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Adolescent openness to the parental viewpoint in narrative: Longitudinal prediction of adolescent adjustment

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Adolescent Openness to the Parental Viewpoint in Narrative: Longitudinal Prediction of Adolescent Adjustment

by

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Abstract

Adolescent openness to the parental viewpoint, as assessed through a narrative methodology, was tested as a longitudinal predictor of adolescent adjustment. Thirty adolescents (14 females, 16 males) were asked to describe their parents' perspective on matters considered important to their values and development. These narratives were scored via a newly developed 'parent voice' measure, which quantitatively rates the degree of openness and respect the adolescent extends to the parental viewpoint. Parent voice scores significantly predicted adolescent adjustment four years later. Furthermore, the findings suggest voice may be mediating the positive relationship between authoritative parenting and subsequent adolescent adjustment. The quality of the parent-child relationship, as measured by the voice, attachment, and parenting style measures, and its link to adolescent adjustment are discussed.

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Adolescent Openness to the Parental Viewpoint in Narrative: Longitudinal Prediction of Adolescent Adjustment

Research has shown a link between the parent-adolescent relationship and varying aspects of adolescent adjustment. The quality of the parent-adolescent relationship has been shown to be predictive of the adolescent's feelings of self-worth, anxiety levels (Delaney, 1996), attitude towards school (Shucksmith, Hendry, & Glendinning, 1995) and feelings of life satisfaction (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Parenting style, in particular, is a feature of the parent-child relationship that receives much empirical focus, as it is continually linked with a multitude of child outcomes. Specifically, children raised in authoritative homes, where parents provide consistent levels of warmth and strictness, tend to fare better on measures of social development, self-perception, and mental health than children raised in other family environments (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Given the demonstrated significance of the parent-child relationship to the psychological health of the child, future research in this area is warranted.

The current study offers an alternative method for measuring an aspect of the parent-child relationship that may contribute to adolescent adjustment. Specifically, the present study examines whether the adolescent's openness to the parental viewpoint in mid-adolescence, as assessed through a narrative methodology, is related to the adolescent's levels of self-esteem, loneliness, and/or feelings of optimism four years later, when they are entering early adulthood. In addition, the present study tests the prediction that the adolescent's openness to the parental perspective directly mediates the relations between authoritative parenting and the adolescent's adjustment, following a model proposed by Darling and Steinberg (1993). Despite the established link between

authoritative parenting and several measures of adolescent adjustment (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991), surprisingly little is known about how or why this process occurs. Thus, we investigated the possibility that the link between authoritative parenting and well-adjusted children was at least partially attributable to the indirect influence of the child's openness to the parental viewpoint.

While many aspects of family process have been established as being significantly related to children's wellbeing, little research has been devoted to examining long-term prediction from the parent-child bond to subsequent adjustment. In addition to utilizing longitudinal data over several years, into late adolescence (age 19-20), the current study employs a newly developed "parent voice" measure. This measure varies from traditional questionnaire measures of the parent-child relationship, in that it is an index, derived from adolescents' narratives of family life, of how open the adolescent is to the parental viewpoint (Mackey, Arnold, & Pratt, in press; Pratt, Arnold, & Mackey, in press). In essence, parent voice scores reflect the degree to which the parent's perspective has been actively incorporated into the adolescent's own thinking, and the extent to which this perspective has been engaged, respected and understood. It is expected that adolescents who are open to, and respectful of, their parents' perspective when they are age 16, will show better overall adjustment scores four years later, when they are 20. The results of this study should provide additional information on the narrative "parent voice" index as a reliable measure of adolescent openness to parental influence. Furthermore, scores on the voice index are expected to predict adolescent adjustment several years later. Such a result would help to show this novel technique to

be a valid means of investigating this particular quality of the parent-child relationship over time.

Utilizing this voice index technique has many benefits over conventional methods of measurement and observation. The voice measure may be a less obtrusive means of tapping into a person's response to another's viewpoint. This openness is relayed through narrative, perhaps without the person's intent or awareness. The way in which an adolescent portrays the parental viewpoint or "voice" while telling a story reveals much about how the parent's words have been respected and considered by the adolescent. In addition, an adolescent's narrative can also reveal the extent the adolescent has reflected on the parent's views, and given the parent's words personal meaning and relevance. Thus, the story technique is perhaps less reactive than traditional rating measures, in that a person's thoughts and feelings about another's viewpoint can be relayed without obvious inquiry about them. A comparable sense of the child's underlying attitudes might be difficult when using standard questionnaires and interviews, to which the adolescent may be more reactive. As "stories serve as a powerful qualitative lens through which to observe and document human experience and development" (Pratt et al., in press, p. 3), the current study will further examine narrative and the voice technique as a useful means of capturing a glimpse of this particular quality of the parent-child relationship.

The following review outlines some important findings in the study of parent-child relationships. Previous research on parenting styles, parent-child attachment, and voice has uncovered meaningful connections between these aspects of the parent-child relationship and child well-being. Research in these areas will be discussed, with

particular attention being extended to how these family processes may relate to adolescent self-esteem, optimism and loneliness. Finally, the Darling and Steinberg (1993) model of socialization will be explored in the context of our mediation hypothesis.

Parenting Styles

Many aspects of the parent-child relationship encompass and define the "quality" of the relationship. The parenting style of each parent, the parent-child bond, and the conversational style between parent and child are a few factors that contribute to the overall quality of the parent-child relationship. Parenting style, in particular, has received much attention in recent literature, and its relation to adolescent adjustment has been consistently demonstrated (Delaney, 1996; Lamborn et al., 1991; Shucksmith et al., 1995; Steinberg, Darling, Fletcher, Brown, & Dornbusch, 1995; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). Parenting styles are typically defined according to the degree of warmth (or 'responsiveness') and control (or 'demandingness') that parents exhibit in their parenting. Parents are usually categorized into one of four groups – authoritative, authoritarian, neglectful, or indulgent - depending on how they score on these two parenting style dimensions (Baumrind, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Child adjustment appears to be best nurtured by parents who employ the authoritative style of parenting. Authoritative parents combine a balance of control and support in rearing their children, and they use discussion and explanation in their disciplining (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). The authoritative parent's expectations are reasonable and suited to the child's individual capabilities and needs. These parents are said to have attained a balance between being overly strict and overly permissive. Adolescents raised by authoritative parents score higher on measures of achievement

(Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Elman, & Mounts, 1989), social development, and self-confidence (Lamborn et al., 1991) than adolescents raised in other family environments. Thus, adolescents raised by authoritative parents tend to show better overall adjustment than adolescents who are raised by parents who emit unbalanced levels of over-involvement (e.g., permissive or indulgent) and extreme strictness (e.g., authoritarian) in their parenting (Steinberg et al., 1995).

The focus of most of the earlier research in this domain examines the concurrent relationship between authoritative parenting and child adjustment. As a result, little is known about how this relationship changes over time. A longitudinal assessment of parenting style and adolescent adjustment showed adolescents from authoritative homes maintained or improved upon their high levels of adjustment from one year earlier (Steinberg et al., 1994). However, the benefits of authoritative parenting were thought to be more in the maintenance of previous levels of high adjustment in these adolescents, as opposed to promoting higher levels of adjustment over the year (Steinberg, et al., 1994). Adolescents from families with other parenting styles tended to show declines in adjustment over the year. The present study aims to expand upon the research by Steinberg and his colleagues (1994), by examining the relationship between authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment over four years. It is plausible that adolescents from authoritative homes show clear increases in their adjustment levels over time, but that these changes are not observable over short time frames.

A study examining older adolescents' dispositional optimism as a possible mediator of the relationship between authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment found university (Study 1) and high-school (Study 2) students to fare better on several

measures of personal and social adjustment (e.g., self-esteem and depression) when they perceived their parents to be highly authoritative (Jackson, Pratt, Hunsberger, & Pancer, 2000). These findings are particularly relevant to the current study, in that both studies examine the relationship between parenting style and adjustment in older adolescent samples. It appears as though past parenting style is a part of the parent-child relationship that may continue to affect adolescents' adjustment, even after they have "left the nest," as in the university sample studied by Jackson et al. (2000). As a child's feelings of self-worth likely depend substantially on how important and respected (s)he feels in the parent-child relationship, it is not surprising that children from authoritative environments score higher on measures of adjustment, and that this pattern persists into early adulthood.

Perhaps it is the open communication and reasonably flexible rules in the parent-child relationship that promote healthy adjustment in children from authoritative homes. Authoritative parents respect and value the child's viewpoint, which undoubtedly gives the child a sense of efficacy, optimism, and purpose (Jackson et al., 2000). It has been suggested that the parenting style literature be reinterpreted as showing that children from authoritative homes are well-adjusted because of this open bidirectional communication with their parents (Lewis, 1981). The present study offers a mediational model to test the theory that adolescent adjustment is related to authoritative parenting, in part, because of how open the child is to the parental viewpoint.

Jackson and her colleagues (2000) found the relationship between authoritative parenting and adjustment to be clearly mediated by the child's level of optimism. Parenting style predicted adolescent adjustment partially because it was related to the

adolescents' feelings of optimism. It was argued that the warm and responsive nature of the authoritative parent promoted feelings of optimism in the child, which in turn, provided a subsequent buffer to maladjustment (Jackson et al., 2000). However, it also seems plausible that other factors might mediate the parenting style – child adjustment relationship. To test this possibility, the current study predicts that authoritative parenting should produce adolescents who are open and responsive to their parents' words and point of view (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). This, in turn, is expected to lead to healthier adolescent adjustment. Thus, the positive relationship between authoritative parenting and healthy adjustment in adolescents is predicted to occur, in part, because the adolescent and parent share a close bond, in which viewpoints on both sides are readily listened to, considered, and respected. This particular mediational hypothesis has apparently not been tested explicitly before. However, it seems plausible that the nature of interaction in the authoritative family would promote the adolescent's willingness to be open to the views of his/her parents, and that this respect and closeness would protect the child from later maladjustment. The present study aims to test the theory that openness to the parental viewpoint is a child characteristic, like optimism, that may partly mediate the relationship between authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment.

While little is known about how these parenting style - child adjustment relationships are mediated, authoritative parenting is thought to be linked positively to how open the adolescent is to parental influence (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). It seems logical that the warm and guiding nature of the authoritative parent would promote a secure and trusting parent-child relationship, in which the child trusts and respects the parent's viewpoint, even if (s)he does not agree with it. This, in turn, might promote

healthy adjustment in the child. The socialization model proposed by Darling and Steinberg (1993) illustrates how the adolescent's openness to the parental viewpoint plays a vital role in the child's development. In one aspect of this model, the adolescent's willingness to be socialized, and hence openness to parental influence, is said to moderate the relationship between parenting practices and adolescent outcomes (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

A study examining how receptive adolescents were to parental advice about difficult decisions provided some support for the link between authoritative parenting and openness to parent socialization, as assessed from adolescent narratives (Mackey et al., in press). Adolescents were asked to tell a story about a time when they asked their parents for advice about a difficult decision. The narrative "parent voice" index was used to quantitatively measure, on a five-point scale, how open and responsive the adolescent was to the parental viewpoint (this index will be described below in more detail). Adolescent stories reflected a greater understanding and respect for the parental perspective when the parents were perceived to be highly authoritative, as reported on a standard questionnaire index, in two separate samples (Mackey et al., in press). These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that parenting style does predict how open the adolescent is to parental influence, though they are only correlational in nature, of course. A parallel finding was obtained for the present sample when adolescents were age 16, on average (Pratt et al., in press). Authoritative parenting was again associated with adolescent openness to the parental viewpoint, as measured by the voice index. In all of these studies, however, the relations between parenting style and the "parent voice" index from adolescent stories were concurrent, assessed at the same point in time. The present

longitudinal study allows for an examination of the relations between parenting style, adjustment and "parent voice" over time.

The central goal of the present study then is to examine whether the adolescent's openness to parental influence at age 16, as measured by the voice index, is related to the adolescent's subsequent adjustment levels, at age 20. In contrast to parenting style, which is something external, perceived as "happening to" the child through the actions of the parent, the voice measure may tap into the inner workings of the child's thoughts and feelings more readily. In this sense, the voice index may be a more direct indicator of the "felt quality" of the parent-adolescent relationship from the adolescent's view, and thus, a more direct predictor of adolescent adjustment than the parenting style index.

Emotional Autonomy and Attachment

Assessing parenting style is only one of the standard ways to tap into the quality of the parent-child relationship. Studies examining communication and closeness between parents and children have also shown a link between these aspects of the parent-child relationship and child adjustment. In addition, a number of studies have found a relationship between the emotional autonomy of the child and the child's adjustment levels (Delaney, 1996; Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990; Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Ryan & Lynch, 1989). Emotional autonomy may be defined as the ability to see the self as unique and separate from one's parents, the ability see one's parents as people who are capable of making mistakes, and the ability to emotionally rely on the self (Steinberg, 1999).

In their study examining emotional autonomy, parental support, and adolescent adjustment, Lamborn and Steinberg (1993) found that adolescents were better adjusted on

measures of academic competence (academic self-confidence and GPA) and psychosocial development (self-reliance and self-esteem) when they were high in both emotional autonomy and parental support. The results of this study, however, suggested that emotional autonomy, by itself, may be detrimental to adolescent adjustment unless it is accompanied by a strong parent-child relationship. Emotional independence from parents was associated with adolescent behavior problems and internal distress (somatic and psychological symptoms) when it was not within the context of a supportive relationship with parents. A solid parent-child bond, therefore, appeared to buffer the potentially negative effects of greater emotional autonomy on several important aspects of child adjustment.

In the present study, we expect to find results similar to the Lamborn and Steinberg (1993) study. It seems plausible that, like the children who scored high in emotional autonomy in the Lamborn and Steinberg (1993) study, the children in the present study who do not respect, or even consider, their parent's viewpoint would likely be more maladjusted than children who are open to, and respectful of, their parents words. Adolescents who score high on the narrative parent voice index are said to have attained a substantive understanding, in their own terms, of the parental perspective. Understanding and respect do not necessarily mean that the adolescent has agreed with what her parents have said, however (Mackey et al., in press). In this sense, a parallel might be drawn between adolescents who score high on the voice measure, and those adolescents who are considered close to their parents, yet emotionally autonomous, as in previous research. An adolescent who thinks independently and has a "voice" separate from the parental voice may grow up to be a well-adjusted adult. However, when

personal independence prevents the adolescent from being open to, and engaged with, the parental viewpoint, the adolescent's adjustment may suffer. A dismissal or absence of the parental perspective during mid-adolescence, as reflected in a low "parent voice" score as described below, is expected to signal problems in the parent-child relationship that are reflected in the adolescent's adjustment levels later on. Thus, as in the Lamborn and Steinberg (1993) study, independent thinking during adolescence, in itself, is not predicted to be detrimental to adolescent adjustment unless it is combined with lack of closeness in the parent-child relationship, or in this case, a lack of openness to the parent's words and views. So although an adolescent may personally disagree with his parents' viewpoint, this is not expected to hinder adjustment, as long as the child extends respect and openness in considering the parental "voice".

Research examining the concept of attachment has provided additional support for the link between a close parent-child relationship and the child's adjustment (see Rice, 1990, for a review). Adolescents have been shown to fare better on measures of life-satisfaction and self-esteem when there is a strong attachment to parents (Greenberg, Siegel, & Leitch, 1983). Secure attachments to parents have been associated with healthy adjustment and development in children (Bowlby, 1982), and despite what might be expected, the quality of attachment to parents remains more important than attachment to peers when predicting adjustment during the adolescent years as well (Greenberg et al., 1983). Attachment is best defined as the extent to which a child trusts the accessibility and responsiveness of the parent (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Whether the term used is 'attachment', 'closeness', or 'connectedness', the findings in the literature illustrate the importance of a secure emotional bond between parents and adolescents. Marta (1997)

found adolescents to be at lower risk of self-esteem, socialization, and educational problems when they perceived their parents as being supportive and openly communicative. Similarly, in the current study, it is expected that self-esteem and feelings of optimism will be higher, and loneliness scores lower, in adolescents who demonstrate respect, consideration, and understanding of their parent's viewpoint.

Voice

The newly developed voice index, which is utilized in this study, is used to assess a person's responsiveness to another's viewpoint from narrative. The voice construct is rooted in sociocultural theory (Wertsch, 1991), which assumes that the organization of the mind is dialogical. Sociocultural theorists, such as Bakhtin (1981) and Vygotsky (1978), argued that our "private" inner speech and audible "social" speech never contain only one, solitary "voice", but instead always implicitly contain a dialogue, involving at least two voices (Tappan, 1997). For example, Bakhtin (1981) believed that in all speech, most of our words could be identified as 'responding to' someone else's viewpoint, or voice (Tappan, 1997). The voices reflected in our speech originally come from the social world, through our interactions with parents, teachers, peers, and others. These voices are gradually internalized as part of the process of development and socialization. Thus, it is argued that the voices of all those significant to us pervade our thinking, and emerge in our thinking and speech, more or less directly.

Another's words do not become our own until we give them our own personal meaning and purpose (Wertsch, 1991). To represent another's voice in our speech without fully having a personal understanding of the word's meaning is mere parroting. To truly claim another's words or perspective as our own, we must assimilate and

reconstruct the words of the other in our own terms within our minds. Bakhtin termed this claiming of authority over another's words, the use of "internally persuasive dialogue" (Wertsch, 1991). Until we have appropriated the other's words, they will always be half someone else's (Wertsch, 1991). When it is clear that the speaker has given another's words respect and personal meaning, the other's voice is considered "appropriated" (to use the terminology of Rogoff, 1990). The sophistication with which another's voice is represented in speech should reflect how fully they have reconstructed the other's viewpoint in their own words, and how "appropriated" the other person's perspective is in the mind of the speaker. There is also a developmental component, in that the child only gradually is able to fully 'appropriate' the words of another (Tappan, 1997).

The sociocultural position, that thinking is derived from speech, and that different voices are audible in our speech, is directly applicable to studies exploring how the viewpoints of others are represented in narratives (e.g., Pratt et al., in press). Narrative is an effective medium for capturing how different thoughts, or viewpoints, are organized in the mind. According to sociocultural theory, language and thought are fully intertwined (Vygotsky, 1978). Therefore, the extent to which another's voice is present, considered, and appropriated in the individual's mind should be reflected in the style with which a story is told. In previous work, narrative has been used to measure such constructs as morality (Tappan & Brown, 1989), identity (McAdams, Diamond, de St. Aubin, & Mansfield, 1997), and parental influence (Young, Friesen, & Borycki, 1994). In the present study, narrative is used to assess how open adolescents are to the parental viewpoint as revealed when they are discussing their value decisions and experiences in

the family context. This openness to the parental viewpoint is expected to be predictive of the adolescent's adjustment levels four years later. As the narrative is thought to represent a particular product of the relationship with one's parents (e.g.,Young et al., 1994), these adolescents' narratives should reveal some insight into the quality of the parent-child bond.

As already explored, many aspects of the parent-child relationship have been found to be linked to the child's wellbeing. It is expected that the voice measure may tap into a less fully explored, more "internalized" representation of this relationship in the child's thinking that is also significantly related to the child's adjustment. Previous research on this sample has shown this to be true for concurrent assessments of parent voice and adjustment (Pratt et al., in press). In this study, parent voice scores from adolescent narratives were positively correlated with measures of adolescent self-esteem, and were negatively correlated with adolescent feelings of loneliness (Pratt et al., in press). The current study will investigate this issue longitudinally, to see if the adolescent's representation of the parent voice at one point is reflected in the adolescent's adjustment scores several years later. Should such a connection be found, it would suggest that this particular aspect of the parent-child relationship may be important in shaping child development, and that this link remains evident over time.

Adolescent Adjustment: Self-Esteem, Loneliness and Optimism

Much of the research examining familial influences on child adjustment has focused on how varying aspects of the parent-child relationship affect adolescents' self-esteem. In contrast, little empirical attention has been devoted to how the relationship with one's parent can affect personal feelings of loneliness or optimism. The present

study will focus on these three specific types of adjustment, namely, the adolescent's reports of self-esteem, feelings of loneliness, and feelings of optimism.

The link between family and parental factors and children's self-esteem has been extensively demonstrated (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Connor, 1994; Frank et al., 1990; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986; Walker & Greene, 1986). Hoelter and Harper (1987) found that out of the four family variables they examined (family support, family conflict, family type, and family size), family support was most closely associated with male and female adolescents' self-esteem. It appears as though parents who support, encourage, and nurture their children tend to raise adolescents with higher self-esteem. It is not surprising that a child's sense of self-worth is so dependent on, and likely influenced by, the relationship with her parents. The parent-child relationship often offers the only source of information about one's worth until school-age. It is, therefore, quite conceivable that a dysfunctional parent-child bond could hinder feelings of self-efficacy in a young child, and that these feelings could endure through adolescence. The present study aims to replicate this finding in late adolescence using authoritative parenting, voice, and security of attachment, all as measures of the parent-child relationship.

The link between adolescent-parent relationships and loneliness has not been so well established. Although loneliness is at a peak during adolescence and young adulthood (Cutrona, 1982), little research has explored adolescents' feelings of loneliness within different types of relationships. As loneliness is said to reflect "the functional disruption of interpersonal relationships" (Goswick & Jones, 1982, p. 374), it seems plausible that a troubled parent-child relationship might contribute to a child's feelings of loneliness. In fact, a study investigating loneliness in high school and undergraduate

students found parental disinterest to be related to current feelings of loneliness in the 17-20 year old age group (Goswick & Jones, 1982). Thus, the quality of the relationship with one's parents appears to be a factor associated with loneliness; however, this needs to be further explored.

Measures of adolescent optimism are not generally included in studies on adjustment. Dispositional optimism can be defined as a "stable tendency to anticipate good things in life" (Jackson et al., 2000, p. 4). Optimistically anticipating positive outcomes is thought to allow an individual to construe and cope with problems more effectively (Jackson et al., 2000). In this respect, optimism is an important measure of adjustment to be examined, especially during the adolescent years, when individuals are facing a multitude of uncertainties. Optimism has been linked with higher self-esteem, less loneliness (Davis, Hanson, Edson, & Zielgler, 1992), and better university adjustment (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1992) in late adolescent populations. Given the apparent benefits of optimistic thinking for the wellbeing of adolescents (Jackson et al., 2000), it is important to explore what factors enhance or hinder their feelings of optimism. Using parenting style and attachment measures, the current study seeks to uncover whether an adolescent's openness to the parental viewpoint, as portrayed in family stories, predicts the adolescent's level of optimism four years later.

Purpose and Hypotheses

The present study utilizes data collected at two time periods of a long-term family study. Although the families were assessed at three time periods, the current study focused solely on data collected at Time 2 and Time 3. Stories told when the adolescents in these families were aged 16 on average (Time 2) were examined to see if the

adolescent's openness to the parental viewpoint, as assessed on the voice scale, was predictive of the adolescent's adjustment levels four years later, at Time 3. As already discussed, a secure parent-child relationship appears to protect the child from maladjustment. The literature on this topic has demonstrated how varying aspects of the parent-child relationship are linked to the child's overall psychological wellbeing. The goal of the present study is to test the novel narrative "parent voice" measure as a predictor of three specific indexes of adolescent adjustment, and as a potential mediator of the relations between authoritative parenting at Time 2 and subsequent Time 3 adolescent adjustment. The voice measure is based in sociocultural developmental theory, and assumes that openness to another's perspective can be quantitatively measured via analyzing one's stories regarding experiences with parents (e.g., Pratt et al., in press). Essentially, the way a child phrases and depicts the parental viewpoint in family narratives should reveal the extent to which the parent's perspective has been understood and "appropriated" (as opposed to avoided or dismissed). It was expected that an adolescent's openness to the parental perspective at Time 2, as rated from stories on a 1-5 scale, would be related to subsequent personal adjustment scores at Time 3. Based on this framework, the following predictions were made:

1) Parent voice scores at Time 2 were expected to be significantly positively related to Time 3 levels of adolescent optimism and self-esteem, and significantly negatively related to Time 3 levels of adolescent loneliness.
2) Adolescents with highly authoritative parents at Time 2 were expected to have higher self-esteem, higher optimism, and lower levels of loneliness at Time 3 than adolescents from less authoritative homes.

3) Secure attachment to parents (measured at Time 3) was expected to be associated with higher self-esteem, higher optimism, and lower levels of loneliness in the adolescents at Time 3.

4) The voice, attachment, and authoritativeness measures will be positively correlated, at both Time 2 and Time 3.

5) Mediation hypothesis: The parent voice index of openness to the parental viewpoint at Time 2 is expected to mediate the relationship between authoritative parenting (Time 2) and adolescent adjustment scores (Time 3). To test this model, regression equations were computed in accordance with Baron and Kenny's (1986) procedure for testing mediation. It was expected that when authoritative parenting and voice scores were used together to predict each adjustment variable (self-esteem, loneliness, optimism), the relationship between authoritativeness and the adjustment variable would be reduced to non-significance, whereas the relation between voice scores and the adjustment variable would remain strong and significant.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 30 intact families that have been part of a larger longitudinal study examining parent-adolescent relationships and adolescent moral reasoning. Data were collected at three different times, when children were ages 14, 16, and 20 on average. The original sample at Time 1 included 40 families. However, at Time 2, only 35 of the 40 original families were available to be interviewed, and by Time

3, only 30 of the original families were reassessed. This study focuses solely on data collected at Time 2 and Time 3, when the adolescents (16 males, 14 females) were approximately 16 years of age (Time 2) and 20 years of age (Time 3).

As noted, five families from Time 2 did not complete the data collection at Time 3. Two declined to participate, one had moved and could not be located, and another was difficult to schedule. One adolescent failed to return her questionnaire on time. Analyses of these 5 "drop-out" families versus the 30 who remained at Time 3 showed no significant differences on any Time 2 variable in the present study (parent voice, parenting-style, adolescent adjustment).

Families were volunteers recruited through a local newspaper advertisement, mainly in the Kitchener-Waterloo-Guelph area. Families were primarily Caucasian, and working- to middle-class in social status. Parents' education levels ranged from "less than high school" (1) to "post-graduate degree" (6), with the median being "some university education". At Time 2, two of the fathers were not employed, but the remaining fathers described themselves as being either in a professional role (30%), a managerial or sales role (18%), or in various non-professional or "self-employed" roles (48%). The mothers in the sample included "homemakers" (30%), and professionals (25%), with the remaining 45% of the mothers describing their work as "clerical/secretarial", "day care or school aide", or "business" or "self-employed".

Procedure

At Time 2, parents and adolescents were involved in individual interview sessions at the family home, each lasting approximately two hours. Interviews with parents and adolescents were conducted simultaneously by a team of two interviewers. Parents and

adolescents were asked questions pertaining to family values and moral reasoning, and each told stories of various important value development experiences (see Pratt, Arnold, Pratt, & Diessner, 1999). Several questionnaires were completed independently by each parent and by the child. Upon completion of the visits, families received an honorarium of $50.

At Time 3, only the adolescents in the sample were interviewed. Interviews lasted approximately two hours, and again consisted of questions relating to the adolescent's values, moral reasoning, and personal moral experiences. Adolescents were asked to fill out, and mail in, a series of questionnaires. In addition, each parent was given a questionnaire booklet to fill out. When all questionnaires were returned, families received an honorarium of $50.

Measures

Parenting Style. The adolescents filled out the Perceived Parenting Style Questionnaire (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991) for each parent at Time 3. Items on this scale measure the demandingness and responsiveness of the parents. The adolescents were asked to rate the truth of each statement on a 9-point scale, with scores ranging from –4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree). This 18-item test included statements such as "My mother/father really knew who my friends were"(structure), and "When my mother/father wanted me to do something, she/he explained why" (responsiveness)(see Appendix A). The scores on items measuring parent demandingness and parent responsiveness were combined to produce an overall parent authoritativeness score. Cronbach alphas for this measure were .92 for the mother scale and .88 for the father scale.

Authoritative parenting was assessed at Time 2 via a 9-item authoritativeness measure (Dornbusch et al., 1987), and an 8-item parent influence/discussion measure. For the Dornbusch et al. (1987) authoritativeness measure, adolescents were asked to rate the truth of each statement on a 9-point scale, from "definitely not true" (0) to "definitely true" (8). Sample items from this questionnaire include "In situations when my parents were not present, they trusted me to behave appropriately," and "My parents thought that adolescents should be able to make their own decisions, with little need for discussion with them" [reverse-scored].

The parent influence/discussion questionnaire indexes frequency of child-parent discussion and level of parental influence across four topics: school, peers, family issues, and activities/hobbies. For each topic, frequency of discussion ("how often or regularly do you discuss this issue with your parents?"), and level of parent influence ("how much influence do you think your parents' opinions have on your behavior and attitude in this area?") were rated by each adolescent on a 5-point scale.

Adolescent reports of parent influence/discussion were significantly correlated at Time 2 with scores on the Dornbusch et al. (1987) parent authoritativeness measure, $r(33) = .60$, $p < .01$. Thus, a composite score was calculated for each adolescent at Time 2, which included scores from the authoritativeness index and the parent influence/discussion index. This combined score was used for all analyses involving Time 2 parent authoritativeness.

The present study measured perceived parent authoritativeness on a continuum, rather than allocating parents into categories (authoritative, authoritarian, neglectful, indulgent) according to their dimensions of warmth and strictness. The typological

approach was not considered appropriate for the current study, as our interest centered on the relationship between varying degrees of authoritativeness and adolescent adjustment.

Attachment. The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was filled out by the adolescents for each parent at Time 3 only. Items on this 28-item scale measure the levels of trust, communication, and alienation between the child and each parent. The adolescents were asked to rate the truth of each statement on a 5-point scale, with scores ranging from 1 (Almost Never or Never True) to 5 (Almost Always or Always True). Sample items include "I feel that my mother/father doesn't understand me" [reverse-scored] and "My mother/father respects my feelings" (see Appendix B). An overall attachment score was calculated for each parent by summing all items. Cronbach's alphas for the attachment measure were .97 for the mother scale and .96 for the father scale.

Parent Voice Measures. Each interview at Time 2 and Time 3 was audio-taped for later scoring. As a part of each interview, adolescents were asked to describe a "critical moral incident" that had occurred to them (see Appendix C). This technique was adapted from Barnett, Quackenbush, and Sinisi (1995). This incident could be any experience that the adolescents felt had impacted the kind of persons they were, or the kind of values they held. For example, adolescents often spoke of going to college, or getting a full-time job, as being experiences that were central to their value development. After explaining this incident in detail, adolescents were asked to describe their impressions of what their parents thought and felt about this experience. Adolescents were specifically asked "What do you think your parents thought about this situation and the choices that you made?". The adolescent's entire narrative, including the answer to

this question, was rated on a 1-5 scale, according to how responsive the adolescent appeared to be to the parental viewpoint (see below).

At both time periods, adolescents were also asked to describe a time when each parent taught them about the importance of a value significant to them (see Appendix D). These "teaching value" stories were scored for parent voice as well. An aggregate parent voice score was calculated for each adolescent at Time 3 by combining the voice scores from the critical moral incident story and teaching value stories. This combined score was used for all analyses involving Time 3 parent voice scores.

At Time 2 only, adolescents were asked to describe a "problem solving incident" they had experienced with each parent. This incident could be about any problem or issue they experienced with the parent. Adolescents commonly talked about everyday demands and issues, like chores, use of the family car, and so on. Both stories (one involving a problem with mother, one involving a problem with father) were read and scored for parent voice. An aggregate score was calculated for each adolescent at Time 2, which included parent voice scores from the critical moral incident story, teaching value story, and the two problem solving stories. This aggregate score was used for all analyses involving Time 2 parent voice scores.

A five-point "voice" scale was used to assess responsiveness of the adolescent to the parent's perspective (Mackey et al., in press). The salience of the parent's voice, the acknowledgement of the parent's viewpoint, and the extent to which the parent's words were given personal meaning by the adolescent, were all indicators reflecting the degree of adolescent responsiveness to the parent's words or viewpoint (see Appendix E for a description of each level and examples). Scores for the voice index reflect increasing

appropriation of the parental voice, and range from Level 1, representing the absence or summary rejection of the parental voice, to Level 3, acknowledgement of the parent perspective but little evidence of personal incorporation of it, to Level 5, where the child has reconstructed the parent's voice fully, and represents and responds to it, in his/her own terms. High scores on this measure do not require the adolescent to agree with the parent's opinion, only that the parent's position is responded to with understanding and respect, as depicted in the adolescent's story protocols.

A second independent coder rated parent voice level for 18 stories at Time 3, and 35 stories at Time 2. An analysis of inter-rater reliability revealed good inter-rater agreement for parent voice coding, $r(16) = .80$, $p < .01$, for Time 3, and $r(33) = .86$ for Time 2.

Adjustment Measures

Self-Esteem. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965) was used to assess the adolescent's self-esteem at each time of testing. This scale consists of 10 items relating to the adolescent's feelings of self-worth (e.g., "I certainly feel useless at times"[reverse-scored], "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself") (see Appendix F). The adolescents were to rate the truth of each statement on a 9-point scale, with scores ranging between –4 (very strongly disagree) and +4 (very strongly agree). Alpha reliability for this measure was .84 at Time 3.

Loneliness. The adolescent's level of loneliness at both Times 2 and 3 was measured by the UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russel, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980). This frequently used measure includes 20 items relating to the individual's feelings and relationships (e.g., "I feel part of a group of friends"[reverse-scored], "I am unhappy

being so withdrawn") (see Appendix G). Adolescents were asked to rate the applicability of each statement on a 4-point scale (0-never to 3-often). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .91 at Time 3.

Optimism. The adolescent's feelings of optimism were measured with The Life Orientation Test (LOT) at Time 3 only. Developed by Scheier and Carver (1985), this 8-item measure included statements such as "I always look on the bright side of things", and "I rarely count on good things happening to me"[reverse-scored], (see Appendix H). The adolescents were to rate the truth of each statement on a 9-point scale, with scores ranging from –4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree). Time 3 Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .81.

Results

A Time 3 overall voice score was calculated for each adolescent, by combining the parent voice scores from the adolescents' Time 3 Critical Moral Incident stories and the Time 3 Teaching Value stories. The voice scores from these two different Time 3 stories were significantly positively correlated, $r(28) = .55$, $p < .01$. An overall parent voice score was also calculated for Time 2 by averaging the voice scores from four of the adolescents' Time 2 narratives (Critical Moral Incident story, Teaching Value story, Mother Problem-Solving story and the Father Problem-Solving story). Correlations among the four stories for parent voice level ranged from .27 to .45 ($M = .35$). These combined voice scores were used for all analyses.

The mean overall voice score at Time 3 was 3.58 (on a 5-point scale, $SD = 1.03$), which was slightly higher than the overall voice mean found at Time 2 ($M = 3.43$, $SD = .72$). A matched samples t-test revealed this difference was not significant, however

$t(29) = -.86$, ns. Overall parent voice scores for the two time periods were also significantly positively correlated, $r(28) = .51$, $p < .01$, suggesting moderate stability over time in this measure.

Optimism was measured at Time 3 only. The mean level of adolescent optimism was 47.13 (SD = 10.07). As 64 was the maximum score one could receive on the optimism measure (the LOT), it appears as though the adolescents in our study were quite positive when thinking about themselves and their futures overall.

Loneliness and self-esteem were measured at both Time 2 and Time 3. The adolescents showed a slight increase in their overall loneliness scores from Time 2 (M = 15.23, SD = 8.72) to Time 3 (M = 17.63, SD = 9.99), although this difference was not significant, $t(29) = -1.09$, ns. Mean adolescent self-esteem scores decreased slightly from Time 2 (M = 65.00, SD = 11.44) to Time 3 (M = 63.83, SD = 12.17), but again this was not found to be a significant change, $t(29) = .51$, ns. As loneliness scores can range between 0 (low loneliness) and 60 (high loneliness), and self-esteem scores can range between 0 (low self-esteem) and 80 (high self-esteem), the adolescents in our study appeared to be well adjusted overall.

While no gender differences were found for any of the adjustment measures, there was a significant difference found between the means of male and female Time 3 voice scores, $t(29) = 2.24$, $p < .05$. The female adolescents tended to tell stories that reflected a higher degree of respect and acceptance of the parental viewpoint (M = 4.00, SD = .75) than did the males in the study (M = 3.21, SD = 1.1). However, this gender difference was not found in the parent voice scores from adolescents' stories four years earlier at Time 2, $t(29) = .47$, ns.

Voice (Time 2/Time 3) and Adolescent Adjustment (Time 3)

The relationship between the adolescents' Time 2 parent voice scores and their subsequent Time 3 adjustment levels was analyzed to test Hypothesis 1 (see Table 1). As expected, a significant positive relationship was found between voice scores and the adolescents' self-esteem, $r(28) = .47$, $p < .01$ and between voice scores and the adolescents' level of optimism, $r(28) = .43$, $p < .05$. Also as expected, parent voice scores were negatively related to loneliness, $r(28) = -.40$, $p < .05$. Those adolescents who spoke of their parents' viewpoints with respect and consideration at Time 2 tended to be well-adjusted four years later, at Time 3.

The relationship between Time 3 voice scores and Time 3 adjustment levels was generally parallel (see Table 1). The adolescents' parent voice scores at Time 3 were significantly related to the adolescents' optimism, $r(28) = .37$, $p < .05$, and loneliness levels, $r(28) = -.39$, $p < .05$. Surprisingly, however, the adolescents' self-esteem scores at Time 3 were not found to be significantly related to concurrent voice scores, $r(28) = .29$, ns. This finding was especially interesting, given the strong relationship found between self-esteem and Time 2 voice scores reported above ($p < .01$). Overall then, all measures of Time 3 adolescent adjustment were predicted by the representations of parent voice in stories adolescents had told four years earlier at Time 2, but only optimism and loneliness were significantly related to Time 3 voice scores in adolescent narratives. Given the findings for self-esteem, it seems possible that the relationship between the voice measure and adjustment is something that gets stronger over time, whereby voice scores better predict adjustment years later as opposed to being a good predictor of the current adjustment levels of the child. Consistent with this, Time 2 voice scores correlated only

marginally with concurrent levels of adolescent loneliness, $r(28) = -.35$, $p = .06$, and self-esteem, $r(28) = .25$, $p = .19$.

Following this argument, regression analyses were performed to test whether changes in self-esteem and/or loneliness from Time 2 to Time 3 could be predicted from Time 2 voice scores. Time 2 parent voice scores, Time 2 adjustment scores and child gender were entered as predictors of Time 3 self-esteem and loneliness in two simultaneous multiple regressions. A significant relationship was found between these variables and Time 3 self-esteem, $F(3, 26) = 5.03$, $p < .01$. As presented in Table 2, child gender did not significantly contribute to the prediction of Time 3 self-esteem in this model, $t(28) = 1.28$, ns. However, Time 2 voice scores contributed significantly ($\beta = .38$; $p < .05$), even when Time 2 self-esteem scores were entered ($\beta = .34$; $p < .05$). This finding indicates that the voice measure at Time 2 predicted actual gains in self-esteem over this four-year period of late adolescence, over and above baseline levels of self-esteem at age 16.

When Time 3 loneliness was predicted from child gender, Time 2 loneliness, and Time 2 voice, there was no significant effect overall, $F(3, 25) = 1.39$, ns. Child gender and Time 2 loneliness scores did not contribute significantly to the prediction of Time 3 loneliness (see Table 3), suggesting that this loneliness adjustment measure was relatively unstable over this age period.

Authoritative Parenting (Time 2/Time 3) and Adolescent Adjustment (Time 3)

Authoritative parenting was measured individually for each parent at Time 3. However, given that separate mother and father scores were highly correlated, $r(28) = .67$, $p < .01$, a combined parent authoritativeness score was calculated and used for all

analyses. At Time 2, authoritative parenting was only rated by the adolescents for parents as a whole.

Surprisingly, and contrary to Hypothesis #2, the child's ratings of parental authoritativeness at Time 2 were not found to be significantly related to the child's Time 3 adjustment scores (all two-tailed ps were non-significant). The adolescents' current levels of loneliness, optimism and self-esteem were not significantly related to how authoritative the parents were perceived to be four years earlier (see Table 4). However, given the established direction of the authoritative parenting – child adjustment relationship from past research (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994), we thought it permissible to conduct these analyses using one-tailed tests. When these directional tests were used, the relationship between Time 2 authoritative parenting and Time 3 adjustment reached significant levels in the expected direction for loneliness and optimism ($ps < .05$), and that for self-esteem approached significance ($p = .06$).

As expected, a highly significant relationship was found between Time 3 parental authoritativeness and the adolescents' Time 3 scores on the measures of loneliness, $r(28) = -.49$, $p < .01$, self-esteem, $r(28) = .57$, $p < .01$, and optimism, $r(28) = .56$, $p < .01$.

A strong relationship was found between Time 2 authoritativeness and Time 3 authoritativeness, $r(28) = .62$, $p < .01$, demonstrating considerable stability of this parenting style over time (and across somewhat different measures of parenting style at Time 2 and Time 3, as described in the method section above).

Attachment (Time 3) and Adolescent Adjustment (Time 3)

Correlations were used to test the relationship between the adolescents' Time 3 attachment to parents and the adolescents' Time 3 adjustment levels (Hypothesis #3). As

attachment scores for mother and father were strongly correlated, $r(28) = .58$, $p < .01$, a combined attachment score was calculated and used for all analyses.

As shown in Table 5, the adolescents' overall attachment to parents (mother and father combined) was significantly correlated with each measure of adolescent adjustment, $r(28) = -.57$, $p < .01$ for loneliness, $r(28) = .65$, $p < .01$ for self-esteem, and $r(28) = .57$, $p < .01$ for optimism. It again appears that a positive parent-child bond, this time as assessed on an attachment scale at the same point in time, may protect the child from maladjustment during late adolescence.

Voice, Authoritative Parenting, and Attachment

The relationships between the voice index, parenting style, and the attachment measures for Time 3 were analyzed via correlations and are illustrated in Figure 1 (Hypothesis #4). The adolescents' Time 3 parent voice scores were significantly related to the perceived authoritativeness of the parents, $r(28) = .48$, $p < .01$. As expected, these results replicated the findings of Mackey et al. (in press), and further established the important connection between parenting style and the child's openness to the parental viewpoint, as assessed by the voice measure. The attachment scores were also significantly related to how the adolescents presented the parental viewpoint in their stories at Time 3, $r(28) = .42$, $p < .05$. Attachment to parents and the adolescents' ratings of the perceived authoritativeness of parents were highly correlated, $r(28) = .79$, $p < .001$. This substantial correlation suggests that the Lamborn et al. (1991) parenting style measure and the Armsden and Greenberg (1987) attachment index share a lot of their variance and are relatively equivalent indices of the closeness of the parent-adolescent relationship.

The parent voice scores from the adolescents' Time 2 narratives were significantly correlated with Time 3 attachment to parents, $r(28) = .55$, $p < .01$. In addition, Time 2 parent voice scores were significantly related to both Time 2, $r(28) = .58$, $p < .01$, and Time 3, $r(28) = .63$, $p < .01$, ratings of authoritative parenting.

Mediation Hypothesis

Analyses on our small sample did not provide strong support for our mediational hypotheses (see Figure 2). We predicted that openness to the parental viewpoint at Time 2 would mediate the relationship between Time 2 authoritative parenting and the adolescents' Time 3 adjustment. Testing of this model required a significant relationship between Time 2 authoritativeness and Time 3 adjustment scores. As Time 2 authoritative parenting was not found to be significantly related to any of the Time 3 adjustment measures using two-tailed tests, the mediational hypothesis could not be adequately tested in this data set. However, running the mediational analyses seemed justified given that the pattern of correlations was consistent with our hypothesis, and that the parenting style – adjustment correlations were significant by one-tailed tests. As required to run the mediation analyses, authoritative parenting was also strongly related to the voice measure at Time 2 ($\beta = .58$, $p < .01$), and Time 2 voice was a significant predictor of all the Time 3 adjustment measures, as reported above.

Self-esteem. Authoritative parenting at Time 2 significantly predicted Time 2 voice scores ($\beta = .58$, $p < .01$), and marginally predicted Time 3 self-esteem levels ($\beta = .29$, $p = .06$). When authoritativeness and voice scores were used together to predict self-esteem, the relationship between parent authoritativeness and self-esteem was reduced to near zero ($\beta = .03$), whereas the relationship between voice scores and self-esteem

remained significant ($\beta = .45$, $p < .05$). Thus, there was some support for the notion that the parent voice measure mediates the relationship between authoritative parenting and self-esteem (see Figure 2). Perhaps if the sample size were larger the initial relationship between authoritativeness and self-esteem would have been more clearly significant. Although these findings were somewhat compromised, the pattern certainly was in the right direction to support the mediation hypothesis for self-esteem.

Optimism. Parent authoritativeness predicted adolescent optimism ($\beta = .31$, $p < .05$, one-tailed test). Parent voice predicted optimism significantly as well ($\beta = .43$, $p < .05$). When authoritativeness and voice were used together to predict optimism, the relationship between authoritativeness and optimism became non-significant ($\beta = .09$), whereas the relationship between voice and optimism remained marginally significant ($\beta = .38$, $p = .09$). Thus, the mediation hypothesis was somewhat supported. The child's openness to the parental viewpoint, as measured by the voice index, tended to mediate the relationship between authoritative parenting and subsequent adolescent optimism.

Loneliness. Testing the relationship between authoritative parenting and adolescent loneliness via a one-tailed test yielded a significant relationship ($\beta = -.31$, $p < .05$). Parent voice at Time 2 predicted loneliness significantly ($\beta = -.40$, $p < .05$) as well. When parent authoritativeness and voice scores were used together to predict loneliness, the relationship between authoritativeness and loneliness was reduced to non-significance ($\beta = -.12$). However, the relationship between voice and loneliness was also reduced to non-significance ($\beta = -.33$, $p = .14$). Thus, voice does not appear to be as clearly mediating the relationship between authoritative parenting and loneliness, as was true for self-esteem.

Discussion

The main goal of this research was to test the parent voice measure, taken from adolescent narratives, as a longitudinal predictor of three indexes of late adolescent adjustment. The present study also explored the possible mediating role of the voice measure in the well-established relationship between authoritative parenting and subsequent adolescent adjustment (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994). Lastly, the relationships between the voice, parenting style, and attachment measures were examined.

Our first hypothesis examined the relationship between the adolescents' current adjustment levels (at age 20, on average) and the way in which they presented the parental viewpoint in narratives told at two time periods, concurrently and four years previously. The adolescents were asked to tell stories about an incident of parents teaching them about their personal values, how a critical event in their lives had affected their development, and about a problem they were experiencing with their mother and with their father. We expected that adolescents who, in narrative, expressed their parents' viewpoints in an open and responsive manner would show better overall adjustment than those adolescents who referred to their parents' opinions in a dismissing or negative light. The results showed parent voice scores from Time 2 to be significantly related to all measures of adjustment (self-esteem, loneliness, and optimism), as predicted, whereas the parent voice scores from Time 3 were found to be significantly related only to the adolescents' levels of loneliness and optimism. Thus, the voice scores from both time periods were predictive of the adolescents' adjustment levels, as expected, though only the voice scores from four years earlier (Time 2) significantly predicted all measures of the adolescents' present adjustment.

To illustrate this connection between parent voice and adjustment, let us examine the manner in which a well-adjusted adolescent might refer to the parental viewpoint in narrative. The following excerpt (scored a Level 5 for parent voice) was from the critical moral incident narrative of a female adolescent who scored high on the adjustment measures. When asked to tell a story about an event that had significantly impacted her life and personal development, she recalled an incident in high-school when her parents did not allow her to drop an accounting course:

"The only thing I can think of right now is like...one experience would be I guess when I took, like in the 11th grade I took an accounting course and I hated it and I wanted to drop it. And I think you have to be a certain age before you can drop it by yourself, so I had to get my parents' signature. And they would not let me drop it,...I was like 'I'm failing the course!' and they would not let me drop it, they're like 'well, you can't give up, if you give up on this, in life you'll give up in everything.' And they would not let me drop it and I couldn't believe it. I did not like that class and that's just one thing I'll never forget. They wouldn't let me drop it and I was, like, so shocked."

When asked how she felt about this situation now she replied:

"Now I'm glad that I didn't because, um, it just made me want to try to be like better in the course because I wanted to pass it. Obviously I didn't want to fail it, so um...it just helped me because I had problems with math and so it helped me to try harder in math and stuff."

[How did things finally turn out?]

"Um, I passed the course, so my parents were so happy. They like, they knew that if I really wanted to I could have sat and forged their signature or something like that, but things are okay, yeah."

When the adolescent was asked to describe how this experience had affected her life, her response shows appreciation for what she originally thought was a harsh decision from her parents:

"...if I run across a problem now I try, that always comes back to me. I always think I know I can do it if I try my hardest....because not everything comes to you really easy and sometimes the things you have to work for really hard are the most important things."

It is apparent that this adolescent respected the viewpoint of her parents, despite her initial wishes to go against this viewpoint to drop the accounting course. And although she obviously did not agree with her parents' decision, she eventually became open to her parents' philosophy that if she gave up on something like a high-school course it might sway her to give up on everything else in life that required effort. Her final thoughts on this matter relay appreciation for her parents' decision, as her parents' viewpoint or 'voice' became meshed with her own parallel philosophy about hard work and not giving up. It is apparent that she has taken her parents' viewpoint and given it personal meaning and relevance in her life. By the end of her story, one can identify her own viewpoint or 'voice' amidst those of her parents.

The adolescents' narratives revealed the degree of respect and consideration they gave to their parents' opinions on matters pertaining to their personal lives. This, in turn,

was strongly linked to the child's emotional adjustment years afterward. The adolescents' narratives about specific incidents, thus, appear to be reflective of something deeper that is going on in the wider parent-child relationship. A child's manner of reference to the parental viewpoint becomes more meaningful when one considers the sociocultural theory behind the voice index. Sociocultural theorists, such as Vygotsky (1978) and Bakhtin (1981), believed that the words or 'voices' of those important to us could be heard in all our speech, and pervading our thinking, in a dialogical relation with the self's own voice. The narrative above is an excellent example of this ongoing dialogue. Their belief that speech always contains more than a solitary voice was thought to be true for both our private inner speech and our audible social speech. The degree of respect and understanding given to another's words or 'voice' during speech is said to reflect how the other's words are appropriated in the mind of the speaker. In this sense, speech mirrors thinking, just as higher cognitive functions depend on internalized speech (Vygotsky, 1978).

Extending from this sociocultural position, the parent voice measure was designed to tap into the inner workings of the child's mind, whereby the child's manner of reference to the parent's opinion in narrative reflects how that opinion is embedded in the child's thinking. Based on this premise, children who reject the parental viewpoint, or speak of their parents' viewpoint with anger, belittlement or rejection in narrative, likely communicate or act on this way of thinking during exchanges with their parents as well. It's not hard to fathom how this type of parent-child relationship, where mutual respect and open communication are lacking, could potentially contribute to a child's maladjustment. As a positive parent-child bond has been associated with so many

adaptive traits in children, it is not surprising that children who, at 16, were not so open and responsive to their parents' words, grew up to be not so well adjusted young adults. An excerpt from the narrative of a male adolescent who scored relatively low on the measures of adjustment exemplifies the rejection of the parental viewpoint, characterized by a low score on the voice measure. For this adolescent, being a fashion model was central to his personal growth, and it had quite a profound effect on his values and the way he viewed himself.

"You have to become very focused and secure [to be a model]...it's taught me to be independent. And you sort of learn better routes to develop your self-esteem – most people just develop it on what others think of them. And you know there's much more secure places to build esteem from. Like personal things, like goals obtained rather than someone's perception of who you are or what you are...It's a lesson most adults don't even learn, you know what I mean?"

When asked what his parents thought about this situation he replied:

"I think they were sort of oblivious to the fact that it was and could have been such a profound experience for me. I think they looked at it as more of a fun little thing for kids to do sort of thing. Rather than playing sports I was working at the age of eight. I don't think they really realized the potential learning experiences there - and the degree that they were. So they treated it like a hobby."

It appears as though this adolescent does not fully understand or respect his parents' outlook on his modeling. Rather than relay his understanding that they couldn't possibly appreciate the breadth of his individual modeling experience, he expresses some

negativity or resentment that they were unaware of the importance of this experience in his life. As a result, this narrative scored rather low on the parent voice index (Level 2).

The adolescent's tendency to view the parental perspective with respect and openness appears to be an important factor that predicts the healthy adjustment of the child. As all analyses were correlational, it is of course not clear exactly why positive adolescent adjustment is linked to openness to the parental viewpoint. Nor is it known which causal ordering might explain this relationship, though the longitudinal nature of the correlations from earlier voice scores to later adjustment measures are at least suggestive. Furthermore, the finding that voice scores at 16 predicted increases in the adolescents' self-esteem over time suggests a causal ordering; however, the possible influence of a third variable in this relationship can never be ruled out. One could speculate that the nature of the parent-child relationship molds and defines the child's adjustment levels. It seems logical that a positive parent-child relationship, where viewpoints are respected and considered, would promote feelings of self-esteem and optimism and help to protect against feelings of loneliness in the child. Similarly, a parent-child relationship where opinions are not respected or listened to, could potentially lead to the child's experiencing deflated feelings of self-esteem and optimism, and increased feelings of loneliness.

Indeed, many studies have demonstrated the significant link between child adjustment and varying aspects of the parent-child relationship (Greenberg et al., 1983; Jackson et al., 2000; Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Shucksmith et al., 1995), however the direction of this relationship remains uncertain without clear experimental verification. It is also possible that the positive or negative adjustment levels of the child occur

independently and then this initiates problems in the parent-child bond, and consequently in how the child refers to the parental perspective. The current study has demonstrated the link between adolescent adjustment and how the adolescent speaks of his parents' viewpoint during narrative. Future research could explore whether voice scores parallel problems in the communication between parent and child, or if they simply represent what they are said to be measuring, namely how the child represents and organizes the parental viewpoint in her mind.

The voice measure has been successful at predicting concurrent assessments of adjustment in previous work (Pratt et al., in press), and the current study found voice scores at Time 3 to significantly predict the adolescents' Time 3 levels of loneliness and optimism (at age 20). What is novel and interesting about the current findings is that levels of adolescent self-esteem, loneliness, and optimism were predicted from how the adolescent expressed the parental viewpoint four years before. It seems plausible that the child's positive or negative thinking about the parental viewpoint would take some time to manifest itself in how the child views himself and his life. Furthermore, as the voice scores for Time 2 were collected during mid-adolescence (when the children were approximately 16 years of age), it was surely a time for parents and teens when each struggled for control and a balance between dependence and freedom. One would expect voice scores during mid-adolescence to be somewhat reflective of this negotiation between parent and child by the tendency for the adolescent to resent or dismiss the parental viewpoint when telling a story about an important aspect of her life. That these Time 2 voice scores still predicted the adjustment of the adolescent years later surely suggests that there may be lasting consequences to the nature of the parent-child bond

during mid-adolescence. The levels of self-esteem, loneliness, and optimism experienced by these young adults may have been influenced by the relationship each had with his/her parents years before. Consistent with the Darling and Steinberg (1993) model, the findings of the current study support the notion that certain aspects of the parent-child bond, such as the child's openness to and respect for parental guidance, may have lasting implications for the child as (s)he enters early adulthood.

Hypothesis #2 examined the relationship between authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment. Levels of self-esteem, loneliness, and optimism at age 20 were significantly related to parent authoritativeness, as rated by the adolescents, at the same time. Adolescents who perceived their parent to be highly authoritative in their parenting tended to have better adjustment scores overall than adolescents from less authoritative homes. Previous research has demonstrated the positive relationship between authoritative parenting and adolescent well-being (e.g., Jackson et al., 2000; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Surprisingly, however, the relationship between parent authoritativeness at Time 2 and adolescent adjustment at Time 3 only reached significant levels with one-tailed tests. The adolescents' ratings of parental responsiveness and demandingness when they were 16 (Time 2), were thus only marginally linked to their adjustment years later, when they were age 20 (Time 3). However, correlations were positive, and parenting style was strongly correlated with itself over the four years (r = .63).

In a sense it seems reasonable that the parenting style currently reported would have a connection with the adolescents' present day adjustment levels (at age 20). Nevertheless, it may seem surprising that the level of parental authoritativeness from

Time 2 was not more strongly correlated with the adolescents' age 20 adjustment levels. Previous longitudinal studies have found such a relation, though usually over shorter time periods (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994). It may be that the one year lapse in between testing periods in the Steinberg et al. (1994) study was perhaps too short to observe extreme changes in the adolescents' adjustment levels. The amount of time that passed in between testings in the current study (four years) was longer and so may have diminished the benefits of earlier authoritative parenting style for the adolescents' subsequent well-being. Sample size in our study was also small for detecting a moderate level of association, such as was observed in this data set.

The attachment measure was administered to adolescents at Time 3 only, and therefore no comparisons over time could be made for this measure. As predicted in Hypothesis #3, however, attachment was strongly correlated with all concurrent measures of adolescent adjustment. The adolescents who had strong attachments to their parents showed better overall adjustment scores than adolescents who were not so attached to their parents. The important link between parent-child attachment and child well-being has been demonstrated in previous research (Greenberg et al., 1983; Raja, McGee, & Stanton, 1992). The current findings are also consistent with previous research examining comparable university-aged populations (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), and show perceptions of the parent-child relationship to be related to adolescent outcomes, even when the adolescent may be living away from the family home. Thus, even during early adulthood, it appears as though adjustment is strongly related to the amount of trust and communication present in the parent-child bond. The adolescent's trust that the parent is supportive and emotionally available undoubtedly instills feelings of security

and belonging in the child that could contribute to increased self-esteem and optimism, and protect against feelings of loneliness. Especially during the sometimes tumultuous teenage years, the emotional availability or unavailability of the parent may be a major influence on the child's current and subsequent adjustment levels. Strong attachments in the parent-child bond may be critical in protecting the child from maladjustment during adolescence and young adulthood.

Given that the attachment, voice, and parenting style measures all index somewhat comparable aspects of the parent-child relationship, significant positive relationships were predicted among these three variables (Hypothesis #4). Figure 1 shows the correlations among the parent voice scores and the combined mother/father authoritativeness and attachment scores. With the exception of the (Time 2) authoritative parenting and (Time 3) voice relationship, significant positive relationships were found among all three measures for both time periods. Thus, parent authoritativeness and parent voice were significantly related at both Time 2 and Time 3. This result is consistent with previous findings (Mackey et al., in press). Those adolescents who perceived their parents to be high in authoritativeness also tended to tell stories that reflected a high degree of openness to the parental viewpoint. It seems plausible that the balance of warmth and control exhibited by the authoritative parent elicits respect and trust from the child. The child, in turn, may then trust and respect the words of the parent, and then consider the parent's viewpoint when making decisions (Mackey et al., in press). It is important to keep in mind that high scores on the voice index don't necessarily mean that the child agrees with the parent's viewpoint. To receive a high score on the voice measure the child must have a clear sense of the parental viewpoint

and respond to it with respect and consideration. As authoritative parents are thought to encourage appropriate levels of independence in their children, adolescents raised with this type of parenting may often have and express viewpoints that differ from their parents. During a narrative, a difference of opinion between parent and child may surface. However, the difference between adolescents raised by authoritative parents and those who were raised in less authoritative homes becomes evident in the way the child refers to the parent's opposing viewpoint. Whereas the adolescents from authoritative homes are able to take their parents words and speak of them as valid and meaningful (even if they disagree with them), adolescents not raised by authoritative parents may reject or degrade the parental viewpoint simply because it differs from their own. This comparison illustrates the way the voice and parenting style measures may be linked.

The adolescents' narratives show clear differences in the way adolescents from authoritative homes versus non-authoritative homes respond to the parental viewpoint. The following excerpt came from the narrative (scored a Level 5 for parent voice) of an adolescent raised in an authoritative home. She cited her first experience with alcohol as a life-lesson central to her development as a person:

"Okay, so it was around the end of my grade eight year, so I was 13 years old...and my brother said 'you've never drank alcohol before...'. And of course I was 13 and I probably weighed about a hundred and ten pounds, so you can imagine how six beers affected me. Six beers now is nothing, but then, it was a lot of alcohol. So somehow I got into bed and I threw up the whole night...and my parents let me take the next day off school, cause I was like in no shape to go. I do think my parents knew what happened...At the time, I didn't think my parents knew what I did the night before...but

now I know they did because a similar thing happened to my sister when she was 15...she got drunk with some friends and when I was helping her into bed my Mom said to me 'If she throws up, just let her sleep in it and she'll clean it up in the morning.' And I'm sure she said the exact same thing to me that night [I got drunk]. And I remember I didn't drink any alcohol for about six years after that...I didn't touch it for six years. I felt like I was going to die the next day. After that night of drinking, I woke up, got cleaned up and cleaned my own room, and they didn't say a word about it until about five years later."

When asked how she presently felt about this experience, she replied:

"I feel it was a learning experience...a rather funny one now, although it wasn't really then. I'd say, if I didn't have experiences like that, I would have never learned. It's taught me foresight really...to think ahead...and I know that's one skill I learned. I'm going to have to suffer through it, or get the benefits, depending on how I choose to do things. I learned that my decisions do affect me...and that I'm responsible for myself. It was a small event, but it's things like that that taught me to be responsible. And even though [my parents] knew I got drunk and threw up, they didn't get me in more trouble. I'm sure they knew I was suffering quite a bit already. [My parents] probably thought I made a really bad decision...they could have said 'oh yeah, it was a pretty silly thing to do'. But they also probably thought that I wouldn't be doing it again for awhile. And that [my suffering] would teach me. Because just saying 'alcohol isn't good for you - it's dangerous' or 'alcohol makes you do stupid things' wouldn't teach quite as well as my experience".

A considerable difference can be observed between the manner of reference to the parental viewpoint in the narrative above versus that in the following narrative (scored a Level 1 for parent voice), from a physically-challenged male adolescent raised in a less authoritative home:

"...most people go to their parents if [they have] a problem, but when your parents are the problem, what do you do? ... when I became older and went to summer camp, I finally realized that the problem wasn't me. Because I used to think the problem was me, I couldn't walk, I couldn't do this right, and um...I realized that the problem was in my Dad. He couldn't come to grips with the fact, my Dad and Mom...they couldn't come to grips with the fact that I would never be able to be the same as everybody else, and that's always been the problem...it was never a team effort. I mean I wanted to walk but when I would say 'oh, I'm tired', [my Dad] would call me lazy..."

Attachment, voice, and parenting style were significantly correlated for Time 3, as expected. The adolescents who had strong attachments to their parents tended to be more open to their parents' viewpoint in their narratives, and also tended to perceive their parents as authoritative. This finding was consistent with results from a previous study on young adults (Hicks & Pratt, 2000). As attachment theory is widely considered the most comprehensive framework for the parent-child relationship (see Rice, 1990, for review), the fact that the parent voice index correlates with this measure indicates the important link between the child's feelings toward the parent and our narrative assessments of how the child feels about what the parent says. The narrative technique, when scoring for voice, seems to allow the child to relay the quality of the parent-child

relationship in his or her own words, and this assessment mirrors more traditional measures of the parent-adolescent relationship quite well.

It is unclear why Time 2 authoritative parenting did not predict parent voice scores four years later. This finding was especially puzzling given that the reverse was found; namely, Time 2 voice scores significantly predicted to Time 3 authoritative parenting. Perhaps this finding is related to the child's unrealistic perception, and less balanced ratings, of the parents during mid-adolescence. It is the child's perception of experiences with the parent, whether it be accurate or not, that is thought to be important in defining the parent-child relationship. However, it may be that the adolescent's subjective assessment of parenting style through a questionnaire may not be accurate enough to predict this particular aspect of the parent-child relationship over many years.

Mediation Hypothesis

Our prediction (Hypothesis #5) that openness to the parental viewpoint at Time 2 would mediate the relationship between (Time 2) authoritative parenting and the adolescents' (Time 3) adjustment was partly supported. The pattern of results showed potential for supporting this hypothesis for two of the three adjustment measures (self-esteem and optimism). Thus, following the standard procedures of Baron and Kenny (1986), an authoritative parenting style appeared to predict later levels of self-esteem and optimism specifically because it was related to how open the adolescent was to the parental viewpoint. It is interesting that the mediational hypothesis was partially supported for optimism, given previous findings that optimism mediates the relationship between parenting style and adjustment (specifically, self-esteem and depression, Jackson et al., 2000). As presented by Jackson and her colleagues (2000), optimism may be

distinguished from other forms of adjustment in that it promotes healthy adjustment across a broad range of areas. The finding that parent voice was important in the link between authoritative parenting and optimism supports the notion that openness to the parental viewpoint is a valid index of the quality of the parent-child relationship.

The mediational hypothesis was also generally supported for self-esteem. While the pattern of results was consistent with the mediation hypothesis for self-esteem, the predictive effect of parenting style for self-esteem was only marginal. Thus, our small sample size possibly prevented us from clearly demonstrating an effect. In addition, the mediational analyses run for adolescent loneliness did not yield results clearly indicating parent voice mediation. In addition to issues of sample size, it is also possible that loneliness levels are more dependent on peer relationships than on the quality of the parent-child relationship and, thus, that parent voice is not a mediating variable in these processes. The adolescents' self-esteem, on the other hand, likely is more affected by family relationships, which makes it more probable that the adolescents' openness to the parental viewpoint plays a role in the established relationship between parent authoritativeness and adolescent self-esteem.

The pattern of findings in the current study offers some support for the Darling and Steinberg (1993) model of socialization. A parallel might be made between child openness to the parental viewpoint, as assessed with the voice index, and the child's willingness to be socialized, as presented in one aspect of the Darling and Steinberg (1993) model. Adolescents who are engaged with, and open to, the viewpoint of their parents may be more willing to follow the direction of their parents' words and views in their behavior, in order to seek parental approval and recognition. This willingness to be

open to parental influence is an essential component in the model of how parenting style and practices lead to socially desired outcomes in children (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Parenting style is thought to directly influence the development of the child's personality, particularly this quality of a "willingness to be socialized." And although it is not certain which aspect of the authoritative style is responsible for positive child outcomes, it seems plausible that the open, bidirectional communication between parent and child in authoritative homes may have more influence on developing the child's willingness to be socialized than the demanding and controlling aspect of this parenting style. Consistent with the theory offered by Lewis (1981) and the model of Darling and Steinberg (1993), the results of our mediational analyses suggest the relation between authoritative rearing and positive child adjustment may occur specifically because of the open communication between parent and child in authoritative homes, and the adolescent's internalized "responsiveness" to parental influence, as indexed by the voice measure.

Conclusions, Limitations, and Future Considerations

The current study found adolescent openness to the parental viewpoint to be a longitudinal predictor of adolescent adjustment. Adolescents who phrased their parents' viewpoint in a responsive manner in family narratives tended to be better adjusted four years later than those adolescents who were not so open to their parents' viewpoint. In addition, the current findings indicate that this openness to the parental viewpoint may be an important part of the authoritative parenting – adolescent adjustment equation. This openness to the parent voice appeared to partly mediate the relationship between parental authoritativeness and certain types of adjustment (optimism, self-esteem) over time. Together these findings offer new insight into the parent-child connection, in that a

child's thinking, as reflected in everyday story-telling about the parental perspective, may have lasting diagnostic meaning for the child's subsequent emotional well-being. In addition, the findings from the mediational analyses suggested that this openness to the parental viewpoint may enhance or diminish the benefits of being reared by authoritative parents. Thus, signs of the parent-child dialogue, as internally "appropriated" by the child, appear to play a critical role in adjustment outcomes during late adolescence.

The current study was designed to test the voice measure as a longitudinal predictor of adolescent adjustment. Due to the original nature of the study, which was quite intensive, and some participant attrition, the present sample size was quite small. Although the results from these thirty participants may follow the same pattern as results from a larger sample, future research in this area should recruit more participants.

As an analysis of family structure and level of parent-child communication went beyond the scope of this research, future studies could examine the influence of these variables on adolescent adjustment. It would be interesting to examine whether voice scores mirror the actual type and amount of communication between parent and child. Perhaps future studies examining voice could employ a parent-adolescent communication questionnaire, such as the one designed by Nollar and Bagi (1985). This measure requires the adolescent to rate the applicability of statements regarding the frequency, type, and quality of communication they have with each parent. Should the scores on the voice index be significantly related to scores on the communication questionnaire, this would suggest that the adolescents' reference to the parental viewpoint in narrative may be reflecting the nature of the communication and interaction between the parent and child. Items on such a parent-adolescent communication questionnaire may tap into the

adolescent's openness to the words of the parent; however, another, more direct and objective rating measure may need to be developed to accompany the voice index in trying to measure this openness in a different fashion from the current narrative approach.

In addition, future research could also examine whether our findings are applicable to different types of family units (e.g., divorced, single-parent families). The Mackey et al. (in press) study that examined the relations between parent voice and authoritative parenting found parent voice scores in single-parent families to be lower than those in intact families. In our sample, only three of the thirty adolescents reported their parents being separated. With such a small percentage of our sample having divorced/separated parents, it would be difficult to draw any valid conclusions from analyses comparing intact versus non-intact families. It would be interesting to examine whether 'parent voice' differences are apparent in the narratives of adolescents from different types of family units, and how these patterns may relate to adolescent adjustment.

Similarly, our sample consisted of primarily Caucasian, working- to middle-class families. The parenting style literature, in particular, has shown variations in the extent of benefits of authoritative parenting in adolescents from different ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Steingerg et al., 1994). Had our sample been composed of adolescents from many different cultures and socioeconomic groups, perhaps a different pattern of results would have emerged.

The authoritative parenting style measure, and the attachment measure, rely on adolescent self-reports of occurrences in the parent-child relationship. Although it can be argued that it is the adolescent's unique perception of the parents, and not necessarily the

accuracy of this perception, that plays a role in the adolescent's development (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994), one must bear in mind that these measures are indexing subjective experience. As a result, conclusions from the current study are limited, in that they are largely based on how the adolescent observes and interprets things, which may, or may not, mirror the perspective of parents or of other observers.

One final limitation of this study involves the assessment of parent authoritativeness on a continuum, as opposed to categorically dividing families according to degree of warmth and demandingness. Although the dimensional approach was appropriate for testing our hypotheses, it would be interesting to see if adolescents' openness to the parental viewpoint varies depending on the specific type of family environment (authoritative, authoritarian, neglectful, indulgent) in which they were raised. Furthermore, it has been noted that too little research investigates the suitability of different parenting styles for different developmental phases (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Future studies should explore the relationship between parenting style and child adjustment more longitudinally, encompassing developmental stages before and after the teenage years.

It is fascinating how the way in which a child phrases his or her parents' opinion in a story can predict that child's well-being several years later. The current findings offer additional support for the idea that narratives can reveal a lot about a person and about family relationships, if one looks beyond the obvious tale being told (Fiese & Marjinsky, 1999). As in other research (Hicks & Pratt, 2000; Mackey et al., in press; Pratt et al., in press), the qualitative narratives told by the adolescents in the current study revealed important aspects about the parent-child bond that could be quantitatively

measured with the voice index. Though the narratives may be rated according to how responsive the child is to the parental viewpoint, it might also be the balance of mutual respect and communication between the parent and the child that the voice index is capturing. In this sense, the voice score given to an adolescent's story may be reflective of the type of relationship the child has with his or her parents. As the voice measure appears to tap into the child's internal thoughts and feelings about the parent's viewpoint, it may provide a novel and distinctive alternative to traditional questionnaires when examining parent-child relationships and child adjustment longitudinally.

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Table 1.

Pearson Correlations between Parent Voice Measure and Adjustment

	Self-Esteem	Loneliness	Optimism
T2 Parent Voice	**.47****	**-.40***	**.43***
T3 Parent Voice	.29	**-.39***	**.37***

Correlations are for Time 3 adjustment
T2 (Time 2); T3 (Time 3)
*** p < .05; ** p < .01**, df = 28

Table 2.

Regression Analyses for Predicting Increases in Self-Esteem from Time 2 to Time 3

Predictor	β	t	Sig.
Gender	.20	1.28	.21
T2 Self-Esteem	.34	2.10	**.05***
T2 Parent Voice	.38	2.30	**.03***

Dependent Variable: T3 Self-Esteem

Overall: $R = .57$
$F(3,26) = 5.03, p < .01$

T2 = Time 2
T3 = Time 3

*** $p < .05$**

Table 3.

Regression Analyses for Predicting Decreases in Loneliness from Time 2 to Time 3

Predictor	β	t	Sig.
Gender	-.04	-.20	.84
T2 Loneliness	-.02	-.08	.94
T2 Parent Voice	-.38	-2.11	**.05***

Dependent Variable: T3 Loneliness

Overall: R = .38
F(3, 25) = 1.39, p = .27

T2 = Time 2
T3 = Time 3

*** p < .05**

Table 4.

Pearson Correlations between Authoritative Parenting and Adjustment Measures

	Self-Esteem	Loneliness	Optimism
T2 Authoritative Parenting	.29	-.31*	.31*
T3 Authoritative Parenting (Mother and Father combined)	.57***	-.49***	.56***
T3 Mother Authoritative	.54***	-.38**	.43**
T3 Father Authoritative	.50***	-.52***	.59***

Correlations are for Time 3 adjustment.
T2 (Time 2); T3 (Time 3)

*** p < .10; ** p < .05; *** p < .01,**
(two-tailed tests)

df = 28

Table 5.

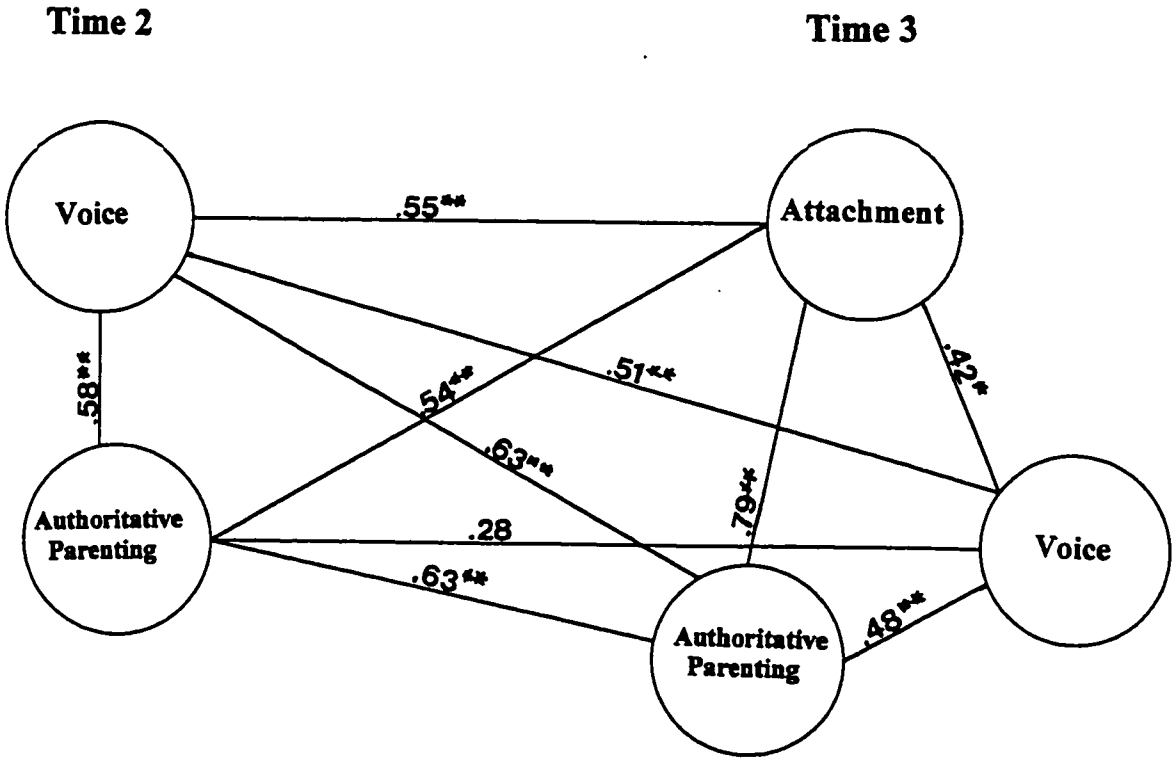
Pearson Correlations between Attachment and Adjustment Variables at Time 3

	Self-Esteem	Loneliness	Optimism
Attachment Total (Mother and Father combined)	.65**	-.57**	.57**
Mother Attachment	.62**	-.44*	.44*
Father Attachment	.54**	-.59**	.59**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, df = 28

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Correlations among voice, attachment, and authoritative parenting.

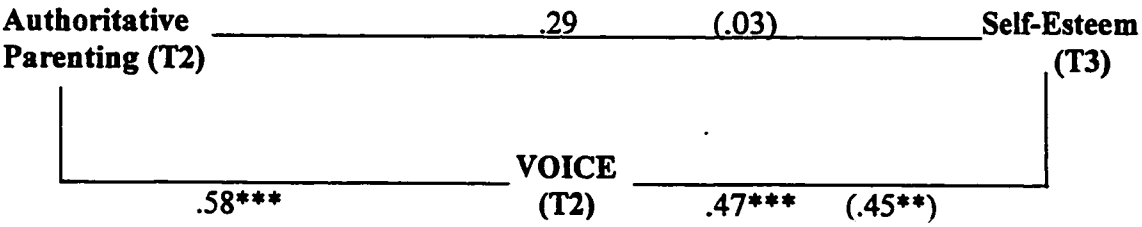


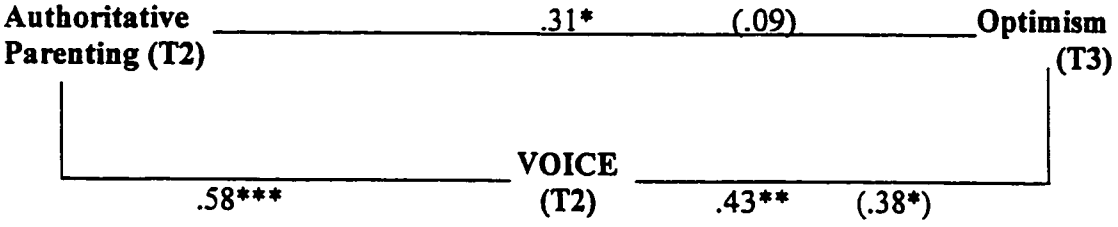
Notes:

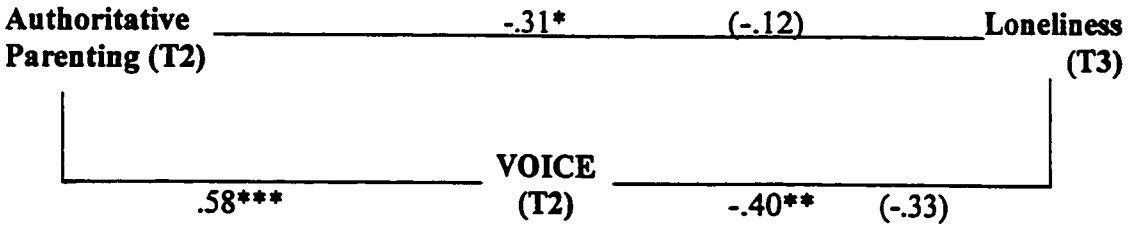
*** p < .05; ** p < .01, df = 28**

Figure Caption

Figure 2. Voice scores as a mediator between authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment.







Notes:

T2 (Time 2); T3 (Time 3)
Correlations in parentheses control for either Time 2 parent authoritativeness or Time 2 parent voice.
All tests two-tailed.
*** p < .10; ** p < .05; *** p < .01**

Appendix A

The Perceived Parenting Style Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions. For each question, we'd like you to think about the time period when you were in senior high school living at home.

To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements as applied first to your mother and secondly to your father?

-4 = very strongly disagree
-3 = strongly disagree
-2 = moderately disagree
-1 = slightly disagree
+4 = very strongly agree
+3 = strongly agree
+2 = moderately agree
+1 = slightly agree
0 = neither agree nor disagree

MOTHER	FATHER	
_____	_____	I could count on my mother/father to help me out, if I had some kind of problem.
_____	_____	My mother/father kept pushing me to do my best in whatever I did.
_____	_____	My mother/father kept pushing me to think independently.
_____	_____	She/he helped me with my school work if there was something I didn't understand.
_____	_____	When my mother/father wanted me to do something, she/he explained why.
_____	_____	When I got a poor grade in school, my mother/father encouraged me to try harder.
_____	_____	When I got a good grade in school, my mother/father praised me.
_____	_____	My mother/father really knew who my friends were.
_____	_____	My mother/father spent time just talking with me.
_____	_____	My mother/father did fun active things together with me.
_____	_____	My mother/father TRIED to know where I went at night.
_____	_____	My mother/father REALLY knew where I went at night.
_____	_____	My mother/father TRIED to know what I did with my free time.
_____	_____	My mother/father REALLY knew what I did with my free time.
_____	_____	My mother/father TRIED to know where I was most afternoons after school.
_____	_____	My mother/father REALLY knew where I was most afternoons after school.

Please check the appropriate answer for the two questions below, with the reference point being the time period when you were **in high school and living at home.**

In a typical week, the latest my mother/father let me stay out on:

school nights (Monday-Thursday) was:			Friday or Saturday night was:		
Mother	Father		Mother	Father	
_____	_____	Not allowed out	_____	_____	Not allowed out
_____	_____	Before 8:00 p.m.	_____	_____	Before 9:00 p.m.
_____	_____	8:00 to 8:59 p.m.	_____	_____	9:00 to 9:59 p.m.
_____	_____	9:00 to 9:59 p.m.	_____	_____	10:00 to 10.59 p.m.
_____	_____	10:00 to 10.59 p.m.	_____	_____	11:00 to 11:59 p.m.
_____	_____	11:00 to 11:59 p.m.	_____	_____	12:00 to 12:59 a.m.
_____	_____	12:00 to 12:59 a.m.	_____	_____	1:00 to 1:59 a.m.
_____	_____	1:00 to 1:59 a.m.	_____	_____	2:00 to 2:59 a.m.
_____	_____	As late as I wanted	_____	_____	As late as I wanted

Appendix B

The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment Questionnaire

For the statements below, please indicate the extent to which the following items are true regarding your relationship first with your mother and secondly with your father by using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Almost Never or Never True	Seldom True	Sometimes True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True

MOTHER	FATHER	
_____	_____	My mother/father respects my feelings.
_____	_____	I feel my mother/father is successful as a parent.
_____	_____	I wish I had a different mother/father.
_____	_____	My mother/father accepts me as I am.
_____	_____	I have to rely on myself and not on my mother/father when I have a problem to solve.
_____	_____	I like to get my mother's/father's point of view on things I'm concerned about.
_____	_____	When it comes to my mother/father, I feel it's no use letting my feelings show.
_____	_____	My mother/father senses when I'm upset about something.
_____	_____	Talking over my problems with my mother/father makes me feel ashamed or foolish.
_____	_____	My mother/father expects too much from me.
_____	_____	I get upset easily at home with my mother/father.
_____	_____	I get upset a lot more than my mother/father knows about.
_____	_____	When we discuss things, my mother/father considers my point of view.
_____	_____	My mother/father trusts my judgment.
_____	_____	My mother/father has her/his own problems, so I don't bother her/him with mine.
_____	_____	My mother/father helps me to understand myself better.
_____	_____	I tell my mother/father about my problems and troubles.
_____	_____	I feel angry with my mother/father.
_____	_____	I don't get much attention at home from my mother/father.
_____	_____	My mother/father encourages me to talk about my difficulties.
_____	_____	My mother/father understands me.
_____	_____	I don't know if I can depend on my mother/father these days.
_____	_____	When I am angry about something, my mother/father tries to be understanding.
_____	_____	I trust my mother/father.
_____	_____	My mother/father doesn't understand what I'm going through these days.
_____	_____	I can count on my mother/father when I need to get something off my chest.
_____	_____	I feel that my mother/father doesn't understand me.
_____	_____	If my mother/father knows something is bothering me, she/he asks me about it.

Appendix C

Interview Question and Probing Questions for the Critical Moral Incident Narrative

Interview Question:

Now, I'd like you to try to recall an important situation or experience that you have had that has had a real impact on the kind of person that you are now. This experience can be anything that has had a real effect on the kind of person you are or the kind of values that you have.

Could you describe this event or situation in as much detail as possible?

Example Probing Questions for the Critical Moral Incident Narrative:

What causes or circumstances led up to this event/situation?

What emotions did you feel at the time? How do you feel now – do you feel the same or do you feel differently?

What things did you consider when dealing with this event/situation?

How did things finally turn out?

Looking back on this now, how has this experience/event had an impact on the kind of person you are?

Why was this experience/event so important in your personal development?

What do you think your parents thought or felt about this situation and the choices that you made?

What do you think your friends thought or felt about this situation and the choices that you made?

Appendix D

Interview Question and Probing Questions for the Teaching Value Narrative

Interview Question for the Teaching Value Narrative:

I'm going to show you a list of 10 qualities that people might think are important for them in terms of the kinds of persons that they want to become. For each quality, we've listed a short explanation of what we mean by it. What I want you to do is to look over this list and choose 3 of these qualities that you think are the most important for you in terms of the kind of person you want to be in your life.

Here are the 10 qualities:

Kind and Caring
Independent
Sharing
Honest and Truthful
Open and Communicate
Fair and Just
Polite and Courteous
Ambitious and Hardworking
Trustworthy
Careful/Cautious

I'd like you to tell me about a time or a situation when your mother/father taught you about the importance of your most important value. So can you tell me about a time when your mother/father taught you about the importance of being _____ ?

Examples of Probing Questions for the Teaching Value Narrative:

How does this story illustrate the quality of _____ ?

How was your mother/father involved in this incident?

Why do you think your mother/father responded in this way?

Do/Did you agree with your mother/father? Why?

Appendix E

LEVELS OF PARENT VOICE

Level 1 — The parent voice is absent from the narrative, or is summarily dismissed by the adolescent.

Level 2 — The parent voice is only minimally present in the narrative, and/or may be passively complied with or rejected by the adolescent.

Level 3 — The parent voice is clearly present in the narrative, and complied with by the adolescent, but not fully accepted.

Level 4 — The parent voice is clear in the narrative and is accepted by the adolescent, but it is parroted, and not yet "owned".

Level 5 — The parent voice is clear, respected, and said in the adolescent's own words. The parent's viewpoint has been accepted, although the adolescent may differ from it.

Example of a narrative scored as a 1 for parent voice:

"...there's a lot of times, like, my parents just don't give me advice. They'll just give me advice, but it's not good advice. Like for times when, like...I'll come to them and say okay what do you think I should do, like I have a heavy workload...and I'm thinking of dropping a [high-school] course. They say I'm just a slacker then, 'cause I'm only going to take 3 courses, whereas if I took 4, all of them would suffer, you know. And so I just, I make my own decisions. I don't know, I can't think of a time when I've come to them for a big decision or anything." (adapted from Mackey et al., in press)

Example of a narrative scored as a 3 for parent voice:

"One time going into the final exam in French class...I had 50 right on the nose. I wasn't really keen on French...but I buckled down...and I just like studied super hard...because I didn't want to fail...'cause my French teacher, she called my house and she told my parents...So they talked to me about it and they said if.I don't pass then I'm gonna have to pay for summer school. So that's what really made me buckle down and get going...To tell you the truth, I've never done that much work on one subject...I just knew everything like off by heart. I couldn't tell you now, though. That's a different story." (adapted from Pratt et al., in press)

Example of a narrative scored as a 5 for parent voice:

"Well at first, [my parents] thought that I was just experimenting [with drugs], and because they grew up in the big Hippie Days, they kind of said fine, you know, 'She can just do that'. But when they realized that it had been a long time, and I hadn't like stopped [doing drugs], they came in and decided that I had to change. So...but it's true like, now...I couldn't understand when I was in the situation, but now that I've been removed from it for so long that I can like overview and see that they were a lot smarter than I could've possibly been."

(What message were your parents trying to give you?)

"...probably that the future that I have going for me was not going to happen if I kept doing this, like I wasn't going to go anywhere, wasn't going to do anything, which was true." (adapted from Mackey et al., in press)

Appendix F

The Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale.

Below you will find a variety of statements related to your attitudes and personal beliefs. Please use the following scale to indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

-4 = very strongly disagree **+4 = very strongly agree**
-3 = strongly disagree **+3 = strongly agree**
-2 = moderately disagree **+2 = moderately agree**
-1 = slightly disagree **+1 = slightly agree**
0 = precisely neutral

1. _____ I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
2. _____ I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
3. _____ All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
4. _____ I am unable to do things as well as most other people.
5. _____ I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. _____ I take a positive attitude toward myself.
7. _____ On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
8. _____ I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. _____ I certainly feel useless at times.
10. _____ At times, I think I am no good at all.

Appendix G

The UCLA Loneliness Scale.

Below are a number of statements describing your feelings about yourself and your relationships with others. Please use the following scale to indicate how often you have felt a certain way. Indicate one score for each statement.

0 – never 1 – rarely 2 – sometimes 3 - often

1. ____ I feel in tune with the people around me.
2. ____ I lack companionship.
3. ____ There is no one I can turn to.
4. ____ I do not feel alone.
5. ____ I feel a part of a group of friends.
6. ____ I have a lot in common with the people around me.
7. ____ I am no longer close to anyone.
8. ____ My interests and ideas are not shared by those around me.
9. ____ I am an outgoing person.
10. ____ There are people I feel close to.
11. ____ I feel left out.
12. ____ My social relationships are superficial.
13. ____ No one really knows me well.
14. ____ I feel isolated from others.
15. ____ I can find companionship when I want to.
16. ____ There are people who really understand me.
17. ____ I am unhappy being so withdrawn.
18. ____ People are around me but not with me.
19. ____ There are people I can talk to.
20. ____ There are people I can turn to.

Appendix H

The Life Orientation Test.

Below you will find a variety of statements related to your attitudes and personal beliefs. Please use the following scale to indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

-4 = very strongly disagree **+4 = very strongly agree**
-3 = strongly disagree **+3 = strongly agree**
-2 = moderately disagree **+2 = moderately agree**
-1 = slightly disagree **+1 = slightly agree**
0 = precisely neutral

1. ____ In uncertain times, I usually expect the best.
2. ____ If something can go wrong for me, it usually will.
3. ____ I always look on the bright side of things.
4. ____ I am always optimistic about my future.
5. ____ I hardly ever expect things to go my way.
6. ____ Things never work out the way I want them to.
7. ____ I'm a believer that every cloud has a silver lining.
8. ____ I rarely count on good things happening to me.