And Still WE Rise:
Poverty Stress, Parent-Child Relationships, and Child Academic, Psychosocial, and Socioemotional Indicators of School Readiness in Urban Black Families

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A Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia
In Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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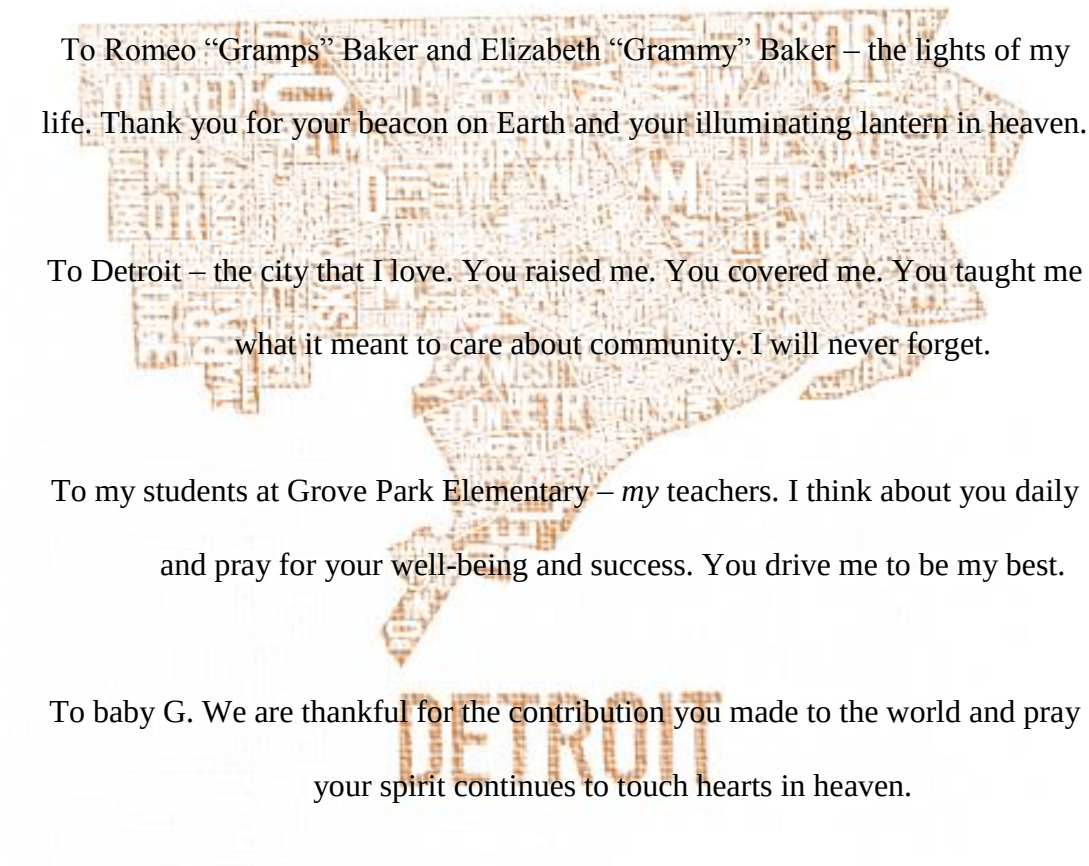
University of Virginia
June 24, 2014

Abstract

The effects of poverty on academic skills, psychosocial functioning, and pro-social behaviors have been thoroughly demonstrated. Given that one in three Black children in America lives in poverty, relative to one in five children nationally, this elevated rate of impoverished Black children is of concern. While areas of the child development literature have shifted from a deficit-based perspective to a focus on successful outcomes in the face of adversity–that is, resilience–very few studies have emerged on academic, psychological, and pro-social success for impoverished Black families. Thus, the current project aims to evaluate financial and general strain for Black families while also assessing whether the parent-child relationship may bolster family functioning and children's school readiness (i.e., academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional indicators). This study incorporates a mixed-methods design focusing on impoverished families within an urban southern city. Financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship variables were quantitatively examined through structural equation modeling to test the associations of the predictive variables with each other and the respective school readiness indicators. Latent class analyses were employed to test whether school readiness was related to varying profiles of families facing problems with financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationships. Parents' descriptions of their relationship with their children as described in qualitative interviews were also evaluated and then compared in relation to latent classifications. Findings revealed greater associations between conflict-based parent-child relationship scales and affirmed linear relationships between stress variables and psychosocial and socioemotional readiness. Further, four

latent classifications were found with clusters of high, medium, low, and medium/high stress and conflict variables; the low cluster was associated with the most desirable school readiness indicators. Qualitative results indicated that parents believed they had close relationships with their children. Members of the low stress/conflict classification likewise indicated the fewest accounts of conflict of all parents within interviews. The findings of the current study have the potential to improve measurement of parent-child relationships, as well as interventions and therapy services focusing on family functioning through school-related programs, clinical services, and policies regarding prevention and intervention for impoverished urban Black youth and their families.

Dedication



To Romeo “Gramps” Baker and Elizabeth “Grammy” Baker – the lights of my life. Thank you for your beacon on Earth and your illuminating lantern in heaven.

To Detroit – the city that I love. You raised me. You covered me. You taught me what it meant to care about community. I will never forget.

To my students at Grove Park Elementary – *my* teachers. I think about you daily and pray for your well-being and success. You drive me to be my best.

To baby G. We are thankful for the contribution you made to the world and pray your spirit continues to touch hearts in heaven.

Acknowledgments

Giving ALL glory and honor to God – the head of my life who has given me provision for my purpose. Words will never fully capture my thankfulness and gratitude, but I hope my actions will.

Mom, dad, and staddy – if it takes a village to raise a child, what did it take to raise a precocious, inquisitive, and determined little girl like me? I cannot imagine the hours, sweat, miles, temple rubs, and tears dedicated to my success, but I am so thankful for them all. For that matter, the ancestors and my entire family are deserving of recognition and praise for their time and efforts. I am thankful for perspective, because the more I learn about family systems, the more I can reflect on the safe, secure, and supportive network of family I have surrounding me.

To my friends – I have been blessed with brothers and sisters of all kinds throughout my life and am thankful for the support you have provided me throughout the dissertation process and beyond. You are worthy of many hugs and baked goods.

And finally, to my committee, mentors, and BGCP family – your groundwork, feedback, and tireless support has given me the courage to persevere even when I thought it was impossible for me to do so. When I need inspiration, I reflect on the changes you have made in my life and realize that even one person can make a difference in the life of another.

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And Still WE Rise:

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Although the United States is the wealthiest country as calculated by Gross Domestic Product (GDP), over 40% of American children are living in low-income families and over 20% are considered relatively impoverished (Coley & Baker, 2013). Furthermore, 70% of Black children are living in low-income families (National Center for Child Poverty; NCCP, 2012), comprising one of the largest rates by ethnic-minority status. Numerous researchers have documented the deleterious effects of poverty on young children as reflected in academic (Chatterji, 2006; Reyes, 2008), psychosocial (Evans & English, 2002a; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2011) and socioemotional (Bierman et al., 2010; McLoyd, 2011) outcomes. Furthermore, these effects are evident in early indicators of children's school readiness (e.g., preschool vocabulary; Duncan, Ludwig, & Magnuson, 2007), often leading to greater disparities in developmental outcomes and trajectories over time.

Mechanisms linking poverty to child outcomes have been tested and established within the literature (McLoyd, 1990; Pinderhughes, Nix, Foster, & Jones, 2001). As a result of financial strain, low-income families often face challenges in the areas of mental health (Lempers & Clark-Lempers, 1997) and adaptive parenting behaviors (McConnell, Breitkreuz, & Savage, 2011). In turn, low-income children's academic and behavioral well-being is linked to indicators of parent stress and their subsequent parenting behaviors (Clark-Lempers, Lempers, & Netusil, 1990).

Despite the identified risks associated with poverty, some children from impoverished backgrounds go on to have similar success as their advantaged peers (Garmezy, Masten, & Tellegen, 1984; Jain & Cohen, 2013; Werner, 1989). As a result, researchers have begun to isolate factors that contribute to success for youth in the face of poverty and other related risk factors over the past four decades (Luthar, 1991; Rutter, 1985; Werner, 1993). Although the phenomenon of success through adverse circumstances, termed resilience (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000), has mostly been studied at the individual level, familial processes of resilience have also become more evident in the literature over the last two decades (McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson, & Futrell, 1999; Patterson, 2002; Walsh, 2003b). Such family process models are based on family-systems and -science theories which propose that children develop emotionally and behaviorally by interacting with their proximal environments. These proximal environments serve as filters for how children interact with and are influenced by more distal environments (Bowen, 1966).

Thus, understanding a microsystem (e.g., family) with respect to the greater exosystem (e.g., neighborhood) and macrosystem (i.e., concentrated poverty; (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) is of central importance to family resilience researchers, interventionists, and therapists (Greenspan, 2002). Indeed, factors that encourage resiliency (i.e., protective factors) have been evaluated with families experiencing a range of challenges and crises, including poverty. Protective factors within the family resilience literature (e.g., parent-child relationship) may be particularly important to our understanding of young children (i.e., pre-school to early elementary age) because of the

strong influence of family on child outcomes for this age group (Amatea, Smith-Adcock, & Villares, 2006), especially given that early parenting behaviors and beliefs are most critical in determining academic readiness for Black and low-income families (Hill, 2001). Thus, greater understanding of functioning in impoverished families residing in areas of concentrated poverty would take into account systemic factors that may impact school readiness for children entering into formal schooling.

Although research has started to explore the factors that promote healthy development in children and their families, much less is known about processes specific to impoverished urban Black children (Barbarin, 1993; Boyd-Franklin & Karger, 2012; Hollingsworth, 2013). The majority of the literature that does exist has focused on deleterious effects, seldom considering the strengths and competencies of children and families from high poverty contexts. However, notable exceptions (see Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997) have encouraged scholars to conceptualize the greater context in the development of minority youth outcomes. In particular, the relationship between parent and child, which has been identified as a protective factor for some (Emery & Forehand, 1996; Radke-Yarrow & Brown, 1993), has not been found to be protective for the most at-risk children (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, & Henry, 1999; Shaw, Dishion, Supplee, Gardner, & Arnds, 2006), a finding that encourages investigation of relationships involving impoverished Black children.

While a host of parenting research finds cultural differences in parenting styles (Hill & Tyson, 2008; Le et al., 2008; Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013), particularly as it pertains to school readiness (Baker, Cameron, Rimm-Kaufman, & Grissmer, 2012), the

literature on parent-child relationships has reported few distinctions between relationships in varying cultures. As an example, Cooper and McLoyd (2011) make the point to distinguish between parenting practices and styles by noting that parenting styles can differentially influence the relationship between practices of Black parents and Black youth's well-being. If the elements that make up the antecedents of the relationship vary by culture–that is, parenting–would we expect the dynamic process of parent-child relationships to differ as well? Could it be expected that the same cultural components comprising parenting differences may also contribute to differences between Black families and other families with regard to parent-child relationships? Furthermore, can parent-child relationships in low-income Black families contribute to resilient processes in families who are experiencing the stressors of poverty?

The current study seeks to begin to answer such questions by exploring parental perceptions of risk, general stress, and relationships between parent and child, and child school readiness indicators (e.g. academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional characteristics) in low-income urban Black families. It is conceivable that parent-child relationships could be a target for intervention efforts in families living in contexts that carry high risk, however, research on familial resilience in ethnic minority families generally–and low-income Black families in particular—is lacking. McCubbin and McCubbin (1988) noted that the dearth of research on ethnic minority familial resilience greatly hampers generalizability, yet few studies have contributed to our understanding of urban impoverished Black familial resilience since their proclamation twenty-five years ago (Hollingsworth, 2013). Given that resilience research promotes family-and social-

level indicators of risk, protection, and outcomes (Garmezy, 1991a), the current study aims to incorporate the greater cultural experience of families living in an urban community with historically high poverty rates into the conceptualization of financial strain and perceptions of poverty.

This project utilized a mixed-methods approach to investigate the role of familial factors on children's school readiness. Specifically, I examined how the proposed protective factor of parent-child relationship operated for low-income Black families living in a historically impoverished community and explored components of the relationship that may not have been previously identified within the literature that contribute to promising school readiness indicators for their children. As a primary example, literature has continued to conceptualize the stress experienced from poverty as a risk (Pinderhughes et al., 2001). However, some families perceive their financial stress to be minimal given their inability to make quick changes to it, and such cognitive reframing has been considered as bonadaptive via secondary coping strategies (McCubbin & Patterson, 1983) and may contribute to their desire to focus more on their relationships with their children in order to advance their children's successful outcomes (Polansky, Chalmers, & Buttenweiser, 1981). Indeed, Wadsworth and colleagues (2013) have recently begun their exploration of the secondary coping strategies employed by low-income families through quantitative work in the Adaptation to Poverty Related Stress (APRS) model by furthering our understanding of potentially useful thought processes that can contribute to such a family resilience framework. Whereas the negative impact of poverty on children and families is well documented and should not

be minimized, it is important to also understand the strengths that families living in poverty have and the strategies that they have developed to cope with environmentally adverse circumstances. This does not suggest that poverty is not an issue that should be dealt with structurally, but that some families and children, despite the adversity posed by poverty, demonstrate strength and resilience and understanding those processes, while it should not take away focus from addressing and ameliorating poverty directly, can help us understand how to support families in the face of such longer term projects.

This study, furthermore, sought to explore how the parent-child relationship may have different associations with families when evaluated within a cultural and sociological context. Thus, in the first stage of the study, I evaluated how the study measures of parent-child relationships mapped onto the study population, given the dearth of literature investigating elements of the relations in low-income, Black families. Then, the relationships between financial strain, parent-child relationships, and school readiness were evaluated through a structural equation model to detect whether theory-based models of financial stress (e.g., Family Stress Model; McLoyd, 1990) predict general stress, parent-child relationship problems, and academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional functioning within the given sample. Latent class analyses were then used to identify whether profiles of resilient families were evident in order to identify whether meaningful differences existed between classifications of families who endorse high levels of financial and general strain with low levels of parent-child relationship conflict. Lastly, qualitative interviews explored how many families and in what ways these

families reported the relationships with their child, and whether this report varied by latent classification, as predicted.

Background

Poverty

Definition and demographics. Although the United States is the wealthiest country by comparison of GDP, it also has one of the largest wealth disparities in the world, with more than 16% of all Americans living in poverty (Census, 2012). The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines poverty as "the state of one who lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions." Implicit within the definition is the relativity of poverty, by nature of the 'social acceptability' of means. As of 2011, the United States Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS) defined the threshold of familial poverty as a family of two adults and two children with an annual income less than $22,811 (Federal Register, 2011). Various delineations capture the complexity of poverty: *absolute*, *relative*, and *subjective* poverty each describe poverty by objective, relative, and individual standards (Aber, Jones, & Raver, 2007). Although definitions vary regarding the lack of family resources, it is clear that such a lack can greatly impact outcomes of those living in poverty, particularly with regard to young children's development (Yoshikawa, Aber, & Beardslee, 2012).

Child poverty. Whereas children only represent a quarter of the American population, they are overrepresented when examining those who are impoverished, comprising 34% of the impoverished population in the United States (NCCP, 2012). Indeed, over 20% of all children live in relative poverty, which refers to people with

incomes below 50% of the median income level within the United States (ETS, 2013). The United States has the second highest rate of child poverty within developed countries, with only Romania surpassing US levels. In particular, children six years of age and under may be especially vulnerable, considering almost half live in low-income families–or those double the poverty threshold–and a quarter live in impoverished families (NCCP, 2012).

Black poverty. Rates of American poverty vary considerably, moreover, by race. The percentage of Black families in poverty has continued to climb, as they experienced the effects of the recent economic downturn disproportionately (e.g., greater unemployment; Holder, 2010). While approximately 25% of Black families were impoverished in 2005, over 27% of all Black individuals and up to 47% of single-parent Black families currently live in poverty (American Community Survey, 2011; US Census, 2010). Greater representation is also evident in Black child statistics, with 39% of all Black children living in poverty compared to 34% of Latinos or 14% for Asians and Whites respectively (American Community Survey, 2011).

Beyond income, wealth–or the "abundance of valuable material possessions or resources" by virtue of assets (Merriam-Webster)–is disproportionate across racial groups even at equitable levels of income. Historical inequality in America, including human-, land-, and home-ownership laws, has greatly impacted the generational transference of wealth within Black families (Darity Jr. & Nicholson, 2005). As a result of generations of fewer *in-vivo* and inheritance-based transactions, Black families had approximately one-tenth of the wealth that White families did in 1993 – regardless of income (Darity Jr. &

Nicholson, 2005). The wealth gap can put additional stress on families from historically disenfranchised communities because there are likely to be fewer material resources available in the extended family network to provide support during times of decreased income or other financial strain. Thus, whereas family income can fluctuate over the course of a child's life, leading to transitions in and out of poverty (Duncan & Magnuson, 2002), the presence of chronic poverty within families and communities may influence how families experience and cope with such transitions.

Considering the historical positioning of Black people in the United States, poverty seems to be particularly detrimental for Black families, as they are disproportionately impoverished and tend to suffer differentially from impoverished status due to the intersectionality of their race and social class. As a result, impoverished urban Black youth are likely to have fewer resources (McLoyd, 1990), receive less effective parenting practices (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1998; Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 2004), and live with a greater incidence of concentrated poverty in less safe neighborhoods than their peers due to housing discrimination and segregation (Winslow, 2001). Given that an abundance of research has shown that poverty negatively impacts child development, the intersection of race and poverty in the United States puts Black children at greater developmental risk due to additive forms of discrimination (e.g., housing, racial, income, etc.) and, thus, places a greater burden on those Black families who must find ways to counter the potential negative impact of poverty.

Risk for developmental outcomes. Poverty is one of the most pervasive psychological risks–or a characteristic that increases the likelihood of disordered behavior (Rutter, 1979)–that contributes to negative functioning. The chronicity of poverty makes it unlike other risks (e.g., loss of a job, residential environment) since impoverished children are likely to go on to live in poverty as adults and are more detrimentally impacted by poverty acquired later in life. Indeed, Isaacs (2007) found that 42% of children born in the bottom fifth of the economic distribution remained in the bottom fifth as adults and virtually 80% of these children remained in the bottom three-fifths as adults, a statistic also stratified by race.

Poverty can influence youth both directly (e.g., nutritional deficits; Birch & Gussow, 1970) and indirectly (e.g., family processes influenced by poverty-related stress; (Pinderhughes et al., 2001). Impoverished environments can contribute to individual child functioning (e.g., anxiety associated with violence; Jones, 2007) as well as familial functioning (e.g., increased hassles; Bennett, 2006). Poverty, as a single risk factor, therefore, is often correlated to other risk variables. This increases the potential deleterious effects of poverty on children, as cumulative risk factors lead to a "pile-up" effect (Rutter, 1979; Sameroff, 2006; Sameroff, Seifer, Baldwin, & Baldwin, 1993). Compared to peers who had familial incomes double the poverty threshold, poor children were more likely to complete two fewer years of school, earn less than half as much money, work almost 500 fewer hours per year, receive almost $1,000 more in food stamps, were twice as likely to get arrested (males), were five times more likely to have a

child out of wedlock (females), and were almost three times as likely to have poor health in their lifetime (ETS, 2013).

With regard to school related outcomes, three areas of school readiness indicators impacted by poverty status are of interest to the current project: academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional functioning. Extant research has demonstrated that subsequent school outcomes are predicted by early adjustment and achievement performance (Duncan, Ludwig, & Magnuson, 2007; Romano, Babchishin, Pagani, & Kohen, 2010). School readiness–or "the multidimensional concept that considers behavioral and cognitive aspects of the child's development as well as the child's adaptation to the classroom" (Parker, Boak, Griffin, Ripple, & Peay, 1999, pg. 413)–is composed of factors that contribute to the child's initial entry point and potential trajectory prior to the start of school. Academic skills, such as literacy, oral language, and math skills (Britto, Brooks-Gunn, & Griffin, 2006; Duncan et al., 2007), psychosocial functioning, including internalizing and externalizing problems (Duncan et al., 2007; Oravecz, Koblinsky, & Randolph, 2008) and socioemotional functioning, or the capacity to be a cooperative partner within classroom settings, follow directions, and manage one's self (McClelland, Acock, & Morrison, 2006), have all been found to be important in entering school; moreover, each domain has been negatively associated with poverty (Okado, Bierman, & Welsh, 2014).

Academic. Although the "achievement" or "opportunity" gap–or disparities of educational achievement and opportunity between groups–has shown greater differences by income over time (Tavernise, 2012), race compounded with income is still predictive

of lower academic performance for low-income Black youth relative to other low-income peers (Barton & Coley, 2010; Yeung, 2012). As a result of several familial variables (e.g., having less than ideal work hours, being the sole provider at greater rates) along with material deficits (e.g., having fewer books in the home), Black children tend to begin school with less printed word exposure and smaller vocabularies than their White classmates (Jencks & Phillips, 1998). Data over the past four decades have shown that the gap widens beginning at age nine in math and reading scores (National Assessment of Educational Progress; NAEP, 2012). Such early differences go on to impact children's language skills and experience with books (Hart & Risley, 1995). Even within low-income samples, ethnicity has served as a moderator between groups regarding math-preparedness (Hill, 2001), often because of the nature (e.g., generational) and geography (e.g., concentrated/urban) of poverty for Black children. Further, low income Black youth may have an especially difficult time with school as they develop into middle school, as they are at greater risk for academic problems (e.g. retention and class failure often due to teacher expectations and stereotypes), lower achievement scores (often due to environmental factors), and greater incidence of drop-out (often due to cultural, familial, and social expectations) (McLoyd, 1998). Thus, school entry and early trajectories are of vital importance with regard to academic well-being.

Psychosocial. Poverty has also been linked to a number of negative psychosocial outcomes for children, including both internalizing and externalizing problems. Carothers, Borkowski, and Whitman (2006) noted that negative life events associated with poverty status (e.g., residential instability) were associated with child anxiety,

internalization, and externalization. In similar findings, House (2002) noted that youth antisocial behavior and depression were associated with familial poverty. Dallaire and colleagues (2008) found that poverty predicted young children's depressive symptoms, even after accounting for parental education and negative parenting behaviors in a predominantly Black sample. Similarly, Li, Nussbaum, and Richards (2007) found that poverty, hassles, and exposure to violence predicted higher rates of internalizing and externalizing symptoms in urban Black youth as did McLoyd (2011) on respective psychosocial and socioemotional indicators such as depression, hostility, and low self-esteem.

Socioemotional. Socioemotional development is encouraged in children to build better relationships and to think before acting (Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning; CASEL, 2013). Socioemotional development is the outcome of social-emotional learning (SEL), which has been traditionally comprised of five competency clusters: *self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making* (Zins & Elias, 2006). Akin to the Positive Youth Development literature which outlines the Five Cs in adolescence (i.e., *competence, confidence, connection, character, and caring*; Lerner, Boyd, & Du, 1998), SEL components are seen to reflect a strength-based approach with regard to emotional management and relationship building in younger children. Although few studies have explored poverty's links to socioemotional outcomes explicitly, Raver and Knitzer (2002) surmised that poverty is negatively associated with child self-control. The authors also note that up to 27% of low-income Kindergarteners pose classroom problems as a

function of their low SEL. Accordingly, Brody and Flor (1998) noted the contribution of poverty to hampered familial processes associated with less social competence.

Together, the literature indicates that poverty has a negative impact on a host of child academic and psychosocial outcomes. Although there is limited research on poverty's effects on socioemotional learning, indications are that poverty carries similar risk in this area. There are a number of mechanisms through which poverty is thought to operate to increase risk for negative child outcomes.

Mechanisms of poverty as risk. Studies have revealed a variety of different routes by which poverty can impact child development, including both direct and indirect pathways. Contextually, the overall structures of impoverished communities may provide challenges to youth. While rural and urban families may be exposed to the same quantity of risks (Evans & English, 2002), urban families are more likely to live within concentrated areas of poverty (Ashworth, Hill, & Walker, 1994; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2011; McLoyd, 1990). As a result of the high density of impoverished residents, families in inner-city communities often experience considerably greater risk than families living in similar economic circumstances in heterogeneous or sparsely-populated communities (Khattri, Riley, & Kane, 1997).

Indeed, concentrated poverty–or areas with approximately half of all residents living in poverty–can be exceptionally challenging for inhabitants. Within the most deprived environments, families are likely to be exposed to a host of factors related to child performance, namely, violence, lack of resources (e.g., community centers, grocery stores, etc.), dilapidated physical structures, and resource-deprived schools (Wilson,

2012). Children can experience trauma from community levels of violence (Jones, 2007), yet utilize fewer therapeutic services due to a lack of insurance or service provision in areas of concentrated poverty (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Furthermore, schools may have enrollment based on residential location, thus, less funding and social capital may restrict the resources available to the students at the school (Kaushal & Nepomnyaschy, 2009). As children grow, moreover, indirect processes that exist within the family have been shown to impact child development in other ways.

General stress and depression. Poverty not only limits families' access to material goods, it also complicates the relationships between family members, often resulting in negative outcomes for the child (McLoyd, 1990). For example, 57% of all poor children in the US live in single-parent homes (Lichter, 1997) and parents who are impoverished often have a single income, low-wage jobs, or several family members depending on the income (from employment or aid) of a single family member (Birch & Gussow, 1970; Reyes, 2008). With regard to children's academic achievement, the psychological stress that is faced by low-income parents may present a challenge for engaging in school involvement and academic socialization due to fatigue (Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, & Simons, 1994). Psychological well-being is also taxed, given that parental financial strain has been directly associated with parental depression (O'Neil, Wilson, Shaw, & Dishion, 2009), and directly and indirectly associated with child depressive symptoms (Clark-Lempers et al., 1990) and children's externalizing behaviors (Lee, Lee, & August, 2011). Socioemotionally, children of depressed parents have been found to have poorer social interactions with others (Leiferman, 2002). Furthermore,

poverty has been found to be associated with greater familial stress which can contribute to strain in family functioning (Pinderhughes et al., 2001).

Parenting and parent-child relationships. Low-income women have some of the highest rates of depression, which often contributes to being less responsive, nurturing, aware of children's moods, and more inconsistent, hostile, and restrictive (Tomlinson, 2010). Black parents who had elevated depression symptoms reported greater conflictual relationships with their child relative to their non-depressed peers (Aikens, Coleman, & Barbarin, 2008). These conflictual relationships also accounted for the relationship between parental depression and child outcomes, giving rise to the dyadic nature of parent-child relationships and effects of parental stressors on subsequent child outcome. Regarding psychological well-being, greater stress is often related to less-consistent parenting practices and parental internalizing problems (e.g., depression) which can contribute to child internalizing and externalizing behaviors (Anderson, Hussain, Wilson, Shaw, Dishion, & Williams, under revision). Brody and Flor (1998) indicated that poverty was related to mother-child relationship quality, parenting practices, and maternal involvement, and these proximal variables then related to children's internalizing problems, while Myers and Taylor (1998) found that maternal psychological distress, high family stress burden, and coercive parenting practices contributed to children's externalizing behaviors in their study of urban Black children.

Financial distress also increases the presence of chaos (Reyes, 2008) and instability in childcare arrangements in the home and is predictive of negative psychosocial outcomes for youth (Yoshikawa et al., 2012). In families facing great

financial strain, the ability for parents to provide care and comfort for their children may be secondary to providing basic needs (e.g., food, clothing, or stable housing). Thus, parents with young children living in poverty may contribute less to the processes important for school readiness (Conger et al., 2002; McLoyd, 2011). Indeed, the quality of parent-child relationship has been associated to early cognitive functioning, including literacy development (Bergin, 2001) and greatly impacts the child's prosociality due to limited opportunities for relationship skill-building and self-management (Lindsey, Colwel, Frabutt, Chambers, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2008)

As noted by Bowman (2013), parents may also feel restricted in their ability to provide for their children if they have had limited empowerment due to their minority and income status. As an example, parents who have had negative experiences in overcrowded and resource-deprived schools may be unable or unwilling to support their child through difficult academic experiences (Comer & Hill, 1985). Thus, if parents were exposed to poverty themselves, it is likely that their educational opportunities were hindered, making it difficult for them to actualize their role as someone who can support their children in spite of their own academic and psychological challenges. Additionally, problems that the child may face in school have been associated with child-parent relationships. Early problems with parent-child relationships have been associated with problems with antisocial behaviors and social skills during early adolescence for boys (Vanderbilt-Adriance & Shaw, 2008), while Ostrov and Bishop (2008) found associations between parent-child conflict and girls' relational aggression, a component of socioemotional functioning between a child and her peers.

While some studies suggest that, regardless of income or race, higher levels of parental support, involvement, and positive parenting contribute to desirable outcomes in children (Brody, McBride Murry, Kim, & Brown, 2002), other international and cross-cultural studies find that parents of differing ethnicities or income level have disparate impacts on child academic achievement (Gonzalez-Pienda et al., 2002; Phillipson & Phillipson, 2007). Although the literature has not been consistent with *which* parent-child relationship factors can improve school readiness in low-income Black families, there is considerable agreement that the socialization of young children is an ideal place to intervene in order to promote successful outcomes related to schooling.

And still, we rise…With the myriad poverty-related risk factors that contribute to child academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional outcomes, it is evident why children in poverty, particularly Black children, may face bleak futures and have difficulty with regard to school readiness. However, the narrative depicting Black family development fails to adequately describe those children who go on to lead successful lives, particularly in the face of poverty risk. The following section will explore the factors and mechanisms that have been linked to youth who beat the odds by having better-than-expected outcomes.

Resilience Processes and Mechanisms

Resilience, or the "dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity" (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000, p. 543), has been posited as a psychological construct largely responsible for the well-being of youth who would otherwise be expected to perform poorly when experiencing various risk factors.

In a seminal study of resilience conducted by Werner (1989), one-third of 72 at-risk children born in Kauai, Hawaii in 1955 went on to lead successful adult lives in the face of their cumulative risk factors (e.g., poverty, low maternal education, familial discord, familial psychological disorders, etc.). Although Werner's study affirmed how detrimental cumulative risk can be on the vast majority of children, findings also provided valuable insight as to how various factors can promote successful outcomes in at-risk children. Over time, moreover, researchers acknowledged that distal variables could also positively impact child development (Werner & Smith, 1992). More recent work has also delved more into the processes, rather than the protective factors themselves, that support resilience (Luthar, 1999). Luthar and colleagues (2000) have suggested that the movement from factors to resilient processes is crucial to our understanding of how children succeed in the face of adversity.

Family resilience. By integrating the impact of familial processes with characteristics of child success in the face of adversity, resilience theorists began to promote *familial resilience* which began to explicitly theorize reciprocal processes involving two or more members of the family (Patterson, 2002). With particular application for younger children who are less able to be autonomous with their choices but still impact the greater family system, family resilience research pushed for understanding the functioning of the entire family living with risk.

The concept of family resilience, or the ability for a family to successfully cope under adversity (Walsh, 1996), has been described in myriad ways. Of the varying definitions and models of resilience, there are three commonalities that tie together most.

Firstly, resilience is often only viewed through the lens of hardship–that is, enduring or withstanding difficult circumstances (Walsh, 2003). In systems theories of family functioning, morphogenesis describes how families must make fundamental changes in their processes in order to habituate to new circumstances (Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993). After observing several families in crisis, Hill (1958) found that families experience various cycles that reflect periods of normalcy, difficulty, and homeostasis after a challenge. Morphogenesis is also supported by the second component of family resiliency, which is buoyancy, or the ability to bounce back (Walsh, 2003). Thirdly, resilience is viewed through a strengths-based perspective rather than a pathological lens (Walsh, 2003). Indeed, families who are high functioning may be viewed through the salutogenic model in order to understand characteristics that lead to their successful outcomes rather than focusing on their deficits (Antonovsky, 1979).

In measuring youth development, the individual resilience literature has focused primarily on adolescents. Given the developmental tasks that adolescents have to achieve, including individuation, autonomy, and balancing influences from multiple actors (e.g., parents and peers; Collishaw, Maughan, Goodman, & Pickles, 2004), their prominence within the resilience literature is logical. This conceptualization of resilience, however, limits our understanding of the role of factors and familial processes for younger children. From birth through 5-years-old, individual level traits may still be linked to resilience; however, children of this age are more heavily influenced by the family. Given that children are embedded within the ecology of the family and that the family system is an important ecological setting in which development occurs (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), it

is important to understand both family functioning and the influence of the family on younger children. As support, interventions focused on young children often integrate families in order to reinforce skills and systems important for both parent and child (e.g., Early Steps Project; (Dishion, Kavanagh, Schneiger, Nelson, & Kaufman, 2002).

Walsh (1998) provides a framework that helps to identify family processes that tend to reduce vulnerability to high-risk situations while promoting growth out of crisis. Walsh promotes two premises – the first being that we can understand the individual best when we consider the context of the family in which s/he belongs. Second, all families have the potential for resilience, in which supporters can facilitate growth through key strengths and resources in the family. That is, the individual, family, and greater society can all contribute to the success of the individual and her family (Garmezy, 1991b)**.** Yet when studying young children, the role of the family may be particularly important for additional reasons.

First, assessing young children's personal protective factors (e.g., academic self-efficacy, self-competence, etc.) may be more difficult than assessing older children, particularly prior to the start of school (Sameroff, 2006). Additionally, Sameroff, Bartko, Baldwin, Baldwin, and Seifer (1998) found that when families face severe risk, personal protective factors seem to have little effect. Finally, it has been established that younger children are most influenced by familial and societal processes (Shaw et al., 2006), thus, it is of key importance to explore familial factors in order to understand the transmission of familial processes to the child for school preparedness. Although child "outcomes" are

less evident in younger children, school readiness indicators of Black children may be a starting point with which to assess trajectories of later youth development.

The Black family. Black youth and their families have been negatively portrayed in the public imagination through both the popular press (e.g., gang-bangers) and public policy stereotypes (e.g,. "Welfare Queen" of the 1980s). Despite these early images and literature largely responsible for labeling the Black family as dysfunctional (Moynihan, 1965) and deficient (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951), Black families continue to be heterogeneous with respect to functioning and outcomes. While the family resilience literature has ballooned in the past twenty years, very little has been written about the successful outcomes of Black children (Boyd-Franklin & Karger, 2012).

Since Black children are the most likely to be exposed to poverty-related risks due to their poverty status, it would be of great importance to understand resiliency processes within their ecological contexts (e.g., micro- and macro-levels). Additional evidence, therefore, is needed to help us better understand the familial processes that contribute to desirable well-being for Black children, as the literature has largely evaluated problems with Black child externalizing behaviors and academic deficiencies (Barbarin, 1993). Furthermore, McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten, and Bowman, 2001 posit that the psychosocial adaptation hypothesis promotes resiliency through protective socio-cultural factors which can reinforce personal strengths despite chronic environmental risks. Their premise is such that beyond universal protective strengths, there are specific cultural factors (e.g., racial identity, spirituality, racial socialization, etc.) that can help to serve as a protective force in the lives of ethnic minority families. Hill (1998) also notes that

Black families have often advocated strength rather than vulnerability within their families in the face of chronic risk, which also supports Bowman's (2013) adversity paradox, noting that people can grow stronger by confronting adversity, particularly with strong support systems.

Family-level protective factors. Consistent with McLoyd's (1990) Family Stress Model and Barbarin's (1993) Family Model of Emotional Development of African American Children, socioeconomic indicators (i.e., poverty) contribute to parent functioning and processes (e.g., involvement, support, depression, etc.) which contribute to child developmental outcomes. Thus, protective processes at the familial level tend to function by way of influencing familial functioning as a mechanism (Gutman & Midgley, 2000). Indeed, a number of family level-factors (e.g., positive beliefs; McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson, & Futrell, 1995, parental expectations; Urdan, Solek, & Schoenfelder, 2007, meaning making; Patterson, 2002, positive outlook; Buikstra et al., 2010, and spirituality; Karen & Karolyn, 2013; Mattis & Mattis, 2011) have been found to promote positive academic performance (Gutman, Sameroff, & Eccles, 2002), psychological adjustment (Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, & Maton, 1999), socioemotional learning (Brown, Barbarin, & Scott, 2013) and reduce problem behaviors in youth (Weist, Freedman, Paskewitz, Proescher, & Flaherty, 1995).

Parent-child relationships. The relationship between parent and child (e.g., accord) has been shown to be especially important as a protective factor for youth and family functioning. Family systems theory posits that the whole and its parts should be interconnected and stable to promote familial well-being (Bowen, 1966). In particular,

dyadic and interactive processes from parent to child, especially when the child is young, can help to model the generational transmission of positivity regarding less-than-ideal financial circumstances (Mattis, Grayman-Simpson, Powell-Hammond, Anderson, Mattis, & Kimbro, in press).

Although it is understood that the relationship between parent and child is important, the literature on parent-child relationship is vast and diffuse (Mowder, Shamah, & Zeng, 2010), comprising elements that include attachment, communication, competence/autonomy, affection, responsivity, facilitating learning processes, sensitivity to child's interests, parental strictness, modeling, conflict-resolution, compliance, conflict/aggravation, and attitudes toward parenting (Bernstein, Hans, & Percansky, 1991; Fuligni & Eccles, 1993; Maccoby, 1994; Parker, Boak, Griffin, Ripple, & Peay, 1999). Within all of the components attributed to parent-child relationships, little attention has been focused on ways that parent-child relationships may be beneficial for the most vulnerable of families (Iruka, Burchinal, & Cai, 2010). While scholars agree that parent-child relationship can be important for successful development and entry into school, much is left to be desired regarding parent-child relationships in low-income Black families. The concern for such a unified understanding of parenting and parent-child relationships has been raised from researchers who often pointed to the inequality within environments for low-income and ethnic-minority families (Halpern, 1990; Ogbu, 1985). Scholars recognized that constructs advanced by mainstream psychology as ideal for all children may not take into consideration the contexts in which children are reared (Halpern, 1990).

The relationship between parent and child has been critical to school readiness for low-income Black children (Pinderhughes et al., 2001). Although some literature finds that Black mothers are less warm and open with their children (Jackson-Newsom, Buchanan, & McDonald, 2008), other scholars find that these ethnic differences are less likely to exist within low-income families (Hill & Tyson, 2008; Middlemiss, 2003). Nevertheless, a good relationship with at least one parent yields less conflictual relationships with others (Ingoldsby, Shaw, & Garcia, 2001), likely because affective interactions between parent and child have been found to be related to young children's ability to react empathically to the distress of others (Radke-Yarrow & Zahn-Waxler, 1990). Indeed, warm, supportive, and responsive relationships are related to a host of school readiness indicators (e.g., social skills, receptive communication skills; Connell & Prinz, 2002) and later functioning (e.g., alchohol use and sexual activity; Brody et al., 2005). For example, families report better coping when engaging in greater communication about problems adolescents face (Duckett, 2011; Smetana, 2011). Positive environments have also been linked to patterns of frontal lobe development, which is strongly implicated in executive functioning and academic preparedness (Hane & Fox, 2006). Carlson, Mandell, and Williams (2004) extend our understanding to show that aspects of parenting that impact executive functioning include sensitivity, scaffolding–or autonomy support—and the parent's ability to make connections between the mind and vocabulary. Bernier, Carlson, and Whipple (2010) replicate this finding, which held independently of maternal education.

Findings from Li and colleagues (2007) support previous studies (e.g., Barbarin, 1993; Costello, Compton, Keeler, & Angold, 2003) which suggest that protective factors such as parent-child relationship alleviate some of the risk to externalizing outcomes but are not as effective with internalizing symptoms. However, Luthar (1991) indicated that resilient children had significantly greater depression and anxiety compared to their competent peers from a low-stress background. Thus, it is of great importance to identify protective factors and mechanisms which contribute to the buffering of internalizing problems in at-risk children.

Although parenting a young child can be difficult, the parent-child relationship is often relatively less conflictual in early childhood than in adolescence, when children's autonomy increases as they attempt to navigate their world with peers and on their own (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Early socialization processes are vital for child development, given that parents are the primary source of socialization during such a malleable period (Maccoby, 1994). Maccoby (1994) notes that the study of parent-child relationship contributes to a relative advancement within the field of parenting and offers that, "however authoritative parenting is defined, and whatever the age of the child, there appears to be a common core of meaning that defines the optimal cluster, and it has to do with inducing the child into a system of reciprocity" (pg. 605). The conceptualization of parenting in a bidirectional manner has contributed to the field of parent-child relationships, so that the unidirectional assumption of parent antecedent and child outcome can be further explored. Given that the period of birth to age five results in the most rapid growth in language, cognitive, emotional, social, and regulatory abilities

(Bates et al., 2006), the developmental period leading up to school entry is full of vulnerability *and* potential.

Polansky and colleagues (1981) indicated that parents who were able to "protect" their parenting practices from the other stressors evident in their lives often had a strong dynamic of emotional support from extended family and belief systems reinforced by their own family. In such a way, the role of the macro-environment influences the micro-environment in which the child is raised by impacting parents. The literature borne out of these critical arguments rightly focused on understanding the processes relevant to families living in certain environments, such as poverty or urban locations (Aber et al., 2007; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2007; Taylor, 2011). And, while particularly insightful as to the typical trajectories associated with poverty-related stress, there has been less explanation for families that succeed in spite of their impoverished environment (Brodsky & DeVet, 2000; Brotman et al., 2011; Trask-Tate, Cunningham, & Lang-DeGrange, 2010). As an example, certain parental characteristics, such as the ability to realistically see the world yet face it in a purposeful way, have been associated with higher academically achieving students (Clark, 1984). Thus, a focus on the less understood phenomena of family resilience is warranted with a specific focus on the mechanism of parent-child relationships which may help to successfully prepare young children for their development in school.

Models. Although no model of resilience has been created for crises facing ethnic-minority families in particular, several models of resilience and family resilience have been established over the past half century. Early conceptualizations of resilience

(i.e., “The Turning Point in Family Crisis”; Hill, 1949, “Roller Coaster” model; Hill, 1958b) did not account for the dynamic processes of coping, thus, Patterson (1988) created the Family Adjustment and Adaptation Response (FAAR) Model for long-standing problems that may impact families. The FAAR model indicates that family adaptation is the result of balance between the demands that a family has (e.g., stressors and daily hassles) and the capabilities they possess (e.g., resources and coping behaviors) (see Figure 1). Furthermore, meaning making is of exceptional importance to the FAAR Model, as it depends on the parent-child relationship through a family identity and contributes to both the demands and capabilities inherent to family functioning.

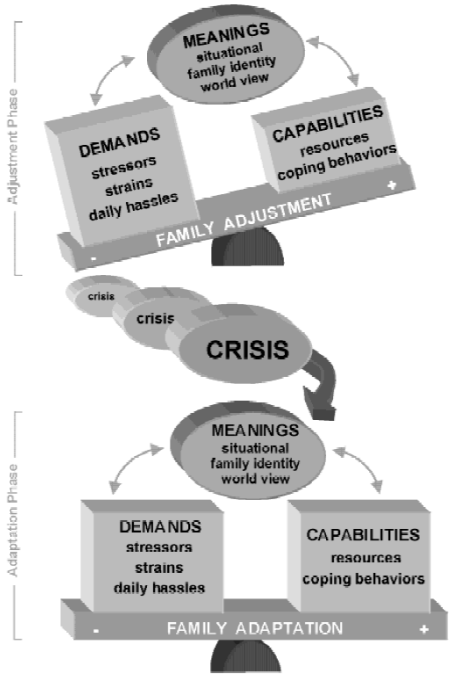

Figure 1. Patterson’s (1988) Family Adjustment and Adaptation Response (FAAR) model.

Although the FAAR Model improves upon some critiques, the framework may not represent all crises adequately. Whereas the FAAR Model is more flexible with regard to when components within the model occur, a shortcoming of the theory is that poverty, as a crisis, cannot be conceptualized as a discrete occurrence. Thus, incorporating a poverty-related model that focuses on family functioning and child development may be especially informative for poverty-related crises within family resilience.

McLoyd's (1990) Family Stress Model (FSM) conceptualizes poverty and economic loss as the precipitating factor to family functioning variables (e.g., psychological distress, parental relationships, and child socioemotional problems) (see Figure 2). Poverty is seen as a risk that produces less desirable outcomes, however, the model also incorporates moderators that are akin to protective factors within the family resilience literature (e.g., individual, familial, and societal factors). The familial and societal moderators contribute to parental psychological distress, whereas individual and societal moderators contribute to parental behaviors.

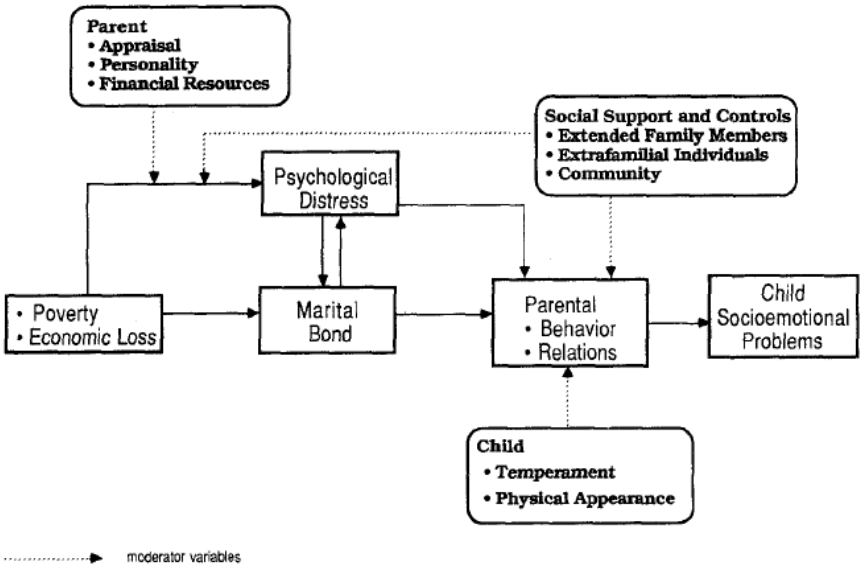

Figure 2. McLoyd's (1990) Family Stress model.

Although the demands of poverty can be overwhelming for many, there are two ways in which families can balance such risk as explained through the FAAR and FSM models. Firstly, family adjustment is conceptualized as the balance between demands and capabilities. With greater risk, demands can often seem burdensome, but access to various resources and adaptive coping mechanisms can often help families adjust to the stressors of poverty. Secondly, the meaning-making process of both the demands and capabilities helps families to adapt to the potential chronic and/or situational crises that may abound as a result of being impoverished. The meanings families apply to their current lifestyle (e.g., situational, family identity, world view, etc.) and incorporate into a parent-child relationship can help to further balance the demands and capabilities, leading to improved family adjustment. With parental "appraisal" or "meaning" making as a component of both models, it can be inferred that coping with the stressors of poverty and

communicating this sentiment to and through family members is a central element in familial resilience.

Shortcomings of Current Scholarship

Although the FSM shows the deleterious impact of poverty on families, its linear relationships to negative child outcomes does not promote the strengths that Black families may have despite their impoverished status. On the other hand, while the FAAR model provides evidence for positive psychological processes in families, questions still remain regarding the impact of poverty on financial and general stressors, given that poverty is not a time-specific crisis. Scholars have continued to conceptualize familial resilience as a pattern of disorganization, recovery, and reorganization after a crisis (Walsh, 1996). However, with poverty as a crisis, it may be especially difficult to identify the "moment of disorganization", since intergenerational transmission of poverty is evident for many low-income families. In this way, families experiencing generational or longstanding poverty may not be able to "bounce back", since there may be no "pre-crisis" functioning. On the other hand, while certain financial experiences may be particularly debilitating for low-income families (e.g., inability to pay rent/mortgage, loss of job, difficulty affording needed items), there may be some opportunity to develop strong relationships with their children in order to promote successful well-being, as evidenced by a newly emerging APRS model (Wadsworth et al., 2013). Also, considering that Black families are the most likely to live in long-standing and concentrated poverty (Darity Jr. & Nicholson, 2005), understanding mechanisms that support their resilience would be particularly beneficial.

Whereas the child development literature is replete with protective factors that contribute to child success, resilience literature has often focused on adolescent outcomes. While focusing on the adolescent is understandable in relation to "outcomes", processes between birth and five-years-old are crucial in the development of children. Thus, school preparedness could be conceptualized as an "outcome" of early childhood processes most evident in familial functioning. The desire to integrate resilience and family resilience models will help to identify familial processes important for school preparedness in young children.

Additionally, few studies examine how socioemotional characteristics are related to resilient processes. Although findings show that protective familial variables are associated with decreased children's externalizing behaviors, socioemotional learning components may provide insight to variables that are important for pro-social growth rather than anti-social problems. Given the orthogonal nature of positive youth development and psychosocial problems (Tolan, Sherrod, Gorman-Smith, & Henry, 2004; Williams, Tolan, Durkee, Francois, & Anderson, 2012), the dearth of research on child socioemotional preparedness through resilience processes may provide a different method of improving child behavior in school.

Additionally, allowing families the opportunity to openly respond to items promotes narrative sharing, a way in which researchers can better understand the beliefs families possess about their risk and protective factors and processes (Saltzman, Pynoos, Lester, Layne, & Beardslee, 2013). While quantitative data is important in predicting outcomes for youth, mixed-method studies can help us to understand the process

associated with risk, protection, and outcomes (Yoshikawa, Weisner, Kalil, & Way, 2008), since it is critical to understand how families themselves view their functioning. Researchers who come from different backgrounds from the families they study may be more likely to apply negative labels to behaviors that they do not see as normative, thus missing or misattributing factors that families may see as contributing to their positive functioning (Yasui & Dishion, 2008). Having a better understanding of how families themselves view and respond to their contexts will help researchers and practitioners design studies and interventions that are more reflective of and responsive to the needs of Black families living in highly impoverished communities (LeCuyer, Christensen, Kearney, & Kitzman, 2011). Furthermore, only one study has investigated typologies of resilient families associated with familial and child well-being (Hamilton I. McCubbin & McCubbin, 1988). This proposed study, therefore, will contribute to several areas needed to understand risk and resilience processes within an at-risk population of young Black school-age children and their families.

Taken together, there are considerable gaps in the family resilience and parent-child relationship literature for low-income Black families with regard to child academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional indicators. Such gaps require additional research through the exploration of resilience processes in a sample of Black children and their caregivers. A greater question of this study may be how can we identify and better explain, through an exploratory and mixed-methods approach, what factors influence the relationships between low-income Black parents and children which may contribute to family resilience?

The Current Study

To address the shortcomings within the poverty and family resilience literature, the current research utilizes a dataset with a mixed-methods design focusing on impoverished families within an urban southern city. The population of interest within the study were Black families with young children, thus, analyses will help to contribute to the sparse literature on school readiness indicators for younger children. Additionally, multiple methods of exploring parent and child processes in Black families will expand the small body of literature on successful Black outcomes. Indeed, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative responses may impact the way we phrase questions and lead to greater understanding of relationships between these family members. Finally, by exploring socioemotional learning as a school readiness indicator, unearthed findings regarding urban Black children's prosocial behaviors may emerge as a way to assess child well-being.

The study draws on data from the first wave (W1) of a longitudinal, mixed-methods randomized control trial of an afterschool socioemotional program in a small urban southern city. The program is a structured after-school social and emotional learning (SEL) program for children attending low-performing schools in high-risk neighborhoods. Target children were included within the study based on their poverty risk status.

Research Aims

Several aims exist for the current study to address the broader question of how low-income Black families function in relation to school readiness, namely:

1) How is parent-child relationship captured among low-income Black families within quantitative measures?
2) Does the Family Stress model—that is, a linear relationship between financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems—predict school readiness indicators (e.g., academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional readiness) in low-income Black families with school-age children?
3) Do distinct profiles of families with differential levels of risk (e.g., financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems) exist within the sample? In particular, are there families who– despite experiencing high levels of financial and personal stress–are experiencing less conflictual parent-child relationships? Do these classes differentially predict school readiness?
4) How do low-income Black families qualitatively describe their parent-child relationships?
    a. What elements of the parent-child relationship emerge from parent interviews?
    b. How do these elements map onto, and differ from, the elements/constructs assessed by the parent-child relationship quantitative variables?
5) Do the elements of parent-child relationships that emerge from interviews differ across parents in LCA groups?

Hypotheses

RQ1) I hypothesize that, similar to other families, ceiling effects (or high means for positively-valenced scales) and floor effects (or low means for negatively-valenced scales) with limited variability will be evident within measures of parent-child relationships, while more variability will be evident in conflictual relationships. Given that parents may engage in social desirability or positive impression management—as do most parents for self-reported parenting measures (Morsbach & Prinz, 2006)—I believe that scales assessing positive behaviors will be relatively high scoring with low variability. In other words, I predict that parents will be less likely to report negative parent-child relationships, particularly in terms of reporting on whether or not they feel close to their child, due to the social pressure for positive parent-child relationships.

R2) I hypothesize that the Family Stress model will be supported within this sample for the parent- and teacher-reported psychosocial and socioemotional measures as well as for the child-assessed academic measures.

R3) Given the dearth of literature that conceptualizes the relationship between the familial risk variables in tandem, the present study does not make a priori hypotheses for the composition of classes based on financial, general, and parent-child relationships, nor on their prediction of school readiness indicators. I hope to contribute to our understanding of resilient profiles of families through these analyses.

R4 and R5) Given the nature of qualitative research and data analysis, a priori hypotheses were not made for these qualitative research questions.

Method

The study addresses five aims through the use of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data were used to examine how familial factors (e.g., financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationships) were associated for impoverished urban Black families. The mixed methods and qualitative data were used to identify how parent-child relationships were talked about by parents in interviews and whether these elements differed from the quantitative findings and/or by typology.

Participants

The participants in this study were 126 Black caregivers and their 127 children (one parent had two children in the study). Children who were eligible for the program and whose families a) wanted to enroll their children in the program, and b) agreed to be part of the study, were randomized into either the treatment group or the control group. Within the sample of Black families in W1, there were 74 (58%) children randomly assigned to the treatment group, 45 (35%) assigned to the control group, and eight (6%) not randomized to any group. Both treatment and control families were included in the sample for this study and, as they all participated in the same data collection methods and the intervention was not germane to my research questions, no distinctions were made between the two groups for this study.

Quantitative sample. Of the 142 total children within the study, approximately 89% (N = 127) were identified as Black/African American (henceforth referred to as Black), while the other 11% were identified as Hispanic (N = 10), Caucasian (N = 4), or Other (N = 1). For this study, only the families who identified their children as Black were included. Table 1 provides the demographic information for these study

participants. Data collection included 127 school age children (*M*age = 5.43, *SD* = .32, range = 4.5-6 years), including 72 girls (57%) and 55 boys (43%), and their primary caregivers. The vast majority of parents were female (93.7%, *N* = 119) and ranged in age from 21-76 years (*M*age = 32.56, *SD* = 9.23). Of the parents, approximately two-thirds (66.1%) completed high school or an equivalent educational program. With respect to income, 96.8% of the sample (*N* = 120) had children who received free or reduced lunches at school and 102 participants (80.3%) reported receiving additional public assistance (e.g., temporary assistance for needy families; TANF).

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Primary Caregiver (PC) and Study Child (*N* = 127)

Variable	*n*	%	*M*	*SD*
Child Age			5.43	.32
Child Sex				
Male	55	43.3		
Female	72	56.7		
Child Intervention Status				
Treatment	45	35.4		
Control	74	58.3		
Not Randomized	8	6.3		
Child Free/Reduced Lunch Status				
Yes	120	96.8		
No	4	3.2		
PC Age			32.56	9.23
PC Sex				

Male	8	6.3
Female	119	93.7
PC Educational Attainment		
Partial HS/Less	26	21.5
Completed HS/Equivalent	54	44.6
Some College/Tech or More	41	33.9
PC Additional Public Assistance		
Yes	102	80.3
No	25	19.7

Although neighborhood characteristics were not collected via quantitative measurement, qualitative interviews with parents did provide a sense of the environments in which the families in the samples live and indicated that for many families, neighborhood safety was an issue. One mother shared a sentiment echoed by the vast majority of parents throughout the qualitative interviews regarding neighborhood safety:

> Interviewer [I]: What kinds of challenges are faced by families in your neighborhood, if any?
>
> Respondent [R]: I would say having positive things for the young people to do. Parents not always outside with their children and not always aware of their kids, their children, and what their children are doing once they're out…You know, because, there are sometimes things do happen and you hear things that's going on…And a lot of times I don't really let my children go out very long, especially in the evening. In the evening times they don't get to go out at all. By the time we get in I'm like "Okay, you have to get ready for bed." Now on the weekends, I am concerned about letting them out and around in the neighborhood for a long period of time, because I'm kinda concerned about what they might be getting into or who might be influencing them…Cause a lot of times there's a group of kids that just out and they just have each other to learn from and they're all in the same boat…

Of the 39 parent interviews conducted, neighborhood safety and financial stressors were evident in over half. These challenges are presented, along with the supporting data, in more depth in Results II.

Qualitative sample. A sample of 46 children was drawn from the larger, randomized sample to be part of the qualitative family interview part of the study. Twenty-three children were randomly selected from the treatment group (28% of the treatment group) and 23 children were randomly selected from the control group (40% of the control group). Of these families, 38 of the caregivers agreed to be interviewed. In addition, six children were purposefully selected. These children were selected as potentially information-rich cases based on the experiences of project staff with the children's families. In total, 41 children's caregivers were interviewed, in which 95% (*N* = 39) of the caregivers were female. From this sample, only those families of children who were identified as Black were included, yielding a total of 39 families and 40 target children.

Context. Students at the schools within the particular city are exposed to high levels of academic, economic, and social risk. The schools serviced by the program are at great risk for academic problems, such that a great deal of students do not meet statewide proficiency standards in reading (42%), writing (52%), math (50%), and science (65%). Problems appear to be related to later achievement, in that only 34% of students from the program schools graduated from high school in 2007-2008, as compared to the national average of 73%. The vast majority (>90%) of students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch. Although many indicators of poverty exist, families within this city have a

median family income that is just over half the national average, that is, $39,653 compared to $63,211. With regard to relative poverty indicators, therefore, these families are considered impoverished by national standards. Within the sample, 72 caregivers (57%) indicated being the only caregiver within the home.

Procedure

The sample of interest is the first cohort of a three-cohort, block randomized control trial (RCT). Youth were recruited through a lottery system at each of four schools in the city. Within each school, 24 kindergartners (12 boys and 12 girls) were randomly assigned to gender-separated "nests" from among a list of entering at-risk kindergartners enrolled by their caregivers. Additional strategies were employed to ensure satisfactory participation, including opportunities for enrollment at spring kindergarten registration and fall kindergarten orientation, and sending program materials and enrollment forms home with parents on the first day of Kindergarten. There was no cost associated with the program, and children were provided snacks and/or meals, transportation, and structured activities throughout the program until 6 p.m.

Data were collected through several methods. Children were directly assessed on academic measures at an evaluation camp held throughout the summers. Child evaluation times varied, but were typically no longer than one hour total. Additionally, caregivers met with interviewers to complete a series of close-ended questions and instruments assessing various family level factors (e.g., family socioeconomic indicators, household structure), parent-child relationships, and child psychosocial and socioemotional functioning. These interviews are subsequently referred to as the parent quantitative

interviews. Caregivers received $40 gift cards for completed quantitative interviews. If families were unavailable for testing throughout the summer, the research team collected measures in the fall at school for the child and at a convenient location for the caregiver. Teachers also provided assessments of child performance through questionnaires and were compensated with $10 gift cards for completed surveys. Finally, during the fall, researchers met with caregivers who were part of the qualitative interview sample. Interviews lasted approximately one hour and were focused on better understanding the family characteristics and home experiences of all children in the study and the after school experiences of children who were not randomly assigned to the program. Caregivers received $40 gift cards for completed qualitative interviews.

Measures

All measures can be found in the Appendix. Please see Table 2 for a summary of all measures.

Table 2
Summary of Study Variables

Construct	**Measure**	**Level**	**Type of measure**	**Reporter/ Source**
	Predictor variables			
1. Financial Stress	Financial Strain (Kessler, Turner, & House, 1988; Vinokur & Caplan, 1987)	Parent	Quantitative Interview	Parent
2. Perceived Stress	Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen, Kamrack, & Mermelstein, 1983)	Parent	Quantitative Interview	Parent
3. Parent-Child Relationship Problems	Parent-Child Relationship (unauthored)	Family	Quantitative Interview	Parent

Construct	Measure	Level	Type of measure	Reporter/ Source
4. Parent-Child Relationship	Child Parent Relationship Scale (Pianta, 1992)	Family	Quantitative Interview	Parent
5. Parent-Child Relationship	Interview item	Family	Qualitative Interview	Parent
6. Family Challenges	Interview item	Family	Qualitative Interview	Parent
7. Does not like about neighborhood	Interview item	Parent	Qualitative Interview	Parent
8. Challenges faced by families in neighborhood	Interview item	Parent	Qualitative Interview	Parent
9. Family joys	Interview item	Family	Qualitative Interview	Parent
10. Who child consistently spends time with	Interview item	Family	Qualitative Interview	Parent
11. Who child occasionally spends time with	Interview item	Family	Qualitative Interview	Parent
12. Likes about neighborhood	Interview item	Parent	Qualitative Interview	Parent
13. Community resources	Interview item	Family	Qualitative Interview	Parent
14. How far child goes in school	Interview item	Parent	Qualitative Interview	Parent
15. How far child goes in school else disappointed	Interview item	Parent	Qualitative Interview	Parent
16. How much is school related to success in life	Interview item	Parent	Qualitative Interview	Parent
17. How much influence on academic achievement	Interview item	Parent	Qualitative Interview	Parent
	Dependent variables			
	Overall school readiness			
1. School readiness	Transition to Kindergarten	Child	Questionnaire	Teacher

Construct	Measure	Level	Type of measure	Reporter/ Source
	(Rimm-Kaufman, Pianta, & Cox, 2000)			
		Academic		
1. Verbal Comprehension	Differential Abilities Scale – II (DAS-II; Elliott, 2007)	Child	Direct Assessment	Child
2. Naming Vocabulary	Differential Abilities Scale – II (DAS-II; Elliott, 2007)	Child	Direct Assessment	Child
3. Letter-Word Identification	Woodcock-Johnson-III Achievement (WJ-III; Woodcock, McGrew, & Mather, 2001)	Child	Direct Assessment	Child
4. Applied Problems	Woodcock-Johnson-III Achievement (WJ-III; Woodcock, McGrew, & Mather, 2001)	Child	Direct Assessment	Child
		Psychosocial		
1. Externalizing	Social Skills Improvement System (SSIS; Gresham & Elliott, 2008)	Child	Quantitative Interview	Parent & Teacher
2. Internalizing	Social Skills Improvement System (SSIS; Gresham & Elliott, 2008)	Child	Quantitative Interview	Parent & Teacher
		Socioemotional		
1. Self-awareness	Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA; (LeBuffe, Shapiro, & Naglieri, 2009)	Child	Quantitative Interview	Parent & Teacher
2. Social awareness	Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA; (LeBuffe et al., 2009)	Child	Quantitative Interview	Parent & Teacher
3. Decision-making	Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA; (LeBuffe et al.,	Child	Quantitative Interview	Parent & Teacher

Construct	Measure	Level	Type of measure	Reporter/ Source
	2009)			
4. Self-management	Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA; (LeBuffe et al., 2009)	Child	Quantitative Interview	Parent & Teacher
5. Relationship skills	Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA; (LeBuffe et al., 2009)	Child	Quantitative Interview	Parent & Teacher

Quantitative. *Anticipated risks.* Financial stress was measured through Financial Strain (Kessler, Turner, & House, 1988; Vinokur & Caplan, 1987) and based on the answers to three questions with a 5-point rating scale (e.g., "How difficult is it for you to live on your total household income right now?"). A response of "1" indicated *not at all difficult* and ranged to a response of "5" which was *very difficult*. Caregivers could also indicate that they did not know or would prefer not to answer. High reliability for the three items has been established ($\alpha = .90$).

Caregiver's perceived stress was assessed by the 14-item Perceived Stress Scale (PSS; Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983), which evaluated caregivers' thoughts and feelings throughout the past month. Caregivers responded to items (e.g., "In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?") with a response of "1" (*never)* to "5" (*very often*). Caregivers could also indicate that they did not know or would prefer not to answer. Average internal reliability has been established for the PSS in prior research ($\alpha = .78$, Cohen & Williamson, 1988).

The relationship between parent and child was assessed through the Child-Parent Relationship Scale (CPRS; Pianta, 1992). Caregivers assessed the quality of relationship with the target child on a Likert-type scale (1-5), indicating *definitely does not apply* to *definitely applies* to 15 items (e.g., "I share an affectionate, warm relationship with my child"). The *Conflict* and *Closeness* subscales were utilized within the measure. Reliability has been demonstrated to vary in a large sample of children ($n > 700$) for the Closeness ($\alpha = .69$) and Conflict ($\alpha = .84$) subscales (Pianta, 1998). Caregivers also responded to the Parent-Child Relationship/Parenting Stress measure (PCR; compiled for the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten; ECLS-K). The 13-item scale measuring parent and child conflict (e.g., "I am usually too busy to joke and play around with [CHILD].") ranged from "1" (*not at all true*) to "4" (*completely true*), and caregivers could also indicate that they did not know or would prefer not to answer. Validity information was not available for this scale.

Overall school readiness. The target child was assessed by her teacher in the Transition to Kindergarten Questionnaire (TKQ; Rimm-Kaufman, Pianta, & Cox, 2000). The 11-item measure assesses teacher's impressions of children's adjustment during the first three weeks of school. Items range from "1" (No, not at all true) to "5" (Yes, very true) and have a "Not observed/applicable" option as well (e.g., "This child has shown difficulty working as part of a group."). The questionnaire assessed components of academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional functioning as measures of school readiness. Validity information was not available for this scale.

Academic. The target child was directly assessed for academic readiness with the Woodcock-Johnson-III Tests of Achievement (WJ-III; Woodcock, McGrew, & Mather, 2001) to assess Reading skills through the *Letter-Word Identification* subtests and Mathematics skills through the *Applied Problems* subtest. As an example, the word "red" may be presented in print, and the administrator would ask the child "What does this word say?" The WJ-III is a widely used, individually administered assessment battery that measures general cognitive abilities and achievement in individuals from age two through adulthood, providing standardized performance relative to his/her same-age population. Subtests demonstrate high internal reliability and acceptable validity. Additionally, children were administered the Differential Abilities Scales-II (DAS-II; Elliott, 2007) for measurement of Verbal skills through the *Verbal Comprehension* and *Naming Vocabulary* subtests. As an example, a child may be asked to look through toys and present the administrator with the requested item (e.g., a watch). The DAS-II is a comprehensive clinical instrument that assesses cognitive abilities important to learning that has demonstrated very high reliability in various populations ($\alpha > .90$).

Psychosocial. Caregivers and teachers were asked about children's problem behaviors through the Social Skills Improvement System (SSIS; Gresham & Elliott, 2008). Specifically, the *Internalizing* and *Externalizing* scales within Competing Problem Behaviors were utilized. Adults were asked items like, "Acts sad or depressed?" on a scale of "1" (Never) to "4" (Almost Always) with a Don't Know and Refuse response option as well. Internal consistency reliability has been demonstrated to be high ($\alpha > .80$), as has inter-rater reliability ($\alpha > .70$). The SSIS also has a large correlation ($r > .47$) with

other established measures of social skills, such as the previous version of this measure (SSRS) and the Behavior Assessment System for Children (BASC-2).

Socioemotional. The Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA; LeBuffe et al., 2009) was administered to caregivers and teachers to assess the social-emotional competencies of the target children. The 45-item (e.g., "During the past 4 weeks, how often did the child cope well with insults and mean comments?") measure ranged from "1" (*never*) to "5" (*very frequently*). The five standard components of SEL were evaluated through the *Self-Awareness, Social Awareness, Decision-Making, Self-Management,* and *Relationship Skills* scales. Internal reliability for caregiver report has been shown to be good for each subscale (αs > .80) and for the SEL composite (α = .98).

Qualitative. During qualitative interviews, caregivers were asked a series of open-ended questions about the focal child, other children in the family, and their family life in general. General questions about family life included questions such as a timeline, in which caregivers described a typical day in their family. In addition to such general questions, there were a number of questions which were specifically designed to elicit potential risk and promotive factors.

Caregivers were asked about potential risks encountered within the family. Questions such as "*What are the biggest challenges faced by your family*?" and "*Has your family had any major events happen within the last year*?" Caregivers were also asked about neighborhood-level stressors. Items assessing environmental risks include "*What things do you dislike about your neighborhood, if anything*?" and "*What kinds of challenges are faced by families in your neighborhood, if any*?"

Caregivers were also asked about possible protective factors for children. These items included questions about the parent-child relationship ("*How would you describe your relationship with [CHILD]*?"), familial joys ("*What are the biggest joys in your family*?"), and parental beliefs and expectations around education ("*How far do you hope your child will go in school?*", "*How far do you expect him/her to go, at a minimum, otherwise you would be disappointed?*", "*How much do you think going far in school is related to being successful in life?*", and "*How much influence, if any, do you feel you have over your child's academic achievement*?").

Additional items assessed routines ("*Who does the child spend time with every week when they are not in school*?" and "*Are there other people in the child's life who they don't spend time with on a weekly basis but are still important who [have not been discussed]*"?) and community resources ("*What things do you like about your neighborhood*?" and "*What kinds of things are there for kids to do in your neighborhood (for example, parks, after-school centers, programs run by churches, etc.)*?").

Data Analyses

A mixed-methods analytical technique was employed for the current study. Per the typologies constructed by Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009), the current investigation utilizes both a partially-mixed concurrent equal status design (i.e., QUAN + QUAL) as well as a partially-mixed sequential status design (i.e., QUAN → QUAL). The QUAN + QUAL design acknowledges that not every participant in the quantitative sample was interviewed for the qualitative assessment (e.g., partially-mixed) and that both quantitative and qualitative interviews took place at approximately the same time.

Furthermore, qualitative assessments were coded prior to analyzing the quantitative data, thus, within research questions 1, 2, 3, and 4, a concurrent analytic technique was employed. For research question 5, however, a sequential, or QUAN → QUAL approach, was employed which incorporated the latent classification derived from research question 3 in the comparison of codes found in the qualitative interviews.

1) *How is parent-child relationship captured among low-income Black families within quantitative measures?*

Internal reliability was assessed on the two quantitative measures of parent-child relationship while using item-deletion estimation in order to assess if individual items seem to be less related to others within a scale. I also utilized confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) to assess the psychometric properties of the scales and/or factors within the study. The goal was to identify whether the measures—when used with low-income African American populations—were consistent with normed samples and whether both or either provide more variability for use with latent class analyses.

2) *Does the Family Stress model—that is, a linear relationship between financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship—predict school readiness indicators (e.g., academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional readiness) in low-income Black families with school-age children?*

I utilized structural equation modeling (SEM) in MPlus 7.0 to detect the direct and indirect relationships between financial stress, general stress, parent-child relationships, and school readiness indicators. Model fit and confidence intervals were used to assess whether the constructs were adequately and significantly related to each

other. The goal was to understand how family functioning variables and school readiness variables related to each other within this particular sample.

3) *Do distinct profiles of families with differential levels of risk (e.g., financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems) exist within the sample? In particular, are there families, who–despite experiencing high levels of financial and personal stress–are experiencing less conflictual parent-child relationships? Do these classes differentially predict school readiness?*

In this person-centered analysis, I used Latent Class Analysis (LCA) in MPlus 7.0 to examine potential classes of individual families who share common characteristics of financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationships. LCA is a mixture model which explains relationships among variables through latent classes (Muthén & Muthén, 2007). Given that various classes were discovered, differences in class membership were evaluated with respect to the predictor variables as well as the school readiness variables by analyses of variance (ANOVAs). The goal was to understand whether profiles of resilient families emerge in spite of the potential linear relationships shown in RQ2.

4) *How do low-income Black families qualitatively describe their parent-child relationships?*

    a. *What elements of the parent-child relationship emerge from parent interviews?*

NVivo 10.0 qualitative analysis software was used to content code several major themes including family activities, after-school experiences, child characteristics,

community resources, home and family, and education. Initial analyses included both researcher generated and emergent codes (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Marshall & Rossman, 2010; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The former came from the research literature, based on constructs identified as important in prior research on SEL and after-school programs (e.g., parental beliefs and expectations about education; family routines). The latter are codes which emerged from the data during the analysis process (e.g., transportation, church, etc.).

Throughout the initial round of coding, or Phase I, codes were defined and agreed upon by members of the research team, which included a total of six faculty and graduate level research assistants. The process of code development included all members of the team coding the same section of data using a start-list of codes. Research team meetings were used to discuss the coding structure and determine when and where adjustments needed to be made. Adjustments involved merging codes that were determined to be conceptually indistinct, splitting one code into two smaller codes if it was conceptually too broad, and moving "free nodes" (stand-alone codes) into "tree nodes" (hierarchical coding structures that represent relationships between a group of codes). Inter-coder reliability was checked to ensure consistent coding. Codes were also added to the initial list of start codes when new themes emerged from the data.

For coding germane to this study, or Phase II, content coded as *Parent-Child relationship* from Phase I was analyzed, and themes and codes related to parent-child relationship were added and removed based on ongoing analyses as well as additional literature review which arose as new themes emerged from the data via discovery

research (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Phase II was conducted by the primary investigator and a faculty supervisor. The focus of this analysis was to identify factors that families talked about related to the processes and behaviors within parent and child relationships. In addition to specific factors, the structure and content of family narratives (e.g., McAdams, 2004) was also to be examined. For example, the theme of resilience emerged from the initial data analysis, which showed how families constructed narratives which turned potentially negative events (e.g., losing a job) into positive events (e.g., I wound up getting a better job).

Coding was conducted blindly with respect to various LCA classifications. After conducting an initial review of the interviews, 68 codes were produced using both the literature as a starting point and an approach based on grounded theory techniques (Corbin & Strauss, 2007) where the data provided the context for emerging codes. Given that closeness and conflict have been found to be important elements of parent-child relationships, interview content that mapped on to these constructs were coded within the over-arching codes, however, content that described aspects of the relationship outside of closeness and conflict were allowed to emerge and supplement the codes. Content was exhaustively coded, that is, multiple codes could be applied to the same interview excerpt. The first author and supervisor who is an expert in qualitative methods and familiar with the data met regularly to discuss emergent codes and look at the data and the coding structure. The two researchers conducted a reliability check on the codes, after which codes were consolidated and reorganized to produce the structure found in the qualitative section (see Table 8 in Results II).

b. *How do these elements map onto, and differ from, the elements/constructs assessed by the parent-child relationship quantitative variables?*

Constructs within the parent-child relationship quantitative measures were isolated and qualitatively reviewed for conceptual overlap or differences with the constructs identified by parents in the qualitative interviews.

5) *Do the elements of parent-child relationships that emerge from interviews differ across parents in LCA groups?*

Data were analyzed for the occurrence and co-occurrence of codes across families with membership in different profiles, as classified in RQ3. Latent class membership was entered as an attribute of families within the study, allowing for comparison of the occurrence and meaning of themes across families within different profiles. Comparative techniques were employed to see whether families who had varying levels of financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationships describe their relationships, routines, and family practices differently within their interviews. This process was enhanced by the use of NVivo 10.0 software that allowed for multiple types of searches of the data corpus, from simple word searches, to Boolean searches, to complex Matrix searches involving multiple combinations of codes and contexts.

Results I

Study Variables

Table 3 provides the correlations, means, and standard deviations for all the study variables. Participants reported that they had little financial strain (M = 2.02, SD = .85)

and almost never or sometimes experienced stress (*M* = 2.65, *SD* = .55). Parents also indicated that it was not at all to somewhat true that they experienced problems with their children (*M* = 1.42, *SD* = .37). As a trend, parents reported that their children had fewer psychological problems (*M* = 1.62, *SD* = .38) and more socioemotional skills (*M* = 4.15, *SD* = .52) than teachers reported the children as having (*M* = 2.93, *SD* = .64; *M* = 3.70, *SD* = .72, respectively). Teachers also indicated that it was not very true that children were having difficulty with overall school readiness (*M* = 2.00, *SD* = .94). Student's academic scores reflected slightly below average performance in applied problems (*M* = 93.70, *SD* = 10.86; *T*score = 100), letter writing identification (*M* = 98.82, *SD* = 11.80; *T*score = 100), verbal comprehension (*M* = 44.01, *SD* = 6.49; *T*score = 50), and naming vocabulary (*M* = 45.16, *SD* = 7.69; *T*score = 50).

Table 3

Correlations, Means, SDs, and Internal Validity among Study Variables (*N* = 127)

Variable	1 FS	2 GS	3 PCR	4 AR	5 PR	6 SR	7 PR-T	8 SR-T	9 OSR-T
1	--	.521**	.326**	-.119	.196*	-.170	-.082	-.180	.169
2		--	.518**	-.111	.445**	-.244**	-.191*	-.206*	.207*
3			--	-.060	.462**	-.415**	-.070	-.093	.139
4				--	-.253**	.025	.338**	.444**	-.471**
5					--	-.503**	-.352**	-.348**	.464**
6						--	.191*	.120	-.155
7							--	.590**	-.627**
8								--	-.751**
9									--
M	2.02	2.65	1.42	.00^	1.62	4.15	2.93	3.70	2.00
SD	.85	.55	.37	.69	.38	.52	.64	.72	.94
Range	1.00-5.00	1.50-4.14	1.00-2.77	-2.05-1.79	1.04-2.65	2.46-5.00	1.04-4.00	2.00-4.98	1.00-5.00
α	.727	.830	.730	-	-	-	-	-	.926

Note. 1= financial stress (FS), 2 = general stress (GS), 3 = parent-child relationship problems (PCR), 4 = academic readiness (AR), 5 = psychological readiness (PR), 6 = socioemotional readiness (SR), 7 = psychological readiness - teacher (PR-T), 8 = socioemotional readiness – teacher (SR-T), and 9 = overall school readiness – teacher (OSR-T).

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

- denotes unavailable statistic.

^denotes standardized score due to differential scores within measures.

In general, risk variables (financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems) were positively and significantly correlated to each other. After testing to see whether individual subscales operated similarly to aggregated subscales, composite scores were created for academic (i.e., letter-word identification, naming vocabulary, applied problems, and verbal comprehension), psychosocial (i.e., internalizing and externalizing problems) and socioemotional measures (i.e., social awareness, decision making, relationship skills, self-awareness, and self-management). Parental responses to socioemotional well-being (i.e., DESSA) and psychosocial problems (i.e., SSIS) measures were significantly related to each other, such that the DESSA and SSIS were negatively related. Parental general stress was associated with the majority of the study variables in the expected direction, such that socioemotional indicators were negatively related and psychosocial indicators were positively related. None of the parental risk factors were associated with academic skills, and parent-child relationship problems were only related to parent-reported psychosocial and socioemotional readiness and not teacher-reported scales.

Interestingly, teacher's SSIS responses were significantly negatively related to parents SSIS responses, while the teacher responses to the DESSA were not correlated to parental responses. Additionally, teacher's perceptions of Kindergarten readiness (i.e., TKQ) were positively related to parent's SSIS scores and negatively related to teacher's SSIS scores. Given that the literature supports disparate scores between parents and teachers with regard to school readiness indicators (Doyle, Finnegan, & McNamara, 2010), as does the data in the given study regarding the perception of child school

readiness via psychosocial and socioemotional outcomes, models for subsequent analyses explored parent and teacher scores separately.

Research Question 1

How is parent-child relationship captured among low-income Black families within quantitative measures?

-Hypothesis: Similar to studies with other families, ceiling effects, or high means (for positively-valenced scales) with limited variability, will be evident within measures of parent-child relationships, while more variability will be evident in conflictual relationships.

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted on both the conflict and closeness subscales for the CPRS-Short Form in MPlus 7.0. The Cronbach's alpha for conflict was lower than previous reliability studies ($\alpha = .771$ relative to $\alpha = .820$), as was the alpha for the closeness subscale ($\alpha = .545$ relative to $\alpha = .69$) (Driscoll & Pianta, 2011; Pianta, 1992). Indicators of good model to data fit were based on Comparative Fit Index (CFI) values greater than or equal to .95, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) values equal to or less than .06, and Standardized Root Mean Residual (SRMR) values equal to or less than .08 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The CFA results revealed that the subscales provided a poor fit to the data [$p < .001$; CFI = .74; RMSEA = .09; SRMR = .11].

Three modifications were suggested from the analytic program for improved model fit, although one was statistically inappropriate, that is, a correlation was suggested across factors and was subsequently dismissed (i.e., "My child is uncomfortable with

physical affection or touch" from the conflict subscale and "If upset, my child will seek comfort from me" from the closeness subscale). Interestingly, however, the modification does represent a theoretically appropriate relationship between physical discipline and warmth within Black families (LeCuyer et al., 2011). The other two modifications suggested correlating items within the closeness subscales (i.e., "I share an affectionate warm relationship with my child" with "If upset, my child will seek comfort from me" and "My child values his/her relationship with me" and "When I praise my child, he/she beams with pride"). Given that the suggestions were theoretically similar (e.g., warmth/comfort and dynamic/dyadic relationships), modifications were tested individually. After implementing both modifications, model fit was still unacceptable relative to the above standards [χ^2 (103, N = 127) = 183.08, p < .001; CFI = .80; RMSEA = .08; SRMR = .10].

The CFA for the PCR was conducted on the single factor of discipline, warmth, and emotional supportiveness. Cronbach's alpha for the factor was within acceptable limits (α = .730; Kline, 1999), although a comparison cannot be drawn to normed samples due to lack of validity data from the creators of the scale. With regard to model fit, the CFA revealed a poor fit to the data [p < .001; CFI = .64; RMSEA = .10; SRMR = .09]. Four modifications were suggested, each of which contributed to the creation of a second factor which comprised the positively-worded affect-related items relative to the nine negatively-worded stress-related items (i.e., "{CHILD} and I often have warm, close times together", "Most of the time I feel that {CHILD} likes me and wants to be near me", "Even when I'm in a bad mood, I show {CHILD} a lot of love", and "I express

affection by hugging, kissing, and holding {CHILD}"). Although implementing the modifications resulted in better fit [χ^2 (91, N = 127) = 390.01, p < .001; CFI = .82; RMSEA = .07; SRMR = .10], they were still unacceptable relative to the standards recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999). Given that the modifications did not result in acceptable fit for either measure, the modifications were removed from further analyses. While neither parent-child relationship measure fit the data within the recommended standard of α <.70, the PCR, as a single scale, had higher internal validity than the closeness subscale of the CPRS and provided the greatest variance in order to create latent classifications and compare qualitatively for remaining research questions. Thus, the PCR was retained as a measure of parent perceptions of parent-child relationships and parenting practices in subsequent quantitative analyses.

Summary. Overall, measures of relationships between children and parents (i.e., CPRS and PCR) within a low-income African American sample provided little variance and had relatively low Cronbach αs. Although statistical modifications were suggested for improved data fit within both measures, neither set of modifications resulted in acceptable fit statistics. Parent-child relationships were explored with PCR and through mixed methods to glean a more accurate understanding from low-income Black families of their relationships.

Research Question 2

Does the Family Stress model—that is, a linear relationship between financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems—predict school readiness

indicators (e.g., academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional readiness) in low-income Black families with school-age children?

-Hypothesis: The Family Stress model will be supported within this sample on the psychosocial and socioemotional indicators reported by parents and teachers as well as for the directly-assessed academic indicators.

Internal reliability was conducted on all study variables prior to conducting the Structural Equation Model (SEM) for predictor and response variables (please see Table 3). All of the variables were within acceptable limits (i.e., $\alpha s > .70$), with the exception of SSII-Internalizing ($\alpha = .638$) and DESSA-Social Awareness ($\alpha = .653$). Additionally, the WJ-Applied Problems, WJ-Letter Word Identification, and DAS-Verbal Comprehension assessments had too few cases for reliability to be generated.

With regard to the conceptual framework based on McLoyd's (1990) Family Stress model, financial stress (FS) was conceptualized as the primary predictor, general stress (GS) was a subsequent predictor, and parent-child relationship problems (PCR) was entered as a final predictor. Further, each risk variable was allowed to predict the other risk variables and the outcome variables, which were correlated to each other. Figures 3 and 4 display the conceptual models for the predictor variables as well as the school readiness outcome variables by reporter.

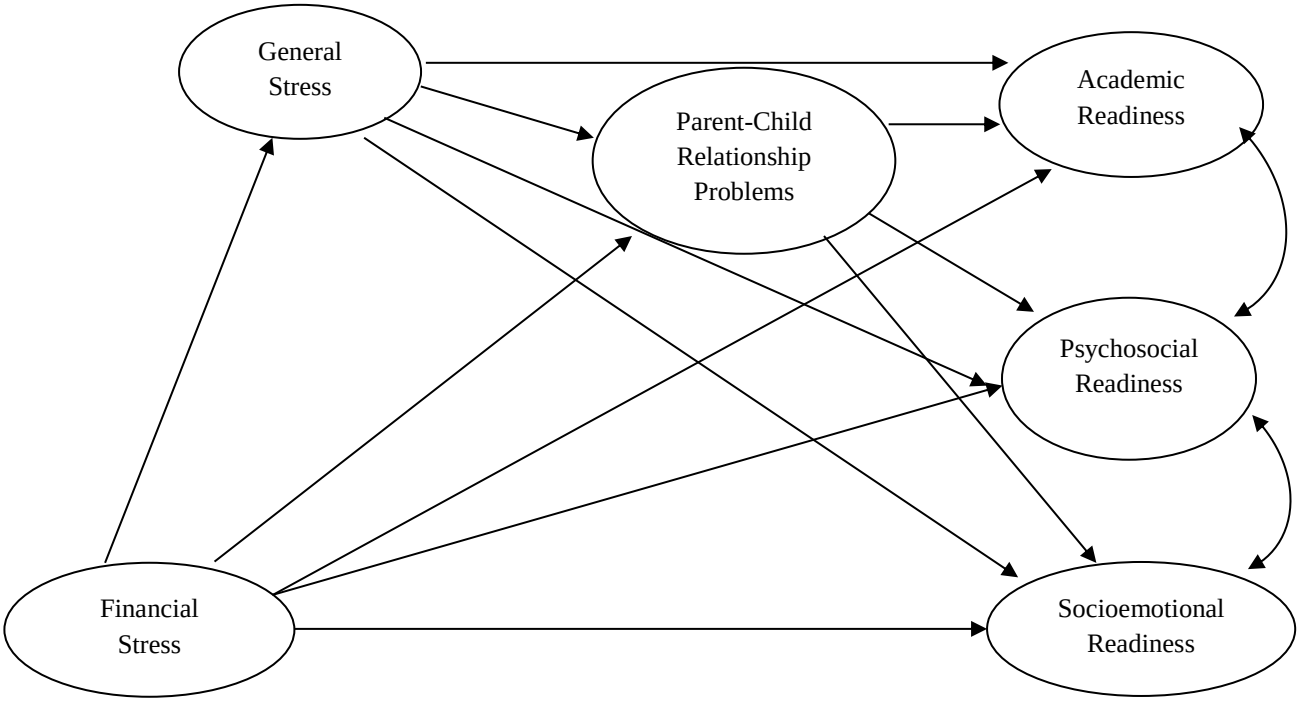

Figure 3. Study conceptual model of parent-reported child variables.

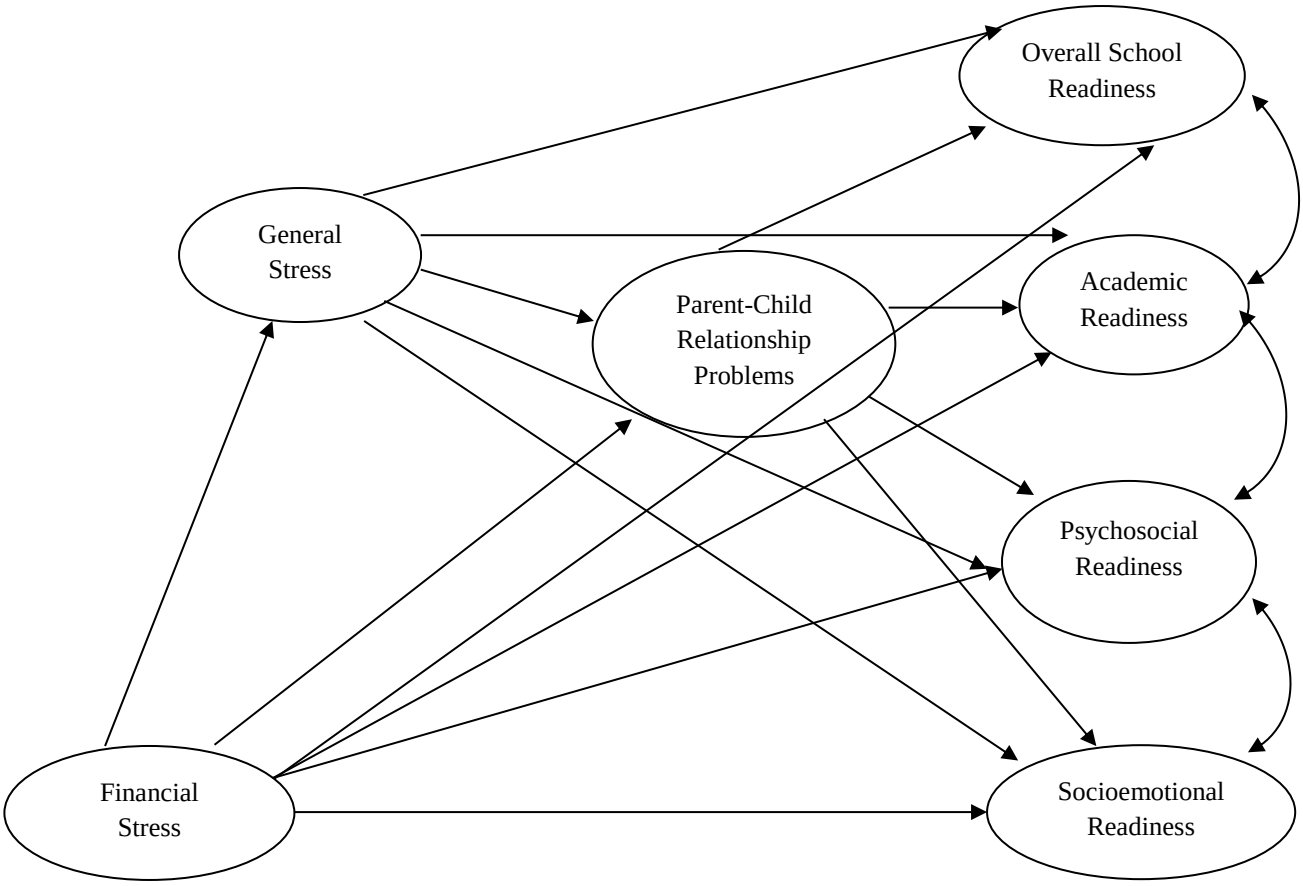

Figure 4. Study conceptual model of teacher-reported child variables.

Model-Fit. Analyses were conducted with a 500-iteration bootstrap technique with centered variables. Model fit was acceptable for the hypothesized parent model [$p <$ .01; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .06; SRMR = .06], however, several paths were found to be non-significant. After paths were subsequently removed, the reduced model demonstrated worse fit [χ^2 (91, N = 127) = 791.50, $p <$ .01; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .06; SRMR = .07], thus, the original hypothesized parent model was retained for further analyses. With regard to the hypothesized teacher model, model fit was close to acceptable standards [p

< .001; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .09; SRMR = .04]. However, the removal of non-significant pathways would be atheoretical given that the parental risk variables were not associated with three of the four outcome variables. Thus, the hypothesized teacher model was also retained for subsequent analyses.

Direct and indirect effects. The direct relationship between risk variables and child outcomes was tested. For the parent-reported model, the direct relationships between financial stress and general stress (β = .34, p < .001) and general stress and parent-child relationship (β = .32, p < .001) were significant. Financial stress, however, did not yield significant associations with any school readiness variables (ps > .05). General parent stress was a significant predictor of child psychological problems only (β = .27, p < .01), while parent-child relationship was a significant predictor of psychological problems (β = .38, p < .01) and socioemotional skills (β = -.48, p < .01). Psychosocial and socioemotional readiness were significantly correlated (β = -.08, p < .001). Academic readiness was not associated with any of the parental risk variables, nor socioemotional readiness, although it was marginally correlated with psychosocial problems (β = -45, p = .06). See Figure 5 for significant associations and standardized pathways.

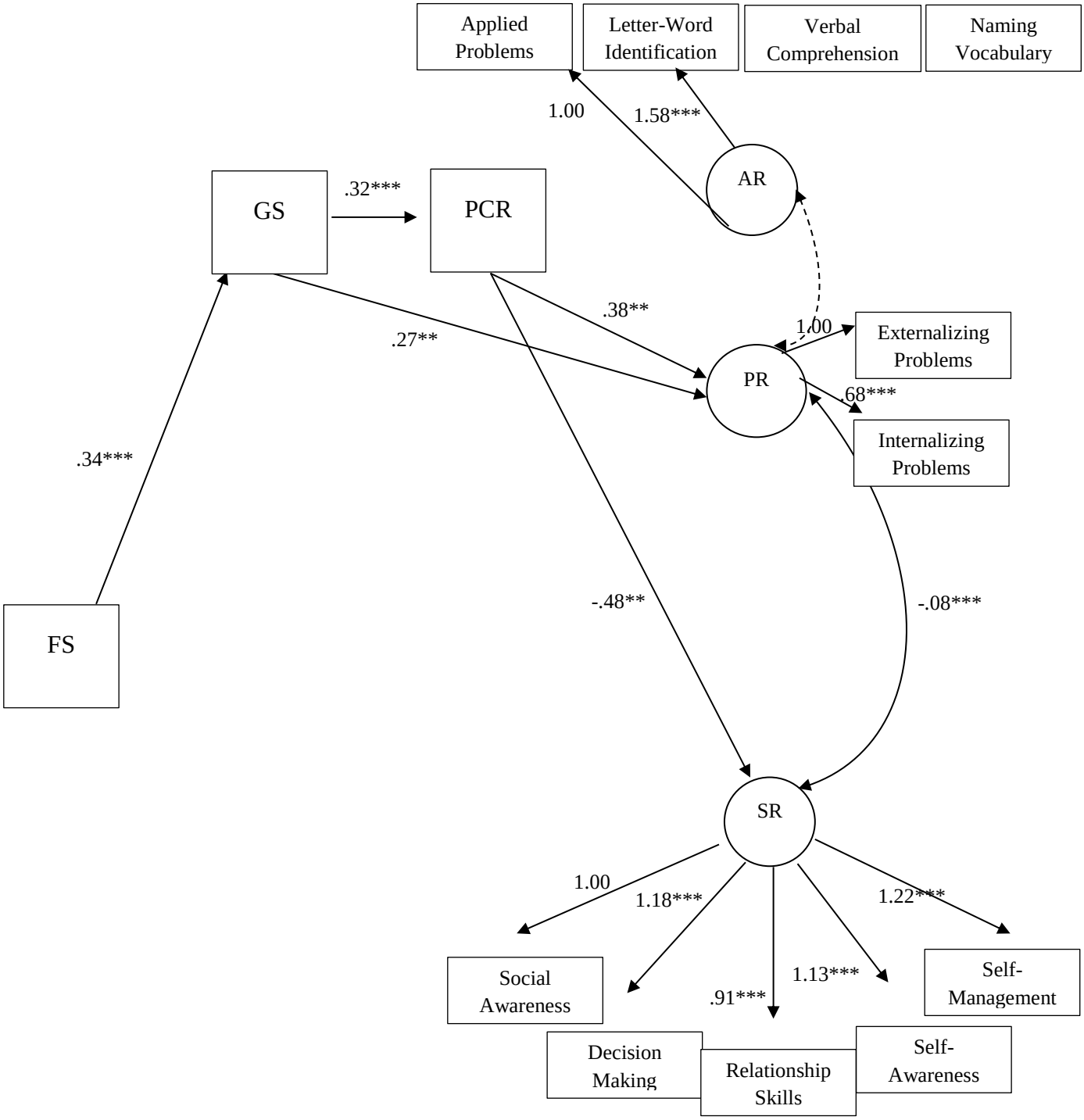

Figure 5. Measurement model of parent-reported child variables.

Note: $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

Direct relationships within the teacher model were less evident. The relationships between the risk variables (i.e., financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems) remained the same, however, only general stress was significantly associated with teacher-reported child psychological problems and in an unexpected direction (β = -.26, p = .05). Unlike parent-reported outcome variables, however, each of the teacher-reported and directly-assessed outcomes were significantly correlated with each other. Overall school readiness was associated with socioemotional (β = -.45, p < .001), psychosocial (β = -.38, p < .001), and academic readiness (β = -2.48, p = .001). Academic readiness was associated with socioemotional (β = 1.69, p < .001) and psychosocial readiness (β = 1.21, p < .01). Finally, psychosocial and socioemotional readiness (β = .26, p < .001) were significantly correlated. See Figure 6 for significant associations and standardized pathways.

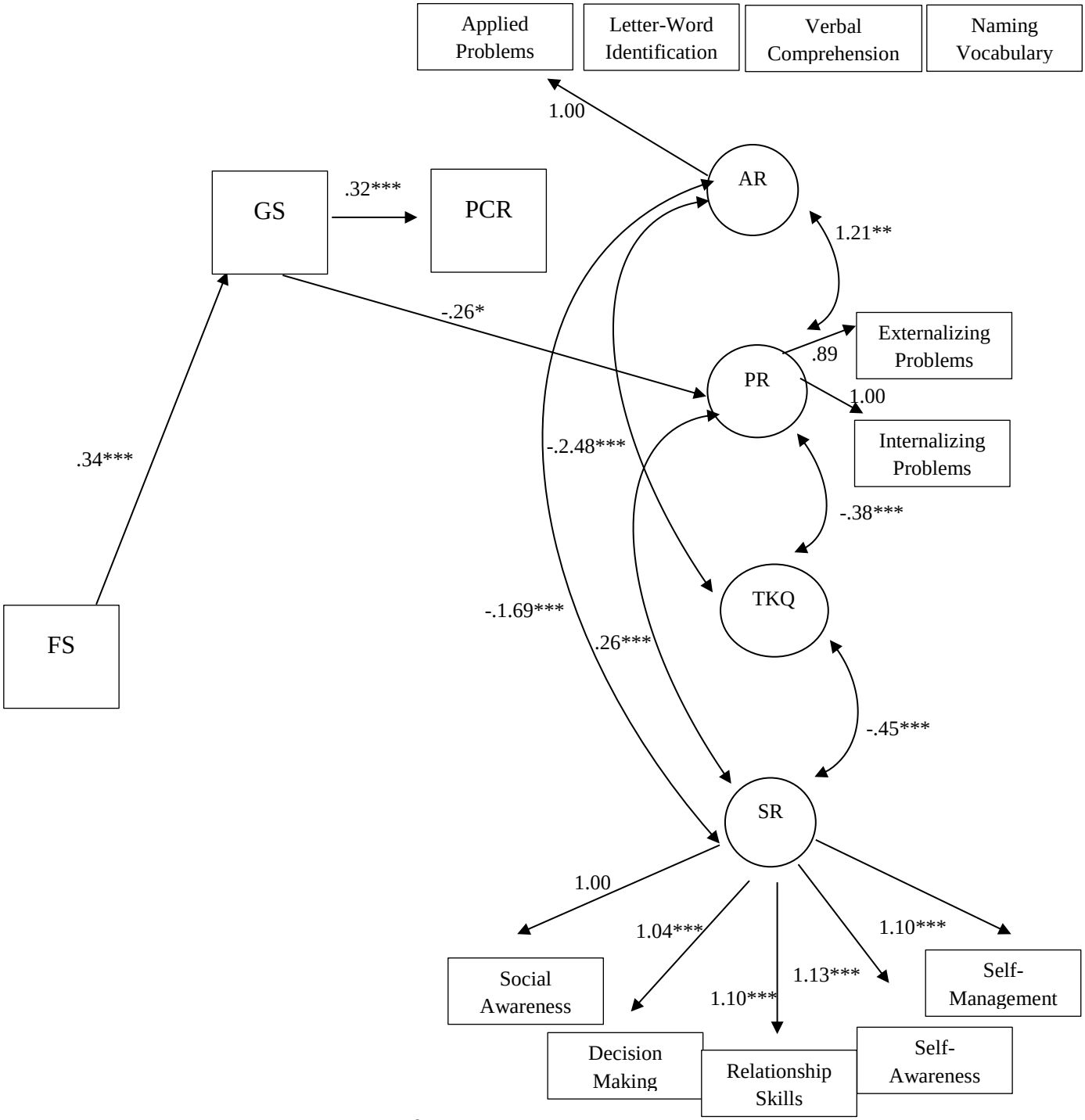

Figure 6. Measurement model of teacher-reported child variables.

Note: *p <.05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

With regard to indirect effects for the pathways from financial stress, general stress, and parent-child problems to outcome variables, significant findings differed by model. The parent model suggested indirect effects to socioemotional (β = -.10, p < .01) and psychosocial readiness (β = .09, p < .05) via risk variables. Bias corrected standardized confidence intervals affirmed each outcome respectively (95% CI [-.095, -.025]; [.013, .041]). Within the teacher model, no indirect effects were evident, as none of the outcome variables were related to parent-child relationship.

Summary. The hypothesis that risk variables would be negatively related to academic, psychosocial, and socioemotional school readiness was partially supported. Parent-reported psychosocial and socioemotional indicators were significantly related in the expected direction to parental risk variables both directly and indirectly, such that greater risk was associated with poorer reports of psychosocial and socioemotional readiness. Teacher-reported measures of psychosocial, socioemotional, and overall school readiness, as well as directly-assessed academic preparedness, had no significant indirect associations with parental financial and general stressors and parent-child relationship problems. However, teacher-reported psychosocial problems were associated with parental general stress in an unexpected direction, such that greater parental stress was negatively associated with teacher-reported child psychosocial problems. Although academic measures were not related to parent-reported measures, they were correlated with each of the outcome measures scored by teachers.

Research Question 3

Do distinct profiles of families with differential levels of risk (e.g., financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems) exist within the sample? In particular, are there families, who–despite experiencing high levels of financial and personal stress–are experiencing less conflictual parent-child relationships? Do these classes differentially predict school readiness?

Hypothesis: Given the dearth of literature that conceptualizes the relationship between the familial risk variables in tandem, the present study does not make a priori hypotheses for the composition of classes based on financial, general, and parent-child relationship problems, nor on their prediction of school readiness indicators.

Latent class analyses (LCA) were conducted to determine whether classifications existed within the various stressors that low-income Black families within the community face. LCA was performed on a two-class, three-class, and four-class model. Given that lower BIC values indicate better model fit (Schwarz, 1978), the four-class model had the best fit of the models tested (BIC = 1037.51). Although the four-class model did not satisfy the minimum power criteria of 20 participants per cell (Cohen, 1992), the two- and three-class models were either higher in BIC value or also had low cell sizes (please see Table 4). Thus, the four-class model was retained for subsequent analyses.

Table 4
Latent Class Analyses Solutions

Variables	*N* Class	AIC	BIC	*N* Cell 1	*N* Cell 2	*N* Cell 3	*N* Cell 4
FS/GS/PCR	4	986.31	1037.51	14	56	40	17
FS/GS/PCR	3	1003.42	1043.24	40	71	15	
FS/GS/PCR	2	1036.88	1065.32	94	33		

The latent classes within the four-class model were characterized relatively within the sample by: very high financial stress and high general stress and parent-child relationship problems (*n* = 14; henceforth referred to as High Stress/High Conflict, or "HSHC"), average levels of financial and general stressors and parent-child relationship problems (*n* = 56; Moderate Stress/Moderate Conflict, or "MSMC"), low levels of financial and general stressors and parent-child relationship problems (*n* = 40; Low Stress, Low Conflict, or "LSLC"), and average financial and general stressors with very high parent-child relationship problems (*n* = 17; Moderate Stress/High Conflict, or "MSHC"). The LCA results suggested four unique classifications for how participants experienced stressors related to finances and general matters, and problems within their relationships with their child. Figure 7 depicts the standardized means of each profile in terms of parental report of stressors and problems.

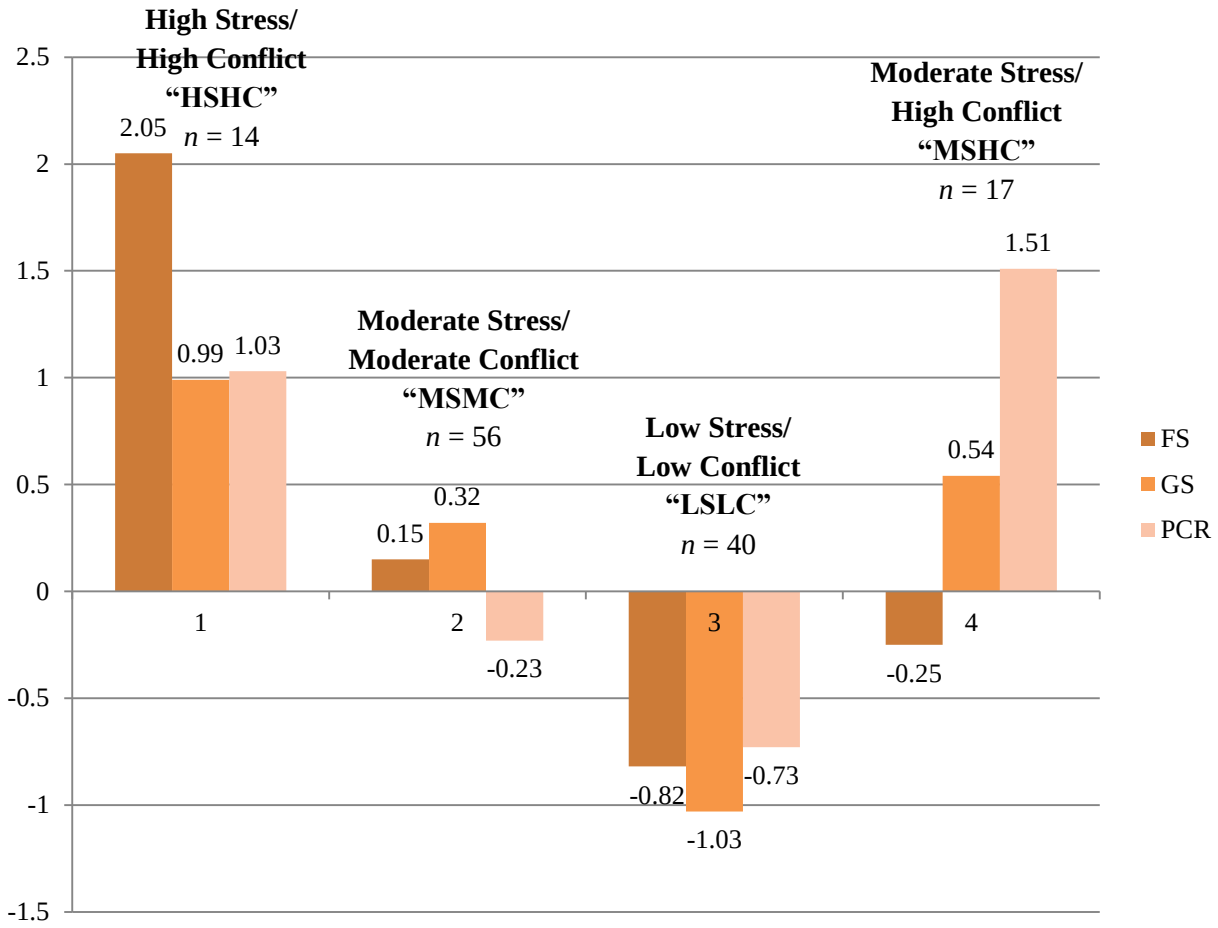

Figure 7. Standardized mean distributions for the latent class profiles

Given the sample sizes within each cell, power criteria were not satisfied for a multi-group SEM analyses that explored the parent and teacher model by LCA membership. Thus, regression and analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were implemented to detect differential slopes and means between groups. The ANOVAs found significant differences between the latent profiles with regard to the three stress variables. Financial stress, $F(3,123) = 56.44$, $p < .001$, general stress, $F(3,123) = 101.17$, $p < .001$, and parent-child relationship problems, $F(3,123) = 85.35$, $p < .001$ were

significantly different between profiles. Fisher's least significant difference (LSD) post-hoc tests revealed significant differences between each of the four groups in financial stress and parent-child relationship (ps < .01), and between LSLC and each other group, as well as between HSHC and MSMC in general stress (ps < .01) (see Table 5).

Table 5
Means and Standard Deviations for Profile Variables

	HSHC	**MSMC**	**LSLC**	**MSHC**
	n = 14	*n* = 56	*n* = 40	*n* = 17
	M(*SD*)	*M*(*SD*)	*M*(*SD*)	*M*(*SD*)
Financial Stress	3.79(.55)[a,b,c]	2.15(.49)[d,e]	1.32(.37)[f]	1.81(.49)
General Stress	3.18(.56)[a,b]	2.84(.35)[d]	2.05(.30)[f]	2.96(.30)
Parent-Child Relationship Conflict	1.81(.34)[a,b,c]	1.34(.19)[d,e]	1.15(.16)[f]	2.02(.25)

Note: [a] = differences between groups HSHC & MSMC, [b] = differences between groups HSHC & LSLC, [c] = differences between groups HSHC & MSHC, [d] = differences between groups MSMC & LSLC, [e] = differences between groups MSMC & MSHC, [f] = differences between groups LSLC & MSHC.
All differences are $p \leq .01$.

Although no group emerged with substantially low parent-child conflict with relatively high financial and general risk, LSLC was chosen as the reference group within dummy-coded regressions since it had the lowest amount of parent-child conflict. With regard to the prediction of academic readiness, MSMC scored marginally lower than LSLC (β = -.28, p < .06) (see Figure 8). Although the ANOVA did not detect differences overall, post-hoc LSD tests suggested marginal standardized mean differences between MSMC and LSLC (p < .06) (see Table 6).

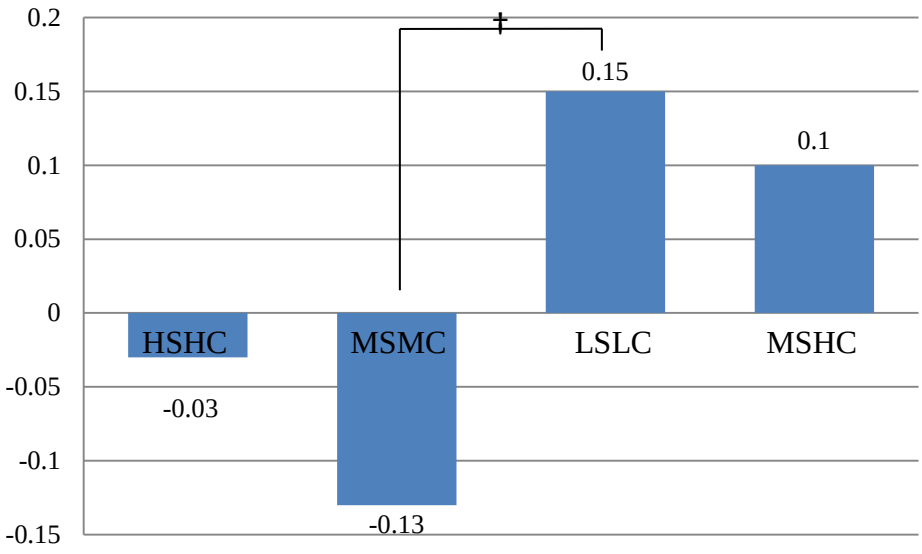

Figure 8. Standardized differences in child-assessed academic readiness by profile.

Note: †$p < .10$

Table 6
Coefficients of Group Comparisons to LSLC

	Parent Report		*Teacher Report*	
	Beta	SE B	Beta	SE B
Academic	*(Direct Assessment)*		Please refer to parent-report column	
HSHC	-.18	.22		
MSMC	-.28†	.15		
MSHC	-.05	.20		
Psychosocial				
HSHC	.90**	.25	-.28	.32
MSMC	.48**	.17	-.23	.22
MSHC	.96**	.23	-.09	.31
Socioemotional				
HSHC	-.66*	.29	-.57†	.33
MSMC	-.29	.20	-.02	.22
MSHC	-1.11***	.27	-.01	.31
Overall School Readiness				
HSHC	.54	.34		
MSMC	.08	.22		
MSHC	.10	.31		

Note: †$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Group means significantly differed between parental measures of psychosocial problems, $F(3,123) = 7.77$, $p < .001$. Parents rated their children as being significantly different from each other in total psychological well-being such that HSHC, MSMC, and MSHC each differed from their peers in LSLC (ps < .01) (see Figure 9), as supported by

the regression betas (β = .90, β = .48, and β = .96, ps < .05, respectively). One additional difference was detected through ANOVA in psychosocial readiness between MSMC and MSHC, such that children whose parents were in MSHC were rated to have more problems than their peers (p < .05), an interesting finding given that MSMC parents reported relatively greater financial stress but less parent-child relationship problems than parents in the MSHC group.

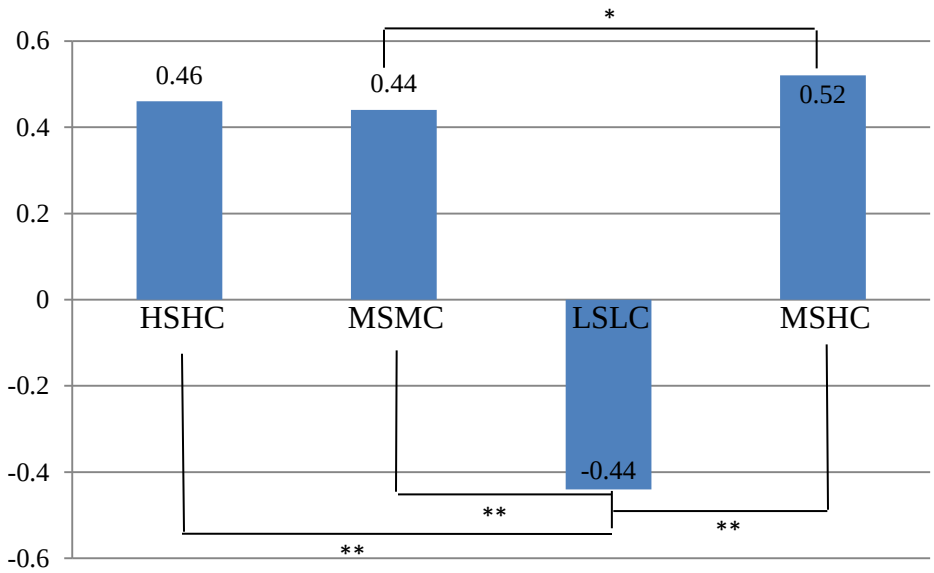

Figure 9. Standardized differences in parent-reported psychological problems by profile. *Note:* *p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Similar patterns of significant differences were also found within parent-rated socioemotional behaviors with ANOVA detected mean differences, $F(3,123) = 6.04$, $p \leq .001$. For overall socioemotional performance, children whose parents were in HSHC and MSHC significantly differed from their peers in LSLC (ps < .05), such that parents in LSLC reported their children as having higher socioemotional skills than their peers (see

Figure 10). The regression analyses supports the differences between LSLC and HSHC and MSHC, respectively (β = -.66, p < .05; β = -1.11, p < .001).

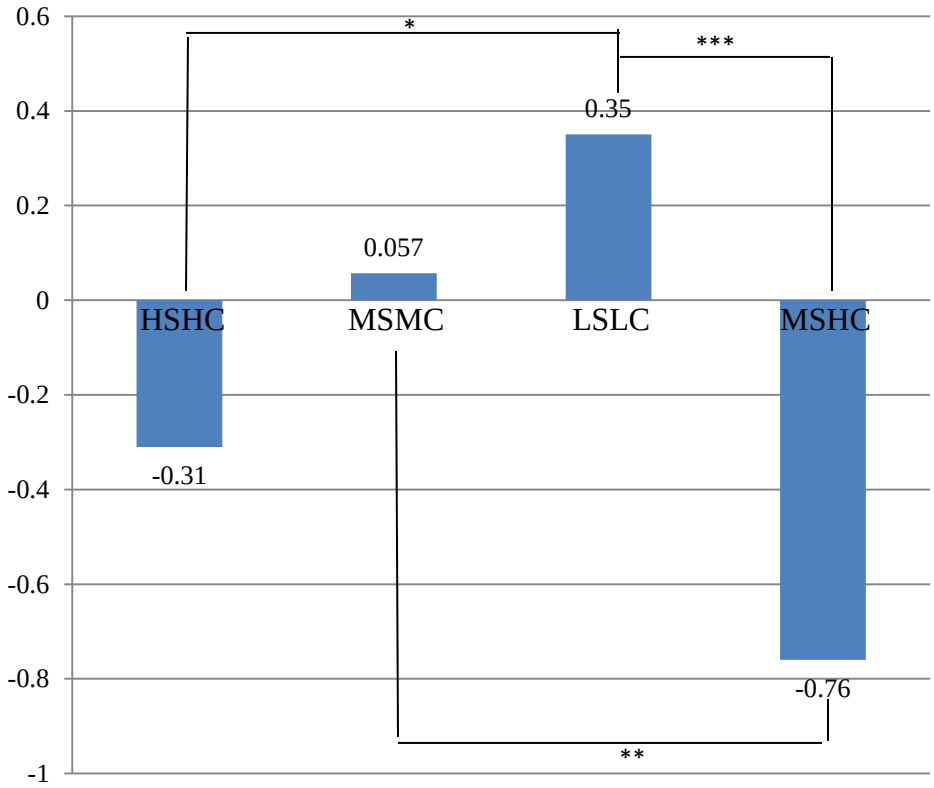

Figure 10. Standardized differences in parent-reported socioemotional behavior by profile.

Note: *p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Additionally, MSMC and MSHC differed in ANOVA detected mean scores, such that children whose parents were in MSHC were rated as having lower socioemotional performance than their peers (p < .01). Teacher reports of socioemotional behaviors resulted in one marginally significant difference detected by regression analyses between

latent classifications, such that HSHC children were rated as having marginally less socioemotional readiness relative to LSLC (β = -.57, p = .05) (see Table 7). Finally, no differences were detected between groups in overall school readiness as reported by teachers.

Table 7
Means and Standard Deviations for School Readiness Variables by Profile

	HSHC	**MSMC**	**LSLC**	**MSHC**
	n = 14	*n* = 56	*n* = 40	*n* = 17
	M(*SD*)	*M*(*SD*)	*M*(*SD*)	*M*(*SD*)
Academic^	-.03(.66)	-.13(.73)	.15(.63)	.10(.72)
Psychosocial	1.82(.52)[b]	1.64(.35)[d,e]	1.43(.28)[f]	1.84(.34)
Socioemotional	4.00(.58)[b]	4.16(.48)[e]	4.35(.44)[f]	3.76(.52)
Psychosocial-Teacher(T)	2.84(.79)	2.88(.63)	3.03(.69)	3.76(.52)
Socioemotional-T	3.34(.89)[b]	3.74(.69)	3.75(.75)	3.75(.51)
Overall School Readiness-T	2.41(1.37)	1.97(.97)	1.90(.70)	1.99(.70)

Note: [a] = differences between groups HSHC & MSMC, [b] = differences between groups HSHC & LSLC, [c] = differences between groups HSHC & MSHC, [d] = differences between groups MSMC & LSLC, [e] = differences between groups MSMC & MSHC, [f] = differences between groups LSLC & MSHC.
All differences are $p \leq .05$.
^denotes standardized score due to differential scores within measures.

Summary. No hypothesis was made for the research question exploring parental group membership between financial and general stressors and parent-child relationship problems. Four groups were found to fit the data well, suggesting four unique classifications of parents with regard to their experience of stressors and problems. The four classes significantly differed on almost every risk factor between groups, resulting in the following classifications: (HSHC, n = 14; MSMC, n = 56; LSLC, n = 40; and MSHC, n = 17), however, no group was identified with exceptionally low parent-child conflict and relatively higher stressors. Parent-reported psychosocial and socioemotional performance differed between groups, such that LSLC parents tended to report greater level of school readiness in their children than parents in the other three profiles; moreover, MSMC rated their children's school readiness more favorably than MSHC in behavioral indicators. One marginally significant difference was detected in teacher-reported measures, still favoring LSLC children, while directly-assessed academic readiness was marginally significant, such that LSLC children scored higher than MSMC children.

Results I conclusion. Taken together, the quantitative data revealed several findings relevant to understanding familial functioning in low-income Black families. Namely, parent-child relationship yielded differential validity between this sample and previous normed samples with regard to the CPRS measure, and with poor data-fit indicators for both the CPRS and PCR measures. Furthermore, linear relationships were present between parental financial stress and general stress, as well as parent-child relationship conflict, however, four unique classifications with statistically significant

differences were derived from varying latent classifications of these variables. While the classification yielding the lowest stress and conflict–that is, LSLC–reported the most favorable child outcomes among the classifications, the MSMC, or moderate stress and conflict group, had relatively more desirable outcomes than the children whose parents were in the MSHC group, an interesting comparison given that MSMC had lower conflict but relatively higher financial stress as well.

Results II

The qualitative results section will begin with a brief overview of each of the major codes that emerged from the analysis. Those emergent themes will then be compared to the content of the PCR measure. Finally, the presence of themes across the latent classes identified in RQ3 will be compared.

Research Question 4

a) What elements of the parent-child relationship emerge from parent interviews?

There were eight over-arching themes that emerged (i.e., Beliefs, Expectations, and Values; Child Characteristics; Family Structure; Parent Characteristics; Parenting Practices; Relationship Description; Routine; and Valence – see Table 8). Given that the primary focus of the qualitative study was on how parents described aspects of the parent-child relationship directly, a brief overview of each over-arching code will be provided first. This will be followed by an in-depth exploration of the content of the parent-child Relationship Description theme, which includes the two major constructs measured by the parent-child relationship instruments: Closeness and Conflict.

Table 8
Qualitative Interview Codes for Parent-Child Relationship Constructs

Parent-Child Relationship Constructs

- Beliefs, Expectations, Values
  - Church, Religion
  - Financial
  - Future Hopes for Child
    - Parental projections
  - Morals
  - Norm Awareness
  - Resilience, Reality
- Child Characteristics
  - Birth Order
  - Gender Norms
- Family Structure
  - Care Provider
    - Father
    - Grandparent
    - Mother
    - Other
    - Significant Other
  - Circumstantial
  - Kin
    - Extended Family
    - Siblings
- Parent Characteristics
  - Influential
  - Responsible
    - Facilitative
  - Role Model
- Parenting Practices
  - Authority
  - Discipline
  - Monitoring
- Relationship Description
  - Closeness
    - Admiration, Recognition, Approval
    - Affection, Touch, Loving, Playful
    - Attachment
    - Considers child perspective
    - Open, Honest, Communicative
    - Support, Encouragement
  - Conflict
    - Arguing
    - Favoritism, Parental preference
    - Frustration
  - Level of description
    - Minimal
    - Moderate
    - Detailed
- Normal, Typical
  - Routine
    - Consistency
    - Consistent
  - Inconsistent
    - Frequency
    - Frequent
  - Infrequent
  - Intentional
- Time Together
  - Valence
  - Negative, Challenges, Problems
  - Positive, Joys, Strengths

Beliefs, expectations, and values. Slightly over half of all parents mentioned an aspect of the Beliefs, Expectations, and Values that were held within their families. Namely, statements about Church and Religion, Finances, Future Hopes for Children (some of which included projections onto the child from parental experiences), Morals, Norm Awareness, and Resilience and Reality (or meaning-making of current situations) permeated the messages regarding parental beliefs. As an example, one parent described how Church is important within her family:

> Interviewer: What are the biggest joys in your family?
> Respondent: Umm just being a family. You know, having the closeness that we have with one another…I mean we attend church. You know, I keep them in church because you know, we believe that that's the foundation so they go to church. One of my sisters is actually my pastor..Umm but the joys is just being together as a family and fellowshipping and everything.

This parent indicates that fellowshipping is a foundational element to her time together with her family and that it is a belief that permeates throughout her family, as it did for nearly a quarter of all parents.

A quarter of parents also indicated that Finances were the main challenge within their family. Interestingly, families often paired a statement of resilience or reframing with descriptions of financial stress as they discussed these problems. A mother described a sentiment akin to many parental responses regarding finances:

> R: (Regarding the challenges arising from a father not paying child support) He knows it enough to know what it takes to extend things. Umm so again, I can't dwell on what I haven't got. I have to make do with what is and try to make the best of things. Umm and like I said, I learned not to be hateful towards it cause my kids will see that if I carry on that way. So again, like I said, finances would probably be the major strain on things because, you know, they're growing kids and there are things that they are going to need. And of course, I deal with the fact that I teach them to be good kids and I know at some point they want things too so I am thankful that I do have parents that step in and help.

The parent was able to state a problem but pair it with a sentiment of thankfulness from kin support, and indeed, half of all financial statements were also coded as Resilient and Realistic within interviews.

Child characteristics. Within interviews, over a quarter of parents described elements of their children's personalities or behaviors that impacted their relationship. In particular, over a quarter of parents mentioned either Birth Order or Gender Norms as features of their children which impacted the dyadic relationship. Frequently, the term "momma's boy" was used to describe a son who displayed behaviors consistent with a son who was close with his mother or was effeminate. For example, one mother shared a familiar refrain for her son's sensitivity:

> I: How would you describe your relationship with [J]?
>
> R: Um, we have a close relationship, really do…Um, [J] don't like to be around nobody but, except me. He'll cry to be around me. Yeah, he's a momma's boy. Everyone, everyone tease him about it.

Although this parent indicates that her son is teased, she acknowledges that their close relationship is strongly bonded due to her son's desire to be around her. Other parents acknowledged that Birth Order, in addition to Gender Norms, played a large role in the ways parent and child have their bond.

> I: And how would you describe your relationship with [V]?
>
> R: How would I describe it? I would say...I guess I would say...she is 5 years old. So I think sometimes I still look at her as my little girl. She is the only girl and she's the baby in the family. So you know like when I pick her up sometimes in the evenings I like to see her come running up. She come running! And if she doesn't say something to me right away, I look and say, "[V], say something!" like I'm the baby!

This mother indicates that her behaviors and expectations change as a result of which child she interacts with, particularly, her youngest daughter. For the quarter of the parents who indicated either Birth Order or Gender Norms as features impacting their parent-child relationship, a statement of closeness was typically associated with the bonds described.

Family structure. Although mothers were present or mentioned within every interview, the person interviewed often mentioned how the presence or absence of other family members influenced their personal relationship with the child. Given that multiple providers could be listed under Care Providers, all of the interviews mentioned some contact or care with the mother, while half and one quarter, respectively, described fathers and grandparents as care providers. Additionally, the sub-code of Circumstantial was applied when caregivers addressed the reason for their primary caregiving status. As an example, parents often indicated single-parent status as a function of circumstance, whereby, in addition to finances, single-parenthood was frequently mentioned as a challenge to the family, as evidenced by this mother:

> R: …being a single parent. It's really, really hard. Umm the challenges is knowing you know, I have no one to turn to. I mean, not my family, but nobody the kids' fathers are not there. I think God for my family for being there. That's my challenge is because believe it or not, I'm the mother and father for both of my kids and they have no one but me to look up to. So that's my big, I always say no one could have told me when I was growing up that I would be raising two kids by myself. I had no idea but that's the biggest challenge…I can't say go to your dad because that's not going to happen.

Although a comparison could not be drawn to the overall study population due to limited demographic information, over one-third of the parents within the interviews mentioned

their single-parent status in reference to child rearing. Finally, over three-fourths of the parents mentioned whether or not Kin, by way of extended family or siblings, had an impact on the relationship that the parent and child shared. As an example, one mother noted that, within her family, "[my children], you know, they're very attached to my mom. They like, they'll go to my mom before they actually go to me." Finally, several parents mentioned either caring for other children within the family or having extended kin care for their children.

Parent characteristics. Each parent made mention of at least one personal characteristic that helped to contribute to the parent-child relationship and their child's well-being. Parents described themselves as Influential, Responsible–sometimes describing how this responsibility could be facilitative of their child's positive behaviors—and as being a Role Model. A mother described an aspect of Bandura's (1977) social learning theory by noting that her daughter would "probably want to take after me, so everything I do she probably just see and then want to do too. So, that's why I continue to go to school and stuff." This parent indicated both a belief in her influence on her child as well as her serving as a role model to her child. Almost all of the parents described themselves as influential, while slightly less than half saw themselves as role models. Approximately two-thirds of parents also described aspects of being responsible for their child's academic achievement, while others shared the process by which they displayed this responsibility. One parent indicated her influence in this way:

> R: Cause I motivate them a lot to go to school and they like to be in school. When we home, we do learning work at home. Reading books together. Numbers together. Counting. We do everything together. So I try to make it fun with them

> at home, just as well as they try at school. So, it's not like they only doing they part at school. We do it at home too.

This parent described a value of education, along with accompanying practice of skills, which she instilled and facilitated in the home setting. Although social desirability and positive impression management are both of concern for any self-indicated measure–whether quantitative or qualitative—not every parent described the same personal characteristic that could positively influence their relationship with their child. Given that characteristics varied between parents or were not present at all for others, the description of parents from qualitative interviews may provide us a better sense of the types of characteristics some Black parents find to be important to their relationship with their child.

Parenting practices. Three-fourth of all parents mentioned specific aspects of how their practices contributed to child well-being. In particular, Authority, Discipline, and Monitoring arose as common practices. Notably, all these practices are focused on maintaining order and control within the family and residential surroundings. Some parents described how they provide monitoring in light of the environment in which they live:

> I: What kinds of things are there for kids to do in your neighborhood?
>
> R: Umm, my kids, they don't do nothin' in that neighborhood, cause I overprotective with them. Like, they always under me.
>
> I: Right. So they always kind of stay in the house?
>
> R: Mmm-hmmm.

This parent, along with half of those interviewed, indicated that monitoring is of

exceptional import due to their residential environment. Another parent contributed that she has to maintain a certain level of authority because she is a single mother:

> R: …Keepin' the kids on schedule, staying on routines, so that you know that everything can be organized within the family. If you know your job, just do your job. And I'm constantly behind them saying "Do this, do that, pick up your clothes" and "Put it this way, so it doesn't get this way." I don't need things to get outta whack.

Given that the approach of no-nonsense parenting (Brody & Flor, 1998) has been found through previous studies of low-income Black families, responses that included the control-oriented aspects of parenting were considered distinct from conflictual relationships or close relationships for that matter. The goal of a provision of a safe environment was evident throughout this code, yet the parents described only their practice and not the child's reaction, thereby differentiating this code from quality of interaction found later in Relationship Descriptions.

Routine. Each parent was asked about the structure of the routines within their family practices. An initial interview question probed whether they saw their child frequently and consistently, while other content was coded for whether they were intentional about the routine they set and whether they spent this time together as a dyad or family. Although all of the parents indicated having a consistent routine, about 15% of parents described having less frequent opportunities to interact with their child due to work:

> I: And how much time do you spend with her on a weekly basis, would you say?
>
> R: Um, I work 2:00 to 10:00 so it's like, you know I see her at night when I get off but she be sleepin. So I just say, like, probably 'bout 10, 12 hours. Like when I off I'll spend more time with her but you know...

The difficult balance between spending time with a child and working to provide for that child's care was evident both within the Finance, discussed earlier, and Infrequent Routine sub-codes. On the other hand, another parent indicated that her family was able to spend quite a bit of time together:

> R: We're pretty good family orientated. We, uh, do a lot of family things together…We do a lot together. Um, we're very family orientated. We go out. We take them out. We go to the park. We go to movies. We go to dinner. We just do, uh, just a lot as a family. You know, we watch movies. We play video games. We do a lot together. So...

Over three-quarters of the interviewed parents indicated that Time Together was an important and regular part of their routine. In general, families indicated knowing that time together was important, even if they could not spend it together as often as they would like.

Valence. Excerpts were also coded for parents' perceptions of their experiences in terms of characterizing experiences as either negative or positive. For example, some parents focused on Negative, Challenging, or Problematic aspects of interactions whereas other parents tended to emphasize Positive elements, Joys, or Strengths in their families, even when discussing challenges. For positively-coded content, parents often indicated that their child or their relationship with their child was "great", and nearly each parent had something positive to report. Negatively-valenced content, reported by almost three-fourths of those interviewed, often had to do with the neighborhood, single-parent status, or other challenges that the family faced. However, as noted earlier, such comments were sometimes accompanied by a positive frame. In a rare instance of challenges standing

alone, a grandmother noted that a major challenge to her ability to raise her granddaughter was her own daughter's illness:

> R: Well, um, her biggest challenge is her mother is in [another state] because her mother has [a terminal illness] and her doctors are up there so she's staying, she's up there with her mother. And so a lot of times I think her biggest challenge is the fact that she misses her mother a lot, but that's about it.

In general, however, parents talked positively about their relationships with their children. In fact, in one-third of all the discussions about challenges reported by parents, the parent also talked about positive beliefs associated with the child. In a particularly enlightening example, a father described the challenges and opportunity afforded to him by assuming primary caregiver status:

> I: So how much influence, if anything, do you feel you have over [M's] academic achievement?
>
> R: Uh, I feel I got a lot of, um, matter fact I think this make me grow up a little bit more than normal being that I see what mothers have to put up with when our fathers done left.
>
> I: Yea. Now you're the primary caregiver?
>
> R: Yea. I tell a lot of females I know now I say, "you know what? I apologize." They say, "what you talking?" I say, " I apologize cause now I see and feel first hand of what ya'll go through."…It's not easy…I got my hands full…I had to do some re-evaluation on me.

While this caregiver recently assumed primary caregiver status, he was able to grow personally and as a parent, assuming influence in his son's academic achievement and becoming more empathic regarding single-parenthood. While challenges were evident in the lives of many interviewed, as expected for most families, parents were able to also describe aspects of positive elements within their family life as well.

Relationship description. Sub-codes for the relationship between parent and child were loosely based on the constructs of closeness and conflict, though others were allowed to emerge in order to reflect the data reported by those interviewed.

Closeness. Elements of Closeness were described by each of the interviewed parents. Some families specifically named their relationships as close (e.g., "We have a close relationship"), whereas others described relational content nuanced by closeness. Each of the Closeness constructs identified by the low-income Black population was also found within the literature as an aspect of a close parent-child relationship. These themes are detailed below.

Admiration, recognition, and approval. A quarter of all families expressed a sentiment of Admiration, Recognition, and Approval in interactions with their children. Expressions were typically couched within achievements related to school but included other aspects of life as well. Dyadic relationships were often described within this sub-code, such that a child's desire to receive recognition was often met by a response from the parent, such as a hug or high-five. A mother described the joy that her daughter gets when she performs satisfactorily in school:

> R: She admires…I think she loves school. She looks forward to getting those compensation. Or what's the word or the recognition or acknowledgement for having a good day.

This mother acknowledged how her child may feel about school, but also, how the child feels when she shares her accomplishments with her mother. The family works together to have a system of good behavior from the child and recognition from the mother, indicating a close relationship between the pair.

Affection, touch, loving, and playful. Of the parents who described a close relationship with their children, over a quarter used affectionate terms or nicknames to share how they felt about their child or talked about sharing physical affection with this child. For example, one mother noted that her relationship with her child was "…good, loving, caring…she always come up to me and kiss me and give me hugs. Especially when she go to school." They also noted what types of activities encouraged greater playfulness between the parent and child. One of the few fathers who was interviewed discussed how his children's desire for recognition triggered his touch and loving expression:

> R: The biggest joy…is looking at they smile and do well in school cause they know, like when they come home now, like 'daddy we did good in school!' So I check they folders and they do good. They be like 'daddy you, you happy?' Say 'I always happy when y'all do good in school.
>
> I: …So they kinda get that positive feedback from you?
>
> R: Mmm-hmm. And we give high fives a lot.

Interestingly, this father provides context for relationships that are less explored within the parent-child relationship literature, that is, how fathers show love and affection to their children. The father's high-five relative to the mother's kisses and hugs may be an important aspect of understanding how to quantify affection between some male caregivers and their children, in particular, those fathers who have more recently taken on paternal responsibility with their children (Roy & Dyson, 2010).

Attachment. The dyadic nature of Attachment between parent and child was reflected within parental interviews, in which over a third of parents described how

intertwined their lives were with their children. Importantly, the meaning of attachment within these interviews refers only to how closely children and their parents relate to one another, and does not relate to the construct of attachment within parenting literature regarding secure, insecure, avoidant, and detached relationships. Some parents, such as this mother, referenced attachment within their description of the child: "He's a momma's boy…and he's the only boy so, we're like this." Although attachment was typically described in a positive manner, some parents also noted how attachment may pose a challenge to the relationship. For example, another parent noted that, relative to her son's challenges, she would "probably try[ing] to get him to be more independent. He's real, I guess, well would it be sheltered, maybe?" By and large, however, parents noted that an attached child indicated a close relationship between parent and child.

Considers child perspective. Parents who considered the perspective of their children were coded within the Closeness code. Described in about a quarter of all parent interviews, one way in which Considers Child Perspective was demonstrated by parents was through deliberating their actions based on their child's reactions. For example, another grandmother who was the caretaker for her grandchildren noted that in order to preserve the relationship and respect established with her grandson, she had to restrain herself from showing certain types of emotion.

> I: What are the biggest challenges faced by your family?
>
> R: Challenges? Oh, I don't know if we have any challenges. The power struggle, tryin' to take care of these kids…And cause sometimes they get, you know, they can get out of control and then if they get out of control, if I don't calm myself down, I might get out of control…if I show my emotion, then they'll be lashing

> out and acting out…I have to change my strategy…I said oh [J], we can't do this. I said, do you think you supposed to do that?

In such an example, the grandmother desired stepping away from her natural emotional inclination in order to support the relationship established with her grandson and to promote his positive behaviors with others. The literature has supported the ability to be concerned with the feelings of the child as an indication of closeness, evident throughout the excerpts coded within these interviews.

Open, honest, and communicative. Parents' descriptions of Open and Honest Communication was found within almost half of the interviews. Parents often expressed that communication was encouraged within the family, particularly when it comes to sharing about the child's day at school. One parent expounded upon her good relationship with her child in a manner similar to other parents by noting, "umm he talks to me when he has problems and umm he's always happy to show me things he do in school and stuff like that." Another parent even created a system to encourage family dialogue in order to get a sense of how her children were feeling after a move to the city:

> I: What are the biggest joys in your family?
>
> R: Well all of us get along as one. Everybody got they, you know, like…it's like we get along like sisters and brothers. Momma and daughters and sisters and brothers. We can talk to each other about anything and if there's something that I don't understand it's like go and write on the paper and put it under my pillow and I'll read it.

Within this family and others, the value of open and honest communication was evident within the descriptions of close relationships, and various systems were established in

order to encourage continued communication even when a child may not be comfortable sharing with the parent directly.

Support and encouragement. Over a quarter of the parents described a relationship that emphasized the need to Support and Encourage their child throughout the child's activities and behaviors. Sometimes overlapping with, but also distinct from, the sub-code of Role Model within Parental Characteristics, Support was evident by parents who wanted to promote positive behaviors and achievement, particularly in the classroom. For example, one mother responded to the question of the biggest joy in the family with:

> R: Hmm, the biggest joys…as a mother, when they doin' good in school and they come home excited and they tell me, "look what I did," or "my teacher said I did really good – I told her I was practicing at home." Cause we do, on Saturdays and Sundays we still read books and we got the little applications on my phone and I got them doin' their math stuff.

Given that this family was practicing an academic concept at home, the mother felt joy when the child was able to get accolades in school and share the accomplishment. Close relationships were established through the dynamic element of support and reinforcement, as evident by the above example.

In general, Closeness was represented in each of the interviews with parents and spanned across several elements including Communication, Affection, Encouragement, Admiration, Attachment, and a convergence of these sub-codes. While emergent themes were not distinct from the literature, interviews revealed nuanced and important considerations for specific elements. For example, affectionate paternal behaviors may differ from maternal affection. Additionally, within the sub-code of Considers Child

Perspective, a caregiver described communicating with her child about her parenting strategy, a concept that is antithetical to the control-oriented practices typically reflected in the literature for low-income Black caregivers in urban areas. Given that the literature does not provide a clear framework for close parent-child relationships with low-income Black families, the emergent themes can help to elucidate some aspects that parents perceive as important within their families.

Conflict. Although Conflictual relationships were reported far less than Close relationships – appearing in 36% versus 100% of interviews - some parents acknowledged some of the problems that existed within their relationships with their children. Of particular interest was that of the 14 interviews coded as Conflictual, eight were also coded as Close, supporting literature which suggests that, for Black families in particular, harsh and warm strategies may be used simultaneously by parents (Pinderhughes et al., 2001). As an example, the grandmother in the prior quote who noticed that her behaviors were impacting her grandson also reported that conflict started with her. She remarked, "cause I know this one time I got upset with [J] and he see when I got upset, oh! It was like a tug-of-war." In this case, Conflict was coded alongside Considers Child Perspective within the Closeness code because the grandmother went on to say that she attempted to avoid this tug-of-war *because* of its impact on her grandson.

Arguing. Arguing was reported as an aspect of Conflictual relationships for less than a tenth of families (n = 3) and those that did indicated that it was a normative, rather than disruptive, part of their lives. For example, one parent noted that her son's physical impairment afforded him more attention, and that "we talk, we have conversations, we

have disagreements, so we have a pretty good relationship." Additionally, one parent was able to note how arguing within the house–but not necessarily between parent and child–impacted the psychosocial well-being of her child.

> I: So what are the biggest challenges faced by your family?
>
> R: Oh, um, communication, I think. We don't communicate effectively…Someone's yelling. He has too much arguments around him. Um, too many adults clashing a lot…Um, I don't like that at all. Like me and his dad, we argue in front of each other. We argue in front of him. He's like 'stop arguing, stop arguing.' And I think he sees way too much of that cause he's around adults, he sees the problems that adults have a lot.

In general, no parent identified Arguing between the parent and child that stood alone, and the vast majority who did describe arguments noted it was present due to other adults, which contributed to the overall residential environment but was not specific to the child himself.

Favoritism and parental preference. Over a tenth of parents (n = 5) indicated that conflict arose when the perception of Favoritism or Parental Preference was exercised between siblings. Although this was not frequently reported, it was evident that Favoritism was problematic to parent-child relationships within certain families. For example, one parent identified that, "yeah, [he's] always in the front seat. He won't let nobody get there before him and if they do get there before him, it's a big fight." However, as noted with most Conflictual sub-codes, there were overlaps with some of the Closeness sub-codes as some of the parents described ways that they attempted to rectify Favoritism within the family. For example, the parent who implemented the letter-writing technique within her family did so because:

> R: …When we first came here it was hard for them to adapt and I wasn't really focused cause it's like me finding a job, me getting to do this, and how I'm going to situate y'all and then it's like once I did that I realized that they didn't have no friends, they didn't adapt to the area well, and they didn't know how to hang up because it was a drug-infested area and how we gon…we just be coop up in the house playing video games so I bought video games and everybody that know them and meet them and they started to get open and then these letters it was like I was focusing more time on this one than this one and like wow I love everybody but this one is open with me and it's like we get along more like sisters and brothers.

Interestingly, the parent identified that she has more open communication with a particular child which may have contributed to the sense of favoritism among the siblings, moreover, the parent was able to derive this information because she encouraged open communication from all of her children. Thus, she, along with other parents, was not satisfied with her child feeling burdened by Favoritism, and shared strategies for how to deal with these feelings within the family.

Frustration. Just over a tenth of parents (n = 6) identified times when their child Frustrated them and added to the Conflictual nature of the relationship. While some of this frustration appeared routine (e.g., "[*when she gets up in the morning*] she get on my nerves"), other examples were evident for a particular behavior. One mother provided a rationale for why this frustration was particularly problematic within her family.

> I: What are some other challenges?
>
> R: Going to bed or if he do something wrong and I tell him to sit, stay there, and he gets in that mood. Crying. Or he'll run and hide. And that's what I don't like. Running and hide. Cause I also tell you don't hide cause if something happen in the house and I call him he run and hide, he's in danger. You know?

While the parent is frustrated at the child's unresponsiveness to her command, her ability to rationalize this feeling by indicating instances when his direction-following would be vitally important is expressed throughout the majority of Conflict sub-codes.

In general, although some aspects of Conflict appeared in interviews, it was much less frequent than Close elements described within the relationship. Conflict was described by Arguing, Favoritism, and Frustration, but few parents indicated that these issues existed outside of environmental concerns or in relation to other people. Further, the overall relationship with the child still seemed to be relatively close and positive.

Normal or typical. Although the majority of the content of the qualitative interviews could be coded as Close, Conflictual, or a combination of the two, a fourth of the interviews naturally fit into a Normative or Typical category, either by parents naming the relationship as typical or normal or by using a comparative description, such as in relation to another child. As a verbal indication, the interview with one mother showed the attempt from the interviewer to get more information about the relationship:

I: So how would you describe your relationship with [P]?

R: Uh, pretty good. Pretty good. Typical one.

I: Mmm-hmm. Do you guys have a close relationship…?

R: Yea. Yea.

This interview was not coded as Close because the parent was primed to respond to closeness–and thus may have been subject to social desirability--yet she spontaneously provided that she had a typical relationship. In another instance, a parent showed the relative relationship between her and the study child compared to other children.

I: How would you describe your relationship with him?

R: It's good.

I: What makes it good?

R: I have four kids but out of the four, I wouldn't say he's my favorite, but he is the one that's always under me.

Although the Attachment of the parent and child is evident, it is also clear that the parent does not describe a particularly positive relationship with the child relative to her other children, even though she indicated that the child is attached to her. It appears, moreover, that in addition to Conflict and Closeness, parents may also describe more normative relationships with their children through qualitative response types.

Level of description. One final component of the parent-child relationship that emerged from coding was the value of the Level of Description. As evinced by some of the attempts of the interviewers to derive additional content from the interviews, there were some interviews that had fairly Minimal content. Interviews that had one or two specific examples of what the family was describing were coded as Moderately descriptive. On the other hand, some content was exceptionally Detailed, and parents often recognized that they were providing a lot of detail. Parents' provision of concrete examples regarding home routine around schoolwork in open-ended interviews has been associated with positive academic outcomes in low-income families (Gutman & McLoyd, 2000), thus, the level of detail as it pertains to school readiness was of interest within the current study.

Minimal. Almost all parents provided minimal descriptions of their relationships, practices, and behaviors with their child, even if other elements of the interview varied in the amount of detail given by the parent. As an example, one parent provided a minimal description when asked about her family:

> R: Uh, it's the three girls and the one boy and myself in the house. That just us.
>
> I: Okay. Do you have a good relationship?
>
> R: Yea.
>
> I: Okay.
>
> R: I would think so.
>
> I: Okay.

In other aspects of the interview, however, she was able to expound upon questions, such as her biggest joy described earlier (e.g., the support she provided to her child via home practice and weekend academic engagement), suggesting that the minimal detail provided here was not merely an artifact of the interviewee.

Moderate. About two-thirds of all parents gave descriptions of their parenting practices that were coded as moderate. This typically included providing an example explaining some of the practices occurring within their families. With regard to influence over academic achievement, one mother expressed her expectations for her child's ability to do homework.

> R: Umm a lot because he knows that I'm strict about him doing his homework and stuff. As soon as he walks in the door I'm telling him, "Look, see what you have for homework and sit down and do it", so I'm very strict, I'm serious about his education.

Interestingly, this parent expressed a desire for the homework to get done, but did not address how she may actually have the influence over his successful completion of the homework, just that it was completed.

Detailed. Approximately a third of all parents provided detailed descriptions of their relationships, routines, and practices. In response to an inquiry about family dynamics, a parent with several children provided a comprehensive statement about her family, and went on to provide context about what she hopes for them:

> R: But I do teach them to give everybody a good chance. You know, my kids tend to be overall good children. Umm I just try to, like I said again, to do my best. I don't wanna keep repeating myself, but I do what I can and I make sure that my kids are, like I said, the best because I don't want to fail them being that I'm the one that's responsible for them, so again…

This parent indicated that she was willing to do whatever she could to encourage the best for her children and repeated this willingness throughout several excerpts coded as detailed, as well as her rationale, linking her actions to her children's outcomes. There were several sub-codes evident within this excerpt, including parental Responsibility, Beliefs and Values, and Child Characteristics. Although educational attainment and social desirability may play a role in Level of Description, descriptive depth may provide a secondary evaluation tool in addition to the content-level description of the relationship.

Summary. With regard to how parents described their relationship with their children, a range of elements that characterized the relationships and factors that influenced those relationships were identified. Some were indicative of the parent themselves (e.g., Parental Characteristics or Parenting Practices), whereas others referred to the child (e.g., Child Characteristics), adaptation and beliefs regarding their

environment or life (e.g., Expectations, Routines, etc.), or Closeness, Conflict, and Normality within their parent-child relationship. Although the vast majority of parents indicated Close relationships only, those who described Conflict within the relationship noted how they also perceive positive or resilient aspects of their challenges. Additional content, such as the description of Normal relationships and the Level of Description, was coded for parent-child relationships and may provide important lines of inquiry and analyses for parent-child relationships.

b) How do these elements map onto, and differ from, the elements/constructs assessed by the PCR?

Items from the PCR measure were reduced to their eight essential constructs, namely Warmth/Closeness, Fondness/Proximity, Too Busy/No Play, Loving/Show Love/Affection, Bothered/Angry, Giving Up/Hard Work/Difficult Being Parent, Trapped, and Difficult Child. Sub-codes from the qualitative interviews were then compared to items extracted from the PCR to examine both overlap and difference between the constructs. Both similarities and differences can be found in Table 9 and are discussed below.

Table 9
Similarities and Differences between PCR and Qualitative Interview Constructs

PCR	**Qualitative Codes**
Warmth/Closeness	Affection/Touch/Loving/Playful
Fondness/Proximity	Admiration/Recognition/Approval, Attachment
Too busy/No play	---
Loving/Show love/Affection	Affection/Touch/Loving/Playful
Bothered/Angry	Frustration
Giving up life/Hard work/ Difficult being parent	---
Trapped	---
Difficult child	---
---	Considers child perspective
---	Open/Honest/Communicative
---	Support/Encouragement
---	Arguing
---	Favoritism/Parental preference
---	Normal/Typical

Similarities

The vast majority of constructs that were measured in the PCR were present in the family interviews. In particular, constructs representing positive elements of a relationship from the PCR seemed to be adequately represented within the qualitative interview.

Positive elements. Warmth and Closeness within the PCR mapped on to the Affection/Touch/Loving/Playful sub-code in the qualitative interview. The PCR item, "{CHILD} and I often have warm, close times together" was represented within several interviews. For example, one mother described her relationship with her son as great and noted that "I show him affection. He shows it back. Umm he's a very loving child and I just love him to death so it's a great relationship." This interview is particularly descriptive in that it shows the dyadic nature of affection, in that both the child *and* parent are affectionate and experience those times together, as evident in the PCR item. The qualitative interviews coded for affection hardly indicated problems within this sub-code, relative to an item on the PCR which indicated, "By the end of a long day, I find it hard to be warm and loving toward {CHILD}." Indeed, several parents spoke to their desire to see their child after working. As noted in prior coding examples, even when parents worked a long day, it was their intention to come home and see their child.

Fondness and Proximity on the PCR was reflected in the Admiration/Recognition/and Approval sub-code, as well as the Attachment sub-code. "Most of the time I feel that {CHILD} likes me and wants to be near me," was reiterated through interviews by several parents. One parent provided an in-depth example of this item.

> I: What other activities and programs are available in your neighborhood for kids to do after school that you know about?
>
> R: I mean sometimes I'll take them to Virginia Park and let them run around or some time they go out there and that's they time to wanna stand on the table and wanna sing…This is my time for you to go on the swing, run around, enjoy yourself, and it seemed like they clings to me more than anything. It's like I want

> that time, the me time. It's like when I'm in the house they come in the room and wanna lay in the bed…They got that bond with me.

In such a way, this parent was describing times where the children wanted to be around her and also how each family member valued spending time with each other, evident within the PCR item.

The Loving/Show Love/Affection items on the PCR (i.e., "Even when I'm in a bad mood, I show {CHILD} a lot of love" and "I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding {CHILD}") were indicated by parents in the qualitative interviews through the Affection/Touch/Loving/Playful sub-code. One parent provided a description of her relationship with her child by indicating that it was, "good, loving, caring…she always come up to me and kiss me and give me hugs. Especially when she go to school." Of importance, moreover, was that the direction of this affection was toward the parent. This shows the complexity between many parent-child relationship items, in that some may only represent the actions of one party within the relationship. For example, another parent shared the variability of her affectionate interactions with her daughter, in that, "[upon picking her up] um, I usually snatch her up and hug her and she, depends on her attitude. Like, "hey mama!" or like, "uh-uh. Don't touch me, mama." You know? (laughs)." In this case, the mom can note that she *is* expressing affection by hugging her daughter; however, there are some days where she indicates that her daughter rebuffs this affection.

Negative elements. Relative to the positive elements, fewer matches between the PCR and qualitative interviews existed for items representing Conflict or Negative

Valence. One negative construct that was represented on the PCR and that emerged from the interviews was the PCR item "{CHILD} does things that really bother me," which was echoed through the sub-code of Frustration within the qualitative interviews. One mother added content at the end of her interview by noting that her children often want to sleep with her. "Oh God, they get on my nerves. I cannot sleep in my bed. Um, not right now. I've been sick. I've been sleeping on the couch." This mother describes her inability to sleep in her own bed due to her children's desire to sleep with her. At the same time, she provides a desire to protect her children by moving to a location where they cannot follow her. Although she is annoyed by their behaviors, she is also providing for their best interest, a concept that could not be detected by the PCR.

Although less supported through the interviews, elements of Difficult Child from the PCR were found within the Favoritism/Parental Preference sub-code. "{CHILD} seems harder to care for than most" was described through relative approximation to siblings rather than children more generally. Portions of interviews that have been described thus far (i.e., brother getting to ride in front seat or parent not necessarily enjoying time around child compared to other siblings) highlight how sibling rivalry or parental preference can contribute to a sense of difficulty with regard to child care and management. In general, however, the PCR item was not well reflected within the vast majority of interviews, indicating that parents did not report being particularly burdened by their care for their child throughout the interviews.

Differences

The vast majority of negatively-valenced items from the PCR were not supported through qualitative interviews. Of the negatively-valenced PCR items, it was apparent that several referred to a unidirectional characteristic of parent-child relationships. For example, the PCR constructs of Too Busy/No Play, Giving Up Life/Hard Work/Difficult Being Parent, and Trapped through the items "I am usually too busy to joke and play around with {CHILD}", "Being a parent is harder than I thought it would be", "I find taking care of a young child more work than pleasure", "I find myself giving up more of my life to meet {CHILD}'s needs than I ever expected," and "I often feel trapped by my responsibilities as a parent" all refer to elements of parent's feelings about how they operate within the dyadic relationship. The dynamic of the child's feelings were not considered within the items and the parent was generally asked about feelings rather than behaviors, with the exceptions of Too Busy/No Play and Giving Up Life/Hard Work/Difficult Being Parent. With regard to how qualitative interviews were coded, the dyadic and reciprocal relationship was assessed for parent-child relationship, although parental feelings and behaviors may have been shared within the interviews and coded under aspects germane to parents only.

Similarly, several of the positively-valenced items from the qualitative interviews were not represented in the PCR. Namely, the most frequently described sub-code of Open/Honest/Communicative was not evident within the scale measuring parent-child relationship problems. Indeed, many parents described that communication was a part of their time together, which contributed to a close relationship. One mother noted that "I just make sure I spend quality time with him, let him know I love him" which shows not

only a desire to spend time with each other, but also the communication of feelings toward the child.

Furthermore, Support/Encouragement, a code that emerged within the interviews, was not evident within the PCR measure although it was a frequently utilized sub-code, representing 12 of the 39 parents interviewed. For example, one mother described both a desire to spend time with her child–which was associated with the Too Busy construct of the PCR–and the ways in which she encouraged him to do homework.

> I: How much influence, if any, do you feel that you have over his academic achievement?
>
> R: I think that I have a lot of influence because umm I'm the one that has to umm motivate him to want to do like when he gets home after a long day. I know he has a long day cause I'm at work all day from 8:00-5:00. He's at school right around the same time and I know he's tired cause I'm tired when I get home, but I still have to find the strength to motivate him to make him want to do more work after he already did a lot of work in school…I have to motivate him to do his homework and study spelling words, read books…

This interview shows that, while difficult, the parent was motivated to encourage her child after work even though she did not have a lot of energy. Additionally, the concept of parents thinking about their children before acting, as reflected in the sub-code of Considers Child Perspective, was not evident within PCR measurement. One parent, for example, shared the dilemma of staying in school or returning home after a particularly traumatic incident involving his children prior to him taking on primary caregiver status.

> I: How much do you think going far in school is related to being successful in life?
>
> R: Now days, it's a lot…I was taking classes, but it's so hard for me now. Cause I scared because if I go to class, I scared they gon' to have relapse.

Given that his children had been exposed to abuse from a previous care provider, he was cognizant that providing attentive care would be important for their psychological well-being. Such considerations were important not only for parent behaviors in this particular example, but also for the children's psychosocial well-being.

Two other sub-codes arose within qualitative interviews that were not supported in the PCR measure. Arguing, for example, arose minimally within qualitative interviews but was a component of conflict nonetheless. As previously described, most parents did not address arguing if it was not couched within a greater context of arguments occurring around the child or recognizing when an argument was forthcoming and attempting to divert such a situation. Additionally, the normative or typical nature of certain relationships was identified by some parents. Either parents identified the fluctuation in relationships or they simply acknowledged that interactions were typical with their child and did not ascribe a value to their relationships, yet the PCR did not provide any similarly identified item relating to normal or typical relationships.

Summary. Taken together, half of the constructs from the PCR were spontaneously mentioned by low-income Black parents within qualitative interviews. Four of the eight constructs were identified within the parent interviews, and even though the PCR primarily represented conflictual relationships, more elements of the Closeness codes from the qualitative interviews mapped on to the PCR. Of the four PCR constructs not matched, they all implicated problems in the relationships that parents did not note within their interviews. Conversely, of the ten sub-codes for parent-child relationships found within the interviews, only five mapped on to constructs from the PCR. Two

positive sub-codes (e.g., Open Communication and Support), two negative sub-codes (e.g., Arguing and Favoritism), and the Normal sub-code were not present in the quantitative measure of parent-child relationship, though were reflected within interviews.

Research Question 5

Do the elements of parent-child relationships that emerge from interviews differ across parents in LCA groups?

-Hypothesis: Due to the use of a grounded theory approach and exploratory quantitative methods for latent classifications, a priori hypotheses were not made for this qualitative research question.

Coding was completed prior to the creation of LCA profiles. Qualitative interviews were then classified by LCA assignment from the quantitative analyses. Figure 11 shows the class membership prevalence within the quantitative and qualitative samples respectively, suggesting that the interview sample was fairly representative of the overall sample, as would be expected based on the fact that participants

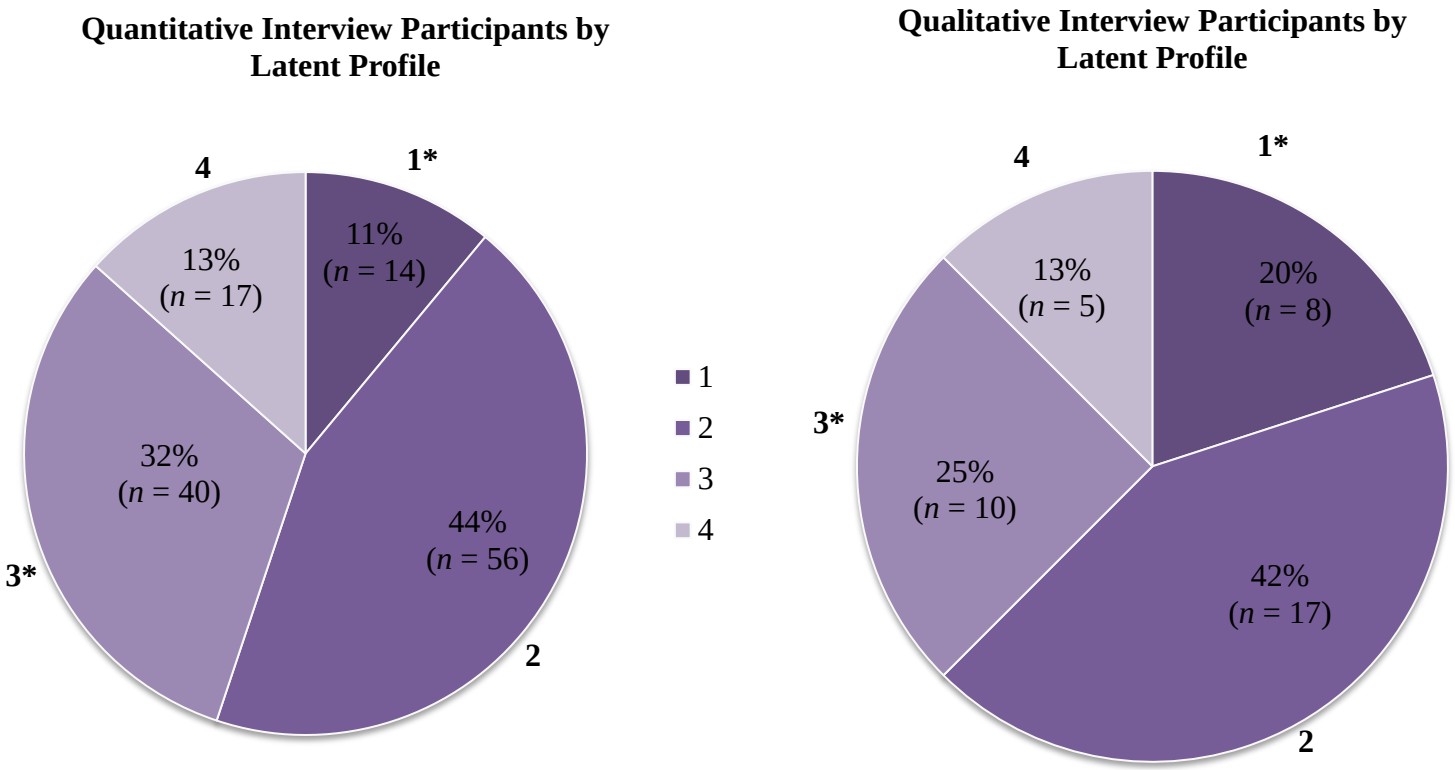

Figure 11. Differences in latent classification grouping by interview type.

Note: * denote differences in percentage of class assignment between qualitative and quantitative sample.

were primarily selected through random sampling. There were, however, more interview families who were classified as HSHC and fewer from LSLC relative to quantitative assignment.

A matrix coding query was utilized to detect the number of participants who were coded for each of the parent-child relationship constructs by LCA group. Raw numbers were transformed into percentages through a function that accounted for total interviews in which a code was present divided by total number participants within a given LCA classifications (e.g., number of interviews/total LCA size = percentage; see Table 11).

Table 10
Qualitative interview code reported by classification

Parent-Child Relationship Constructs	**Percent of interviews with code**			
	HSHC (*n* = 8)	MSMC (*n* = 17)	LSLC (*n*= 10)	MSHC (*n* = 5)
Beliefs, Expectations, Values	63%	47%	70%	40%
Child Characteristics	75%	71%	80%	100%
Family Structure	100%	100%	100%	100%
Parent Characteristics	88%	94%	100%	100%
Parenting Practices	63%	71%	60%	80%
Relationship Description	100%	100%	100%	100%
Closeness	88%	100%	90%	100%
Admiration, Recognition, Approval	25%	29%	0%	20%
Affection, Touch, Loving, Playful	25%	24%	30%	0%
Attachment	50%	35%	10%	60%
Considers child perspective	38%	35%	10%	20%
Open, Honest, Communicative	38%	47%	30%	20%
Support, Encouragement	13%	24%	40%	20%
Conflict	63%	29%	10%	40%
Arguing	25%	6%	0%	0%
Favoritism, Parental preference	25%	12%	0%	20%
Frustration	13%	12%	10%	20%
Level of description	100%	100%	100%	100%
Minimal	88%	76%	80%	60%
Moderate	75%	71%	70%	20%
Detailed	50%	29%	30%	20%
Normal, Typical	0%	24%	30%	40%
Routine	100%	94%	100%	100%
Valence	100%	94%	100%	80%

For the sake of brevity, sub-codes were collapsed into over-arching codes, with the exception of Relationship Description which was kept at the sub-code level due to the importance of that topic to the research questions and the nuances that emerged from within that code. In general, parents of varying latent classifications (i.e., HSHC, MSMC,

LSLC, and MSHC) did not appear to vastly differ with regard to most over-arching codes.

Beliefs, expectations, and values. Interestingly, parents in HSHC and LSLC had the highest rate of coding for beliefs, expectations, and values relative to parents in MSMC and MSHC. Differences between these groups emerged within inquiries related to hopes for the child in schooling. The messages conveyed by LSLC parents addressed mechanisms that parents attempted to use to improve school readiness for their children, whereas HSHC parents indicated that their desires for their children were mainly projections of their own lack of school completion. For example, this parent from LSLC indicated in response to being asked how much she believes going far in school is related to being successful in life:

> R: A lot. I wanna say maybe 80%, and then the rest is, today it's not really what you know, it's who you know a lot…It's, cause if you know somebody that can easily get you in you ain't even gotta know nothing. And that's bad for the people who do go to school and try to learn things and they can't get in because you got your friend in there or your cousin and that's not fair to them. But that happens a lot
>
> I: Right. So you think it's a lot of, education's important but it's also about who you know too.
>
> R: Exactly. Networking. And that's why I try to teach my kids respect'll take you where money can't. If you have respect, you never know who knows who.

In such an example, the parent does not explicitly indicate what it is about schooling that she can contribute to, but she hopes to help in the other portion which she finds important. On the other hand, this parent in HSHC commented in ways that many parents

did within that classification when asked about the influence she possesses over her daughter's academic achievement:

> R: Um, I think I have very great influence, but I think I would want her to do something I never did, like I said graduate from college cause I never done that. So that's what I would want her to do.

The mother did not address how she planned on her child attending college, just that she desired for her to do so. Additionally, although LSLC parents had the most frequent mention of financial concerns, they were often paired with a statement of concern for their child's well-being, unlike other groups that just mentioned finances as difficulties. As an example, a parent from LSLC indicated that:

> R: Umm the biggest challenge for me is that I have to work full-time and I feel like I don't get to spend as much time with them as I want to, you know, but I've got to do what I've got to do. I've got to work to provide for them…I don't know how they feel because they're so small.

In several ways, this parent from LSLC indicated that she had to do what was necessary to make ends meet and that she was also concerned about how her children felt during the times she had to work. Although unsupported through LCA, this would be the type of response a parent was hypothesized to yield if they experienced stress from their financial situation but also emphasized building a close relationship with their child in order to support their successful well-being.

Parent characteristics. Although parent characteristics were frequently mentioned by all families regardless of latent class classification, parents in LSLC had more members remarking about being influential, responsible, and facilitative of

processes related to their child's well-being. This LSLC parent, for example, described why it was that she chose to be a role model for her children:

> I: How far do you hope [Z] will go in school?
>
> R: Oh, God. I hope he goes all the way through college. Um...
>
> I: You want him to graduate from college?
>
> R: Yea! Definitely. Um... both of them. I mean, I think any parent should want that. But um, now he'll say "why do you go to school so much?" Cause I have so much homework and stuff. And I told him cause I wanna be a nurse. So if you wanna, you know, it sounds cheesy, but if you wanna do something, then you have to do A, B, and C and whatever. So...hopefully because I'm doing it that will push them a little, you know, and hopefully they will challenge themselves more and as long as I'm living he's gonna have to go. (laughs).

Although the majority of parents in LSLC had a similar response, parents in MSHC were more variable. One parent displays this variability within her answer, finding it difficult to describe whether she has influence over her child's academic achievement:

> R: I got a big influence. Not really. I mean, I'm guiding her to the right way. I, I, I do what I have to do and I expect her to do what she have to do. You don't have to be so stern on your kids. If you really want them to achieve something...so my baby's gon' be fine…She's intelligent.

Similar to the differences found between HSHC and LSLC, the parents in MSHC were also less likely than LSLC parents to endorse their influence over their children, and when they did, it was just that they had influence, and not how they displayed it.

Parenting practices. Within parenting practices, each latent classification contained fairly equitable usage of Authority, Discipline, and Monitoring, with some exceptions. LSLC parents indicated monitoring practices in half of the interviews, while MSMC only mentioned it in a quarter of the interviews. When described, however,

parents mentioned relatively similar desires for keeping a watchful eye over their child. This LSLC parent indicated that the biggest challenge faced by her family is:

> R: Um...right now I think it's just being single and having them. Um, I rely on my mom a lot because I work and I go to school. So... time management. (laughs) Time management. And just little things like today. Like who's gonna take off of work to pick the kids up so between me and my mom, it's usually just the two of us. And that gets a little stressful. But she says she doesn't mind, but I know she gets tired of it sometimes. But um, for the most part, it's working out. I think that's the biggest challenge that they're so small and somebody has to constantly be there. So just finding ways around that and still being able to work and go to school.

Although this parent indicated challenges around monitoring, she also notes her ability to give the attention that the child needs. One MSMC parent similarly described how child rearing is shared between several adults in order to keep account of the child's activity:

> R: (With regard to homework)…And Daddy helps…I mean we do everything as a family. We do everything as a family. When homework needs to be done, it's not just me that's helping with homework. Daddy's helping with homework. He has one child. I have the other child. Or if I gotta read, he's reading. You see what I'm saying? So we all are involved. If I've gotta study for a test, everybody is helping me study for a test.

This tag team effort by both parents emphasizes the importance of monitoring and support between family members, including bi-directional support from parent to child. And, while the percentage of families reporting monitoring within the interviews differed by group, the rationale for monitoring was fairly similar between MSMC and LSLC.

Routine. Within Routine, both consistent and inconsistent and frequent and infrequent routines could be reported, particularly if a parent or primary caregiver

established a consistent and frequent routine with a child but an alternative or secondary caregiver provided an inconsistent and infrequent routine for that same child. Although the vast majority of parents noted consistency within their families, LSLC reported the most consistent and least inconsistent routines of all groups. HSHC described the least frequent and most infrequent routines. In general, however, this infrequency stemmed from working schedules or court appointments and did not greatly differ from other groups.

Additionally, descriptions of time together were evident in interviews for LSLC in a meaningful and intentional way. One LSLC mother described her family's activities by, "Yeah, we do stuff, like fun stuff, go to the park and everything. Read, color." Parents in MSHC, in contrast, often described time together at meal times, and did not indicate too many other times that they spent time as a family.

Valence. Of particular interest to the concept of familial resilience was the valence that parents used to describe familial functioning, meaning whether they characterized particular events or actions as negative or positive. Surprisingly, LSLC had the greatest number of interviews in which a negative valence was present and MSMC had the least. However, on closer inspection, it was revealed that in LSLC, every instance of negative valence co-occurred with positive valence. For example, while each of the interviews within LSLC was coded as positive, they also had the greatest mention of problems relative to their peers in other latent classifications. Indeed, for every mention of a challenge in the face of families within LSLC, there was an accompanying positive valence code. Several LSLC interviews showed attempts to rectify challenges, as

expressed by this parent:

> R: Um, I'd say the biggest challenges is keeping them on track and keeping them organized. That's one big challenge because I have four boys and one girl, and it's hard to keep them boys organized (laughs)

Although this overlap also occurred in MSMC, there were fewer indications of problems and several interviews reporting positive valence. Often converging with the Resilience sub-code within the Beliefs, Expectations, and Values code, one parent in MSMC shared a sentiment that blended resilience with positively- and negatively-valenced beliefs about the joys within her family:

> I: What are the biggest joys in your family?
>
> R: My kids.
>
> I: Your kids?
>
> R: Yeah, cause they always come up with something new. Oh yeah, they come up with something. A lot of people think that it's stressful. Not me. I enjoy it, regardless of my financial status at all. I mean can't get mad over nothing can't control. All you can do is try to make it better.

Such a resilient quote identified the challenges and opportunities that arise from parenting within an impoverished environment. Several parents "turned lemons into lemonade" by addressing both of these aspects simultaneously, often, regardless of latent group classification.

Relationship descriptions.

Closeness. With regard to parent-child relationship descriptions, parents within all four latent classifications reported closeness fairly equivalently. Interestingly, fewer parents within LSLC—relative to their peers in other groups—mentioned aspects of

Closeness, such as Admiration, Recognition, and Approval, Attachment, and Considering the Child's Perspective. However, more parents in the LSLC group identified aspects of Affection, Touch, Love, and Play, as well as Support and Encouragement. Comparing LSLC and MSHC, or the groups with the highest and lowest scores of parent-child relationship problems from the quantitative measures, respectively, MSHC parents had more interviews describing Admiration, Attachment, and Considering the Child's Perspective, while LSLC had more interviews describing Affection, Communication, and Support.

Indeed, a more common sentiment from the parents in LSLC relative to MSHC was their desire for their children to come and talk to them about anything. As evinced by a parent n LSLC, among a host of others, her son was "free to come talk to me 'bout whatever and tell me whatever. I try to keep it open and let him feel comfortable so he can come tell me and talk to me about anything he wants." On the other hand, this MSMC mother shares how much of a struggle it is for her children to listen.

> R: [re: *Can you tell me a bit about your family?*] I'm always you know talking to them, trying to teach them the proper way to behave. You know things like that. I try to be a good example of that. It's not always easy, because it takes a lot for me to get them all to listen. I have to constantly remind myself I don't need to be yelling. "I'm getting angry and I'm trying to control the whole house and it's like you are all out of control (laughing) and I'm just one person."

Even within the resolution to an instance with her daughter, this same mother shows that the communication may be more parent-driven than dyadic:

> But if she had a yellow day [whereby green represents excellent, yellow represents satisfactory, and red represents poor behavior], she would hesitate to tell me…she'll say, " I don't want to tell you." I said, "So what happened? What did you do?" She kept repeating what she did, but she would not get down to what

> she actually did. I said, "[V], what did you do to get on yellow?" "I don't want to tell you." (Laughing).

It may be conceivable that some conflict may be related to problems occurring within communication for parents in MSHC relative to LSLC.

Although parents in LSLC and MSHC reported support and encouragement to varying extents, both groups reported showing it in similar ways. For example, this LSLC parent remarked that she had a big influence over her son's academic achievement:

> R: I push him to challenge hisself. I mean, he's in kindergarten and it might be hard to him...But even something as simple as that, like, writing your name. You can do it neater than that. You can make it look better than that. You know what I mean? So, I just try my best to emphasize the importance of it. Even at this grade level and um, I think sometimes they probably won't like me for it. (laughs) But um...

Similarly, a MSHC parent indicated the importance of going far in school by stating, "I hope he'll finish high school...Even if he's not with me, I want him to do it cause I try to instill in them cause it's important to learn…And every day is a new challenge, so try to tell him to stay in school. Stay focused. Stay in control." While both parents emphasized the importance of schooling, a pattern emerged similar to previous sub-codes. The parent in LSLC provided more detail as to the manner in which this importance was emphasized, citing a specific example that demonstrated her influence over her son's academic achievement.

The presence of Attachment as a theme in parents' narratives varied between LSLC and MSHC. Parents in MSHC had the most instances of Attachment coding (e.g., 60%) compared to HSHC, MSMC, and LSLC groups (e.g., 50%, 35%, and 10%,

respectively). Although some instances were negatively-valenced (i.e., “he’s a momma’s boy), others within MSHC showed the strong bond between parent and child:

> R: …she really looks up to me. She always looking to me to encourage her or to show her attention in the area of, you know, whatever she accomplishes. She comes running straight to me. She don't want to give it to nobody else. She want me to see it, like her little trophy, she brought it straight to me. Her tickets, whatever she does in school, whatever accomplishments she gets, whatever reward she gets she comes to me with it.

In sum, while parents within LSLC and MSHC had varying reports of closeness codes, it was evident that LSLC indicated more process-based and detail-oriented narratives relative to their peers in MSHC.

Conflict. It is noteworthy that HSHC and MSHC both had the greatest number of interviews with Conflict, akin to their quantitative measurement scores indicating that they had the highest rated parent-child relationship problems of all groups. Parents in HSHC had the most participants discuss arguing and favoritism, while MSHC had the most indication of frustration. As earlier conflict coding examples indicated, several of the instances of coding for arguing were in relation to arguments being had around the children rather than parent and child arguments per se. Favoritism also appeared to be in the context of loving relationships, such that a child desired to be closer to the parent rather than the parent exercising favoritism practices amongst the children. Additionally, frustration codes were often in the context of wanting the child to do something (e.g., come to the parent) and the child refusing. Only one instance was a parent indicating that the child was getting on her nerves. Overall, while the reports of conflict within interviews were representative of the problems endorsed by latent classifications, the

qualitative descriptions of such conflict did not indicate problematic relationships between the parent and child within any interviews.

Normal. Qualitative coding indicated that parents within MSMC, LSLC, and MSHC identified themselves as having "normal" or "typical" relationships with their children at fairly equitable rates (e.g., approximately one-third of interviews) to each other and higher rates than HSHC, which had no occurrences of the Normal code. In all instances of the normal code within MSMC and MSHC interviews, parents either indicated that their relationship with their child or their family was "typical", "pretty normal", or "average". However, the normal code was applied to instances within MSHC where caregivers indicated both Closeness and Conflict within a given statement. For example, [J]'s grandmother indicated that, "our relationship is good, but kids'll be kids. He get moody, not want to do something. Average kids, like average kids in home. But other than that we'll have a good relationship." On the other hand, a MSMC parent described her family by noting, "umm we try to be close. We are not the closest family there is but we try to be there for each other they're needed there. I'm there for her a lot because I'm practically all she got." This parent indicated neither Close nor Conflictual, whereas her counterpart in MSHC stated both.

Level of description. Finally, Level of Description was analyzed in order to detect differences between latent classifications. As previously indicated, interviews were coded as detailed, moderate, or minimal if they were brief in description or incorporated examples and/or linked their statements to potential child outcomes. Although a priori hypotheses were not made for the entire coding schema, it would be expected that, in

describing processes related to parent-child relationships, LSLC would have the greatest frequency of detailed descriptions based on the literature linking the account of more detailed routines to children's academic achievement (Gutman & McLoyd, 2000). While HSHC interestingly had the most instances of Detailed coding within interviews—that is 50% relative to 29%, 30%, and 20% in MSMC, LSLC, and MSHC respectively—a different pattern emerged with respect to academic preparation. Upon closer inspection of the content of the descriptions, which included analyzing only the content referencing school-related processes (in relation to the methodology employed by Gutman and McLoyd), HSHC had no interviews providing a detailed description of how parents create routines and instill practices of academic achievement, whereas MSMC and LSLC had two interviews respectively and MSHC had one interview describing such practices. A particularly clear example of a detailed description of schooling expectations was illuminated by a parent from the MSMC profile:

> R: I don't play. [My children] will graduate school. Ain't no if. Ain't no droppin' out. And no if and about. And I know that, you know, um, as you get older, you know, with young Black men nowadays a lot of things happen and a lot of things in the street but I tend to keep my kids away from that. You know, I try to keep them away from stuff like that and try to keep them on the positive road. You know, we don't, we don't let, we do more family things. Keep them very family oriented. You know, we don't really, we don't... we don't do, 'lot of certain things that I don't allow them to do. They're not allowed to say bad languages. They're not allowed to do a lot of things that's just inappropriate. I don't, I don't condole in that. So I try to keep them, um, focus on school and you know I let them have fun, but I try to, if they wanna do certain things and that's just my approach when they get older. Like to keep them more into school and family. Not into, not saying that I won't allow them to maybe go out to a dance or... but it can't be a, they will have a curfew…Yea. 'Cause they boys, and even though boys are different from girls, you know, boys tend to get bit of, I just feel, I just feel like the way you bring your kids up, you, I don't think you really have too much to worry about. Now when you start doing disrespectful things in front of them

> more. You start doing a lot of things to, you know, to let them see things that are not appropriate as a parent. Things, things might tend to start, um, getting out of hand, you know. As far as mommy and daddy fighting or just things that would make kids act up. You know?..So I try to keep them away from stuff like that.

While a group with very high risk and relatively low parent-child relationship problems did not emerge, MSMC represented the group with similar Descriptive Level trends to such a "resilient" profile. The description by the parent above displays the type of response anticipated by a resilient group, such that, although risk is evident in the environment and even potentially within the home, the parent is utilizing strategies through parenting and with her relationship with the child in order to minimize the negative impact of such risk factors in order to promote academic success.

Summary. Although hypotheses were not made regarding latent class membership, participants across latent classifications did report content that was coded at varying percentages. The vast majority of families, regardless of classification, indicated that they had close relationships, that their interactions were consistent, and that they valued time together with each other. Parents in LSLC emerged as different, however, in that they indicated the highest report of beliefs, expectations, and values for their children, as well as the lowest report of conflict of all the families. Level of detail did not seem to support the differential school readiness profiles within these families of school-age children as it has in previous studies, although specificity did vary by content regarding academic themes.

Results II conclusion. Taken together, the coding of the qualitative interviews for parent-child relationship content resulted in eight over-arching codes and 56 sub-codes.

The over-arching code of Relationship Description included Closeness and Conflict, as found within the literature to be central concepts of parent-child relationship, but also included descriptions of relationships as "normal" or "typical" as well. Closeness and Conflict elements from the PCR measure mapped on moderately to the sub-codes described in the parental interviews, while several elements of the Closeness, Conflictual, and Normal sub-codes from the interviews were not evident within the PCR. Although the percentage of interviews in which content was coded did not differ vastly, an interesting finding emerged from latent class membership comparisons, in that LSLC parents had the fewest interviews with a Conflict code, supporting their quantitative report which also indicated that they perceived the least conflictual relationships with their child.

Discussion

To address the shortcomings within and between the poverty, family resilience, and parent-child relationship literatures, the current study utilized a dataset with a mixed-methods design focusing on impoverished Black families within an urban southern city. A poverty-centered framework (e.g., McLoyd's (1990) Family Stress Model) was conceptualized with aspects of a resilience (e.g., Patterson's (1988) FAAR model) framework in order to understand families who may not fit the traditional trajectories associated with financial and general stress with regard to parent-child relationships. The purpose of this study was to determine how families described parent-child relationships through quantitative and qualitative methods, and how this relationship functions in the context of financial and general stressors in the prediction of child school readiness

indicators (e.g., academic performance, psychosocial development, and socioemotional skills). In this chapter, I will begin by discussing the results of each research question in turn. In subsequent sections, I will bring together themes from across the questions to reflect on specific gaps which this dissertation seeks to address and provide implications for research and practice.

Overall, this study has several key results. While the parent-child literature is diffuse and plentiful, few studies identify factors that may be salient for low-income Black families relative to their peers, yet the parenting literature is replete with differential parenting strategies that promote varying outcomes in children (Sorkhabi & Mandara, 2013). Although linear associations between financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationships with low income Black families held, by and large, there appears to be evidence to suggest that some families are variant. In this study, four profiles of families were found that featured different combinations of levels of stress and conflict, including relatively high, moderate, and low levels of conflict and mirrored stress (e.g., low stress-low conflict), and a moderate stress and high conflict group. Furthermore, children in families in the moderate stress-high conflict group had less desirable school readiness outcomes relative to children in families with greater stress but lower levels of conflict. Quantitative and qualitative strategies both supported the idea that parents showed little variability in closeness, yet were more disparate in reports of conflict. Finally, while the majority of content in the qualitative interviews was represented within the literature, several important constructs were provided that may improve our understanding of low-income Black family relationships.

The dearth of literature regarding the measurement of low-income Black families' parent-child relationships made comparisons to this study's population particularly difficult in RQ1. On the one hand, a lack of cross-racial comparative studies is promising, given the negative attributes historically associated with a differential and dysfunctional comparative lens (Moynihan, 1965; Peters, 1988). On the other hand, few studies have explored a within-racial depiction of child-parent relationships, which promotes a uni-dimensional way in which all parents and children relate to each other (Luster & McAdoo, 1996). Furthermore, while closeness is of great interest for parent and child relationships, the poor validity and fit to the data within this particular sample may be indicative of varying patterns of strategies maintained by low-income Black families relative to normed samples. Given that low levels of conflict were reported among the families, conflict scores–while predictive of unique variance in children's school readiness indicators relative to closeness scores (Healy, Sanders, & Iyer, 2014)–may need to be examined through a contextual and cultural lens to assess whether aspects seen as normative to families (e.g., having arguments, etc.) are separate from parental-conceived conflict (Dixon, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008).

The expectation that McLoyd's (1990) Family Stress model would explain the relationships between parental stress, parent-child relationship, and school readiness variables was supported within this study in RQ2. Given that the model was crafted to better explain the stress-related processes of low-income Black families and has been supported in additional studies with similar populations (Conger et al., 2002; Gutman, McLoyd, & Tokoyawa, 2005), it was also expected to explain relationships between

stress variables within this sample. On the other hand, the stress scores reported by parents were relatively low, indicating differences between expected stressors due to poverty and reported stressors by the study population. Given that both the parenting and resilience literature has focused on the importance of reframing potentially negative events into realistic or positive meanings, qualitative interviews may serve as an explanatory vehicle for why parents within this population were not reporting stressors to the degree that we would imagine based on quantitative measures.

The parental stress and problem variables, however, were not associated with teacher-reported child school readiness scores. The literature supports the findings that parent and teacher reports were not correlated, were not similarly predictive of school readiness, and treated separately (Iruka et al., 2010; Pianta, Nimetz, & Bennett, 1997). The literature also provides a number of reasons for such disparate reports, namely: differential behaviors between home and school, varying expectations from parent to teacher, and varying stress levels at time of measurement which can influence how a reporter perceives and reports on constructs such as child characteristics (e.g., start of school year for teachers and relief from summer care for parents). While parent scores of psychosocial and socioemotional readiness were not correlated with academic school readiness, regardless of latent class membership, teacher scores were. This finding contrasts prior studies that found associations between parent-child relationships and academic and social readiness while teacher scores were predictive of social readiness (Iruka et al., 2010). Given that parents and teachers are the primary instructors of young children, their disparate scores—whether it was from differing behaviors at home and

school or different ratings of the same behaviors—are of concern with regard to what is expected of children for school entry (Swick, Brown, & Boutte, 1994).

With regard to RQ 3, no literature was found to utilize a cluster or profile approach to investigate whether parental risk variables may be supported by non-linear relationships, thus, a hypothesis was not made within this study. While there was limited variability within measures, four unique clusters emerged that elucidated the relationships between financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship problems. Although three of the four groups appeared to be best explained by linear relationships with respect to their means (e.g., High Stress/High Control "HSHC", Moderate Stress/Moderate Control "MSMC", and Low Stress/Low Control "LSLC"), a fourth group (e.g., Moderate Stress/High Conflict "MSHC") emerged that showed that approximately 15% of the study population had higher than expected reports of conflictual relationships relative to their moderate financial and general stress. Although the findings regarding parent-reported psychosocial and socioemotional readiness variables indicated that the children in LSLC were reported to have the most desirable scores, it should be noted that children in MSHC had less desirable scores than the MSMC, implicating the high level of parent-child relationship conflict as a distinguishing factor from the similarly moderate-stress profile. As supported by the literature, more conflictual relationships have been demonstrated to be more harmful to students for school entry (Connell & Prinz, 2002; Pianta et al., 1997), so this profile approach supports this literature.

While the construct of parent-child relationship has been explored in the quantitative literature, this exploration of the parent-child relationship added to a small

body of literature investigating low-income parental perceptions of their relationship with their child through qualitative methodology through RQ4 (Sidebotham, 2001; Treutler & Epkins, 2003). Although the definition and measurement of parent-child relationship is rather disparate across the fields of psychology and education (DeCato Murphy, Donohue, Azrin, Teichner, & Crum, 2003), the themes reported by the parents through the qualitative interviews mapped on to constructs within both qualitative and quantitative literatures, namely, Parental Characteristics or Parenting Practices, Child Characteristics, Expectations, Routines, and over-arching codes of Closeness and Conflict (Attili, Vermigli, & Roazzi, 2010; Connell & Prinz, 2002; Driscoll & Pianta, 2011; Luster & McAdoo, 1996; Ostrov & Bishop, 2008; Taylor, 2011). However, studies indicated potential differential impacts of the parent-child relationship quality to school readiness by ethnicity (Morrison, Rimm-Kauffman, & Pianta, 2003), thus, an exploration of the specific indicators of parent-child relationship reported by low-income Black families adds a greater understanding to the constructs and the processes associated with child development in low-income Black urban families.

It is not surprising that some of the constructs that emerged from the interviews were not found in the quantitative measures of PCR, given the under-representation of low-income Black families in the literature and the specific lack of in-depth exploration of the construct with this population As an example, the sub-code of Normal emerged from the interviews, however, the literature has been largely silent as it pertains to moderate or typical relationships. As support, each of the items on the Parent-Child Relationship (PCR) measure had either a Conflict or Closeness valence, which is similar

to the vast majority of parent-child relationship scales (Coffman, Guerin, & Gottfied, 2006; Gerard, 1994; Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006). However, half of the PCR constructs were found within the parent-child relationship codes in the qualitative interviews. Several conflictual items from the PCR were not represented within the interviews, given that the report of conflict was largely absent from both PCR and interviews, and a more in-depth discussion regarding possible reasons for the absence of conflict (e.g., positive impression management, social desirability, cross-cultural match, etc.) will be reported later.

The final research question (RQ5) explored potential patterns of qualitative themes across the four latent classes identified through earlier analysis. Generally, most parents, regardless of classification, reported close relationships with their children as well as fairly equivalent percentages of strategies and components of the relationship contributing to this closeness. Moreover, the families in LSLC also had the fewest interviews reporting conflictual relationships. It appears that, regardless of method, parents within LSLC were able to identify themselves as least conflict-driven, a finding that has been positively associated with a host of school readiness indicators (Driscoll & Pianta, 2011; Healy et al., 2014; Ostrov & Bishop, 2008), however, it also appeared that LSLC parents were more concrete in their examples of strategies and hopes for their children with regard to academic preparation.

Addressing the Shortcomings

Parent-child relationships. In total, this study contributes to a parent-child relationship literature that, while well explored, lacks precision with regard to definition

and evidence regarding low-income Black familial practices. Although Pianta (1997) stated the need for convergence in defining aspects of parent-child relationships so that school readiness predictors could be better understood, research over the past decade and a half has made few strides in achieving this goal. While the measurement of parenting behaviors, practices, and beliefs with consideration of the dyadic relationship was a necessary and important step from the parenting literature, few studies have agreed upon the constructs important within this parent-child relationship. Furthermore, the parenting literature, which is ripe with theory and empirical evidence indicating differences between sociocultural groups with regard to parenting style (Coll et al., 1996; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, & Updegraff, 2013), differs vastly from the parent-child literature which has little evidence supporting theories that would inform our understanding of relationships between impoverished and Black families (Hill, 2011; Iruka, 2009; Mandara, Murray, Telesford, Varner, & Richman, 2012; Mowder, Shamah, & Zeng, 2010). Given the imprecision of the current definition of parent-child relationship, components of parenting practices that have been found to vary by race (e.g., warmth, "no-nonsense" approaches, physical punishment, etc.) may be incorporated within parent-child relationship measures in order to better understand varying components of parental strategies and subsequent relationships.

Poverty and associated stressors. The sociocultural history of poverty in the region where the participants in this study reside was of conceptual interest for this study. The unexpected relatively low and moderate stress scores reported by parents in this particular city contributed to the impetus for exploring relationships between parent-child

interactions and child outcomes, since families living in impoverished areas have been found to have greater levels of stress than their counterparts (Conger et al., 2002a). While competing hypotheses exist for the impact of poverty on families–that is, that poverty contributes to financial strain, general strain or depression, and tenuous parent-child relationships, which leads to negative outcomes in children (Conger et al., 1992; McLoyd, 1990) or that poverty can be adapted to in bonadaptive ways in order to minimize one's financial and general strain, which can lead to productive parent-child interactions and desirable child outcomes (Patterson, 1988; Wadsworth et al., 2013)–it was evident from this study that linear relationships from stressors to child outcomes hold, by and large.

The Family Stress Model defined by McLoyd (1990) for low-income Black families was more evident within the quantitative typologies, given that, in addition to the relatively stable linear relationships between the variables amidst the HSHC, MSMC, and LSLC typologies, the MSHC group experienced exaggerated general stressors and parent-child relationship problems relative to their moderate financial stress peers. However, the qualitative interviews provided several clear examples of ways that parents reframe their financial stressors in order to protect themselves from general stressors and to contribute to successful lives for their children, akin to the newly proposed Adaptation to Poverty Related Stress (APRS) model by Wadsworth and colleagues (2013). The qualitative interviews also elucidated how stress and conflict may be externally driven, in that systemic problems impacting the parents (e.g., late or irregular work schedules) often

led to inconsistent routines with their children. Thus, stress and conflict may need to be examined with respect to various systems that may impact the home environment.

As conflict appeared to be the driving force in differences between families in both the quantitative and qualitative studies, a focus on the reduction of conflictual parent-child relationships appears warranted. Although low mean scores were reported across all latent classifications, differences within standardized conflict scores predicted differential psychosocial and sociocultural preparedness in 31 of the 127 families. On the other hand, over 75% of all families were represented in clusters in which they indicated either moderate or low levels of stress and conflict relative to both the sample mean and midpoint of the scale. While the positive relationships between stress and problem-related variables support models proposed by McLoyd (1990, 1998), Conger and colleagues (1992), and other poverty-focused scholars, the characterization that the majority of families who live in poverty are stressed and maintaining problematic relationships was not supported within the current study.

Indeed, the two prior findings together are of interest for the study population. While low reports of conflict were present throughout the quantitative and qualitative reports, the hypothesized "resilient" profile with low levels of conflict and high stressors did not emerge. It may be that families have capabilities and strategies to address coping in relation to either poverty or general stressors, but do not have as many resources to combat some of the difficulties associated with child-rearing after managing their other stressors. Alternatively, it may be that the cognitive load of addressing personal stress may deplete resources to minimize a conflictual relationship in a high stress environment.

Thus, parents who view their stressors more optimistically and/or actually have fewer stressors (e.g., low stress) may be more attentive to other aspects of their lives, such as parent-child relationship problems which may either allow parents to attend to parent-child relationship problems more effectively or may suggest that these parents view all stressors in relatively optimistic ways (e.g., low conflict). These, along with other potentially unearthed hypotheses, may explain why a high stress low conflict group did not emerge.

Other explanations may be an artifact of measurement. As an example, stress may be assessed in three ways: identification, appraisal, and management. A parent in this study may have identified, appraised, and/or managed her stressors differently from her counterparts, but with a singular form of measurement (e.g., self-report), it is difficult to assess which of the three components of stress is being perceived and reported by the parent. As an example, two parents facing the same objective stressor may rate their experience with the stress as relatively different. Detailed measurement of the objective and subjective stressor experience can help to promote more accurate responses in an intervention. Future work addressing the management of poverty, general, and parent-child relationship stressors can help to elucidate whether resilience can be cultivated through stress-reduction and conflict management skills.

Implications

While financial stress may have shown differential effects on familial functioning across typology, it was evident that financial stress, general stress, and parent-child relationship did not account for all of the variance between impoverished populations.

Thus, a reduction in poverty status more generally would likely be helpful for impoverished families, both in material acquisition and direct effects to children's overall well-being. Given that directly-assessed academic measures were below average for this particular sample, as is the case for low-income and minority children on average (Barbarin & Jean-Baptiste, 2013; Breslau et al., 2001), families with young children would likely benefit from the provision of other factors associated with school readiness and child development, including quality early care, health services, and safer environments (Yoshikawa, Aber, & Beardslee, 2012). Several recent studies have investigated how the dual-pronged approach of poverty-reduction (e.g., incentives, earned income tax credit (EITC), etc.) along with family support strategies (e.g., conditional cash transfers (CCT), etc.) work in tandem to improve family functioning, child well-being, and reduce poverty simultaneously (Morris, Aber, & Raver, 2012).

Additionally, evidence for the natural reframing of financial stressors was apparent within the study (e.g., "I can't dwell on what I haven't got"), thus, continued exploration of the APRS model, particularly as it pertains to family therapy with an explicit focus on financial stressors and problem-solving strategies, would be of great potential benefit to impoverished families struggling with maladaptive coping and subsequent personal stress (Wadsworth et al., 2013). Further, the qualitative interviews help to inform a literature that often describes the expectation that families experience greater amount of stressors because of their limited resources, when indeed, many parents explicitly told of their active reframing and relative comparison to those who had even fewer resources. It seems, then, that the measurement of subjective and objective poverty

and poverty stress would benefit our understanding of how both the literature and the participants themselves understand living in impoverished conditions.

Further, given that the APRS model addresses elements of the Family Stress model that are antecedents of the parent-child relationship, a possible supplemental intervention could explore the efficacy of working with parents with varying levels of stress in order to reduce conflict. Due to the indirect nature of the stress associated with poverty, intervention points are evident at each stressor, as noted in prior implications. Theories suggest that parents may adapt to the chronicity of poverty, but in families where this is not evident, interventions addressing specific aspects of the families' problems have been shown to reduce conflict and improve positive parenting behaviors in families with young children (Early Steps; Dishion et al., 2008). As evident in Figure 12, understanding the impact of interventions at varying points would help us to better provide services to at-risk families with school-age children living in poverty.

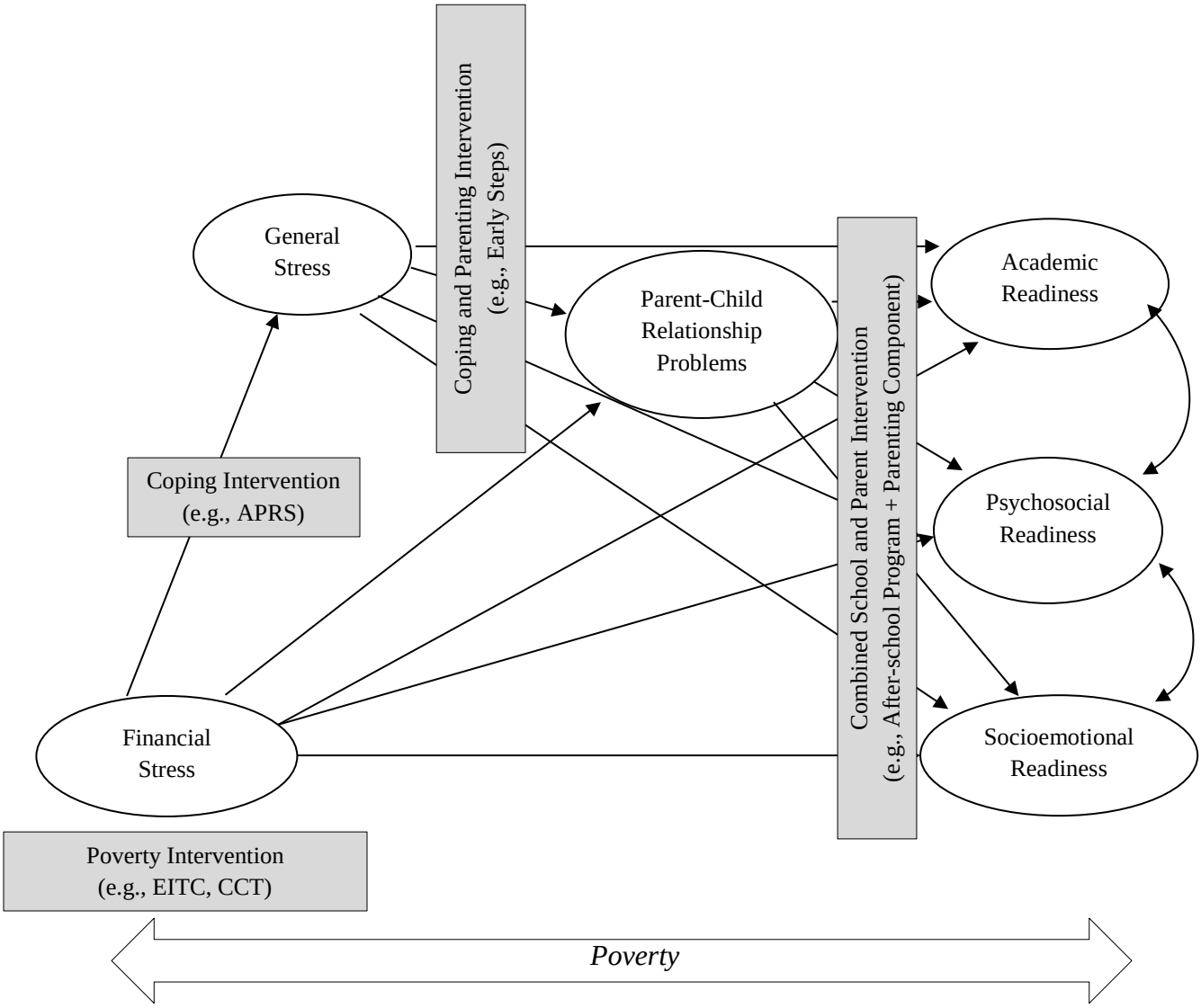

Figure 12. Possible intervention points in poverty stress transmission.

Given the important contribution of early socialization efforts by parents and disparate scores between parent and teacher reported prosocial and problem behaviors–whereby parents consistently rated their children as more prepared than the teachers–other intervention and prevention efforts aimed at working with children during after school hours may also consider components for home adaptation. Often times,

interventions may encourage behavior changes at facilities away from the household (e.g., within a classroom; after-school programs), and young children, in particular, may not know how to adapt behaviors in various settings. It may be of value for schools, educators, and intervention programs alike to communicate expectations and behavior management plans/curriculum to parents to encourage shared understanding of school readiness behaviors through increased parent/teacher events and rubrics for student expectations and competencies. As indicated by Bates and colleagues (2006), California has taken steps to coordinate efforts of care through the initiative "First 5". Led by the California Department of Education (CDoE), the First 5's School Readiness Working Group developed a plan to consider five essential elements of school readiness: a) early care and education, b) parenting education and family support services, c) health and social services, d) schools' readiness for children/school capacity, and e) program infrastructure, administration, and evaluation. Additional programs, such as the Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ) and other DoE sponsored "promise neighborhood" initiatives have underscored the importance of integrating parental involvement and education with that of the child (Duncan et al., 2007b).

Of greatest import, moreover, is how we measure the variables within the study, particularly parent-child relationship. Given the dearth of literature on Black parent-child relationships in particular, it is difficult to assess whether differences would be expected for this population relative to others. More generally, however, it is difficult to identify what is even meant by parent-child relationship when measures vary by reporter and construct. It is evident from this study that while aspects of conflict are reported less

frequently, the identification and admission of conflictual relationships matters with regard to student entry. Thus, more precise measurement of conflict (e.g., occurrence, frequency, gravity, etc.) may contribute to greater understanding of problems occurring within the home.

Limitations

Several shortcomings exist within the current study. Namely, this is the first wave of a longitudinal study, and the cross-sectional results only explore the Kindergarten school-year. As the project progresses, academic, behavioral, and pro-social outcomes will be available for these youth throughout second grade allowing for growth-curve modeling and other longitudinal analytic approaches. Further, potential impacts from the after-school intervention may be evident as the recommended two-year dosage is reached, thus, an investigation of the intervention as it interacts with familial functioning may be especially ripe.

Although I serve on the primary data analyses team, I joined the study after the quantitative and qualitative items were selected for Wave 1 data collection. Thus, some of the questions I would have found important for this study (e.g., "How do you resolve your challenges?", "What is your monthly/annual income?" etc.) were not included in the current study. The lack of specificity regarding income and poverty status greatly impacted the ability to hypothesize about the impact of poverty on familial systems. For example, the majority of parents (> 80%) received financial support, thus, a specific measure of income may be of benefit when assessing whether level of financial hardship was a factor that operated separate from or in conjunction with meaning-making about

poverty. It should be noted, however, that these and other items have been included in Wave 2 data collection, so a follow-up study can utilize these important constructs.

A relatively small sample for quantitative interviews limited the analyses that could be conducted for the SEM and latent classifications. Two of the latent groups had sample sizes less than the recommended 20 participants, and some findings at the marginally significant level may have been more statistically supported if there was enough power. Additionally, the high number of parameters relative to sample size likely strained the SEM model and made it impossible to test via latent classification. Thus, a greater sample size will allow a test between the relationships of the predictor variables as well as that of the outcome variables between varying typologies.

Given that some parents explicitly mentioned difficulty or ease in raising a study child relative to another child, a measure of child temperament may have been useful as a control or explanatory variable within the study. As noted by Rudasill and Rimm-Kaufman (2009), teacher-child relationship is greatly impacted by child temperament, thus, similar qualities may be evident in the school and home settings based on how the child experiences his or her environment.

Of great concern to the potential issue of social desirability was that the collection of quantitative interviews was conducted verbally rather than in other ways. While the members of the study team wanted to ensure that the participants understood the items verbally rather than in print, other studies have demonstrated that technology (e.g., iPad or laptop computer) can assist in the collection of data in order to encourage candid responses and a sense of privacy (Morsbach & Prinz, 2006). This method may also

reduce any cross-cultural concerns that may arise when study populations and research institutions differ in sociodemographic background.

Finally, while this study was not comparative in nature, a lack of comparison to other low-income families of varying ethnicities hinders my ability to conclude that parent-child relationships differ in Black families relative to others. With respect to varying definitions of parent-child relationship, it is difficult to make assumptions across studies that indicate differences between families within this sample relative to other parents. Thus, an important next step within the field is to secure a variety of families with varying backgrounds and residential environments in order to assess how relationships and experiences with poverty are expressed and observed within families.

Future Directions

Several avenues of future study emerged from this project. Of primary import is the continued call for improved measurement and definitional convergence of parent-child relationship, particularly those in low-income Black families. Given that the validity of parent-child relationship measures differed across samples, the development of a theory driving which components comprise the construct and why they may differ based on sociodemographic characteristics is important. This qualitative study, along with additional focus groups and qualitative interviews, may help to contribute to a definition of constructs found important to low-income Black families in urban environments and to measures that adequately define closeness, conflict, and normalcy within these relationships. Focus groups may be particularly interesting since the

discourse between parents can contribute to agreement or disagreement in shared importance and use.

Although conflict was an important focus within the quantitative report, having a measure that adequately represents closeness within low-income Black parent-child relationships would be exceptionally informative. Given that mother-child relationships have been shown to moderate maternal involvement and child literacy and mathematics skills (Simpkins, Weiss, McCartney, Kreider, & Dearing, 2006), conflict may be better suited at detecting behavioral and pro-social indicators, while closeness may help to explain the unassociated academic findings. Thus, more precise measurement of low-income Black family closeness derived from this qualitative study may be of use to future studies of financial risk, general risk, and parent-child relationships more fully.

Additionally, given the linear relationships between stress and conflictual relationships, stress reduction is important in the lives of those in poverty, particularly the most stressed clusters. As acknowledged previously, a reduction in poverty overall is ideal, however, efforts focused on the specific reduction of stressors may create the opportunity to bolster parent-child relationships. Although the access, utilization, and quality of mental health care within low-income areas is relatively low, there may be ways to encourage parental components alongside after school programs or interventions, such as group therapy, exercise, or mindfulness practices. Further, programs targeted at children or the family may address individual parent factors (e.g., depression) and familial dynamics (e.g., how to support mom when she is depressed) in order to improve parent functioning and subsequent child school readiness.

Finally, qualitative interviews provided nuanced understanding of ways in which low-income Black parents expressed being close or had conflict with their children. Methodologies for future studies may include ways to capture these experiences *in-vivo*, perhaps by daily diary records or prompts via text (e.g., "When was the last time you had a conversation with your child? How did it go?"). Further, group parenting workshops could work to take the abstract (e.g., "We do homework") to the concrete (e.g., "We do homework when my child gets home from school for 30 minutes with no distractions") in order to encourage the implementation of these practices within the home. Given that differences were not found in the ways families expressed concrete descriptions of academic encouragement, several recommendations are considered. First, a longitudinal approach may naturally detect differences between families as children develop and become less reliant on their parents, as may have been the case with the middle-school sample used to base this hypothesis (Gutman & McLoyd, 2002). If this is not the case, however, better detection tools (e.g., *in-vivo* records or filming after-school routines) may help to elucidate what the specific practices are encouraging differential school readiness in low-income Black children and their families.

Conclusion

Poverty can prove challenging to any person individually, but family systems within impoverished environments can be particularly strained by limited resources, energy, and greater conflict between family members. Although families experienced some of the stressors associated with poverty in differential ways, evidence suggests that families with the relatively lowest financial strain, general strain, and conflict in parent-

child relationships perceive their children to have the most optimal psychosocial and socioemotional well-being. Further, their report of relatively less conflict extends across methodology, while qualitative data provides more detail as to how their relationships may be process-oriented rather than declarative. This study also indicated that low-income Black families can contribute to our knowledge of parent-child relationships in varying contexts, given that there were few reports of negative content that did not have a resolution or positive attempt at reframing the situation. Although challenges may be present for these families, an interview excerpt stating “all you can do is make it better” highlights the resilience within these families and their desire to improve upon the struggles that may be present. It is my hope that their stories encourage us as researchers to think more critically about the measurement we exercise when assessing them and create varying theories that can support the relationships found for low-income Black families within urban environments as they prepare their children for their futures.

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Appendix A

Economic Hardship (Financial Strain and Perceived Stress Scale)

Financial Strain

	Scale						
	1. Not at all	2. A little	3. Somewhat	4. A lot	5. Very	Don't know	Prefer not to answer
1. How difficult is it for you to live on your total household income right now?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
2. In the next two months, how much do you anticipate that you or your family will experience actual hardships such as inadequate (meaning NOT adequate) housing, food, or medical attention?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
3. In the next two months, how much do you anticipate having to reduce your standard of living to the bare necessities of life?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF

Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen, 1983)

*a Scored in the reverse direction	1. Never	2. Almost never	3. Sometimes	4. Fairly often	5. Very often	Don't know	Prefer not to answer
1. In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
2. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
3. In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and "stressed"?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
4. *a In the last month, how often have you dealt successfully with irritating life hassles?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
5. *a In the last month, how often have you felt that you were effectively coping with important changes that were occurring in your life?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
6. *a In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
7. *a In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
8. In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
9. *a In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
10. *a In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
11. In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that happened that were outside of your control?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
12. In the last month, how often have you found yourself thinking about things that you have to accomplish?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
13. *a In the last month, how often have you been able to control the way you spend your time?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
14. In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them? **(If need clarification:** In other words, in the last month, how often have you had so many hardships pile up that you've felt overwhelmed?)	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF

Appendix B

Parent-Child Relationship

Parenting Stress

	Scale					
	1. Not at all true	2. Somewhat true	3. Mostly true	4. Completely true	Don't know	Prefer not to answer
1. {CHILD} and I often have warm, close times together.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
2. Most of the time I feel that {CHILD} likes me and wants to be near me.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
3. I am usually too busy to joke and play around with {CHILD}.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
4. Even when I'm in a bad mood, I show {CHILD} a lot of love.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
5. By the end of a long day, I find it hard to be warm and loving toward {CHILD}.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
6. I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding {CHILD}.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
7. Being a parent is harder than I thought it would be.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
8. {CHILD} does things that really bother me.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
9. I find myself giving up more of my life to meet {CHILD}'s needs than I ever expected.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
10. I feel trapped by my responsibilities as a parent.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
11. I often feel angry with {CHILD}.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
12. {CHILD} seems harder to care for than most.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
13. I find taking care of a young child more work than pleasure.	1	2	3	4	DK	RF

Appendix C

Qualitative Interview Items

1. What is your relationship with [the study child]?

5. What are the biggest joys in your family?

6. What are the biggest challenges faced by your family?

7. Has your family had any major events happen within the last year (e.g., death or birth, moving, loss of a job, gain of a job, marriage, divorce, etc.)?

8. Who does the child spend time with every week when they are not in school?

9. Are there other people in the child's life who they don't spend time with on a weekly basis but are still important who are not on the previous table?

10. Tell me about your neighborhood.
f. What things do you like about your neighborhood?
g. What things do you dislike about your neighborhood, if anything?
h. What kinds of things are there for kids to do in your neighborhood (for example, parks, after-school centers, programs run by churches, etc)?
i. What kinds of challenges are faced by families in your neighborhood, if any?]

13. How far do you hope your child will go in school?

14. How far do expect him/her to go, at a minimum, otherwise you would be disappointed?

15. How much do you think going far in school is related to being successful in life?

16. How much influence, if any, do you feel you have over your child's academic achievement?

Appendix D

Demographic Items

3. What is your date of birth? __ __/ __ __/ __ __
Month Day Year

4. What is your ethnicity or race?

1. Black/ Afri. Amer	2. Native Amer/ Indian	3. White/ Caucasian	4. Hispanic/ Spanish/Latino	5. Asian	6. Other	7. Multi-racial

11. What is the highest level of education of this child's mother? _____

13. Including the study child, who are the other children who live in the child's home?

Name	Relationship to child	Age	Gender	Educational Level (Grade Level)

14. Including yourself, who are all of the adults who live in the child's home?

Name	Relationship to child	Age	Gender	Education level (Primary Caregiver Only)	Employment status (Primary Caregiver Only)	Employment pay rate	Employment schedule (hours per week)

Appendix E

Child Parent Relationship Scale (CPRS)

	Definitely does not apply	Not really	Neutral, not sure	Applies somewhat	Definitely applies	Don't know	Refuse.
1. I share an affectionate, warm relationship with my child.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
2. My child and I always seem to be struggling with each other.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
3. If upset, my child will seek comfort from me.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
4. My child is uncomfortable with physical affection or touch from me.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
5. My child values his/her relationship with me.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
6. When I praise my child, he/she beams with pride.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
7. My child spontaneously shares information about himself/herself.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
8. My child easily becomes angry at me.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
9. It is easy to be in tune with what my child is feeling.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
10. My child remains angry or is resistant after being disciplined.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
11. Dealing with my child drains my energy.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
12. When my child is in a bad mood, I know we're in for a long and difficult day.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
13. My child's feelings towards me can be unpredictable or can change suddenly.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
14. My child is sneaky or manipulative with me.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
15. My child openly shares his/her feelings and experiences with me.	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF

Appendix F

Transition to Kindergarten

We are interested in learning about children's adjustment during the first three weeks of school. Some children have a difficult time becoming accustomed to the classroom environment whereas others have an easy time with this transition. Consider the behavior of the child named above during the first three weeks of school. To what degree are these statements true?

Question	Not Observed/ Not Applicable	No, not at all true		Some-times true		Yes, very true
1. This child lacks academic skills.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
2. This child has shown difficulty following directions.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
3. This child has shown difficulty working as part of a group.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
4. This child has shown difficulty getting along with other children.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
5. This child has shown difficulty working independently.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
6. This child has shown difficulty communicating or with language problems.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
7. This child seems immature for kindergarten.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
8. This child has shown difficulty sitting appropriately during circle time or other times when they are expected to sit.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
9. This child has shown difficulty adjusting to the schedule or the rhythm of the day.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
10. This child has shown difficulty respecting my authority as a teacher.	NA	1	2	3	4	5
11. This child has shown difficulty taking turns or waiting until his/her turn to speak.	NA	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix G

Differential Abilities Scale – II (DAS-II)

Differential Ability Scales®
Second Edition

Name _____

Age _____ _____
YEARS MONTHS

Examiner _____

Early Years Record Form

	Year	Month	Day
Date of Testing			
Date of Birth			
Age at Testing			

(Disregard the Days)

Verbal Comprehension

Materials	Suggested Start Points	Administration Points	Decision Points	Alternative Stop Point
Teddy Bear photo Box of toys Primary grip pencil Inset tray of wooden figures Nine colored chips Stimulus Book 3	**Ages 2:6–3:11** Item 1 **Ages 4:0–5:11** Item 6 **Ages 6:0–7:11** Item 13 **Ages 8:0–8:11** Item 24	You may repeat an item only once if the child asks or appears not to understand.	Fewer than 3 wrong: **Continue** to next decision point. Fewer than 3 right: **Go Back** to previous start point if applicable.	**Items 1–23:** 5 consecutive failures **Items 24–36:** 3 failures in 4 consecutive items **Items 37–42:** None

General Instructions	Item		Score 0–1	
2:6–3:11	**Teddy Bear:** Show the picture of the teddy bear to the child and say: **What is this?** (pause) **Yes, it's a teddy bear. Have a good look at it.**	1 Show me teddy's eyes.		
		2 Show me teddy's mouth.		
		3 Show me teddy's arms.		
		4 Show me teddy's ears.		
		5 Show me teddy's legs.		
4:0–5:11	**Toys:** Take the toys out of the box and place the open box, the toys, and the primary grip pencil in a row in front of the child. Say: **Look at these toys.** (Examiner does **not** name toys.) After administering each item, place the toy(s) back in the row.	6 Give me the car.		
		7 Give me the horse.		
		8 Give me the watch.		
		9 Put the horse in the box.		
		10 Give me the one we draw with. (pencil)		
		11 Give me the one that shows the time. (watch)		
		12 Give me all the animals. (dog, cat, horse)		◆ Item Set 1–12
6:0–7:11	**Inset Tray:** Place the inset tray, with the figures in position, in front of the child. Say: **Look at all these.** Point in turn to each object in the inset tray and name the objects as follows: **bridge, house, car, tree, truck, tree, child, house, child.** Then say: **Show me the car; stand it up.** After administering each item, put the figures(s) back in the tray.	13 Put a tree behind your back.		
		14 Make the truck move to me.		
		15 Make a child stand on the bridge.		
		16 Put the car under the bridge.		
		17 Make the two children face each other.		
		18 When I put down the tree, pick up the car. (Pause 2 seconds before putting down tree.)		
		19 Put the tree that is little next to the house that is big.		
		20 While you touch the truck, give me the car.		
		21 Put a house on each side of the car.		
		22 Before you give me the truck, give me the little house.		
		23 Put a child between the trees.		◆ Item Sets 1–23, 6–23

(Continues on next page.)

(Use this table to calculate Ability Score on next page.)

Verbal Comprehension
Raw Score to Ability Score

Raw Score	Item Set 1–12	1–23	6–23	13–36	24–36	24–42
0	10(12)	10(12)				
1	14(11)	14(11)	35(12)	78(11)	116(11)	112(11)
2	24(9)	24(9)	47(11)	88(9)	124(8)	120(8)
3	31(8)	31(8)	58(10)	95(8)	130(7)	126(7)
4	37(8)	37(8)	68(10)	100(7)	135(7)	130(6)
5	43(8)	42(7)	76(9)	106(7)	140(6)	134(6)
6	48(8)	48(8)	82(8)	110(7)	144(6)	137(6)
7	55(9)	54(8)	88(7)	115(7)	148(6)	140(5)
8	63(10)	61(9)	92(7)	119(6)	152(6)	143(5)
9	74(11)	69(9)	97(7)	123(6)	156(7)	146(5)
10	87(11)	77(8)	101(7)	127(6)	161(7)	148(5)
11	99(12)	83(7)	106(7)	130(6)	166(8)	151(5)
12		88(7)	111(7)	133(6)	175(11)	154(5)
13		92(7)	116(8)	136(5)		157(6)
14		97(7)	123(8)	139(5)		160(6)
15		101(7)	129(8)	142(5)		164(6)
16		106(7)	137(9)	145(5)		168(7)
17		111(7)	147(11)	148(6)		173(8)
18		116(8)		151(6)		182(11)
19		123(8)		154(6)		187(16)
20		129(8)		158(6)		
21		137(9)		162(7)		
22		147(11)		168(8)		
23				176(11)		
24						

Picture Similarities

Materials	Suggested Start Points	Administration Points	Decision Points	Alternative Stop Point
Stimulus Book 3 Picture Similarities card deck	Ages 2:6–4:5 Item 1 Ages 4:6–5:11 Item 12 Ages 6:0–8:11 Item 18	= Teaching item Responses are presented from the child's view.	Fewer than 3 wrong: **Continue** to next decision point. Fewer than 3 right: **Go Back** to previous start point if applicable.	3 failures in 4 consecutive items

	Item	Response	Score 0–1	Teaching Statement
2:6–4:5	1	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because it is just like this one.
	2	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because it is just like this one.
	3	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because these are both cuddly toys.
	4	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both of these pictures show trees.
	5	1 2 3 4		The card goes best with this picture because you wear a sock on your foot.
	6	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both of these pictures show flowers.
	7	1 2 3 4		
	8	1 2 3 4		
	9	1 2 3 4		
	10	1 2 3 4		
	11	1 2 3 4		
4:6–5:11	12	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both things show the world.
	13	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both shapes are all black.
	14	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both shapes have four dots.
	15	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both are ways of measuring.
	16	1 2 3 4		
	17	1 2 3 4		
6:0–8:11	18	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both children are sitting down.
	19	1 2 3 4		The card goes here because both shapes are divided into two parts.
	20	1 2 3 4		
	21	1 2 3 4		
	22	1 2 3 4		
	23	1 2 3 4		
	24	1 2 3 4		

Item Set 1–17

Item Sets 1–24, 12–24

Item	Response	Score 0–1
25	1 2 3 4	
26	1 2 3 4	
27	1 2 3 4	
28	1 2 3 4	
29	1 2 3 4	
30	1 2 3 4	
31	1 2 3 4	
32	1 2 3 4	

Item Sets 12–32, 18–32

Raw Score ____

Item Set Administered ____ to ____

Ability Score ____

Picture Similarities

Raw Score to Ability Score

Raw Score	Item Set 1–17	Item Set 1–24	Item Set 12–24	Item Set 12–32	Item Set 18–32
0	10 (13)	10 (13)			
1	16 (11)	16 (11)	55 (11)	55 (11)	74 (11)
2	25 (8)	25 (8)	64 (8)	63 (8)	83 (8)
3	31 (7)	31 (7)	70 (7)	69 (7)	88 (7)
4	36 (7)	36 (7)	75 (7)	74 (7)	93 (7)
5	41 (7)	41 (7)	79 (7)	78 (6)	97 (6)
6	45 (6)	45 (6)	83 (6)	82 (6)	101 (6)
7	49 (6)	49 (6)	87 (6)	86 (6)	105 (6)
8	53 (6)	52 (6)	91 (6)	89 (6)	109 (6)
9	57 (6)	56 (6)	96 (7)	93 (6)	113 (6)
10	61 (6)	60 (6)	100 (7)	96 (6)	117 (6)
11	65 (6)	63 (6)	106 (8)	99 (6)	122 (7)
12	69 (7)	67 (6)	115 (11)	103 (6)	127 (7)
13	74 (7)	71 (6)		106 (6)	133 (8)
14	79 (7)	74 (6)		110 (6)	142 (11)
15	85 (8)	78 (6)		114 (6)	152 (16)
16	93 (11)	81 (6)		118 (6)	
17		85 (6)		122 (7)	
18		88 (6)		127 (7)	
19		92 (6)		133 (8)	
20		96 (7)		142 (11)	
21		101 (7)		152 (16)	
22		107 (8)			
23		115 (11)			
24					

Appendix H

Woodcock-Johnson-III Tests of Achievement (WJ-III)

STANDARD BATTERY

Test 1 Letter-Word Identification

Basal: *6 lowest correct*
Ceiling: *6 highest incorrect*

Score 1, 0

1 ____ L

2 ____ A

3 ____ W
4 ____ S

5 ____ i
6 ____ y

7 ____ R
8 ____ N
9 ____ k

10 ____ red
11 ____ p
12 ____ Q
13 ____ b
14 ____ U

15 ____ see
16 ____ the

17 ____ is
18 ____ and
19 ____ go
20 ____ will
21 ____ not
22 ____ but
23 ____ from
24 ____ had

25 ____ keep
26 ____ said
27 ____ with
28 ____ light
29 ____ their
30 ____ which
31 ____ would
32 ____ use

33 ____ together
34 ____ young
35 ____ point
36 ____ piece
37 ____ built
38 ____ however
39 ____ enough
40 ____ practice

41 ____ bought
42 ____ interested
43 ____ knowledge
44 ____ diagram
45 ____ investigate
46 ____ process
47 ____ thermostat
48 ____ authority

49 ____ audience
50 ____ impatient
51 ____ fiercely
52 ____ courageous
53 ____ astronomer
54 ____ leagues
55 ____ deliberately
56 ____ essential

57 ____ acrylic
58 ____ chromosome
59 ____ apostrophe
60 ____ precipitate
61 ____ apparatus
62 ____ reminiscent
63 ____ italicized
64 ____ psychosis

65 ____ debris
66 ____ paraphernalia
67 ____ municipality
68 ____ melodious
69 ____ subsidiary
70 ____ euphemism

71 ____ trichinosis
72 ____ facetious
73 ____ phonemic
74 ____ ignominious
75 ____ tricot
76 ____ gouache

Number Correct (0–76)

Test 1 Letter-Word Identification
Scoring Table
Encircle row for the Number Correct.

Number Correct	AE (Est)*	GE (Est)*
0	<2-0	<K.0
1	2-5	<K.0
2	3-5	<K.0
3	3-11	<K.0
4	4-4	<K.0
5	4-7	<K.0
6	4-10	<K.0
7	5-0	K.0
8	5-2	K.1
9	5-4	K.2
10	5-6	K.3
11	5-7	K.4
12	5-9	K.5
13	5-10	K.6
14	6-0	K.7
15	6-1	K.8
16	6-2	K.8
17	6-3	K.9
18	6-4	1.0
19	6-5	1.1
20	6-6	1.2
21	6-7	1.2
22	6-8	1.3
23	6-9	1.4
24	6-10	1.5
25	6-11	1.6
26	7-0	1.6
27	7-1	1.7
28	7-1	1.8
29	7-2	1.9
30	7-3	1.9
31	7-4	2.0
32	7-5	2.1
33	7-6	2.2
34	7-7	2.3
35	7-8	2.3
36	7-9	2.4
37	7-10	2.5
38	7-11	2.6
39	8-0	2.7
40	8-1	2.8
41	8-3	3.0
42	8-4	3.1
43	8-6	3.2
44	8-7	3.3
45	8-9	3.5
46	8-11	3.6
47	9-1	3.7
48	9-3	3.9
49	9-5	4.1
50	9-8	4.3
51	9-11	4.5
52	10-2	4.7
53	10-6	4.9
54	10-9	5.2
55	11-1	5.5
56	11-5	5.8
57	11-9	6.1
58	12-1	6.4
59	12-6	6.8
60	12-10	7.2
61	13-2	7.6
62	13-7	8.0
63	14-0	8.5
64	14-6	9.1
65	15-0	9.7
66	15-7	10.4
67	16-3	11.3
68	17-1	12.4
69	18-1	13.8
70	19	15.0
71	19	16.8
72	20	>18.0
>72	>22	>18.0

*AE and GE are estimates of the precise values provided by the software scoring program.

Test 10 Applied Problems

Basal: *6 lowest correct*
Ceiling: *6 highest incorrect*

Score 1, 0

1 ____ 1 finger
2 ____ 2 fingers

3 ____ 1
4 ____ 2
5 ____ 1

6 ____ 2 *and* 3
7 ____ 2
8 ____ 3

9 ____ 1 *and* 3
10 ____ 2
11 ____ 2

12 ____ 5
13 ____ 5
14 ____ 4

15 ____ 3
16 ____ 4
17 ____ 4
18 ____ 7
19 ____ 7

20 ____ 1
21 ____ pencil and candy
22 ____ 7
23 ____ 7:50
24 ____ 5

25 ____ 12 cents
26 ____ 2
27 ____ 9:30
28 ____ 12 dollars
29 ____ 22 cents

30 ____ 5
31 ____ 70 cents
32 ____ $1.30
33 ____ $5.75
34 ____ 5

35 ____ 10
36 ____ 8
37 ____ 5
38 ____ 42 dollars
39 ____ 11:30

40 ____ 9
41 ____ $1,440
42 ____ 30 dollars
43 ____ 370
44 ____ 8

45 ____ $6.75
46 ____ $\frac{1}{2}$
47 ____ 25
48 ____ 4 and –2
49 ____ $\frac{3}{4}$

50 ____ 240 dollars
51 ____ 100 dollars
52 ____ 5
53 ____ 80.5
54 ____ $\frac{5}{6}$

55 ____ 5 and 3
56 ____ 12 minutes
57 ____ 50 centimeters (*centimetres*)
58 ____ between 226 and 226.3 cubic inches (*cubic centimetres*)

59 ____ $11,025
60 ____ 28 centimeters (*centimetres*)
61 ____ $y = 4 - 2x$
62 ____ .048 inches per minute (*centimetres per minute*)
63 ____ $16\sqrt{3}$ square inches (*square centimetres*)

Number Correct (0–63)

Note: Answers in parenthesis are for use with test pages that utilize the metric system.

Test 10 Applied Problems
Scoring Table
Encircle row for the Number Correct.

Number Correct	AE (Est)*	GE (Est)*
0	<2-0	<K.0
1	<2-0	<K.0
2	2-6	<K.0
3	2-10	<K.0
4	3-2	<K.0
5	3-4	<K.0
6	3-7	<K.0
7	3-9	<K.0
8	4-0	<K.0
9	4-2	<K.0
10	4-5	<K.0
11	4-7	<K.0
12	4-9	<K.0
13	4-11	<K.0
14	5-1	K.1
15	5-3	K.2
16	5-5	K.4
17	5-7	K.5
18	5-9	K.7
19	5-11	K.8
20	6-2	1.0
21	6-4	1.1
22	6-6	1.3
23	6-9	1.5
24	7-0	1.7
25	7-3	1.9
26	7-6	2.1
27	7-9	2.3
28	8-0	2.6
29	8-4	2.8
30	8-8	3.1
31	9-0	3.5
32	9-5	3.8
33	9-9	4.2
34	10-2	4.5
35	10-6	4.9
36	10-10	5.2
37	11-2	5.6
38	11-7	6.0
39	11-11	6.3
40	12-3	6.7
41	12-8	7.2
42	13-0	7.7
43	13-6	8.2
44	13-11	8.9
45	14-5	9.6
46	15-0	10.5
47	15-8	11.8
48	16-6	12.9
49	17-5	13.0
50	18-8	13.2
51	20	13.8
52	23	15.0
>52	>28	>18.0

*AE and GE are estimates of the precise values provided by the software scoring program.

Appendix I

Social Skills Improvement System (SSIS)

		Never	Seldom	Often	Almost Always	Don't Know	Refuse
1	Acts without thinking?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
2	Bullies others?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
3	Has difficulty waiting for turn?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
4	Does things to make others feel scared?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
5	Fidgets or moves around too much?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
6	Forces others to act against their will?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
7	Withdraws from others?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
8	Has temper tantrums?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
9	Keeps others out of social circles?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
10	Breaks into or stops group activities?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
11	Is aggressive toward people or objects?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
12	Gets embarrassed easily?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
13	Cheats in games or activities?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
14	Acts lonely?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
15	Is inattentive (In other words, is NOT attentive)?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
16	Fights with others?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
17	Says bad things about self?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
18	Disobeys rules or requests?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
19	Has low energy or is lethargic?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
20	Gets distracted easily?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
21	Talks back to adults?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
22	Acts sad or depressed?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
23	Lies or does not tell the truth?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF
24	Acts anxious with others?	1	2	3	4	DK	RF

Appendix J

Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA)

During the past 4 weeks, how often did the child…	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Occasionally	4.Frequently	5. Very Frequently	Don't know	Prefer not to answer
1. cope well with insults and mean comments?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
2. get along with different types of people?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
3. act respectfully in a game or competition?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
4. respect another person's opinion?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
5. contribute to group efforts?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
6. resolve a disagreement?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
7. share with others?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
8. cooperate with peers or siblings?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
9. forgive somebody who hurt or upset her/him?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
10. follow the example of a positive role model?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
11. compliment or congratulate somebody?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
12. accept responsibility for what she/he did?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
13. do something nice for somebody?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
14. make accurate statements about events in her/his life?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
15. show good judgment?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
16. pay attention?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
17. wait for her/his turn?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
18. show appreciation of others?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
19. focus on a task despite a problem or distraction?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
20. greet a person in a polite way?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
21. act comfortable in a new situation?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
22. teach another person to do something?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
23. attract positive attention from peers?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
24. perform the steps of a task in order?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF

25. seek advice?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
26. think before he/she acted?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
27. pass up something he/she wanted, or do something he/she did not like, to get something better in the future?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
28. express concern for another person?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
29. accept another choice when his/her first choice was unavailable?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
30. ask questions to clarify what he/she did not understand?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
31. show an awareness of her/his personal strengths?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
32. ask somebody for feedback?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
33. stay calm when faced with a challenge?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
34. attract positive attention from adults?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
35. describe how he/she was feeling?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
36. give an opinion when asked?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
37. make a suggestion or request in a polite way?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
38. learn from experience?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
39. follow the advice of a trusted adult?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
40. adjust well to changes in plans?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
41. show the ability to decide between right and wrong?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
42. use available resources (people or objects) to solve a problem?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
43. offer to help somebody?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
44. respond to another person's feelings?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF
45. adjust well when going from one setting to another?	1	2	3	4	5	DK	RF