffering thesis (Cohen & Wills, 1985), the function of parenting practices would be more pronounced in the socialization context of low positive family processes that is characteristic of more chaotic home environment, poorer relationship quality, and inefficient communications and interactions (Berger & McLanahan, 2015; Crandall et al., 2016; Fischer et al., 2007; Yeung & Chan, 2010). In other words, family processes are expected to moderate the effects of parenting on children's developmental outcomes.

The present study

In this study, both effective parenting and positive family processes were investigated to examine their relative effects on children's internalizing and externalizing problems. This is relevant as prior family studies generally supported that effective

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