School refusal behavior: The relationship between family environment and parenting style

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SCHOOL REFUSAL BEHAVIOR: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AND PARENTING STYLE

by

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ABSTRACT

School Refusal Behavior: The Relationship between Family Environment and Parenting Style

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School refusal behavior has been researched and discussed within psychological and educational communities for over a century, and family environment has been found to influence such behavior. Specifically, differences have been found with respect to the function of youth school refusal behavior and levels of familial independence, cohesion, and conflict. Parenting styles have also been found to influence the behavior of youth. Authoritative parenting is associated with children who perform well scholastically and exhibit few internalizing or externalizing behaviors. Family environment and parenting styles have not been researched as joint influences on school refusal behavior. This study investigated possible effects of family environment and parenting styles on youngsters with school refusal behavior within Las Vegas middle and high school students. Results indicated that youth refusing school for attention reported significantly lower levels of independence than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement. Youth
refusing school for tangible reinforcement were in the sample majority. In response, youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement were further grouped into two- and three-group diagnostic classifications. Differences were found among these groups with respect to family expressiveness and moral-religious emphasis. With respect to parenting, youth within the entire sample perceived parents as predominantly authoritarian and differences were found among the two- and three-group classifications with respect to mother permissiveness. Post hoc analyses revealed differences among the two- and three-group diagnostic classifications with respect to internalizing and externalizing behaviors, with youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of another function reporting lower incidences of internalizing symptoms and social problems. Results indicated the value of family and parent assessment in youth with school refusal behavior. In addition, further investigation of the variability among youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement may result in more successful assessment and treatment for this population.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Absenteeism from School

For over a century, problematic school absenteeism has been researched and discussed within psychological and educational professions (Kearney, 2003). School absenteeism refers to any legal or illegal absence from school (Kearney, 2001). The U.S. National Center of Education Statistics (NCES) reports that 5.5% of students are absent from school on a typical school day (National Center for Education Statistics, 1998). Daily absenteeism rates approach 30% in certain urban areas (Cimmarusti, James, Simpson, & Wright, 1984). Rates of absenteeism have remained relatively stable from 1994-2005 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2006).

Frequent absenteeism has been linked to problems as diverse as antisocial behavior, unstable job history, automobile-related law violations, and substance abuse (Hagborg, 1989). Other studies have noted long-term difficulties such as marital problems and poorer health status associated with school nonattendance (Hibbett & Fogleman, 1990; Kandel, Ravlis, & Kandel, 1984). A review of the history of problematic absenteeism is provided next.

History of Problematic Absenteeism

During the 19th century, compulsory attendance laws in Europe had a dramatic effect on public education, resulting in general social reform movements (Fagan, 1992).
Schools began to strictly enforce attendance laws, resulting in the growth of education services to maintain student attendance (i.e., school psychology) (Fagan, 1992). At this time, children excessively absent from school were labeled as “truant.”

Williams (1927) referred to truancy as unlawful and willful absence from school without parental knowledge and consent. This definition of excessive school absenteeism evolved as the distinction between truancy and delinquency became more defined. The work of researchers in the early 20th century sparked efforts to properly classify problematic school absenteeism. Therefore, a brief overview of the developing nature of terms used to convey the meaning of problematic absenteeism follows.

*Psychoneurotic Truancy*

Problematic absenteeism and delinquency were portrayed synonymously until the work of Broadwin (1932). Broadwin noted a neurotic component of truancy that included obsessional neurosis, or a child’s fear of misfortune to his mother. Broadwin split the study of problematic absenteeism into those who believed the problem to stem from delinquent truancy and those who believed that problematic absenteeism contained a neurotic component. Partridge (1939) further referred to *psychoneurotic truancy* as a condition involving guilt, anxiety, tantrums, and yearning for attention within an overprotective parent-child relationship (Kearney, 2001).

*School Phobia/Separation Anxiety*

Johnson, Falstein, Szurek, and Svendsen (1941) coined the term *school phobia* for children refusing school due to an overly close parent-child bond. This bond was characterized by acute child and maternal anxiety about separation. *School phobia* remained a predominant term throughout the 1940s and 1950s. However, Johnson later
stated that the term school phobia was used incorrectly and should be labeled parent-child separation anxiety (Johnson, 1957). Separation anxiety refers to intense distress following anticipated or actual separation from significant others. As a result, school phobia and separation anxiety were used interchangeably.

The term school phobia further evolved in the 1960s as a more behavioral construct (Lazarus, Davison, & Polefka, 1965). School phobia was defined in terms of avoidance of specific school-related stimuli maintained by secondary reinforcers such as parental attention. Behavioral and psychodynamic conceptualizations of school phobia remained, however, and have been continually used interchangeably by researchers and practitioners. As a result, confusion remains about how the term school phobia should be used.

Kennedy (1965) delineated children with school phobia as Type I or Type II. Type I children experienced "neurotic crises" categorized by sudden onset of nonattendance, poor grades, worrying, and good relationships with parents (Coolidge, 1957). Type II children experienced more insidious onset of nonattendance without worrying, and poor relationships with parents. Berg (1969) further split the term school phobia into acute and chronic. Acute school phobia was defined as non-problematic school attendance for 3 years prior to the current episode of absenteeism. Chronic school phobia was defined as recurrent and problematic for more than 3 years. This acute-chronic distinction remains today as a means of classifying problematic absenteeism (Kearney & Silverman, 1996).

Berg and colleagues (1969) also provided an operational definition to delineate school phobia from truancy (King, Ollendick, & Tonge, 1995). This definition remains an
important guideline for identifying children with problematic absenteeism and includes four diagnostic criteria. The first criterion is that a student must experience severe difficulty in school, often amounting to prolonged absences. The second criterion is that these absences must be accompanied by marked emotional upset such as fearfulness, misery, and temper tantrums. The third criterion is that a child must be at home from school with parental knowledge. The fourth criterion is that the first three criteria are not accompanied by significant antisocial disorders such as stealing, lying, and sexual misbehavior (Berg et al., 1969).

Not all researchers accepted Berg’s (1969) definition of school phobia. For instance, Bowlby (1973) contended that school phobia is indeed psychodynamically oriented. He postulated that school phobia resulted from fear of impending loss of a certain security/attachment figure. This contributed to confusing terminology within the literature regarding problematic absenteeism. As a result, the definition of school phobia remains unclear.

*School Refusal Versus Truancy*

In response to confusion about defining school phobia, the more general term of school refusal was derived (Hersov, 1960; Young, Brasic, Kisnadwala, & Leven, 1990). School refusal refers to children who cannot attend school due to internalizing problems such as anxiety, fear, or depression (Brandibas, 2004). King and colleagues (1995) expanded the idea of an existing anxiety component within school refusal. These researchers divided the term into three clinical groups of “severe school refusers:” (1) “phobic school refusers,” (2) “separation-anxious school refusers,” and (3) “anxious/depressed school refusers” (p.15).
Despite the presence of anxiety within school refusers, researchers have also acknowledged a subset of chronically absent youth who are not anxious. Warren (1948) was among the first to distinguish youth with “acute neurotic breakdown” who refused school and “truants without neurotic breakdown.” Warren’s investigation revealed that children with “acute neurotic breakdown” displayed neurotic traits such as anxiety, depression, fear, aggression, and disobedient behaviors. In contrast, children with truancy were found to have no neurosis and were categorized primarily by delinquent symptoms such as lying and stealing.

Hersov (1960) defined school refusers as those who were chronically absent and had an affinity for remaining at home with caregivers. Truants were defined as chronically absent students who had no inclination to remain home. Furthermore, truants were noted as frequently associating with truant peers and hiding absenteeism from parents. Hersov (1960) compared 50 school refusers and 50 truants to a control group of children regularly attending school. Children with school refusal evidenced significantly more mother overprotectiveness than truants. Truants had significantly more parental absence throughout childhood and a history of inconsistent discipline at home. Truants also had consistently more problematic school reports than children with school refusal. Finally, children with school refusal evidenced significantly greater reports of anxiety, whereas truants evidenced symptoms more aligned with conduct disorder.

Berg and colleagues (1969) noted that truants were unlikely to be excessively anxious or fearful about attending school. Truant absences were more likely a result of antisocial behavior and the desire to engage in activities outside of school. Furthermore, truants were unwilling to conform to a school’s code of behavior and expectations, absent
from school without parental knowledge, and engaging in disruptive acts with delinquent peers.

Galloway (1983) defined truants as students chronically absent from school without parental knowledge. Children chronically absent from school with parental consent of their parents were defined as “other absentees.” Galloway compared 31 truants with 48 “other absentees.” Truants were significantly more influenced by peers, prone to stealing, lying, and straying away from home than “other absentees.” Furthermore, “other absentees” evidenced significantly more anxiety about leaving home and about parent welfare than truants. An overprotective parent-child relationship was also found in the “other absentee” group. These findings mirror Warren (1948), Hersov (1960), and Berg et al. (1969).

Cooper and Mellors (1990) believed that the label of “school refuser” or “truant” would affect how school-related agencies treat a child. For example, if a child were labeled “truant,” he would be seen less empathically than a “school refuser” (Cooper, 1986). Cooper and Mellors (1990) administered questionnaires based on the behavioral characteristics of chronically absent students to 26 teachers. The questionnaire included categories of anxiety, depression, self-esteem, self-consciousness, and self-stability. Teachers perceived school refusers as more emotionally disturbed than truants. Specifically, teachers perceived school refusers as more depressed and anxious. Teachers also rated school refusers as having lower self-esteem and fewer and weaker peer relationships than truants. Cooper and Mellors’ (1990) findings coincided with research noted earlier (i.e., Johnson, 1941; Kennedy, 1965; Partridge 1939) that alluded to an anxiety component among children with school refusal. While many researchers have
noted a distinct anxiety component within children with school refusal (Brandibas et al., 2004; Cooper and Mellors, 1990), some children refuse school due to externalizing or antisocial/conduct reasons.

Egger, Costello, and Angold (2003) utilized the DSM-IV-TR to categorize children with school refusal. The primary goal was to examine an association between anxious school refusal and truancy vis-à-vis DSM-IV classified psychiatric disorders. A secondary goal was to examine an association between school refusal and specific fears, sleep difficulties, and somatic complaints because these problems have been previously linked to school refusal (Hersov, 1960; Schmitt, 1971).

The research sample consisted of 4500 children aged 9, 11, and 13 years recruited through public schools in North Carolina. Parents and children were interviewed about a child’s psychiatric status and diagnoses were largely based on combined parent and child report. Two sections from the Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Assessment were used to define school refusal groups. The “school/work performance and behavior” section addressed truant behaviors, and the “worry/anxiety over school attendance and separation anxiety” section focused on anxious school-refusing behaviors.

School refusers were divided into three groups. The first group consisted of anxious school refusers or children who failed to attend school due to overwhelming anxiety, with pure anxious school refusers endorsing only anxious school refusing behavior. The second group was referred to as truants, or children who failed to attend school without permission of parents or school authorities, with pure truants endorsing only truant behavior. Finally, mixed school refusers were children who had been anxious school refusers and truants during the 3-month period of the investigation. The authors
screened for separation anxiety disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, simple phobia, social phobia, panic disorder, depression (major depression, depression not otherwise specified, or dysthymia), conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and substance abuse. The authors also examined the relationship between school refusal and specific fears and anxieties, sleep difficulties, and somatic complaints.

A logistic regression was performed, and univariable and multivariable models were employed to examine the association between school refusal and psychiatric disorders. One quarter of children with pure anxious school refusal and with pure truancy had at least one psychiatric disorder compared to only 6.8% of children without school refusal. Additionally, 88% of children with mixed school refusal had a psychiatric disorder. In addition, anxious-school refusers experienced disturbed sleep by refusing to sleep alone. An association was also found between pure anxious-school refusers and nightmares and night terrors. Truants reportedly experienced insomnia and fatigue, and mixed school refusers reportedly experienced nightmares and night terrors. Associations were also found between anxious school refusers and somatic complaints.

Several symptoms were found to be not significantly associated with any of the four groups. No differences were found between groups with respect to worrying about separation from parents, with rates ranging from 0.6% to 5.5%. Secondly, all groups scored similarly on measures of social anxiety (1.8%-14.2%).

No specific diagnostic category currently exists for chronic school nonattendance. Consequently, clinicians and researchers must use alternate diagnoses such as social phobia, separation anxiety, and oppositional defiant disorder. Because of this, researchers
have continually attempted to subtype/classify school nonattendance to achieve greater diagnostic clarity. Despite various terms used to infer nonattendance, researchers generally agree that the absence of this problem from existing diagnostic and classification systems increases difficulty in classifying this population (Berg, 1992; Kearney & Silverman).

**Diagnostic Classifications**

School refusal is not a formal diagnosis. However, children with school refusal may have significant emotional distress, specifically anxiety and depression (McShane, Walter, & Rey, 2001). The most common comorbid psychiatric disorders include separation anxiety, school phobia, simple phobia, panic disorder, posttraumatic stress disorder, major depressive disorder dysthymia, and adjustment disorder (Last & Strauss, 1990; Bernstein, 1991). Prior to 1980, diagnostic categorization of youth with school refusal suffered from poor definitional clarity (Kearney, 2001). Following are research attempts illustrating attempts to classify school refusers diagnostically.

Bernstein and Garfinkel (1986) and Bernstein (1991) evaluated diagnostic characteristics of 26 early adolescent youth with school phobia. Many met criteria for depression (69%) and anxiety (62%), and 50% met criteria for both. Adolescents meeting criteria for anxiety and depression were most severely symptomatic. Only 19.2% of the sample met criteria for neither an affective disorder nor an anxiety disorder. Bernstein and Garfinkel (1988) found similar results in 42 children with school phobia. Children with school phobia primarily met criteria for an anxiety or affective disorder, as did many family members. Specifically, results suggested a higher rate of depressive and anxiety disorders in first-degree relatives of school phobic children with severe symptoms. In a
follow-up study, Bernstein (1991) evaluated 96 children and adolescents using clinician and self-report measures. Results affirmed previous diagnostic findings (Bernstein, 1988) in that youth with school phobia were successfully divided into one of four groups: anxiety only, depression only, anxiety and depression, and neither depression nor anxiety. Youth in the fourth category consisted mainly of disruptive behavior disorders such as conduct and oppositional defiant disorder.

Last and Strauss (1987) found 100% of children diagnosed with phobic disorder of school to display chronic nonattendance, whereas only 73% of children classified as separation anxious had similar attendance problems. Additionally, children with a phobic disorder of school met criteria for other anxiety disorders (52.6%), affective disorders (31.6%), or no disorder (36.8%). Correspondingly, Last and Strauss (1990) studied 63 school refusal children and adolescents to determine the prevalence of characteristic anxiety disorders using DSM-III-R criteria. Separation anxious and phobic children were two main types of school refusers. Within the phobic subtype, Last and colleagues made further distinctions between children with social phobia (30%) and those with simple phobia (22%). Therefore, most school refusers were in the phobic category. The next most common diagnosis was separation anxiety disorder (38%), followed by less commonly presented disorders such as panic disorder (6%) and posttraumatic stress disorder (2%).

In addition to diagnostic classification, school refusal can be conceptualized in terms of its functional significance (Kearney & Albano, 2000). Kearney and Silverman (1996) acknowledged the lack of a proper taxonomic system and created a taxonomy based on the function of the problematic behavior. Function refers to what maintains a
child’s school refusal behavior or what motivates a child to continue to refuse school. Kearney and Silverman (1996) referred to problematic absenteeism as school refusal behavior.

In sum, the conceptualization of chronic school nonattendance evolved from a purely oppositional or “truant” definition (Williams, 1927) to one incorporating the presence of an anxiety component (Broadwin, 1932; Johnson et al., 1941; Johnson, 1957; Partridge, 1939). Further examination of chronic nonattendance resulted in conceptualizations including both children who refuse to attend school as a result of anxiety, and those who refuse to attend school in the absence of anxiety (Berg et al., 1969; Egger et al., 2003; Hersov, 1960; Kennedy, 1965; King et al., 1995). As a result, most researchers agree that the heterogeneity of this population requires a definition that encompasses both an anxiety and non-anxiety component.

*School Refusal Behavior*

Youth with school refusal behavior refuse to attend school or have difficulties remaining in classes for an entire day (Kearney & Silverman, 1996). Kearney and Silverman (1996) specified that school refusal behavior refers to youth aged 5-17 years who: (1) are absent from school completely, (2) attend school but leave during the day, (3) exhibit misbehaviors before going to school (i.e., tantrums, aggression, running away), and/or (4) attend school with great duress. School refusal behavior represents an inability to appropriately cope with school-related stressors or maintain age-appropriate functioning within the school environment (Kearney, 2001).
Epidemiology

Estimates of the prevalence of school refusal behavior vary considerably. This is due to differing criteria used to define the term (Last & Francis, 1988). Kearney (2001) estimated that 5-28% of youth display some aspect of school refusal behavior. This estimate includes youth who miss school for an entire day, youth who miss only part of the day, and youth who attend school under great duress. Research indicates that school refusal behavior occurs fairly equally in boys and girls (Frick, 1964; Kearney & Silverman).

School refusal behavior tends to peak at key transition times, such as when children are entering school (5-7 years) (Hersov, 1985), transferring to middle school (10-11 years), (Ollendick & Mayer 1984), and transferring to high school (14 years) (Makihara, Nagaya, & Nakajima, 1985). Older children with school refusal behavior generally have poorer prognoses and more severe absenteeism than younger children (Hansen et al., 1998). The heterogeneity of children with school refusal behavior is substantial and has caused great taxonomic confusion for clinical child psychologists and educators. Kearney and Silverman (1996) took note of the disparity in classifying children with problematic absenteeism. In response, they devised a model based on the function of the school refusal behavior. This model is reviewed next.

Kearney and Silverman's Functional Approach

Kearney and Silverman (1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2001) outlined a functional model of school refusal behavior that focuses on maintaining variables and motivating conditions of school refusal behavior. They proposed that children refuse school for one or more functions (Kearney et al., 2004). These domains are broadly
separated into negative reinforcement and positive reinforcement. *Negative reinforcement* refers to pleasant termination of an aversive event, whereas *positive reinforcement* refers to intangible or tangible rewards (Kearney, 2001).

**Negatively Reinforced School Refusal Behavior**

Negatively reinforced school behavior occurs when children refuse school to escape unpleasant or aversive events at school. As they avoid or escape these events, the unpleasantness of the situation and subsequent negative feelings generally fade (Kearney & Silverman, 1996). This reinforces a child’s consistent refusal of school. Within the functional model of school refusal behavior, children who refuse school for negative reinforcement are thought to do so specifically to avoid stimuli that provoke a sense of general negative affectivity, escape aversive social and/or evaluative situations, or both.

Negative affectivity consists of covert symptoms of fear, anxiety, and depression among youth. Negative affectivity refers to a global state or continuum of anxiety and depression or emotional distress (Chansky & Brady, 1992; Kearney, 2001; Kendall, Kortlander, King, Ollendick, & Gullone, 1991; Norvell, Brophy, & Finch, 1985; Watson & Clark, 1984). Children who refuse school to avoid negative affectivity can sometimes identify troubling stimuli such as a bus, fire alarm, teacher, or animal in the classroom (Kearney, 2001). However, most children who refuse school to avoid negative affectivity cannot identify specific aversive stimuli. Instead, these children say they are unsure of what causes their dislike of school. They may have feelings of general “malaise” or “misery” at school (Kearney, 2004).

Youth may also refuse school to escape aversive social or evaluative situations at school (Kearney, 2001; Kearney & Silverman, 1996). Common examples include public
speaking, interactions with others, walking in hallways or into class or school, tests and graded situations, writing on the blackboard, being called on in class, and classes that regularly involve performance before others, such as physical education, choir, and driving (Beidel, Turner, & Morris, 1999; Kearney, 2001).

Youths may also refuse school to avoid certain people there, including teachers, peers, crowds, or others (Kearney & Silverman, 1996). Many youth who refuse school to avoid a specific social or evaluative situation show elevated levels of general or social anxiety, stress, depressive symptoms, and somatic complaints, though many do not (Kearney, 2001).

Kearney and Albano (2004) examined diagnostic categories across functions for 143 youth with school refusal behavior. Separation anxiety disorder was the most prominent diagnosis, though many youth also met criteria for other anxiety, mood, and disruptive behaviors (Kearney & Albano, 2004). Anxiety disorders were most prevalent in the negative reinforcement functions (avoidance of school-related stimuli that provoke negative affectivity and escape from aversive school-related social and/or evaluative situations) (Kearney & Albano, 2004).

*Positively Reinforced School Refusal Behavior*

Positively reinforced school refusal behavior occurs when children refuse school to pursue intangible or tangible rewards outside of school. One type of positively reinforced school refusal behavior involves youths who refuse school for attention or sympathy from parents or others such as grandparents, older siblings, and neighbors (Kearney & Silverman; 2001). Younger children often comprise this group, demonstrating various morning misbehaviors to get attention and stay home from school.
These misbehaviors often include tantrums, screaming, clinging, locking oneself in a room or car, reassurance-seeking, guilt-inducing behavior, exaggerated somatic complaints, noncompliance, and running away (usually temporarily), among others (Kearney, 2001). Children within this group may have separation anxiety as well. However, separation anxiety is often part of manipulative, controlling behavior designed to solicit attention (Kearney, 2003).

The second group of youth who refuse school for positive reinforcement pursue tangible reinforcement outside of school. Many of these older children and adolescents skip classes, whole sections of a school day, or an entire day to pursue reinforcers more powerful than those at school (Kearney & Silverman, 1996). Outside reinforcers vary, but common examples include watching television, playing videogames or sports, accessing the Internet, sleeping late, visiting with friends, eating off the school campus, engaging in drug use, going to day parties, shopping, attending casinos, or working (Kearney & Silverman; 2001).

Those who pursue tangible reinforcement outside school have lower levels of general and social anxiety, depression, fear, and overall distress compared to youth of other functions (Tillotson & Kearney, 1998). Diagnoses of disruptive behavior disorders tend to concentrate in this function as well (Kearney & Albano, 2004). This does not imply that these youth never have symptoms of negative affectivity (Kearney, 2001). Many youngsters within this group do show symptoms of negative affectivity after having been out of school for a long time.

Up to 80% of children have difficulty adjusting to school at one time, with most children’s reluctance to attend school effectively managed by parents (Watters, 1989). In
some cases, however, parenting may influence attendance. One of this investigation's primary topics is the effect of parenting on children's school refusal behavior. Therefore, a review of problematic absenteeism and parenting follows here.

**Problematic Absenteeism and Parenting**

Parents are a key element in a child's schooling and their involvement directly affects a child's daily attendance. Researchers have found parental involvement to exert a powerful influence on student school success across grade levels (Eccles & Harold, 1996; Kellaghan, Sloane, Alvarez, & Bloom, 1993). Berg (1996) suggested the prognosis for children refusing school is poorer for long-established cases where parental cooperation is lacking. Furthermore, certain parenting styles are associated with children who perform well scholastically (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts & Fraleigh, 1987; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). Due to the significant amount of studies that have linked youth's academic success to certain parenting styles, attention is turned next to a discussion of parenting styles.

**Parenting Styles: Introduction and Overview**

Psychologists have been interested in how parents influence the development of children's social and instrumental competence since the 1930s (Baldwin, 1955; Becker, Peterson, Luria, Shoemaker, & Hellmer, 1957; Cline, Richards, & Needham, 1963; Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939; Lorr & Jenkins, 1953; Nichols, 1962; Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957; Slater, 1962). A central approach to this area is the study of parenting styles or "constellations of parental attitudes, practices, and nonverbal expressions that characterize the nature of parent-child interactions across diverse situations" (Glasgow,
Parenting style is used to capture normal variations in parents' attempts to control and socialize their children (Baumrind, 1991).

Parenting styles are hypothesized to create an emotional climate for the parent-child relationship and provide a context for specific episodes of parental childrearing. Furthermore, parenting style does not refer to a specific act or set of acts of parenting. In contrast to parenting styles, parenting behaviors or practices are conceptualized as specific kinds of parental interactions with children in specific situations. For instance, a mother helping her child study for a test would exemplify a parenting behavior or practice. In contrast, a mother expecting nothing less than an “A” from her child in all subjects no matter the cost would exemplify a parenting style.

Assessment of Parenting Style and Behavior

Parenting style is traditionally assessed with questionnaires that require a respondent to evaluate global patterns of parenting style over long or unspecified periods of time (Holden & Edwards, 1989). Parenting behaviors are also measured via observational approaches or daily diaries of parenting behaviors in particular situations (Repetti, 1996). Self-report measures have generally been used to assess parenting style, whereas observational methods have been used to assess specific parenting practices or behaviors (Wood, 2003).

Baumrind (Baumrind, 1971; 1973; Baumrind & Black, 1967) used self-report measures in several studies of children and their families that resulted in a typology of three major parenting styles. Baumrind’s parenting conceptualization is widely employed.
within the parenting style literature today and attention will now turn to a detailed
description of each parenting style.

*Baumrind’s Parenting Styles*

Baumrind (1967, 1971) examined parent-child interactions and delineated three
styles of parenting: authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative. These styles describe
normal variations in parenting, do not include deviant parenting (i.e., abuse or neglect),
and assume that normal parenting surrounds the issue of control. Although parenting
styles were originally developed for research on family socialization practices during
childhood, parenting styles have also been used to examine links between family
interaction patterns and areas of adolescent functioning (Glasgow et al., 1997; Hein &
Lewko, 1994; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). Two components of
parenting style most commonly used to examine the relationship between family
interactions and adolescent functioning are responsiveness and demandingness.

*Parental Responsiveness and Parental Demandingness*

Maccoby and Martin (1983) subsequently supplemented Baumrind’s (1967, 1971,
1978) typology by categorizing parents according to levels of parental responsiveness
and demandingness. *Parental responsiveness* (also referred to as parental warmth or
supportiveness) is the extent to which parents foster a warm environment. Furthermore,
responsiveness refers to a parent’s acceptance of a child’s individuality and
responsiveness to a child’s special needs and demands. *Parental demandingness* (also
referred to as behavioral control) refers to a parent’s degree of commitment to control,
supervision, and demands of maturity from their children.
Categorizing parents as high or low on parental demandingness and responsiveness creates a typology of four parenting styles: indulgent-permissive, authoritarian, authoritative, and rejecting-neglecting (see Figure 1). Each parenting style reflects different naturally occurring patterns of parental values, practices, and behaviors as well as a distinct balance of responsiveness and demandingness (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). While these four parenting styles have been identified, the first three styles are often most recognized and studied (Robinson et al., 1995). This review will therefore focus on these three parenting styles.

Figure 1. A two-dimensional classification of parenting patterns

Indulgent-Permissive Parenting Type

Permissive parents (also referred to as "indulgent" or "nondirective") are more responsive than demanding. They avoid confrontation with children by accepting immature behavior and rarely implement disciplinary action when children misbehave (Baumrind, 1991). The nurturing skills of parents who adopt a permissive style tend to be moderate to high, whereas control of children is weak (Dwairy, 2004). Permissive parents take a tolerant, accepting attitude toward a child's impulses, including sexual and aggressive impulses. These parents use little punishment and avoid, whenever possible, asserting authority or imposing controls or restrictions (Buri, 1991). Permissive parents are lenient, make few demands for mature behavior (e.g., manners or carrying out tasks), and allow children to regulate their own behavior and make their own decisions when possible. Permissive parents also have few rules governing a child's time schedule (bedtime, mealtime, television watching) (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). In Baumrind's (1967) study, researchers observed permissive parents as relatively warm, at least by comparison to an authoritarian group. Baumrind's later work, however, found permissive parents to be cool and uninvolved. Finally, children raised by permissive parents have poor social skills and low self-esteem, and are often seen as selfish, dependent, irresponsible, spoiled, unruly, inconsiderate of other's needs, and antisocial (Bigner, 1994; Wenar, 1994).

Baumrind (1991) divided permissive parents into two subtypes: democratic parents and nondirective parents. Democratic parents are highly responsive to their child's behavior, moderately demanding, and not restrictive. Democratic parents are also less conventional, directive, and controlling than authoritative parents. Like authoritative
parents, however, democratic parents are supportive, caring, and exhibit no problem behavior or family disorganization.

Nondirective parents, on the other hand, are extremely nonrestrictive and particularly responsive. These parents avoid confrontation, use little assertive control, and allow their children to regulate their own behavior. According to Baumrind (1991), families of nondirective parents are disorganized. Nondirective mothers are more likely to use illicit drugs and condone their adolescent’s drug or alcohol use.

*Authoritarian-Autocratic Parenting Type*

*Authoritarian* parents are highly demanding and directive, but not responsive. These parents demand much from their children but are unwilling to accept demands themselves. Children have needs that parents are obligated to fulfill, and authoritarian parents place strict limits on the expression of these needs by children. The nurturing skills of authoritarian parents tend to be low (Dwairy, 2004). Children are expected to inhibit their begging and, in extreme cases, may not even speak before being spoken to. The rules of authoritarian parents are to be accepted as statutes and rules and are not discussed in advance or arrived at by consensus or bargaining (Baumrind, 1967). Authoritarian parents attach strong value to maintaining their authority and suppress efforts children make to challenge their power. Parents of an authoritarian type attempt to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of children in accordance with an absolute set of standards. Authoritarian parents emphasize obedience, respect for authority, work, tradition, and preservation of order. They expect children to obey orders without question and are preoccupied with maintaining their power within the child-parent relationship (Baumrind 1967; 1991). When children deviate from parental
requirements, fairly severe punishment (often physical) is likely (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). These parents provide well-ordered and structured environments with clearly stated rules, but seldom explain reasoning behind their rules (Dwairy, 2004). Authoritarian parents also discourage verbal give-and-take with their children (Baumrind, 1971).

Baumrind (1991) further divided authoritarian parents into two subtypes: nonauthoritarian-directive and authoritarian-directive. The only difference between these two subtypes is degree of intrusiveness of the parent. Nonauthoritarian-directive parents are not intrusive, but authoritarian-directive parents are highly intrusive (e.g., listening in on child’s phone calls, reading child’s diary) (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Furthermore, children of authoritarian parents tend to be uncooperative, depressed, and have low self-esteem, low initiative, and difficulties making decisions in adulthood (Bigner, 1994; Wenar, 1994; Whitfield, 1987).

Authoritative Parenting Type

The authoritative pattern of parenting is a compromise between authoritarian and permissive styles. The authoritative parenting style requires children to be responsive to parental demands. However, authoritative parents are responsive to their children’s reasonable demands and points of view (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Authoritative parents are also demanding. Parents who adopt an authoritative style of parenting monitor and impart clear standards for their children's conduct. They are assertive, but not intrusive and restrictive, and their disciplinary methods are supportive rather than corrective. Authoritative parents want their children to be assertive, socially responsible, self-regulated, and cooperative (Baumrind, 1991).
Parents who adopt an authoritative style have good nurturing skills and exercise moderate parental control to encourage a child to become autonomous (Baumrind, 1966). Authoritative parents do enforce limits in various ways such as reasoning, verbal give-and-take, and positive reinforcements (Dwairy, 2004). Children of authoritative parents have high self-esteem and tend to be self-reliant, self-controlled, secure, popular, and inquisitive (Buri, Louiselle, Misukanis, & Mueller, 1988; Wenar, 1994).

Authoritative parenting also includes an expectation for mature behavior from a child. Parents enforce clearly defined standards and expect these standards to be followed. When enforcing rules, parents who adopt an authoritative style use commands and sanctions when necessary. However, authoritative parents consider the rights of themselves and their children when enforcing rules and standards. Baumrind (1967, 1971) noted that authoritative parents encourage their child’s independence and individuality and foster open communication by encouraging verbal give-and-take with their child.

Psychological Control

Parenting styles also differ on a third dimension – psychological control. Psychological control is defined as intruding upon, constraining, and manipulating the thoughts and feelings of a child (Barber & Harmon, 2002) through use of parent guilt-induction, invalidating feelings, withdrawal of love, or shaming (Aunola & Nurmi, 2004; Loukas, Paulos, and Robinson: 2005). Psychological control differs from behavioral control. Behavioral control refers to the degree parents regulate and are aware of their child’s everyday behavior (Barber, 1994).
One key difference between authoritarian and authoritative parenting involves psychological control. Authoritarian and authoritative parents place high demands on children and expect children to behave appropriately and obey parental rules. Authoritarian parents, however, expect children to accept their judgments, values, and goals without question. In contrast, authoritative parents are more open to negotiation with children and make greater use of explanations (Baumrind, 1991). Although authoritative and authoritarian parents are equally high in behavioral control, authoritative parents are low in psychological control and authoritarian parents are high in psychological control (Barber, 1996).

Current research has focused on effects of psychological control on problem behaviors of adolescents. High levels of parental psychological control have been consistently linked to child internalizing and externalizing problems. High levels have also been linked with conflicts with parents, adjustment difficulty, and problem behavior (Barber, 2004; 2005). Despite what is known about the negative effects of high levels of psychological control, little is known about the function of psychological control in children’s academic performance (Aunola & Nurmi, 2004).

Darling and Steinberg (1993) defined the three major aforementioned parenting styles and psychological control as parent-child interactions across various situations. They defined more specific everyday parent behaviors as parenting practices. In addition to parenting styles and psychological control, one particular parenting practice has been linked to a child’s academic success: parental involvement. The positive effects of parental involvement have been demonstrated across a vast range of age levels and populations (Epstein, 1983; Fehrman, Keith & Reimers, 1987; Reynolds, 1989;
Stevenson & Baker, 1987). Because the purpose of this investigation is to partly examine parental effect on children’s attendance in school, the next section covers parental involvement in greater detail.

**Parental Involvement**

Parental involvement is often considered a necessary component in academic achievement of children and adolescents (Reynolds, Weissberg, & Kasprow, 1992). Maccoby and Martin (1983) defined parental involvement as “the degree to which a parent is committed to his or her role as a parent and to the fostering of optimal child development” (p. 48). The degree to which a parent is involved in a child’s welfare varies. Extreme cases of parental involvement include parents completely consumed by the parenting role and those heavily involved in activities outside of parenting who spend little time with a child.

Parental involvement in children’s schooling has been studied in several ways, including attendance at school events (Stevenson & Baker, 1987), reading at home (Morrow, 1989), and helping with homework (Walberg, 1984). Parenting research supports the consensus that parental involvement is not a unitary phenomenon (Cone, Delawyer, & Wolfe, 1985; Epstein, 1990; Grolnick et al., 1997) and that a multidimensional approach is necessary. Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) defined parental involvement as the dedication of resources by a parent to a child within school and home environments.

The context (parenting style) in which parental involvement exists makes parental involvement more or less beneficial (Epstein, 1996). For example, a particularly high level of involvement within an authoritarian context may be detrimental to a child’s
academic success, though the same level of involvement within an authoritative household may elicit more positive academic outcomes. Other researchers (Zellman & Waterman, 1998) argue that parental involvement is merely a manifestation of parenting enthusiasm and positive parenting style within Baumrind's typology. These researchers suggest that parenting style, or how a parent interacts with children on a global level, may be more important than parental involvement alone (Zellman & Waterman, 1998).

Although Baumrind's parenting typology was originally developed for research on family socialization practices during childhood, the typology has also been used to study links between family interaction patterns and areas of adolescent functioning (Glasgow, Dornbusch, Troyer, Steinberg, & Ritter, 1997). Because the proposed study will focus predominantly on adolescents, a discussion of Baumrind's parenting typology vis-à-vis adolescent behavior follows.

Baumrind's Parenting Styles and Adolescents

Parental influence does not decline as children mature into adolescence (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Baumrind, 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994; Stevenson & Baker, 1987). Parent-child interactions and relationships are considerably stable over time. In most cases, emotional bonds between parents and children survive changes during adolescence and parents continue to influence development during the second decade of life (Collins, 2003).

The foundations of parent-child interactions remain the same throughout adolescence. However, significant changes may occur in the amount, content, and perceived meaning of interactions, expressions of positive and negative affect, and interpersonal perceptions of parents and children (Collins & Russell, 1991; Grotevant,
Parents and adolescents interact less frequently than during early and middle childhood (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984; Hill & Stafford, 1980; Larson & Richards, 1991). This decline in interaction occurs in early (age 12-13 years) and middle (age 14-16 years) adolescence (Montemayor & Brownlee, 1987). During adolescence, parents and children report more frequent expression of negative emotions than positive emotions and closeness (Collins, 2003).

These general patterns of parent-child interaction are often qualified by gender of the child, parent, or both when an adolescent reaches middle school. Some research (Cowan, Drinkar, & McGavin, 1984) indicates that mothers and adolescents express more positive and more negative emotions toward each other than fathers and adolescents. For many adolescents, interactions with mothers provide more pleasures and affection, as well as more conflict, than interactions with fathers (Larson & Richards, 1994; Collins, 2003). Fathers highly involved with their adolescents, however, have interactions that resemble more typical mother-adolescent patterns than fathers who are less involved (Almeida & Galambos, 1991).

According to Collins (2003), the parent-child relationship presents a close relationship in which conflicts are ubiquitous and inevitable. Collins (2003) suggested that, despite frequent conflict between parent and child, these disagreements may ultimately contribute to a positive parent-child relationship. He suggested that disagreements teach parents and children to adapt to changes within the relationship. Collins (2003) also suggested that the parent-child relationship will help children adapt to others’ personality characteristics within relationships.
Little research has compared parent and adolescent perceptions of parenting styles. Research indicates that adolescent perceptions may be a more important predictor of adolescent outcomes than parent reports (Buri, 1989). Smetana (1995) obtained adolescent and parent reports of parenting style and found their perceptions to differ. Adolescents viewed mothers and fathers as permissive or authoritarian, whereas parents predominantly viewed themselves as authoritative and, less frequently, as permissive or authoritarian. Whether these findings represented a discrepancy between parents’ parenting beliefs and actual parenting practices, or a misinterpretation of attitudes and behaviors by children, was unclear.

Smetana (1994) attempted to explain these findings by drawing on a major developmental task of adolescence: becoming emancipated from parental rules and perspectives. Smetana suggested that permissive parents may grant adolescents too much autonomy too soon. Authoritarian parents, on the other hand, may not relinquish authority in developmentally appropriate ways (Smetana, 1994). Authoritative parents may be more successful in renegotiating parental authority because they are more willing to negotiate boundaries of parental authority. In doing so, they utilize reason and respond to adolescent perspectives. However, because of their greater restrictiveness, authoritative parents may promote the perception they are authoritarian (Smetana, 1994).

Discrepancies between parent and adolescent beliefs have been the center of previous research on parental social cognition and adolescent-parent authority relations (Goodnow, 1988). The questions raised in this research are directly applicable to the proposed study’s method of data collection: should the perceptions of parents or adolescents be studied, and how should discrepancies be addressed (Carlton-Ford,
Paikoff, & Brooks-Gunn, 1991)? Researchers relying on adolescent perceptions of parenting style have argued that, regardless of an adolescent’s conceptual accuracy, their perceptions have “psychological reality for them” (Smetana, 1994, p. 30).

Adolescents raised in authoritative households are generally more psychosocially competent, more successful in school, and less prone to internalizing or externalizing problems than peers raised in authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful homes (Steinberg, 2001). In addition, authoritative parenting is less common in ethnic minority and poor families, but its effects on adolescent adjustment appear to be beneficial across these groups (Knight, Virdin, & Roosa, 1994; Mason, Cauce, Gonzales, & Hiraga, 1996; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). A more detailed review of the relationship between parent-child relationships and children’s behavior, particularly attendance, is provided later. An initial review of family environment is presented next. Along with parenting styles, a main focus of this study will concern family environment and youth school refusal behavior.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Families of Children with School Refusal Behavior

Problematic family functioning has been identified as a contributing factor to school refusal behavior in youth (Hersov, 1985; Waldron et al., 1975). However, few studies have systematically evaluated families and parents of children with school refusal behavior (Fremont, 2003; Kearney & Silverman; King, 2001). In an exploratory investigation, Kearney (2001) found the characteristics of families of youth with school refusal behavior to be as diverse as the youth themselves. This section will review research examining characteristics of families of youth with school refusal behavior.

Beginning Family Research

Early psychodynamically-oriented researchers characterized families of children with school refusal behavior as enmeshed or dominated by a problematic mother-child relationship (Johnson, Falstein, Szurek, & Svendsen, 1941). Frick (1964) described this relationship as dependent, hostile, vacillating, exploitive, and guilt-inducing. Fathers were described as passive and unwilling to interfere in the lives of other family members, and mothers were described as overindulgent (Hersov, 1960).

Weiss and Cain (1964) analyzed 16 case records of children with school refusal behavior and identified a detached mother-child relationship. This relationship was characterized by a withdrawn mother overwhelmed by her child’s needs. A detached
mother-child relationship differs from that of an enmeshed mother-child relationship. Unlike a mother in an enmeshed parent-child relationship, a mother in a detached relationship will withdraw, seeking independence from her child. The child may thus begin to refuse school to relieve fears of being abandoned by a parent.

Contemporary researchers have assessed broader characteristics and dynamics of family functioning in children with school refusal behavior. These researchers have employed more psychometrically sound assessment strategies and tools than past researchers. For example, Bernstein, Svingen, and Garfinkel (1990) used the Family Assessment Measure (FAM) (Skinner, Steinhauer, & Santa-Barbara, 1983) to evaluate 76 families of children with school phobia. The FAM consists of subscales for task accomplishment, role performance, communication, affective expression, involvement, control, and values and norms.

Family functioning difficulties were identified on role performance and values and norms subscales. Elevation on the role performance scale suggests lack of agreement between family members regarding roles and trouble adapting to new roles (Steinhauer, Santa-Barbara, & Skinner, 1984). Elevation on the values and norms subscale reflects problems and inconsistencies about family rules and differences between a family’s values and those of the family’s culture and subculture (Steinhauer et al., 1984). Families of children with school phobia displayed problems in family role adaptation, meaning there was no clear understanding of each family member’s role. Furthermore, families of children with school phobia were found to be marked by poor communication.

Bernstein, Svingen, and Garfinkel (1990) also divided children with school phobia into one of four diagnostic groups: anxiety disorders only, depressive disorders
only, comorbid anxiety and depressive disorders, and no anxiety or depressive disorders. An analysis revealed no dysfunctional patterns in the anxiety-disorder-only group, three dysfunctional patterns in a depressive-disorder-only group, four dysfunctional patterns in an anxiety-and-depressive-disorder group, and seven dysfunctional patterns in a no-anxiety-or-depressive-disorder group (see Table 1-I). Fewer family functioning difficulties were found in families where a child met criteria only for anxiety disorder compared with other families. The author attributed this finding to children's eagerness to please and naturally quiet disposition (Bernstein et al., 1990).

Keamey and Silverman (1995) administered the Family Environment Scale (FES) to 64 parents of children with school refusal behavior. The FES measures family functioning along 10 subscales: cohesion, expressiveness, conflict, independence, achievement orientation, intellectual-cultural orientation, active-recreational orientation, moral-religious emphasis, organization, and control. Several subscales are related to functions of school refusal behavior (see Table 2-I). The authors contended that six patterns of family dynamics typically encompass families of youth who refuse school: enmeshed, conflictive, detached, isolated, healthy, and mixed.

The enmeshed family subtype is characterized by parental overprotectiveness and indulgence toward a child as well as dependency or less independence among family members. Keamey and Silverman (1995) reported that 32.8% of families with children refusing school displayed a standard score of 40 or less on the independence subscale (where 50 is the norm and 60+ equates to an independent family subtype). Families with children refusing school also scored significantly lower than normative families on the independence subscale. The authors noted that enmeshment is prevalent in families of
children just starting to refuse school, but the dynamic is not as common in this population as once thought (Kearney & Silverman, 1995).

The conflictive family subtype is characterized by hostility, violence, and coercive processes (Patterson, 1982). Kearney and Silverman (1995) found 23.4% of parents of children with school refusal behavior to report significantly higher scores than normative families on the conflict subscale. These results suggest that some children who refuse school come from families with greater conflict than children who attend school regularly. These results mirror those in several other research studies. For example, Mihara and Ichikawa (1986) found the presence of a conflictive, violent family subtype among 140 families of children with school refusal behavior. In their study, 18.6% of families displayed “severe” violence (beyond the family’s control) and 27.9% displayed “some” violence.

Detached families are those whose members are not well involved with one another’s activities or inattentive to one another’s thoughts and needs (Foster & Robin, 1989). Parents within this family subtype lack knowledge about their child’s activities or problems until they are obvious or severe. Kearney and Silverman’s (1995) results suggested that many children who refuse school for tangible reinforcement displayed a detached family subtype. These families were significantly less cohesive than families of children who refused school for other reasons.

Isolated families do not participate in activities outside the family. Kearney and Silverman (1995) found that 28.1% of families were at least one standard deviation below the mean on the intellectual-cultural orientation subscale. Furthermore, 31.3% of their sample was at least one standard deviation below the mean on the active-recreational
orientation subscale. The researchers commented that isolated families may not seek or follow through with treatment for school refusal behavior.

Finally, Kearney and Silverman (1995) found healthy family profiles in 39.1% of their sample. Healthy profiles were defined by scores of 60 or more on the FES cohesion or expressiveness subscales, with either score more than the conflict score. Healthy families are cohesive, effective at solving problems, and able to properly express themselves.

Although many families of children with school refusal behavior display enmeshment, detachment, conflict, isolation, and healthy interactions, not all families display one interaction pattern. Many families possess characteristics of two or more interaction patterns and comprise what Kearney and Silverman (1995) defined as a mixed profile. Kearney and Silverman (1995) provided examples of mixed profiles, including enmeshed families with conflict over poorly defined boundaries.

Chapman (2006) administered the Family Environment Scale (FES) to 182 families of youth with school refusal behavior. The FES was completed by parents. Data from specific FES subscales were presented with respect to different functions of school refusal behavior. Of families of youth with school refusal behavior, 46.2% reported independence levels less than or equal to a standard score of 40, indicating low levels of independence. Mean FES scores on cohesion, achievement, intellectual-cultural orientation, active-recreational orientation, and organization subscales were below normative levels. In addition, families generally indicated normal levels of expressiveness, conflict, moral-religious emphasis, and control.
Families of children refusing school for attention reported significantly lower levels of independence than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement. On the cohesion subscale, families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity scored significantly higher than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement. Families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity scored significantly lower than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement and families of children with mixed profiles on the conflict subscale.

These results suggest that children refusing school for attention come from more dependent families than those refusing school for tangible reinforcement. These results mirror Kearney and Silverman (1995). In addition, these results coincide with early research suggesting that a lack of independence promotes enmeshment within these family types. Perhaps children refusing school for attention come from more overindulgent families than children refusing school for positive reinforcement and may be more susceptible to separation anxiety.

Families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity came from cohesive families more so than those refusing school for tangible reinforcement. These results also mirror Kearney and Silverman (1995). Children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity may come from families that do not foster appropriate coping skills, therefore making them more susceptible to aversive stimuli in school. Consequently, members from detached families (or those low in cohesion) are inattentive to other members' thoughts and needs. Children refusing school for tangible reinforcement came from less cohesive families than those refusing
school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity. This suggests that families may not be meeting the individual needs of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement.

Children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity came from families experiencing less conflict than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement and children of families with mixed profiles. These results support Kearney and Silverman (1995). Children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity may come from families high in cohesion and low in conflict. Because families high in conflict are associated with more complex and unidentifiable diagnostic patterns (Kearney & Silverman, 1995), children refusing school for tangible reinforcement and children of families with mixed profiles may be harder to identify and treat than children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity.

Bernstein and Borchardt (1996) used the Family Assessment Measure to evaluate family constellation and family functioning among children with school refusal behavior. Family constellation was delineated by two categories: mother only (n=40) and two biological parents (n=61). Single-parent families were overrepresented in the sample compared to the general population. Significantly more difficulties in role performance and communication were found among single-parent families than families with two biological parents. Communication difficulties on the FAM suggest inadequate or unclear communication within a family (Steinhauer et al., 1984). These latter difficulties may indicate that single parent families of children with school refusal behavior experience difficulty establishing and enforcing appropriate household tasks and educational responsibilities.
Bernstein, Warren, Massie, and Thuras (1999) assessed 46 adolescents aged 12-18 years with anxious-depressed school refusal via the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scale II (FACES II) (Olson et al., 1982). The FACES II assesses adaptability and cohesion dimensions and family type (Hampson et al., 1991; Olson et al., 1983). Family type is delineated by two constructs: cohesion and adaptability. Cohesion describes emotional bonding in a family along four levels: (1) disengaged (very low cohesion); (2) separated (low to moderate cohesion); (3) connected (moderate to high cohesion); and (4) enmeshed (very high cohesion). Adaptability describes ability of a family to alter its role relationship in response to situational and developmental issues. The adaptability construct also has four levels: (1) rigid (very low adaptability); (2) structured (low to moderate adaptability); (3) flexible (moderate to high adaptability); and (4) chaotic (very high adaptability). Parents of children refusing school completed the FACES II. Adolescents and parents viewed their families as rigid on the adaptability dimension and disengaged on the cohesion dimension. Combining adaptability and cohesion scores to establish family type, 50% of teenagers, 38% of fathers, and 24% of mothers described their families as the extreme type, indicating poor cohesion and adaptability. Kearney (2001) proposed that extreme cohesion and adaptability was related to depression in the adolescents.

This section reviewed literature regarding familial subtypes of youngsters with school refusal behavior. While family environment is an integral factor of children’s school refusal behavior, the environment itself subsumes other relationships, such as the parent-child relationship. Maladaptive parent-child relationships are also particularly important to the development and course of school refusal behavior (Kearney &
Silverman, 1995). Therefore, investigating the relationship of parenting styles and school refusal behavior will involve an area that has yet to be explored. Before investigating the relationship between parenting styles and school refusal behavior, a brief review of the literature of parenting styles and its relationship to a child’s general academic performance follows. Reviewing literature on effects of parenting styles on general academic performance may provide a snapshot into more general effects of parenting styles in other facets of the academic environment such as attendance.

Parenting Styles and General Academic Performance

Children of authoritative parents have higher academic performance than children of authoritarian or permissive parents (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989). Early studies examining the influence of parenting styles on academic performance included a number of process variables to identify features of the family environment. Variables included socioeconomic and cultural background, which had an impact on mental development and school achievement. Hess and Holloway (1984) analyzed studies of preschool, primary, and middle-school children and identified five processes linking family and school achievement: (1) verbal interaction between mother and children, (2) expectation of parents for achievement, (3) positive affective relationships between parents and children, (4) parental beliefs and attributions about a child, and (5) discipline and control strategies.

Discipline and control strategies appear to have a major influence on school achievement (Hess & Holloway, 1984). Hess and Holloway (1984) reported consistent associations between measures of parental control and children’s achievement. They suggested, however, that parental behavior deserves more careful analysis. They believed
that research on discipline and control was hampered by a lack of common terminology. For example, different definitions of control have been used in different studies. These definitions included authoritative control (in contrast to authoritarian and permissive), use of physical punishment, use of imperatives in disciplinary situations, and degree of fit between authority structures at home and school (Baumrind, 1973; Buck, Gregg, Stavraky, & Subrahmaniam, 1973; Epstein, 1983; Hess & Holloway, 1984; Hess & McDevitt, 1984; Hess, Shipman, Brophy, & Bear, 1969).

Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, and Fraleigh (1987) expanded on Hess and Holloway’s (1984) findings by examining specific effects of Baumrind’s parenting styles on youth academic achievement. Baumrind’s typology of authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles were extended to a large, diverse sample of adolescents using high school grades as a criterion. A sample of 7836 adolescents enrolled in six high schools (approximately 88% of the total enrollment for the geographical area) answered questionnaires regarding school grades and perception of family processes. Students were initially asked to select a category of grades they typically received. The categories were: “mostly As,” “about half As and half Bs,” “mostly Bs,” “about half Bs and half Cs,” “mostly Cs,” “about half Cs and half Ds,” “mostly Ds,” and “mostly below D.” Students also completed a 25-item questionnaire that reflected Baumrind’s three parenting styles. Items questioned student perceptions of parental attitudes and behaviors.

For both genders, correlations between grades and Baumrind’s authoritative parenting style were strongest. Across ethnic groups, authoritarian and permissive styles were associated with lower grades. An authoritative style was also associated with higher
grades except for Asian females. Parents with more education were also more likely to be authoritative and less likely to be permissive or authoritarian. Single mothers scored higher on permissive parenting than parents in two-parent families, and stepparents were more likely to be permissive or authoritarian than parents in two-parent families (Dornbusch et al., 1987).

Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, and Dornbusch (1991) conducted another large-scale study regarding Baumrind’s typology for academic achievement and psychosocial competence and adjustment. Approximately 4100 families of adolescents aged 14-18 years were classified into one of four groups: authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful. This was done on the basis of adolescent ratings of parents vis-à-vis acceptance/involvement and strictness. The sample was specifically selected to produce diverse ethnicity, family structure, socioeconomic status, and rural, suburban, and urban community. These groups were then compared with respect to psychosocial development, school achievement, internalized distress, and problem behavior (Lamborn et al., 1991).

Benefits of authoritative parenting and consequences of neglectful parenting remained consistent across demographic groups. Adolescents who characterized parents as authoritative displayed better competence and adjustment across different outcome variables. This group reported significantly higher academic competence, lower levels of problem behavior, and higher levels of psychosocial development than adolescents from authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful households (Lamborn et al., 1991). Adolescents from authoritative homes also reported less internalizing symptoms compared to adolescents from other households. With respect to drug use, delinquency, and grade point average, adolescents of authoritative parents did not differ significantly from those
with authoritarian parents. However, youth of authoritative parents did not report higher levels of drug use, delinquency, or lower grade point average than those of authoritarian parents. With respect to self-reliance, social competence, and delinquency, no difference was found between authoritatively reared adolescents and those reared in indulgent homes. However, adolescents of authoritative parents never scored significantly worse than any other group on any dependent variable (Lamborn, 1991).

Students who described parents as neglectful also displayed poorest outcomes across all measures. Youths from authoritarian homes reported less school misconduct, less drug use, fewer somatic symptoms, and a more positive orientation toward school than indulgently reared peers. On the other hand, adolescents from indulgent parents reported greater social competence than authoritarian-raised adolescents and scored higher on measures of self-perception (Lamborn et al., 1991). Adolescents from authoritarian homes had no advantages over those from neglectful homes on measures of self-perceptions. In contrast, youth from indulgent homes were no different than adolescents from neglectful homes regarding problem behavior and social competence (Lamborn et al., 1991).

Adolescents from authoritative homes are generally better adjusted and more competent than adolescents from authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful homes. They are confident about their abilities, competent in areas of achievement, and less likely than peers to be in trouble. In contrast, students with neglectful parents were consistently compromised in examined areas. Also consistent with Baumrind’s (1991a, b, c) findings, adolescents in authoritarian and indulgent groups presented mixed positive and negative traits. Adolescents with authoritarian parents scored relatively high on measures of
obedience and conformity. They did well in school and were less likely than peers to be involved in deviant activity. However, students from authoritarian households scored lower on measures of self-reliance on their own social and academic abilities. According to Lamborn and colleagues (1991), children from authoritarian households are not obedient and academically successful by their own accord. Instead, these children may to be forced into success by unyielding, demanding parents.

Adolescents from indulgent homes were relatively disengaged from school and showed more frequent involvement in certain deviant behaviors, including drug and alcohol use and school misconduct. However, these youth were not more delinquent than authoritative or authoritarian groups. Adolescents from indulgent homes scored among the highest on measures of social competence and self-confidence. Children from indulgent homes are generally well-adjusted, successful in social activities, respected by adolescents, and valued by peers.

Other studies have supported these findings, demonstrating that adolescents raised in authoritative homes perform better in school than peers (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, and Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). These studies suggest that the link between authoritativeness and school success is (1) causal (Steinberg et al., 1989), (2) evident among younger and older adolescents (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1989) (3) robust across different conceptualizations and operationalizations of authoritativeness (Dornbusch et al. 1987; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1991) and (4) generalizable across various ethnic, socioeconomic, and family structure groups (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1991).
Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, and Dornbusch (1994) conducted a 1-year follow-up study of Lamborn’s (1991) adolescents to examine whether observed differences between parenting types and positive effects of authoritative parenting were maintained over time. Many differences observed in the initial study were maintained or actually increased over time. Adolescents reared in authoritative homes continued to have advantages over other youngsters on measures of psychosocial competence, academic competence, internalized distress, and problem behaviors. In addition, academic self-conceptions improved and school misconduct declined. Steinberg and colleagues (1994) suggested that the benefits of authoritative parenting during high school years result primarily from maintaining already existent positive adolescent behavior. In other words, authoritative parents have already nurtured their child’s high levels of adjustment and simply need to maintain these levels during their child’s high school years.

Adolescents reared in authoritarian homes reported increased internalized distress. Children reared in indulgent households continued to display a mixed psychological and behavioral profile but also showed significant declines in school orientation and significant increases in school misconduct. Neglectfully reared adolescents displayed continued declines in work and school orientation and increased delinquency and alcohol and drug use (Steinberg et al., 1994)

Many researchers conclude that authoritative parenting has the most positive effects on educational outcomes. Authoritatively-reared children consistently score higher on measures of psychosocial competence and school achievement, and lower on measures of internal distress and problem behavior, than youths from non-authoritative families (Baumrind, 1989, 1991; Hein & Lewko, 1994; Lamborn et al., 1991; Paulson,
Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). Steinberg et al. (1989) found that authoritative parents promoted academic success specifically through a positive effect on adolescent’s psychological orientation toward schoolwork.

Cohen and Rice (1997) investigated how children and parents rate parenting style and how this rating is associated with academic achievement and substance abuse. This study involved parent and student perceptions of parenting styles. A total of 386 matched parent-child pairs were analyzed for parent and student classifications of parents as authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, or mixed. Results supported the importance of parenting styles to child achievement and substance use behaviors. The findings were consistent with those of previous studies in that authoritative parenting was associated with higher academic performance and lower substance use. The researchers attributed authoritative parents’ success in fostering children’s academic achievement and lack of substance use to an emphasis on communication, explanation of reasons, positive feedback, and greater involvement in education (Cohen et al., 1997). The researchers admitted, however, that a significant discrepancy existed between child and parent scores of parenting styles. They claimed it was impossible to determine whether a child’s perception of parents or parents’ perceptions were more accurate.

A child’s perception of parenting style was most strongly related to child reports of grades and alcohol and tobacco use. The one outcome reported by parents, child grades, was more strongly related to parent perception of parenting style (Cohen, 1997). Ultimately, however, high grades were associated with parent and child perception of higher authoritativeness, lower permissiveness, and lower authoritarianism (Cohen, 1997).
The literature thus far supports authoritative parenting as most positively correlated with academic performance in youth (Cohen et al., 1997; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1989; Steinberg et al., 1994). Because parenting styles are adequate predictors of a youth's academic performance, factors contributing to academic performance, such as attendance, might too be predicted by parenting style. Coinciding with a youth's academic performance is quality of school attendance. Consequently, this investigation will focus on the relationship between parenting styles and school refusal behavior in youth, a topic that has yet to be adequately researched.

No study has investigated the relationship between varying functions of school refusal behavior and parenting style. School refusal behavior is associated with heterogeneous symptoms and disorders, including various externalizing and internalizing behaviors. Because school refusal behavior is often comorbid with other diagnoses, a review of the literature on parenting styles and diagnoses/problems commonly associated with school refusal behavior will follow. As a result, relationships between parenting style and youth anxiety, youth depression, youth substance use, conduct disorder, and youth self-perception and competence are briefly reviewed.

**Parenting Styles and Youth Anxiety**

Anxiety is one of the most common psychiatric problems experienced by school-aged children (Bell-Dolan & Brazeal, 1993; Bowen, Offord, & Boyle, 1990; Schniering, Hudson, & Rapee, 2000) and is commonly experienced by children who refuse school (Kearney, 2001). Trait anxiety refers to negative affect or neuroticism, comprising nonspecific symptoms of fear, worry, and other negative mood states not unique to a
single disorder. Elevated trait anxiety is generalized vulnerability to mood disorders. However, trait anxiety alone does not cause clinically significant functional impairment (Craske, 1999). The etiology and development of childhood anxiety remains complex and elusive (Wood, McLeod, Sigman, Hwang, & Chu, 2003).

Parenting is thought to contribute to the development of childhood trait anxiety (Chorpita & Barlow, 1998; Craske, 1999; Vasey & Dadds, 2001, Whaley, Pinto, & Sigman, 1999). In a review of research on the relationship between parenting and youth trait anxiety, Wood and colleagues (2003) examined three widely studied parenting dimensions: acceptance, control, and modeling of anxious behaviors.

Acceptance refers to interactional warmth and responsiveness, including acceptance of a child’s feelings and behaviors, active listening, praise, and use of reflection. Acceptance also refers to parental emotional and behavioral involvement in children’s lives and activities (Maccoby, 1992; Wood et al., 2003). In Baumrind’s typology, acceptance would be readily given and expected in authoritative parents.

Control is defined as excessive regulation of children’s activities and routines, autocratic parental decision-making, overprotection, or instruction to children on how to think or feel (Barber, 1996; Steinberg, Elmer, & Mounts, 1989; Wood et al., 2003). Authoritarian and authoritative parents place high demands on children and expect children to behave appropriately and obey parental rules. Authoritarian parents, however, also expect children to accept judgments, values, and goals without question. In contrast, authoritative parents are more open to verbal negotiation with children and make greater use of explanations (Barber, 1996). In Baumrind’s typology, excessive control would be most evident in authoritarian parents.
Modeling of anxious behavior refers to conveying problems as unsolvable or dangerous, encouraging (rewarding) children to view problems in a catastrophic manner, and extinguishing or punishing children's expressions of coping thoughts and problem-solving strategies (Capps & Ochs, 1995; Whaley et al., 1999). Whaley and colleagues (1999) proposed that children of parents who frequently model anxious behavior may be unaware of ways to effectively cope with problems and are not likely to develop strategies to reduce anxiety.

Wood and colleagues (2003) conducted a meta-analysis of 21 studies of parenting styles/behaviors and child anxiety. Studies were divided into child-report, parent-report, and observational studies. All studies were assessed along dimensions of acceptance, control, and modeling of anxious behaviors. A link between parenting and childhood anxiety is best explained and moderated by the context in which parenting behaviors occur. The link is further moderated by the nature of the situation and parents' own symptoms of anxiety. Three studies indicated that parental warmth and control are not specifically related to anxiety problems in children but rather to general risk for psychopathology. The meta-analysis consisted of very few longitudinal examinations, limiting the amount of information on the possible direction of effects linking parenting behavior and childhood anxiety. However, results appeared consistent with parenting as either a cause or effect of children's manifestations of anxiety (Wood et al., 2003).

Little evidence supported the belief that general parenting style was related to children's anxiety. Nonetheless, parental controlling behaviors were consistently linked with shyness and child anxiety disorders across studies (Wood et al., 2003). The authors reviewed many limitations of past literature, such as homogeneity of samples and...
reliance on self-report measures, cross-sectional designs, and global parenting measures. Consequently, empirically reliable inferences about the direction of effects linking parenting and child anxiety could not be made (Wood et al., 2003).

**Parenting Styles and Youth Depression**

Parenting has a fundamental role in the development of youth depression, and researchers have consistently documented disrupted parent-child relationships in depressed children (Gerisma, Emmelkamp, & Arrindell, 1990; Rapee, 1997; Stark, Humphrey, Crook, & Lewis, 1990; Ostrander & Herman, 2006; Walker, Garber, & Greene, 1993). Like youth anxiety, youth depression has been examined on the basis of parental acceptance and control (Blatt, Wein, Chevron, & Quinlan, 1979; Lamont & Gottlieb, 1975; McCrani & Nass, 1984; Oliver & Berger, 1992; Parker, 1979; Parker, 1982; Parker & Hadzi-Pavlovic, 1984; Schwarz & Zuroff, 1979; Whisman & Kwon, 1992). Several studies indicate that a large part of variance in participant depression scores is explained by perceived parental rejection (lack of acceptance). Depressed children may thus be more likely to come from authoritarian than indulgent, permissive, or authoritative homes.

Parenting behaviors marked by control, intrusiveness, inconsistency, and overprotection may compromise children’s control-related beliefs (Carton & Nowicki, 1994; Rudolph, Kurlakowsky, & Conely, 2001; Skinner, Zimmer-Gembeck, and Connell, 1998). Children may develop depression and an overall feeling of hopelessness about their life because of parental overcontrol (Chorpita & Barlow, 1998). Chorpita and colleagues (1998) investigated control as a mediator between parenting behaviors and depression in 6-18 year olds. Parenting styles providing children with little opportunity
for control were good predictors of child depression (Chorpita et al., 1998). Muris and colleagues (2004) expanded on Chorpita’s (1998) results and examined mediational and moderational effects of perceived control on youth depression. This study investigated perceived control a child feels within his surroundings. Their sample was a nonclinical group of 11-14 year olds recruited in the Netherlands. Participants were administered the EMBU (Swedish acronym for “My memories of upbringing”) questionnaire (Castro et al., 1993) to measure perceptions of parental rearing behaviors. The EMBU consists of four subscales of parental rearing: overprotection, anxious rearing, rejection, and emotional warmth. For each item, children assessed their mother’s and father’s parenting style. Participants were also administered the Perceived Control Scale (PCS) (Weisz et al., 1998), a questionnaire to measure perceived control. The PCS questioned beliefs about ability to exert control over academic, social, and behavioral outcomes in one’s life. Lastly, participants were administered the shortened version of the Revised Child Anxiety and Depression Scale (RCADS) (Chorpita et al., 2000). This questionnaire assessed symptoms of the most prevalent DSM-defined anxiety disorders and major depressive disorder. Two final scores were derived from the RCADS: a total anxiety score and a total depression score.

Higher levels of depression were accompanied by lower levels of emotional warmth and rejection. Higher levels of parental emotional warmth and lower levels of parental rejection were also linked to higher levels of perceived control. Finally, negative associations surfaced between symptoms of depression and perceived control. Participants with higher levels of depression also had parents low in warmth and high in
rejection. Consequently, depressed participants also reported low levels of perceived control.

Anxiety and depression remain the most frequently researched types of child psychopathology, but other studies have involved parental characteristics and their relationship to other forms of youth behavior. Following is a brief review of this research.

**Parenting Styles and Youth Substance Use**

Substance-related disorder is a common correlate of conduct disorder and may be triggered by, or arise from, school absence (Kearney, 2001). Truancy has been linked to increased smoking and alcohol use as well as misuse of solvents, marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and amphetamines (Charlton & Blair, 1989; Pritchard et al., 1992). According to Kearney (2001), however, the order in which substance use and truancy occur is unclear.

Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, and Dornbusch (1991) conducted a large-scale study questioning the effects of Baumrind's typology on academic achievement and psychosocial competence and adjustment. This influential study classified approximately 4100 families of adolescents aged 14-18 years into one of four groups: authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful. This was done on the basis of adolescent ratings of their parents on dimensions of acceptance, involvement, and strictness. The sample was specifically selected to produce diverse ethnicity, family structure, socioeconomic status, and type of community (rural, suburban, and urban). Adolescents were compared on four sets of outcomes: psychosocial development, school achievement, internalized distress, and problem behavior (Lamborn et al., 1991).

Children with highest levels of dmg use reported having indulgent parents, whereas children in the authoritative group reported the least amount of dmg use.
Baumrind (1991) found similar results among adolescents and their parents. Various parenting types were identified on the basis of commitment and balance of demandingness and responsiveness and assessed in relationship to adolescent drug use. Authoritative parents who are highly demanding and responsive are remarkably successful at protecting their children from problem drug use and promoting competence. Additionally, adolescent children from democratic homes (where parents are unconventional and modestly firm) had substantially higher drug use than children from authoritative homes (Baumrind, 1991).

Cohen and Rice (1997) investigated how parenting style is associated with academic achievement and substance abuse. This study was the first to investigate parent and student perceptions of perceived parenting styles. A total of 386 matched parent-child pairs were analyzed for parent and student classifications of parents as authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, or some combination. Perceived authoritative parenting by students was associated with higher academic performance and lower substance use. Child tobacco and alcohol use was also associated with a child’s perception of lower authoritativeness and higher permissiveness (Cohen et al., 1997).

**Parenting Styles and Youth Conduct Disorder**

School refusal behavior is sometimes part of an overall conduct or oppositional defiant disorder (Kearney, 2001). Researchers consistently draw a connection between children frequently absent from school and disruptive behavior. Conduct disorder, vandalism, disruptive behavior disorder, and oppositional defiant disorder have been found in children frequently absent from school (Berg et al., 1993; Bernstein and Garfinkel, 1986; Kearney and Albano, 2004; Pritchard, Cotton, and Cox, 1992).
Youth who characterized their parents as indulgent and neglectful were also high on measures of problem behavior (Lamborn et al., 1991). Children who reported authoritarian parenting styles scored reasonably well on measures of obedience and conformity to standards of adults. Although this may seem optimal in the case of youth compliance, these same adolescents scored lower on measures of self-reliance on their own social and academic abilities.

Parenting Styles and Youth Self Perception/Competence

Personality characteristics other than those associated with the problems and disorders listed above have been evaluated in the school refusal population. Hersov (1960) found that 52% of youth with school refusal behavior were markedly submissive, dependent, and withdrawn. Berg and McGuire (1971) found that youth with school phobia aged 11-15 years, especially girls, tended to be immature and asocial. Berg and colleagues (1971) suggested that these findings were due to an overreliance on parents for different life tasks and general reluctance to discuss fears.

Adolescents from permissive homes (where parents are supportive, unconventional, and lax) were less competent, achievement-oriented, and self-regulated than adolescents from authoritative homes (Baumrind, 1989, 1991). Children of authoritarian parents are affected by low self-confidence, low perceptions of their own social and academic abilities, and high self-reliance (Baumrind, 1991a, Lamborn, 1991, Weiss, 1996). Interestingly, children with families with indulgent parents reported higher levels of self-confidence and social competence than those with authoritative and neglectful parents. However, these children also reported higher levels of drug and...
alcohol use and greater somatic distress than children of authoritative and neglectful parents (Lamborn, 1991).

Summary of Parenting Style Correlates

Firm, consistent discipline and warmth and support in an authoritative parenting style are optimal characteristics for youth development. Children and adolescents from authoritarian families (high in demandingness, low in responsiveness) tend to perform moderately well in school and are not involved in problem behavior. However, they have poorer social skills, lower self-esteem, and greater depression than children in authoritative families. Children and adolescents from indulgent homes (high in responsiveness, low in demandingness) are more likely to be involved in problem behavior and perform less well in school, but have higher self-esteem, better social skills, and less depression.

According to Weiss and colleagues (1996), attempts to replicate Baumrind’s findings have added to the growing body of evidence that an authoritative parenting style is associated with children who perform well scholastically, exhibit few internalizing or externalizing behaviors, and are socially active. In addition, these results seem generalizable to youths of various socioeconomic background, family structure, gender, and ethnicity.

Researchers have consistently documented authoritative parenting as optimal. These parents exercise firm control while realizing the importance of empowering their child. This delicate balance of control and acceptance requires a sizeable amount of parental involvement, making it an essential ingredient of successful parenting. Because
of its significant contribution to successful parenting, a brief review of parental involvement is provided next.

*Parental involvement/encouragement*

Howell and Frese (1982) found parental involvement and encouragement to be important influences on academic success. When children are younger, discussion and encouragement increase the likelihood of ultimately graduating from high school. Bogenschneider (1997) reported that authoritative parents are more likely to be involved in school and encourage academic excellence. When parents attend parent-teacher conferences, help with homework, and watch their children in sports or other activities, their children do better in school. Steinberg (1992) found that parental involvement in schooling partly mediated the relationship between authoritative parenting and adolescent school performance.

When parents are less involved, however, children receive lower grades, are more likely to drop out of school, and have poorer homework habits (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Epstein, 1982). Parental involvement has also been found to be a potential predictor of school success regardless of ethnicity, parent education, family structure, or a child’s gender (Bogenschneider, 1997).

Conklin and Dailey (1981) found that consistent parental encouragement through high school was positively correlated with children attending college. Parental encouragement was less predictive of attendance at a two-year college than a four-year college. Parent involvement results in better relations between schools and families (Epstein, 1984). Students see their parents as effective role models who care about them (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1989).
Swap (1990) also concluded that parent involvement is especially crucial for children at risk. Participation in well-designed parent involvement programs can improve parents’ self image, increase respect for teachers and schools, and give increased confidence to help children succeed in school (Othrow and Stout, 1997). Patrikakou and Weissberg (1999) showed that student achievement is enhanced by the quality of parental involvement, not simply the quantity. Likewise, when teachers welcome parent involvement, parents are more likely to be involved in the education of their children.

Henderson and Berla (1994) found that children behind in school make greatest gains in achievement when parents become part of their school life. From an educational perspective, fostering parent’s involvement in children’s learning also leads to positive results. Henderson and Berla (1994) reported several benefits for students when schools support parental engagement in children’s learning at home and school. Benefits included higher grades and test scores, better attendance and more homework done, fewer placements in special education, more positive attitudes and behavior, higher graduation rates, and greater enrollment in postsecondary education (Henderson & Berla, 1994).

Parent participation at school may range from classroom visits to more active participation in tutoring, textbook evaluations, and staff evaluations (Irvine, 1988). Improved communication between school and family keeps parents informed and provides information for how to help their children succeed (Massachusetts Advocacy Center, 1988). Improved communication also results in improved family-school relations, student achievement, and attitudes toward school (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1989).
Purpose of Study

This study seeks to examine the family environments of youths with school refusal behavior. This study will examine the relationship between family environment and the functional profile of children refusing school. Limited studies thus far have examined the family environments of youths who refuse school and few definitive conclusions have been made. Researchers thus far have begun to formulate ideas as to the characteristics of children with school refusal behavior from different family environments. However, classifying these children according to function of school refusal behavior will assist the assessment and treatment of this population. By empirically identifying relationships between functions of school refusal behavior and family environment, educators and psychologists will know what type of behavior to expect from a child with school refusal behavior in part by assessing the child’s family environment. Inversely, educated hypotheses will be possible regarding family environments of children with school refusal behavior vis-à-vis function.

The second aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between parenting style and school refusal behavior. Maladaptive parent-child relationships are an integral part of understanding the etiology of school refusal behavior, as these relationships have been shown to be integral to the problem. This study will explore school refusal behavior vis-à-vis parenting styles delineated in Baumrind’s parenting typology based on responsiveness and demandingness. This study will also assess interactions between parenting characteristics and family environment involving children with school refusal behavior.
Hypotheses

This study will examine family environment and parenting style of families and parents of children with school refusal behavior. Three general hypotheses will be examined. The first general hypothesis is that families of youth with school refusal behavior will report elevated scores on Family Environment Scale subscales of cohesion, independence, and conflict. This hypothesis is based on preliminary data from literature that supports problematic family functioning within families of children with school refusal behavior (Bernstein and Borchardt, 1996; Bernstein et al., 1999; Bernstein et al., 1990; Hersov, 1960; Kearney and Silverman, 1995; Mihara and Ichikawa, 1986; Weiss and Cain, 1964). This general hypothesis is comprised of two parts. The first part is that families of children refusing school for attention will report lower levels of independence and higher levels of cohesion than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement (Chapman, 2006). The second part is that families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity will report lower levels of conflict than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement and children of families with mixed profiles (Chapman, 2006).

The second general hypothesis is that youth with school refusal behavior will differ on reported levels of authoritarianism, permissiveness, and authoritativeness. Specifically, youth with school refusal behavior are expected to report higher levels of authoritarian and permissive parents than those with authoritative parents. This hypothesis is based on data from literature indicating that children of authoritarian and/or permissive parents are more likely to evince academic difficulties than children of authoritative parents (Baumrind, 1991; Cohen & Rice, 1997; Dornbush et al., 1987;
Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Hein & Lewko, 1994; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). This general hypothesis is comprised of two parts. The first part is that youth with positively reinforced school refusal behavior will have parents with a predominantly permissive style. This hypothesis is based on literature suggesting that children evincing positively reinforced school behavior and children of permissive parents demonstrate overall marked problem behavior including alcohol and illegal substance use (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn et al., 1991; Pritchard et al., 1992). The second part is that youth with negatively reinforced school refusal behavior will have parents with a predominantly authoritarian style. This hypothesis is based on literature suggesting that children evincing negatively reinforced school behavior and children of authoritarian parents show elevated levels of general social anxiety, overall stress, depressive symptoms, and somatic complaints (Blatt, Weinn, Chevron, & Quinlan, 1979; Kearney, 2001; Lamont & Gottlieb, 1975; McCran & Nass, 1984; Oliver & Berger, 1992; Parker, 1979; Parker, 1982; Parker & Hadzi-Pavlovic, 1984; Schwarz & Zuroff, 1979; Whisman & Kwon, 1992).

The third general hypothesis is that, among parents identified as authoritarian and permissive, high levels of internalizing and externalizing behaviors are expected in youth with school refusal behavior. This general hypothesis is comprised of two parts. The first part is that parents identified as authoritarian will report higher levels of child internalizing behaviors than parents identified as permissive or authoritative. This hypothesis is based on literature suggesting that children of authoritarian parents score low measures of self-reliance (Lamborn et al., 1991), and high on measures of depression (Carton & Nowicki, 1994; Chorpita & Barlow, 1998; Rudolph, Kurlakowsky, & Conely,
2001; Skinner, Zimmer-Gembeck, & Connell, 1998) and anxiety (Wood et al., 2003). The second part is that parents identified as permissive will report higher levels of child externalizing behaviors than parents identified as authoritarian or authoritative. This hypothesis is based on literature suggesting that children of permissive parents are more likely to engage in substance use (Cohen & Rice, 1997) and overall problem behavior (Lamborn et al., 1991).
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Adolescent and parent participants in the current study were recruited through the truancy court division of the Las Vegas Family Court Services. Potential participants had pleaded guilty to charges of truancy and were given the opportunity to participate in this research study in exchange for one mandated community service hour. Eligible study participants included youth aged 13-17 years and their parents. Youth participants all spoke English as their first language; however 14 (28%) parents reported Spanish as their first language. Spanish speaking parents were provided translated measures.

Participants in this study included 50 children and their parents (100 parents and children total). In descending order of frequency, youth participants were Hispanic American (n = 26; 52.0%), European American (n = 8; 16.0%), African American (n = 5; 10.0%), Other (n = 5; 10.0%), Multiracial (n = 3; 6.0%), Native American (n = 2; 4.0%), and Asian American (n = 1; 2.0%). Adolescent participants were 13-17 years of age (M = 15.10, SD = 1.1) and included 20 females (60%) and 30 males (60%). Twenty (40.8%) parents in this study reported being married to the adolescent’s other biological parent, 10 (20.4%) parents reported having divorced, 10 (20.4%) parents reported never being married, 8 (16.3%) parents reported having separated, and 1 (2.0%) parent chose not to report marital status. Twenty-seven (54%) mothers of adolescents in this study
reportedly graduated from high school and 23 (46.0%) did not. Twenty-eight (56%)
fathers of adolescents in this study reportedly graduated from high school and 22 (44.0%)

Measures

Parent Measures

*Conners Parent Rating Scale – Revised Long (CPRS-R:L)* (Conners, Parker,
Sitarenios, & Epstein, 1998). The CPRS-R is a popular behavioral rating scale completed
by parents to assess the presence and severity of behavior problems in children (Conners,
1997). This 80-item instrument assesses a broad range of internalizing and externalizing
behaviors of children and yields subscale scores for oppositional, hyperactive-impulsive,
perfectionism, psychosomatic, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, cognitive
problems, anxious-shy, social problems, DSM-IV symptoms subscales, and global index
(Conners, 1998).

The CPRS-R was normed on parents of 2200 students aged 3-17 years in regular
education classes. Subscales on the CPRS-R have excellent internal reliability, with
coefficient alphas ranging from .75-.94 for males and .75-.93 for females. Conners (1998)
found the CPRS-R scales to produce test-retest correlations of .42-.78. Caregivers are
asked to rate their child’s behavior for the past month on a four-point Likert scale: “0” =
not true at all, “1” = just a little true, “2” = pretty much true, “3” = very much true. This
scale will be administered to parents to ascertain overt types of psychopathology and
competency and takes approximately fifteen minutes to complete.
Family Environment Scale. (FES) (Moos & Moos, 1981). The FES is a widely used measure of family environment. The scale comprises 90 true/false questions that assess organizational structure, interpersonal relationships, and personal growth within families. The FES contains 10 subscales: achievement, active-recreational orientation, cohesion, conflict, control, expressiveness, independence, intellectual-cultural orientation, moral-religious emphasis, and organization.

The FES was originally tested on 1125 families that met either “distressed” or “non-distressed” criteria. Many studies have supported the psychometric properties of the FES (Moos & Moos, 1981; Scoresby & Christensen, 1976). An average internal consistency of .75 across the 10 subscales was reported by Moos and Moos (1986). The FES has a 12-month test-retest reliability of .80. Correspondence among raters suggests that scores are generalizable across family members (Jacob & Windle, 1999). This scale will be administered to parents to ascertain family environment and takes approximately 15 minutes to complete.

School Refusal Assessment Scale-Parent -Revised. (SRAS-P-R) (Kearney, 2002; 2006). The original School Refusal Assessment Scale (SRAS) was devised by Kearney and Silverman (1993) to measure the relative strength of the four functional conditions for school refusal behavior: (1) avoidance of school-related stimuli that provoke negative affectivity, (2) escape from school-related aversive social and/or evaluative situations, (3) attention from significant others, and/or (4) tangible reinforcement outside of school (Kearney & Silverman, 1993).

The SRAS-R (revised) was developed in response to evolution of the functional model of school refusal behavior (Kearney, 2002). The number of items was increased to
SRAS-P-R items were found to have significant 7-14-day test-retest reliability. The SRAS-P-R has adequate parent test-retest (7-14-day; mean r=.67) and parent-interrater (mean r=.54) reliability (Kearney, 2002). Construct validity was assessed via factor analysis. Negative reinforcement functions were more strongly associated with internalizing behaviors. Positive reinforcement functions were more strongly associated with externalizing behaviors (Kearney, 2002).

Kearney (2006) examined the structure of the SRAS-R-P using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). CFA was used to determine the validity of the SRAS-R-P’s factor structure, a four-factor model, consisting of two negative reinforcement factors and two positive reinforcement factors. The SRAS-R-P was administered to 138 parents of children with school refusal behavior. The four-factor structure of the SRAS-R-P was supported with the exception of three items (18, 20, and 24). Kearney (2006) recommended that caution be exercised when using these three items, though remaining items represent a sufficient descriptive functional analysis of school refusal behavior. Confirmatory factor analysis supported the SRAS-R-P’s four factor model as well as the overall functional model of school refusal behavior (Kearney, 2006).

The SRAS-R uses a Likert-type scale scored by deriving the mean item value (0=never to 6=always) for each functional condition (Kearney, 2002). Values are obtained for each administered version of the scale (i.e., child, mother, father) and averaged. Unanswered questions are not counted. The highest-scoring condition is considered to be the primary maintaining variable for school refusal behavior (Kearney, 2002). Methods of administering and scoring the SRAS-R remain identical to the original scale (Kearney, 2002).
Youth Measures

School Refusal Assessment Scale-Child –Revised. (SRAS-C-R) (Kearney, 2002; 2006). The original School Refusal Assessment Scale (SRAS) was devised by Kearney and Silverman (1993) to measure the relative strength of the four functional conditions for school refusal behavior: (1) avoidance of school-related stimuli that provoke negative affectivity, (2) escape from school-related aversive social and/or evaluative situations, (3) attention from significant others, and/or (4) tangible reinforcement outside of school (Kearney & Silverman, 1993).

The SRAS-R (revised) was developed in response to evolution of the functional model of school refusal behavior (Kearney, 2002). The number of items from the original SRAS was increased to 24 (six per function). SRAS-C-R items were found to have significant 7-14-day test-retest reliability. The SRAS-C-R has adequate child test-retest (7-14-day; mean of r=.68); and parent-interrater (mean of r=.54) reliability (Kearney, 2002).

Concurrent and construct validity for the scales has also been demonstrated (Kearney, 2002). All correlations between SRAS-C functional condition scores and SRAS-C-R functional condition scores were significant (mean of r=.68). This indicated that the revised scale had good concurrent validity with the original SRAS. Construct validity was assessed via factor analysis. Negative reinforcement functions were more strongly associated with internalizing symptoms and behavior problems. Positive reinforcement functions were more strongly associated with externalizing behavior symptomatology (Kearney, 2002).
Kearney (2006) examined the structure of the SRAS-R-C using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). CFA was used to determine the validity of the SRAS-R-C's factor structure, a four-factor model, consisting of two negative reinforcement factors and two positive reinforcement factors. The SRAS-R-C was administered to 168 youths with primary school refusal behavior. The four-factor structure of the SRAS-R-C was supported with the exception of three items (18, 20, and 24). Kearney (2006) recommended that caution be exercised when using these three items, though the remaining items of the SRAS-R-C represent a sufficient descriptive functional analysis of school refusal behavior. Confirmatory factor analysis supported the SRAS-R-C’s four factor model as well as the overall functional model of school refusal behavior (Kearney, 2006).

The SRAS-R uses a Likert-type scale scored by deriving the mean item value (0=never to 6=always) for each functional condition (Kearney, 2002). Values are obtained for each administered version of the scale (i.e., child, mother, father) and averaged. Unanswered questions are not counted. The highest-scoring condition is considered to be the primary maintaining variable for school refusal behavior (Kearney, 2002). Methods of administering and scoring the SRAS-R remain identical to the original scale (Kearney, 2002). This scale will be administered to the adolescent sample to ascertain function of school refusal behavior and takes approximately ten minutes to complete.

*Revised Child Anxiety and Depression Scale* (RCADS) (Chorpita, Moffitt, Umemoto, & Francis, 2000). The RCADS is a 47-item youth self-report questionnaire designed to assess several clinical syndromes in youth. The RCADS corresponds to
DSM-IV anxiety disorders and consists of subscales for separation anxiety disorder (SAD), social phobia (SP), generalized anxiety disorder (GAD), obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD), panic disorder (PD), and major depressive disorder (MDD). Items are scored on a 0-3 scale, surrounding “never,” “sometimes,” “often,” and “always.”

Chorpita, Moffitt, Umemoto, and Francis (2000) recognized the need for a youth assessment measure that would directly correspond to DSM-IV diagnostic criteria. In response, these researchers created a new measure of anxiety and depression symptoms in children. The RCADS was in part adapted from the existing Spence Children’s Anxiety Scale (SCAS) (Spence, 1997), and revised to correspond directly to several DSM-IV anxiety disorders as well as major depression. Their study was split into two parts. Participants in Study 1 were 1,641 children and adolescents from 13 public and private schools. Youth were 6-18 years of age (mean=12.87) and attended grades 3-12. The sample consisted of 893 girls and 748 boys. The sample was ethnically diverse, including Japanese American (n = 463), Filipino (n = 217), Hawaiian (n = 204), Chinese American (n = 138), Caucasian (n = 133), multi-ethnic (n = 276) and other (n = 210) children.

The initial version of the RCADS contained 38 items from the SCAS (Spence, 1997). Seven new items reflecting excessive worrying were added as well as 11 items corresponding to major depression. All items were evaluated for their distributional properties and relation to other items. Means of items ranged from 0.24-1.56 and all items demonstrated acceptable variance.

Confirmatory factor analysis yielded six subscales. Correlations of these new subscales were then calculated using the new scale definitions: separation anxiety...
disorder (SAD) ($\alpha = 0.76$); social phobia (SP) ($\alpha = 0.82$); obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) ($\alpha = 0.73$); panic disorder (PD) ($\alpha = 0.79$); generalized anxiety disorder (GAD) ($\alpha = 0.77$) and major depressive disorder (MDD) ($\alpha = 0.76$). The results indicated an improvement in consistency relative to the original scale definitions.

To further investigate the reliability and validity of the RCADS, Chorpita and colleagues (2000) administered the RCADS to 246 children and adolescents from public and private schools. Study 2’s sample consisted of 109 males and 137 females. The mean age of the sample was 12.20 years, and was ethnically diverse. One-week test-retest reliability was good across all subscales: SP ($\alpha = 0.81$); PD ($\alpha = 0.85$); GAD ($\alpha = 0.80$); MDD ($\alpha = 0.76$); SAD ($\alpha = 0.78$); and OCD ($\alpha = 0.71$). These alpha coefficients were consistent with those found in Study 1.

To examine the validity of the RCADS, the scale was correlated with two other youth measures of depression and anxiety. First, the RCADS was correlated with the Children’s Depression Inventory (CDI) (Kovacs, 1980). The CDI is a popular self-report measure of depression in youth. The RCAD MDD subscale demonstrated the highest correlation with the CDI in the total sample and was more significantly correlated with the CDI than any other subscales of the RCADS ($r = .70$).

The RCADS was also correlated with the Child Manifest Anxiety Scale (RCMAS) (Reynolds & Richmond, 1978). The RCMAS is a popular self-report measure used to measure anxiety in youth (March & Albano, 1996) and is divided into three subscales of physiological anxiety (RCMAS-P), worry and oversensitivity (RCMAS-W), and concentration anxiety (RCMAS-C) (Reynolds & Paget, 1983).
The RCADS SP subscale correlated highly with the RCMAS-W (r = .70) and moderately with the RCMAS-P (r = .55). Worry is a central component of GAD. Therefore, the RCADS GAD subscale was expected to correlate highly with the RCMAS-W subscale relative to other RCADS subscales. This hypothesis was partly supported in that the GAD subscale correlation with the RCMAS-W was significantly higher than its correlation with the RCMAS-C (z = 2.69), but not higher than its correlation with the RCMAS-P (z = 1.86). The RCADS GAD subscale was also highly correlated with the RCMAS total anxiety score (r = .78) and was the highest correlation from all RCADS scales with the RCMAS total. Results surrounding the RCADS MDD subscale were not significant. The correlation of the MDD scale with the CDI was higher than the RCMAS total, but this difference was not significant (z = 1.35).

Results of this investigation provided strong support for the structural validity, reliability, and convergent and discriminant validity of the RCADS. This scale will be administered to the adolescent sample to ascertain self-reported levels of anxiety and depression and takes approximately fifteen minutes to administer.

*Parental Authority Questionnaire* (PAQ) (Buri, 1991). The PAQ is a 30-item adolescent self-report questionnaire to measure Baumrind’s (1971) authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative parenting styles. Items involve a respondent’s perception of his/her parent’s pattern of authority. The PAQ is available in two forms – one to evaluate parental authority of the mother and another to evaluate parental authority of the father. The questionnaire is constructed so responses to each item are made on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Six separate scores are derived for each participant: mother’s authoritarianism, mother’s permissiveness, mother’s
authoritativeness, father’s authoritarianism, father’s permissiveness, and father’s authoritativeness. Scores on each variable range from 10-50. The higher the score, the greater the level of parental authority measured.

Buri (1991) found two-week test-retest reliability to be .86 for mother’s authoritarianism, .81 for mother’s permissiveness, .78 for mother’s authoritativeness, .85 for father’s authoritarianism, .77 for father’s permissiveness, and .92 for father’s authoritativeness. A separate sample of 182 students was used to calculate internal consistency reliability. Tests yielded the following Cronbach coefficient alpha values: .85 for mother’s authoritarianism, .75 for mother’s permissiveness, .82 for mother’s authoritativeness, .87 for father’s authoritarianism, .74 for father’s permissiveness, and .85 for father’s authoritativeness.

Buri (1991) also determined if authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative scales of the PAQ would be divergent. Mother’s authoritarianism was indeed negatively related to mother’s permissiveness ($r = -0.38$) and mother’s authoritativeness ($r = 0.52$). Also, mother’s permissiveness was not significantly related to mother’s authoritativeness ($r = 0.07$), and father’s permissiveness was not significantly related to father’s authoritativeness ($r = 0.12$). The discriminant validity among these three scales is high, indicating that all measure independent parenting constructs. This scale will be administered to the adolescent sample to ascertain perceived parenting styles and takes approximately ten minutes to complete.

**Procedure**

This study will operate under the auspices of the UNLV School Refusal, Truancy, Assessment, and Referral (STAR) program. Investigators will assess parents and
adolescents on dimensions of school refusal behavior, family environment, and parenting style. Adolescents will be recruited through the Clark County Truancy Court. The Clark County School District (CCSD) currently employs the court as a means of addressing truant cases in their middle/high schools. Truancy court is held every Thursday and Friday afternoon at the Family Court Services building in Las Vegas, Nevada. Students meet with their parent(s)/guardian(s) before a judge and are directed to plead "guilty" or "not guilty." In most cases a student will plead guilty to missing school and a judge will sentence him/her to keep daily attendance sheets and complete a designated amount of community service hours. The student is then instructed to reappear in court the following week with their attendance sheets and proof of community service. After eight consecutive weeks of perfect attendance, the student is relieved of having to attend court.

Having already agreed to this project, the judge will provide adolescents with a sentence and the opportunity to substitute one of their community service hours with participation in the STAR program. Neither participating in the program nor serving the community service hour will require more or less effort, making the decision of participating in the STAR program or community service hour an equal choice. Participation in the STAR program will not replace all sentenced community service hours. Students will be required to complete a mandatory number of community service hours and have the option of substituting one hour with participation in the STAR program.

Should the adolescent choose to substitute one community service hour with participation in the STAR program, the adolescent and their parent/guardian will be led to a room adjacent to the courtroom after sentencing. They will be met by a trained

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undergraduate student and the primary investigator of the proposed study. A brief explanation of the program will be given to the adolescent and parent/guardian. The parent will be asked to sign an informed consent form and the adolescent will be asked to sign an assent form.

The parent/guardian and adolescent will then be given the dependent measures and approximately one hour to complete them. Should a participant have a question, a trained undergraduate student and/or the principal investigator will be present. After completing the self-report questionnaires, the adolescent and parent/guardian will be thanked and provided a list of community counseling referrals. These counseling referrals will be specifically aimed toward helping adolescents and their families cope with truancy and familial relationship problems.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The following analyses focused on the three main goals of this project: (1) investigating the relationship between cohesive, independent, and conflictive family environments to specific functions of school refusal behavior, (2) exploring the relationship of authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative parenting styles to specific functions of school refusal behavior, and (3) examining the relationship between authoritarian and permissive parenting with respect to internalizing and externalizing behaviors among youth with school refusal behavior.

Family Environment

The first overarching hypothesis predicted elevated scores (t-score > 60) on Family Environment Scale (FES) subscales of cohesion, independence, and conflict within the entire sample (N=50) of youth with school refusal behavior. Two subparts of this general hypothesis addressed (1) whether families of children refusing school for attention report lower levels of independence and higher levels of cohesion than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement, and (2) whether families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity report lower levels of conflict than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement and children of families with mixed profiles.
Family Environment for the Entire Sample

Participant means for the entire sample were low for cohesion (M = 42.2, SD = 11.7), independence (M = 36.7, SD = 14.1), and conflict (M = 54.2, SD = 7.5). Therefore, the first general hypothesis was not supported.

Family Environment and Functions of School Refusal Behavior

Families of children refusing school for attention were expected to have lower levels of independence and higher levels of cohesion than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement. Function of school refusal behavior was assessed using combined item means from parent and child reports on the School Refusal Assessment Scale-Revised (SRAS-R). Comparisons of families of children refusing school for attention (N=7) and families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement (N=39) were assessed using independent sample t-tests. Families of children refusing school for attention reported significantly lower levels of independence than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement (see Table 1). Families of children refusing school for attention, however, were not significantly different with respect to cohesion than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement.

Function of School Refusal Behavior and Family Conflict

Families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity were expected to report lower levels of conflict than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement. Comparisons of families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity (N=4) and families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement (N=39) were assessed using an independent sample t-test. Families were not significantly different with respect to conflict.
Sample Regrouping into Two Groups

A lack of significant findings may have been due to the fact that 78% of the sample consisted of youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement (see Table 2). A new grouping was thus created to examine variability amid youth refusing school almost exclusively for tangible reinforcement according to parent and child reports on the SRAS-R.

These groupings consisted of 1) youth who refused school for tangible reinforcement, scoring at least 1 point higher on the tangible reinforcement subscale than any other function (N=25), and 2) youth who refused school for tangible reinforcement within 1 point of other function subscales or primarily for another function (N=25). In past uses of the School Refusal Assessment Scale, differences of at least 0.5 have been used to distinguish between function subscales (Kearney & Silverman, 1999). Therefore, the criterion for group establishment within this study (1 point) was, in fact, more stringent than methods used in past research.

Two-Group Redistribution and Family Environment

Comparisons of the two-group redistribution and FES subscales of cohesion, independence, and conflict were assessed using independent sample t-tests. No statistically significant relationships were found. Post hoc analyses of remaining FES subscales revealed significant differences between groups 1 and 2 with respect to expressiveness and moral/religious emphasis (see Table 3).

Sample Regrouping into Three Groups

A new grouping was created to examine further variability amid youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement. Function of school refusal behavior was assessed using
combined item means from parent and child reports on the School Refusal Assessment Scale-Revised (SRAS-R). This grouping consisted of 1) youth who refused school for tangible reinforcement, scoring at least 1 point higher on this function subscale than any other function (N=25), 2) youth who refused school to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation (negatively reinforced functions) within 1 point of the tangible reinforcement subscale with or without also refusing school for tangible reinforcement (N=11), and 3) youth who refused school for attention within 1 point of the tangible reinforcement subscale with or without also refusing school for tangible reinforcement (N=13).

**Three-Group Redistribution and Family Environment**

A one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to detect differences between these 3 groups and FES subscales of cohesion, independence, and conflict. No statistically significant results were found. Post hoc analyses of remaining FES subscales revealed a trend between Group 1 (M=46.7, SD=7.3) and Group 2 (M=52.9, SD=7.8) for the expressiveness subscale of the FES (p=.09). In addition, a statistically significant difference was found for the FES moral-religious subscale \(F(2, 46)=5.7, p=.006\). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .04. The mean score for Group 1 (M=47.0, SD=5.8) was significantly different from Group 2 (M=54.2, SD=5.6). Therefore, families of youth from Group 2 were reportedly more morally religious/conscious than families of youth from Group 1. Group 3 (M=49.4, SD=6.5) did not differ significantly from Group 1 or 2.
Parenting Style

The second general hypothesis was that youth with school refusal behavior would report higher frequencies of authoritarian and permissive parents than authoritative parents. Youth most frequently reported parents as authoritarian, followed by authoritative, permissive, and a “mixed” style (see Table 4). These results partially support the second general hypothesis.

Two-Group Redistribution and Parenting Style

Comparisons were made between the two-group redistribution described earlier and all PAQ subscales using independent samples t-tests. No statistically significant differences were found.

Positively versus Negatively Reinforced School Refusal Behavior and Parenting Style

Youth with positively reinforced school refusal behavior were expected to report higher levels of authoritarian parenting and lower levels of permissive parenting than children with negatively reinforced school refusal behavior. Independent sample t-tests revealed no differences with respect to authoritarian or permissive parenting.

Three-Group Redistribution and Parenting Style

A one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted for the three-group redistribution described earlier to detect differences in parenting styles. This was completed to examine the impact of function of school refusal behavior on parenting style, as measured by the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ). No statistically significant differences were found using this three-group redistribution. However, a trend was found for Group 2 (M=22.5, SD=5.5) and Group 3 (M=28.3, SD=9.4) with respect to mean mother/father permissiveness (p=.09).
Three-Group Redistribution and Mother Permissiveness

A statistically significant difference was found for PAQ permissive mother subscale scores using the three-group redistribution \[F(2, 43) = 3.94, p=.03\]. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .02. Post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni adjustment indicated that the mean score for Group 2 (M=21.4, SD=5.5) was significantly different from Group 3 (M=29.8, SD=10.8). Therefore, youth from Group 3 reported higher levels of mother permissiveness than youth from Group 2. Group 1 (M=26.4, SD=5.7) did not differ significantly from Group 2 or 3.

Authoritarian Parenting Style and Youth Internalizing Behavior

Authoritarian parenting was expected to positively correlate with youth internalizing behaviors. The relationship between authoritarian parenting (as measured by the PAQ) and internalizing behaviors (as measured by the Revised Children Anxiety and Depression Scale and Conner’s Parent Rating Scale–Long Form) was explored using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. No significant relationship was found between level of authoritarian parenting and internalizing behaviors in youth. The first aspect of the third general hypothesis was therefore unsupported.

Permissive Parenting and Youth Externalizing Behavior

Permissive parenting was expected to positively correlate with youth externalizing behaviors. The relationship between permissive parenting (as measured by the PAQ) and externalizing behaviors (as measured by the Revised Children Anxiety Depression Scale and Conner’s Parent Rating Scale–Long Form) was investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. No significant relationship was found between level of permissive parenting and externalizing behaviors in youth.
Post-Hoc Exploratory Analyses

Function of School Refusal Behavior and Youth Behavior

Substantial behavioral heterogeneity exists among youth with school refusal behavior (Kearney & Silverman, 1993). The functional model of school refusal behavior (Kearney & Silverman, 1993) addresses this heterogeneity by categorizing youth into one or a combination of four behavioral functions. Within this population, a multitude of internalizing and externalizing behaviors exist (King et al., 1995). Furthermore, descriptive functional analyses confirm that the behavioral characteristics of each function are independent from one another (Kearney & Silverman, 1993). Acknowledging behaviors specific of each individual function has proved useful in developing successful assessment and treatment strategies for youth with school refusal behavior (Kearney, 2001).

In this study, grouping youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement into two- and three- group redistributions allowed for further examination of this function with respect to family environment and parenting style. Past researchers have reached success in determining behavioral differences among the four original functions of school refusal behavior, benefiting clinicians working with this population. As a result, investigating the behavioral characteristics of the two- and three- group redistributions of youth with tangible reinforcement proved necessary. Post-hoc analyses investigated the relationship between function of school refusal behavior and youth behaviors, as reported on the Revised Children's Anxiety and Depression Scale (RCADS) and Conner’s Parent Report Form – Long version (CPRS-L).

RCADS and Two-Group Redistribution
Comparisons of all RCADS subscales and the two-group redistribution described earlier were made using independent samples t-tests and eta (see Table 5). Results indicated a trend for the separation anxiety subscale with respect to Group 1 and Group 2 (p=.07). Significant differences were found between Groups 1 and 2 with respect to panic, social phobia, obsessions/compulsions, depression, total anxiety, and total anxiety and depression subscales (see Table 5).

**CPRS-L and Two-Group Redistribution**

Comparisons of all CPRS-L subscales and the two-group redistribution described earlier were made using independent samples t-tests. No significant differences were found. However, a trend was found for the social problems subscale (p=.06) with respect to Group 1 (M=56.0, SD=10.9) and Group 2 (M=63.2, SD=15.0).

**RCADS and Three-Group Redistribution**

A one-way between-group analysis of variance was conducted to detect differences between all RCADS subscales and the three-group redistribution described earlier (see Table 6).

**Generalized Anxiety and Three-Group Redistribution**

A statistically significant difference was found for RCADS generalized anxiety subscale scores for the three-group redistribution described earlier \( [F(2,48) = 3.47, p = .04] \). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .13. Post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni correction indicated that the mean score for Group 1 (M=43.5, SD=9.1) was significantly different from Group 2 (M=54.0, SD=15.1). Group 3 (M=45.6, SD=10.9) did not differ significantly from Group 1 or Group 2.
Panic and Three-Group Redistribution

A statistically significant difference was found for RCADS panic subscale scores for the three-group redistribution described earlier \([F(2, 48) = 3.89, p = .04]\). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .14. Post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni correction indicated that the mean score for Group 1 (M=47.4, SD=7.6) was significantly different from Group 3 (M=56.7, SD=14.8). Group 2 (M=55.3, SD=12.4) did not differ significantly from Group 1 or Group 3.

Obsessions/Compulsions and Three-Group Redistribution

A statistically significant difference was found for RCADS obsessions/compulsions subscale scores for the three-group redistribution described earlier \([F(2, 48) = 5.49, p = .007]\). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .19. Post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni correction indicated that the mean score for Group 1 (M=41.2, SD=6.6) was significantly different than Group 2 (M=51.4, SD=12.6). Group 3 (M=45.7, SD=8.3) did not differ significantly from Group 1 or Group 2.

Anxiety and Three-Group Redistribution

A statistically significant difference was found for RCADS total anxiety subscale scores for the three-group redistribution described earlier \([F(2, 48) = 3.85, p = .029]\). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .14. Post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni correction indicated that the mean score for Group 1 (M=42.0, SD=9.3) was significantly different than Group 2 (M=52.2, SD=13.0). Group 3 (M=48.2, SD=11.5) did not differ significantly from Group 1 or Group 2.
Anxiety and Depression and Three-Group Redistribution

A statistically significant difference was found for RCADS total anxiety and depression subscale scores for the three-group redistribution described earlier \(F(2,48) = 1.58, p=.049\). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .12. However, post-hoc comparisons using Bonferroni correction did not indicate significant differences between Group 1 \(M=43.6, SD=9.1\), Group 2 \(M=53.6, SD=13.1\), and Group 3 \(M=49.3, SD=13.5\).

CPRS-L and Three-Group Redistribution

A statistically significant difference was found for CPRS-L social problems subscale scores for the three-group redistribution described earlier \(F(2, 48) = 3.42, p=.04\). The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .15. However, post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni correction indicated that mean scores for Group 1 \(M=56.0, SD=10.9\), Group 2 \(M=68.3, SD=15.8\), and Group 3 \(M=59.1, SD=13.1\) were not significantly different.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The following discussion addresses overall significant findings of this thesis. Specifically, youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement as delineated by the two- and three-group redistributions described earlier are discussed with respect to family independence, expressiveness, and moral-religious emphasis. With respect to parenting styles, significant results regarding permissive parenting within the two- and three-group redistributions of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement are addressed. Finally, significant results regarding internalizing and externalizing behaviors are reviewed and discussed. This section concludes with a discussion of study limitations and suggestions for future research.

Family Environment

FES Independence for the Entire Sample

Families of children refusing school for positive reinforcement differed with respect to independence. Children refusing school for attention reported significantly lower levels of independence than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement. This suggests that children refusing school for attention come from more dependent families than those refusing school for tangible reinforcement. Supporting original hypotheses, these results reflect past research findings of families of children with school refusal behavior (Bernstein, 1996; Chapman, 2006). In addition, these results coincide
with early research findings that a lack of independence promotes enmeshment within these family types (Kearney & Silverman, 1995). These results warrant further investigation into the families of children refusing school for attention. Perhaps family members within this family type are more indulgent than families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement, resulting in less independence and greater susceptibility to separation anxiety.

**FES Cohesion for the Entire Sample**

Families of children refusing school for attention did not differ regarding cohesion from families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement. A possible explanation for this finding may be the setting in which participants were recruited. Past research supporting this hypothesis (Bernstein 1996; Chapman, 2006; Kearney & Silverman, 1993; Kearney & Silverman, 1995; Kennedy, 1965) involved participants recruited in clinical settings. The nature of the families and participants in this sample were recruited from within the judicial system, and may therefore represent a different family profile. Despite function, families of children with school refusal behavior within the court setting may exhibit low cohesion overall. Supporting this idea is the fact that, within the overall sample of families of children refusing school for all functions, levels of cohesion were below normative levels.

**FES Conflict for the Entire Sample**

No significant differences were found between families of children refusing school to avoid stimuli provoking negative affectivity and families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement regarding conflict. A large difference in sample size occurred, however, with families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement comprising
78% of the overall sample. This sample size difference possibly accounted for the lack of significant findings.

Sample Regrouping

The disproportionate number of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement may be understandable considering the setting from which participants were recruited. As mentioned earlier, participants were recruited from the Family Court Services building in Las Vegas, Nevada. Participants were referred by their respective high schools as a result of chronic absences from school. Furthermore, participants were mandated to community service (this research project) as a result of violating court-mandated school attendance. Therefore, the overall sample consisted of youth not only referred to court for problematic truancy, but for deliberate violation of court orders.

Excessive truancy and a lack of regard for authority are characteristic of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement (Kearney & Albano, 2004). Diagnoses of disruptive behavior disorders are also common within this classification of youth with school refusal behavior, as are lower levels of general and social anxiety, depression, fear, and overall distress compared to youth of other functions (Tillotson & Kearney, 1998). The clinical picture of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement is therefore is more consistent with that of juvenile offenders than youth refusing school for the other three functions (Zhang et al., 2007).

Two-Group Redistribution and FES Expressiveness

Due to the excessive number of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement, a new two-group redistribution of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement was created. The redistribution provided a means of examining variability amid youth
refusing school for tangible reinforcement. Within clinical psychology, it is common to use clear, psychological diagnostic categories as opposed to mixed or heterogeneous categories (Kearney & Silverman, 1999). With a population as heterogeneous as school refusal behavior, creating specific diagnostic categories helps to organize a population of youth with extremely diverse behavioral profiles (Kearney & Silverman, 1999). Furthermore, identifying clearly defined diagnostic categories further aids in the assessment and treatment implications for this population. As mentioned earlier, the two-group redistribution of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement consisted of 1) youth who refused school for tangible reinforcement, scoring at least 1 point higher on the tangible reinforcement subscale than any other function and 2) youth who refused school for tangible reinforcement within 1 point of other function subscales or primarily another function. Equal numbers of youth comprised each group (N=25).

With respect to family environment, significant differences were found between the two groups with respect to expressiveness. Youth who refused school for tangible reinforcement mixed with the influence of/or primarily for another function came from more expressive families than youth who refuse school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions. This result suggests that families of children refusing school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions do not encourage each other to express their feelings as openly as families of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement with the influence of/or primarily for another function.

Three-Group Redistribution and Expressiveness

Similar results were found when the sample was further divided into three groups. As mentioned earlier, this three-group redistribution consisted of 1) youth who refused
school for tangible reinforcement, scoring at least 1 point higher on this function subscale than any other function, 2) youth who refused school to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation (negatively reinforced functions) within 1 point of tangible reinforcement, and 3) youth who refused school for attention within 1 point of the tangible reinforcement subscale with or without also refusing school for tangible reinforcement. A trend indicated that families of youth refusing school to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation were more expressive than families of youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement.

These results mirror those found cited earlier (Kearney & Silverman, 1995), and indicate that youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement are from families in which family members discourage the expression of feelings and thoughts. Lack of expression may result in the youth continuing to refuse school in that family members do not investigate underlying reasons for the youth’s behavior. Moreover, youngsters refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement may resist speaking to family members about why they are refusing school for fear of rejection.

*Sample Regrouping and Moral-Religious Emphasis*

Families of youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement and/or another function (per the two-group redistribution) and families of youth refusing school to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation (per the three-group redistribution) were more apt to have family members with strict ideas about what is right and wrong than families of youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement. This lack of moral-religious emphasis in families of youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement may play a role in the child’s delinquent behavior.
Youngsters refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions may have adopted a disregard for rules and authority through observational learning and substandard behavior set forth by other family members. Zhang and colleagues (2007) found that adolescents with a family history of criminal activity had a higher truancy recidivism rate than those without. This suggests that the manner in which a family conceptualizes a youngster’s truancy may influence the recurrence of truant acts. Consequently, youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement may have family members with weaker moral standards and may treat the youth’s truancy with little importance compared to youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and/or another function.

Clinical implications may exist for families of youth with school refusal behavior. An assessment of familial independence, expressiveness, and moral religious emphasis may provide the clinician with insight into how the family may react to the behavioral challenges of the youth, as well as familial communication surrounding the behavior and proposed treatment. For children refusing school for tangible reinforcement, a family systems approach may prove most useful, as the independence, lack of expressiveness and lack of moral religious emphasis in family members is prominent in youth with this function and possibly an instigating factor. Encouraging family members to spend more time together participating in pleasurable activities, and take a more active role in the youth’s behavior management is also suggested.

Clinicians may also benefit from further assessing youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement, as their behavior may be influenced by other functions as well. For instance, a youngster refusing school for tangible reinforcement who is also slightly
influenced by a negatively reinforced function may have a different family environment
than a youngster refusing school solely for tangible reinforcement. As a result, the
treatment strategies for each youth may differ. In sum, an awareness of the family
environment of a youth with school refusal behavior will help determine the youngster’s
proposed interactions with family members and possible treatment prognosis.

*Parenting Style*

*Parenting Style and Youth Report*

Parenting styles were assessed using child report of the Parenting Authority
Questionnaire (PAQ). Time constraints of the project prevented researchers from
administering the PAQ to parents. Thus, parenting style is solely the reflection of youth
perception. This must be considered when interpreting results. As mentioned earlier,
however, regardless of an adolescent’s conceptual accuracy, their perceptions have
“psychological reality for them” (Smetana, 1994, p. 30). Furthermore, youth report of
parenting style is the most commonly used approach in research of this type (Shucksmith
et al., 1995).

*Parenting Style within the Entire Sample*

Youth within the entire sample report higher numbers of authoritarian and permissive
parents than authoritative parents. These results support the second general hypothesis
and reflect past research that youth with parents of authoritarian and permissive parenting
styles result in less than optimal behavioral outcomes in youth (Snyder & Patterson,
1987; Steinberg et al., 1994; Wasserman et al., 1996), including poor academic outcomes
(Cohen et al., 1997; Dombusch et al., 1987; Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Lamborn et al.,
1991), compared to authoritative parenting. The presence of school refusal negatively
impacts educational outcomes, therefore indicating non-authoritative (i.e. authoritarian and permissive) styles of parenting.

**Authoritarian Parenting within the Entire Sample**

Youth within the sample perceived parents as predominantly authoritarian (46%). This indicates that this sample of youth with school refusal often perceive their parents as controlling and unyielding to verbal negotiation. These parents are reportedly void of warmth and do not foster appropriate coping skills. Furthermore, youth reporting parents as authoritarian reportedly feel as though they are to accept parental judgments, values, and goals without question.

Wolfradt and colleagues (2003) found that youth who characterize parents as authoritarian described their parents as pressuring, highly controlling, and lacking warmth. Furthermore, youth within this subtype experienced greater depersonalization or dissociation from family and self. Beahrs (1990) and Shumaker (1991) purported that, when exposed to negative events, individuals may use adaptive dissociative capacities to defend against events that would otherwise overwhelm ordinary coping abilities.

Depersonalization and dissociation of adolescents have been linked to parental rejection and negative dominant family environments. Research suggests that an insecure attachment between parents and children exists in dissociative families (Main & Morgan, 1996). In addition, children learn to dissociate when they begin to oppose strong parental demands, such as those exerted in authoritarian parenting. Putnam and colleagues (1997) suggested that children dissociate when they feel they are not heard or understood within their family. As a result of being unable to exert influences within the family, children react by dissociating and detaching.
The overall sample of youth in this project cited parents as authoritarian. This suggests that they believe their feelings and needs within the family are not addressed or considered. Furthermore, these results suggest that youth do not receive desired warmth and acceptance from their parents. As a result, these youth may dissociate from the family unit and authority figures (school, court, etc.). The behavior characteristics of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement mirror those of youth who have rejected parental and external authority. A link between these behaviors and controlling, unyielding, and emotionally cold parents may therefore exist. A trajectory towards delinquency for youth reporting authoritarian parents is also of concern. Chipman and colleagues (2000) found that inmates reported having parents that were more authoritarian than authoritative.

What these results do not address, however, is whether a youth’s disorderly behavior results from parenting style or if parenting style results from a youth’s disorderly behavior. Only a relationship is inferred at this time and further research is necessary to investigate this relationship. No significant differences were found regarding the hypothesized relationships between parenting styles and functions of school refusal behavior. Specifically, youth with positively reinforced school refusal did not report higher levels of authoritarian parenting and lower levels of permissive parenting than youth with negatively reinforced school refusal behavior.

*Permissive Parenting in Three-Group Redistribution*

In the three-group redistribution mentioned earlier, however, a trend was found with respect to permissive parenting. Youth who refused school for attention within 1 point of the tangible reinforcement subscale with or without also refusing school for tangible
reinforcement reported higher levels of permissive parenting than youth who refused school to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation within 1 point of the tangible reinforcement subscale with or without also refusing school for tangible reinforcement. In other words, parents of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and attention are reportedly more permissive than parents of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation.

These results are congruent with original hypotheses that permissive parenting would be more associated with positively reinforced behaviors (i.e., pursuit of attention) than negatively reinforced behaviors (i.e., escape and avoidance). Research consistently supports permissive parenting as a factor associated with positively reinforced delinquent behavior. According to Haapasalo and Tremblay (1994), poor supervision, neglect, and indifference are three factors of permissive parenting that encourage delinquent behavior. In addition, adolescents from permissive homes report higher frequencies of involvement in deviant behaviors, including drug and alcohol use, school misconduct, and emotional, impulsive, non-conforming behaviors (Hart et al., 1997).

Permissive Parenting in Mother and Three-Group Redistribution

Significant differences between youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and/or attention and youth refusing school to avoid negative stimuli and/or escape an evaluative situation were found with respect to permissive mother subscale scores. In accordance with earlier results, mothers of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and attention were reportedly more permissive than mothers of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation.
evaluative situation. Mother permissiveness may have influenced the overall trend in that overall parenting styles were a compound of mother and father parent ratings on the Parental Authority Questionnaire. Nevertheless, the significant results suggest that, within youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement, those with a positive reinforcement (attention) component report higher frequencies of parent permissiveness than youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement with a negative reinforcement component.

Post Hoc Analyses

Behavior and the Two-Group Redistribution

Within the two-group redistribution described earlier, youth refusing school solely for tangible reinforcement with the influence of other functions or primarily another function reported significantly higher incidences of panic, social phobia, obsessions/compulsions, depression, and anxiety than youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions. These results support current research that youth with negatively reinforced school refusal behavior exhibit higher rates of internalizing behaviors than youth with positively reinforced school refusal behavior (Kearney & Silverman; 2001; Kearney & Albano, 2004).

Analyses of the two-group redistribution with respect to parent-reported behavior revealed that parents of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and/or primarily another function reported significantly higher incidence of social problems than youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions. These results mirror those of popular research within this area. Youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement have lower levels of general and social anxiety, depression,
fear, and overall distress compared to youth of other functions (Tillotson & Kearney, 1998). Youth within this function are also more likely to have disruptive behavior disorders (Kearney, 2004).

Furthermore, as reviewed earlier, youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions reported higher incidences of permissive parenting than youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and/or another function. Children of permissive parents are generally more well-adjusted, successful in social activities, respected by adolescents, and valued by peers than children of other parenting styles (Lamborn et al., 1991). This may explain why youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement have less social problems than youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement and/or other functions.

Behavior and the Three-Group Redistribution

Significant differences were found with respect to the three-group redistribution of youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement described earlier. Youth refusing school to avoid negative stimuli or escape an evaluative situation (negatively reinforced functions) within 1 point of the tangible reinforcement subscale with or without also refusing school for tangible reinforcement reported significantly higher frequencies of generalized anxiety, obsessions/compulsions, and anxiety than youth who refused school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions. These results strongly mirror earlier results and research in that negatively reinforced school refusal behavior is most often accompanied by internalizing behaviors than positively reinforced school refusal behavior.
With respect to panic, a significant difference was found between youth refusing school for attention within 1 point of the tangible reinforcement subscale with or without also refusing school for tangible reinforcement and youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions. Specifically, youth refusing school for attention reported higher frequencies of panic than youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement without the influence of other functions. These results are not surprising, considering high rates of separation anxiety present in youth refusing school for attention (Kearney, 2003). These results also reiterate earlier findings within this thesis and related literature suggesting lower incidences of internalizing disorders within youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement versus youth within the other three functions.

Study Limitations

Small Sample Size

Several limitations of this study should be noted, including small sample size. This was due to several reasons. First, recruitment for participants was limited to two days per week during which truancy court met. Furthermore, averages of approximately 1-2 participants were recruited per week. Second, students appearing in truancy court were not always mandated to complete community service. This sanction was reserved for students who failed to comply with court-mandated school attendance after several weeks. Consequently, a limited number of students were required to complete community service. Lastly, participants were given the option to participate as a substitute for one hour of community service. In many cases, participants declined participation in favor of
completing other community service. Several participants declined participation after
learning the process would require answering questions about their family.

Limited Assessment

The second limitation of this study was the restricted amount of information collected
from participants. An allotted one-hour time frame limited assessments of: school refusal
behavior, family environment, parenting style, and child behavior. Attempts were made
to disseminate investigated variables across youth and parent self-report questionnaires,
and each parent and youth received three questionnaires. Information regarding family
environment was obtained from the parent and information regarding parenting style was
obtained from the youngster. Ideally, an assessment of family environment and parenting
style would have been obtained from the parent and youngster to form composite views.

Function Bias

A third limitation of this study was reflected in the sampling bias toward youth
refusing school for tangible reinforcement. The original hypotheses of this project
focused on exploring differences across all four functions of school refusal behavior.
However, this was difficult because few youth reportedly refused school for reasons other
than tangible reinforcement. While this was remedied somewhat by the development of
two- and three-group redistributions, a bias toward the tangible reinforcement function
remained. Future researchers are advised to consider the environment of youth refusing
school when exploring the relationship between function and select variables.

Conclusion

The function of school refusal behavior seems closely related to aspects of family
environment, parenting style, and internalizing and externalizing behavior. Clinicians
who treat youths with school refusal behavior are encouraged to assess and address these associated characteristics at length.

Youth refusing school solely for tangible reinforcement may in fact be harder to clinically treat than children of any other function, as the problem lies within the family system as a whole. Clinically, these results suggest that treatments devised for youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement should remain focused on the behavior itself and less so on alleviating comorbid internalizing symptoms. Current therapies designed to treat youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement rely heavily on family members, and providing a family with better ways of solving problems, reducing conflict, increasing rewards for school attendance, and decreasing rewards for school absence may be best (Kearney & Albano, 2000).

Considering the characteristics of families of youth refusing school primarily for tangible reinforcement, clients of this type may be resistant to behavioral change. This may pose a difficulty to therapists trying to work with families of youth within this function, as they will most likely be met with familial refusal and discord.

Investigating differences among youth refusing school for tangible reinforcement proved fruitful and highlighted differences in family environment, parenting styles, and behaviors within this group. Subsequent researchers are encouraged to consider these differences when assessing youth within this function of school refusal behavior. Moreover, clinicians are advised to be cautious of grouping all youth who refuse school for tangible reinforcement into one clinical category, as treatment effectiveness may vary within this population.
REFERENCES


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Table 1-I

*Diagnostic Family Group vs. Dysfunctional Pattern*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagnostic Family Group</th>
<th>Dysfunctional Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety Disorders Only</td>
<td>No Dysfunctional Family Patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressive Disorders Only</td>
<td>Task Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Role Performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values and Norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comorbid Anxiety and Depressive Disorders</td>
<td>Task Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Role Performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values and Norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Anxiety or Depressive Disorders</td>
<td>Task Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Role Performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values and Norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affective Expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values and Norms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***Results from Bernstein et al. (1990) illustrating the relationship between four diagnostic family groups and suggested dysfunctional family patterns as delineated by the Family Assessment Measure.***
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FES Subscale</th>
<th>Brief Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion</td>
<td>The degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressiveness</td>
<td>The extent to which family members are encouraged to express their feelings openly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>The amount of openly expressed anger among family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>The amount of independence each family member has within the family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement Orientation</td>
<td>How much the family is focused on individual member achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual-Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>The level of involvement the family has in both intellectual and cultural activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active-Recreational Orientation</td>
<td>The amount of family participation in social and recreational activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral-Religious Orientation</td>
<td>The level of strictness family members hold about what is right and wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>How well the family maintains an organized environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>The degree to which the family maintains rules and order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1

*Family Environment and Functions of School Refusal Behavior*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SRAS-R Function</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>t(44)</th>
<th>Eta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit of Attention</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>-2.1*</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangible Reinforcement</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>-2.5*</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05.

Table 2

*Function of School Refusal Behavior in Entire Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of School Refusal Behavior</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance of Negative Stimuli</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape from Evaluative Situation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit of Attention</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit of Tangible Reinforcement</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3

**Bivariate Relationship Between FES subscales and Function of SRB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FES Subscale</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th></th>
<th>t(48)</th>
<th>Eta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.2*</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement Intellectual-Cultural</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active-Recreational</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral-Religious</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.3*</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

### Table 4

**Frequency of Parenting Style**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parenting Styles</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permissive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authoritative</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5

Comparisons of RCADS subscales and Function of SRB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RCADS Subscale</th>
<th>Group 1 M</th>
<th>Group 1 SD</th>
<th>Group 2 M</th>
<th>Group 2 SD</th>
<th>t(48)</th>
<th>Eta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Separation Anxiety</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>1.9*</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Anxiety</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panic</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>2.8**</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Phobia</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1.0*</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obsessions/Compulsions</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>3.1**</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>1.6*</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Anxiety</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>2.9**</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Anxiety and Depression</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>2.6*</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p < .01, * p < .05, p < .10.

Table 6

Comparisons of RCADS subscales and Functions of SRB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RCADS Subscale</th>
<th>Group 1 M</th>
<th>Group 1 SD</th>
<th>Group 2 M</th>
<th>Group 2 SD</th>
<th>Group 3 M</th>
<th>Group 3 SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Eta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Separation Anxiety</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Anxiety</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3.5*</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panic</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>3.9*</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Phobia</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obsessions/Compulsions</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>5.5**</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Anxiety</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>3.8*</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Anxiety and Depression</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>3.2*</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p < .01, * p < .05, p < .10.
Conners' Parent Rating Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conners' Parent Rating Scale</th>
<th>Not True at All</th>
<th>Just a Little True</th>
<th>Pretty Much True</th>
<th>Very True</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Angry and resentful</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Difficulty doing or completing homework</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is always &quot;on the go&quot; or acts as if driven by a motor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Timid, easily frightened</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Everything must be just so</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Has no friends</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Stomach aches</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Fits</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Avoids, expresses reluctance about, or has difficulties engaging in tasks that sustained mental effort (such as schoolwork or homework)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Has difficulty sustaining attention in tasks or play activities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Argues with adults</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Fails to complete assignments</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Hard to control in malls or while grocery shopping</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Afraid of people</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Keeps checking things over again and again</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Loses friends quickly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Aches and</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Restless or overactive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Has trouble concentrating in class</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Does not seem to listen to what is being said to him/her</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Loses temper</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Needs close supervision to get through assignments</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Runs about or climbs excessively in situations where it is inappropriate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Afraid of new situations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Fussy about cleanliness</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Does not know how to make friends</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Gets aches and pains or stomachaches before school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Excitable, impulsive.....</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Does not follow through on instructions and fails to finish schoolwork, chores or duties in the workplace (not due to oppositional behavior or failure to understand instructions)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Has difficulty organizing tasks and activities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Irritable</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. Restless in the &quot;squirmly sense&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Afraid of being alone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Things must be done the same way every time</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Does not get invited over to friends' houses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Headaches</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Fails to finish things he/she starts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Not True</th>
<th>Just a Little True</th>
<th>Pretty Much True</th>
<th>Very True</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Inattentive, easily distracted</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>39.</td>
<td>Talks excessively</td>
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<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Actively defies or refuses to comply with adults' requests</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Fails to give close attention to details or makes careless mistakes in work or other activities</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Has difficulty waiting in lines or awaiting turn in games or group situations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Has a lot of fears</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Has rituals that he/she must go through</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Distractions or attention span an problem</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>46.</td>
<td>Complains about being sick even when nothing is wrong</td>
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<td>47.</td>
<td>Temper outbursts</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>48.</td>
<td>Gets distracted when given instructions to do something</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>49.</td>
<td>Interrupts or intrudes on others (e.g., butts into others' conversations or games)</td>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>Forgetful in daily activities</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Cannot grasp arithmetic</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Will run around between mouthfuls at meals</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Afraid of the dark, animals, or bugs</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Sets very high goals for self</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Fidgets with hands or feet or squirms in seat</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Short attention span</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Touchy or easily annoyed by others</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Has sloppy handwriting</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Has difficulty playing or engaging in leisure activities quietly</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Shy, withdrawn</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Blames others for his/her mistakes or misbehavior</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Fidgeting</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Messy or disorganized at home or school</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Gets upset if someone rearranges his/her things</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Clings to parents or other adults</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Disturbs other children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Deliberately does things that annoy other people</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Demands must be met immediately easily frustrated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Only attends if it is something he/she is very interested in</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Spiteful or vindictive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>Loses things necessary for tasks or activities (e.g., school assignments, pencils, books, tools or toys)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Feels inferior to others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Seems tired or slowed down all the time</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>Spelling is poor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>Cries often and easily</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>Leaves seat in classroom or in other situations in which remaining seated is</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.</td>
<td>Mood changes quickly and drastically</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>Easily frustrated in efforts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79.</td>
<td>Easily distracted by extraneous stimuli</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>Blurs out answers to questions before the questions have been completed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Family Environment Scale

1. Family members really help and support one another.
2. Family members often keep their feelings to themselves.
3. We fight a lot in our family.
4. We don’t do things on our own very often in our family.
5. We feel it is important to be the best at whatever you do.
6. We often talk about political and social problems.
7. We spend most weekends and evenings at home.
8. Family members attend church, synagogue, or Sunday School fairly often.
9. Activities in our family are pretty carefully planned.
10. Family members are rarely ordered around.
11. We often seem to be killing time at home.
12. We say anything we want to around home.
13. Family members rarely become openly angry.
14. In our family, we are strongly encouraged to be independent.
15. Getting ahead in life is very important in our family.
16. We rarely go to lectures, plays, or concerts.
17. Friends often come over for dinner or to visit.
18. We don’t say prayers in our family.
19. We are generally very neat and orderly.
20. There are very few rules to follow in our family.
21. We put a lot of energy into what we do at home.
22. It’s hard to “blow off steam” at home without upsetting somebody.
23. Family members sometimes get so angry they throw things.
24. We think things out for ourselves in our family.
25. How much money a person makes is not very important to us.
26. Learning about new and different things is very important in our family.
27. Nobody in our family is active in sports, Little League, bowling, etc.
28. We often talk about the religious meaning of Christmas, Passover, or other holidays.
29. It’s often hard to find things when you need them in our household.
30. There is one family member who makes most of the decisions.
31. There is a feeling of togetherness in our family.
32. We tell each other about our personal problems.
33. Family members hardly ever lose their tempers.
34. We come and go as we want in our family.
35. We believe in competition and “may the best man win.”
School Refusal Assessment Scale-Revised (P)

1. How often does your child have bad feelings about going to school because he/she is afraid of something related to school (for example, tests, school bus, teacher, fire alarm)?

   0  1  2  3  4  5  6
   Never  Seldom  Sometimes  Half  Usually  Almost  Always
   The Time  The Time

2. How often does your child stay away from school because it is hard for him/her to speak with the other kids at school?

   0  1  2  3  4  5  6
   Never  Seldom  Sometimes  Half  Usually  Almost  Always
   The Time  The Time

3. How often does your child feel he/she would rather be home with you or your spouse than go to school?

   0  1  2  3  4  5  6
   Never  Seldom  Sometimes  Half  Usually  Almost  Always
   The Time  The Time

4. When your child is not in school during the week (Monday to Friday), how often does he/she leave the house and do something fun?

   0  1  2  3  4  5  6
   Never  Seldom  Sometimes  Half  Usually  Almost  Always
   The Time  The Time

5. How often does your child stay away from school because he/she will feel sad or depressed if he/she goes to school?

   0  1  2  3  4  5  6
   Never  Seldom  Sometimes  Half  Usually  Almost  Always
   The Time  The Time

6. How often does your child stay away from school because he/she feels embarrassed in front of other people at school?

   0  1  2  3  4  5  6
   Never  Seldom  Sometimes  Half  Usually  Almost  Always
   The Time  The Time

7. How often does your child think about you or your spouse or family when in school?

   0  1  2  3  4  5  6
   Never  Seldom  Sometimes  Half  Usually  Almost  Always
   The Time  The Time

149
8. When your child is not in school during the week (Monday to Friday), how often does he/she talk to or see other people (other than your family)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

9. How often does your child feel worse at school (for example, scared, nervous, or sad) compared to how he/she feels at home with friends?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

10. How often does your child stay away from school because he/she does not have many friends there?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

11. How much would your child rather be with his/her family than go to school?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

12. When your child is not in school during the week (Monday to Friday), how much does he/she enjoy doing different things (for example, being with friends, going places)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

13. How often does your child have bad feelings about school (for example, scared, nervous, or sad) when he/she thinks about school on Saturday and Sunday?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always
14. How often does your child stay away from certain places in school (e.g., hallways, places where certain groups of people are) where he/she would have to talk to someone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<th>6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Almost</td>
<td>Always</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Time</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. How much would your child rather be taught by you or your spouse at home than by his/her teacher at school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Seldom</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Usually</td>
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<td>The Time</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. How often does your child refuse to go to school because he/she wants to have fun outside of school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Seldom</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Usually</td>
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<td>The Time</td>
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17. If your child had less bad feelings (for example, scared, nervous, sad) about school, would it be easier for him/her to go to school?

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18. If it were easier for your child to make new friends, would it be easier for him/her to go to school?

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19. Would it be easier for your child to go to school if you or your spouse went with him/her?

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20. Would it be easier for your child to go to school if he/she could do more things he/she liked to do after school hours (for example, being with friends)?

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21. How much more does your child have bad feelings about school (for example, scared, nervous, or sad) compared to other kids his/her age?

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22. How often does your child stay away from people at school compared to other kids his/her age?

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23. Would your child like to be home with you or your spouse more than other kids his/her age would?

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24. Would your child rather be doing fun things outside of school more than most kids his/her age?

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School Refusal Assessment Scale (C)

1. How often do you have bad feelings about going to school because you are afraid of something related to school (for example, tests, school bus, teacher, fire alarm)?

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2. How often do you stay away from school because it is hard to speak with the other kids at school?

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3. How often do you feel you would rather be with your parents than go to school?

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4. When you are not in school during the week (Monday to Friday), how often do you leave the house and do something fun?

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5. How often do you stay away from school because you will feel sad or depressed if you go?

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6. How often do you stay away from school because you feel embarrassed in front of other people at school?

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7. How often do you think about your parents or family when in school?

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8. When you are not in school during the week (Monday to Friday), how often do you talk to or see other people (other than your family)?

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9. How often do you feel worse at school (for example, scared, nervous, or sad) compared to how you feel at home with friends?

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10. How often do you stay away from school because you do not have many friends there?

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11. How much would you rather be with your family than go to school?

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12. When you are not in school during the week (Monday to Friday), how much do you enjoy doing different things (for example, being with friends, going places)?

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13. How often do you have bad feelings about school (for example, scared, nervous, or sad) when you think about school on Saturday and Sunday?

   0 1 2 3 4 5 6
   Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always The Time

14. How often do you stay away from certain places in school (e.g., hallways, places where certain groups of people are) where you would have to talk to someone?

   0 1 2 3 4 5 6
   Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always The Time

15. How much would you rather be taught by your parents at home than by your teacher at school?

   0 1 2 3 4 5 6
   Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Always The Time

16. How often do you refuse to go to school because you want to have fun outside of school?

   0 1 2 3 4 5 6
   Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Always The Time

17. If you had less bad feelings (for example, scared, nervous, sad) about school, would it be easier for you to go to school?

   0 1 2 3 4 5 6
   Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Always The Time

18. If it were easier for you to make new friends, would it be easier to go to school?

   0 1 2 3 4 5 6
   Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Always The Time

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19. Would it be easier for you to go to school if your parents went with you?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

20. Would it be easier for you to go to school if you could do more things you like to do after school hours (for example, being with friends)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

21. How much more do you have bad feelings about school (for example, scared, nervous, or sad) compared to other kids your age?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

22. How often do you stay away from people at school compared to other kids your age?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

23. Would you like to be home with your parents more than other kids your age would?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always

24. Would you rather be doing fun things outside of school more than most kids your age?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
Never Seldom Sometimes Half Usually Almost Always
The Time Always
Revised Child Anxiety and Depression Scale

1. I worry about things
2. I feel sad or empty
3. When I have a problem, I get a funny feeling in my stomach
4. I worry when I think I have done poorly at something
5. I would feel afraid of being on my own at home
6. Nothing is much fun anymore
7. I feel scared when I have to take a test
8. I feel worried when I think someone is angry with me
9. I worry about being away from my parents
10. I get bothered by bad or silly thoughts or pictures in my mind
11. I have trouble sleeping
12. I worry that I will do badly at my school work
13. I worry that something awful will happen to someone in my family
14. I suddenly feel as if I can't breathe when there is no reason for this
15. I have problems with my appetite
16. I have to keep checking that I have done things right (like the switch is off, or the door is locked)
17. I feel scared if I have to sleep on my own.

Never  Sometimes  Often  Always
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<tr>
<td>18. I have trouble going to school in the mornings because I feel nervous or afraid</td>
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<td>19. I have no energy for things</td>
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<td>20. I worry I might look foolish</td>
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<td>21. I am tired a lot</td>
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<td>22. I worry that bad things will happen to me</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. I can't seem to get bad or silly thoughts out of my head</td>
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<td>24. When I have a problem, my heart beats really fast</td>
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<td>25. I cannot think clearly</td>
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<td>26. I suddenly start to tremble or shake when there is no reason for this</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. I worry that something bad will happen to me</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. When I have a problem, I feel shaky</td>
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<td>29. I feel worthless</td>
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<td>30. I worry about making mistakes</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. I have to think of special thoughts (like numbers or words) to stop bad things from happening</td>
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<td>32. I worry what other people think of me</td>
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<td>33. I am afraid of being in crowded places (like shopping centers, the movies, buses, busy playgrounds)</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. All of a sudden I feel really scared for no reason at all</td>
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<td>35. I worry about what is going to happen</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. I suddenly become dizzy or faint when there is no reason for this</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. I think about death</td>
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<td>38. I feel afraid if I have to talk in front of my class</td>
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</table>
My heart suddenly starts to beat too quickly for no reason ...........................................................
I feel like I don't want to move .................................................................
I worry that I will suddenly get a scared feeling when there is nothing to be afraid of .................................................................
I have to do some things over and over again (like washing my hands, cleaning or putting things in a certain order) .................................................................
I feel afraid that I will make a fool of myself in front of people .................................................................
I have to do some things in just the right way to stop bad things from happening .................................................................
I worry when I go to bed at night .............................................................................
I would feel scared if I had to stay away from home overnight .................................................................
I feel restless ..............................................................................................................

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My heart suddenly starts to beat too quickly for no reason</td>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>I have to do some things over and over again (like washing my hands, cleaning or putting things in a certain order)</td>
<td>Never</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel afraid that I will make a fool of myself in front of people</td>
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<tr>
<td>I have to do some things in just the right way to stop bad things from happening</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel restless</td>
<td>Never</td>
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Parental Authority Questionnaire for the Father’s Parenting Style

Instructions: For each of the following statements, circle the number on the 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) that best describes how that statement applies to you and your father. Try to read and think about each statement as it applies to you and your father during your years of growing up at home. There are no right or wrong answers, so don’t spend a lot of time on any one item. We are looking for an overall impression regarding each statement.

1. While I was growing up my father felt that in a well run home the children should have their way in the family as often as parents do.
   1  2  3  4  5

2. Even if her children didn’t agree with her, my father felt that it was for our own good if we were forced to conform to what he thought was right.
   1  2  3  4  5

3. Whenever my father told me to do something as I was growing up, he expected me to do it immediately without asking any questions.
   1  2  3  4  5

4. As I was growing up, once family policy had been established, my father discussed the reasoning behind the policy with the children in the family.
   1  2  3  4  5

5. My father has always encouraged verbal give-and-take whenever I have felt that family rules and restrictions were unreasonable.
   1  2  3  4  5

6. My father always felt that what children need is to be free to make up their own minds and to do what they want to do, even if this does not agree with what their parents might want.
   1  2  3  4  5

7. As I was growing up my father did not allow me to question any decision he had made.
   1  2  3  4  5

8. As I was growing up my father directed the activities and decisions of the children in the family through reasoning and discipline.
   1  2  3  4  5

9. My father has always felt that more force should be used by parents in order to get their children to behave the way they are supposed to.
   1  2  3  4  5

10. As I was growing up my father did not feel that I needed to obey rules and regulations of behavior simply because someone in authority had established them.
    1  2  3  4  5

11. As I was growing up I knew what my father expected of me in my family, but I also felt free to discuss those expectations with my father when I felt that they were unreasonable.
12. My father felt that wise parents should teach their children early just who is boss in the family.
13. As I was growing up, my father seldom gave me expectations and guidelines for my behavior.
14. Most of the time as I was growing up my father did what the children in the family wanted when making family decisions.
15. As the children in my family were growing up, my father constantly gave us direction and guidance in rational and objective ways.
16. As I was growing up my father would get very upset if I tried to disagree with him.
17. My father feels that most problems in society would be solved if parents would not restrict their children’s activities, decisions, and desires as they are growing up.
18. As I was growing up my father let me know what behaviors he expected of me, and if I didn’t meet those expectations he punished me.
19. As I was growing up my father allowed me to decide most things for myself without a lot of direction from him.
20. As I was growing up my father took the children’s opinions into consideration when making family decisions, but he would not decide for something simply because the children wanted it.
21. My father did not view himself as responsible for directing and guiding my behavior as I was growing up.
22. My father had clear standards of behavior for the children in our homes as I was growing up, but he was willing to adjust those standards to the needs of each individual child in the family.
23. My father gave me direction for my behavior and activities as I was growing up and he expected me to follow his direction, but he was willing to listen to my concerns and to discuss that direction with me.
24. As I was growing up my father allowed me to form my own point of view on family matters and he generally allowed me to decide for myself what I was going to do.
25. My father has always felt that most problems in society would be solved if we could get parents to strictly and forcibly deal with their children when they don’t do what they are supposed to as they are growing up.

26. As I was growing up my father often told me exactly what he wanted me to do and how he expected me to do it.

27. As I was growing up my father gave me clear directions for my behavior and activities, but he also understood when I disagreed with him.

28. As I was growing up my father did not direct the behaviors, activities, and desires of the children in my family.

29. As I was growing up I knew what my father expected of me in the family and he insisted that I conform to those expectations simply out of respect for his authority.

30. As I was growing up, if my father made a decision in the family that hurt me, he was willing to discuss that decision with me and to admit it if he had made a mistake.
Parental Authority Questionnaire for the Mother’s Parenting Style

Instructions: For each of the following statements, circle the number on the 5-point scale (1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree) that best describes how that statement applies to you and your mother. Try to read and think about each statement as it applies to you and your mother during your years of growing up at home. There are no right or wrong answers, so don’t spend a lot of time on any one item. We are looking for an overall impression regarding each statement.

1. While I was growing up my mother felt that in a well run home the children should have their way in the family as often as parents do.

   1  2 3 4 5

2. Even if her children didn’t agree with her, my mother felt that it was for our own good if we were forced to conform to what she thought was right.

   1 2 3 4 5

3. Whenever my mother told me to do something as I was growing up, she expected me to do it immediately without asking any questions.

   1 2 3 4 5

4. As I was growing up, once family policy had been established, my mother discussed the reasoning behind the policy with the children in the family.

   1 2 3 4 5

5. My mother has always encouraged verbal give-and-take whenever I have felt that family rules and restrictions were unreasonable.

   1 2 3 4 5

6. My mother always felt that what children need is to be free to make up their own minds and to do what they want to do, even if this does not agree with what their parents might want.

   1 2 3 4 5

7. As I was growing up my mother did not allow me to question any decision she had made.

   1 2 3 4 5

8. As I was growing up my mother directed the activities and decisions of the children in the family through reasoning and discipline.

   1 2 3 4 5

9. My mother has always felt that more force should be used by parents in order to get their children to behave the way they are supposed to.

   1 2 3 4 5

10. As I was growing up my mother did not feel that I needed to obey rules and regulations of behavior simply because someone in authority had established them.

    1 2 3 4 5

11. As I was growing up I knew what my mother expected of me in my family, but I also felt free to discuss those expectations with my mother when I felt that they were unreasonable.
12. My mother felt that wise parents should teach their children early just who is boss in the family.

13. As I was growing up, my mother seldom gave me expectations and guidelines for my behavior.

14. Most of the time as I was growing up my mother did what the children in the family wanted when making family decisions.

15. As the children in my family were growing up, my mother constantly gave us direction and guidance in rational and objective ways.

16. As I was growing up my mother would get very upset if I tried to disagree with her.

17. My mother feels that most problems in society would be solved if parents would not restrict their children’s activities, decisions, and desires as they are growing up.

18. As I was growing up my mother let me know what behaviors she expected of me, and if I didn’t meet those expectations she punished me.

19. As I was growing up my mother allowed me to decide most things for myself without a lot of direction from her.

20. As I was growing up my mother took the children’s opinions into consideration when making family decisions, but she would not decide for something simply because the children wanted it.

21. My mother did not view herself as responsible for directing and guiding my behavior as I was growing up.

22. My mother had clear standards of behavior for the children in our homes as I was growing up, but she was willing to adjust those standards to the needs of each individual child in the family.

23. My mother gave me direction for my behavior and activities as I was growing up and she expected me to follow her direction, but she was willing to listen to my concerns and to discuss that direction with me.

24. As I was growing up my mother allowed me to form my own point of view on family matters and she generally allowed me to decide for myself what I was going to do.
25. My mother has always felt that most problems in society would be solved if we could get parents to strictly and forcibly deal with their children when they don't do what they are supposed to as they are growing up.

26. As I was growing up my mother often told me exactly what she wanted me to do and how she expected me to do it.

27. As I was growing up my mother gave me clear directions for my behavior and activities, but she also understood when I disagreed with her.

28. As I was growing up my mother did not direct the behaviors, activities, and desires of the children in my family.

29. As I was growing up I knew what my mother expected of me in the family and she insisted that I conform to those expectations simply out of respect for her authority.

30. As I was growing up, if my mother made a decision in the family that hurt me, she was willing to discuss that decision with me and to admit it if she had made a mistake.
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