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PARENTAL WARMTH AND PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT AND THEIR ASSOCIATIONS WITH CHILDREN'S SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC SKILLS IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

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Abstract

Using the major tenets of interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory (IPARTheory), Baumrind's

parenting styles typologies and the Developmental Niche Model as guides, this study examined

the moderating role of parental warmth on the associations between severity and fairness of

physical punishment and preschool-aged children's social and academic skills in families in the

twin-island Caribbean nation of Trinidad and Tobago. The sample consisted of 191 mothers and

179 fathers, and their preschool-aged children from four diverse ethnic and socioeconomic

communities. Mothers and fathers filled out a socio-demographic questionnaire, the parental

acceptance-rejection questionnaire (PARQ-Short-Form), and the physical punishment

questionnaire (PPQ). Teachers provided assessments of children's early academic skills using

the Child Development Index Card. Teachers also assessed children's social skills by

completing the Child Rating Questionnaire. Three questions were examined: (a) Do mothers and

fathers differ in the use of different modes of physical punishment with boys and girls?(b) Does

maternal warmth moderate the associations between maternal assessments of severity and

fairness of physical punishment and children's early social and academic skills?   And, (c) Does

paternal warmth moderate the associations between paternal assessments of severity and fairness

of physical punishment and children's early social and academic skills? Results indicate that

mothers were more likely to slap, pull, and pinch children than fathers. Mothers and fathers did

not differ in their use of different modes of physical punishment with boys and girls. There were

no significant direct associations between paternal and maternal assessments of severity and

fairness of punishment and children's social and academic skills. Paternal and maternal warmth

did not moderate the associations between paternal and maternal assessments of severity and

fairness of punishment and children's social and academic skills. Findings are discussed within

the context of a children's rights perspective.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A growing body of research has focused on the significance of childrearing and socialization practices in English-speaking Caribbean families (Anderson, 2007; Barrow, 2008; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Pottinger, 2005; Roopnarine, 2004; Roopnarine, Evans & Pant, 2011). Much of this research has focused on harsh parenting practices within families, with relatively little emphasis on childhood outcomes. This is surprising in light of the growing awareness of the deleterious effects of harsh parenting practices on children's psychological adjustment and early academic performance (Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; MacKenzie, Nicklas, Waldfogel, & Brooks-Gunn, 2013) and the implications of harsh treatment for children's rights and sustainable development (UNICEF, 2014). In light of the prevalent use of physical punishment in English-speaking Caribbean cultural communities (Ali, Khaleque, & Rohner, 2015; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006; Roopnarine, Krishnakumar, Narine, Logie, & Lape, 2013a; Roopnarine, Logie, Davidson, Krishnakumar, & Narine, 2015; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017), assessing the impact of harsh parental treatment of children is particularly important. Children are especially susceptible to parental and environmental insult during the early childhood years (Shonkoff, 2010). However, parental warmth is also prevalent among English-speaking Caribbean families expressed in the form of affection, concern, and rewards (Anderson, 2007; Roopnarine, et al., 2013a). Some argue that factors such as parental warmth may temper the effects of harsh parental treatment on young children's development (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012; Lee, Altschul, & Gershoff, 2013; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2014). This study examined the role of paternal and maternal warmth in moderating the associations between parental assessments of severity and fairness of physical

punishment and children's early social and academic skills among English-speaking Caribbean families in Trinidad and Tobago.

An important aspect of parenting in Caribbean families is the belief that children should be obedient, comply with parental guidance and requests, and engage in appropriate behavior that demonstrates respect and love toward parents. The parental belief in unwavering obedience reinforces the cultural acceptance of physical punishment as a suitable childrearing practice. Parents across the Caribbean believe physical punishment is a "good" mechanism to childhood training (Landon, Waechter, Wolfe & Orlando, 2017; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016). Within expectations of obedience and respect for parents and elders, it is believed that physical punishment imparted in the context of warmth and attention provides firm guidance and helps in shaping desired behaviors in children (Roopnarine, 2004). As Leo-Rhynie and Brown (2013) point out, Caribbean parents usually discipline to express disapproval of behaviors they do not want children to display, and rarely use physical or verbal methods (praise or reward) to reinforce desirable behaviors. In this context, undesired behaviors are punished but desired behaviors are not acknowledged. Praise and rewards are infrequent, and according to one survey, only 23.6 percent of children received praise for doing something that pleased the parent across some Caribbean countries (Leo-Rhynie, 1997). The absence of harsh punishment is how parents most often demonstrate affection or approval (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013).

It is generally accepted that cultural practices guide parental perceptions of what is appropriate childhood behavior (Super & Harkness, 1997, 2002). Research indicates that among Caribbean families, behaviors such as disrespect shown to parents and elders, dishonesty and lying, and general disobedience are the most frequently cited reasons why parents utilize physical punishment (Anderson, & Payne, 1994; Smith, Springer, & Barrett, 2011; Roopnarine

et al., 2013a). At the same time, there is evidence of changes in parenting attitudes among younger parents who show a reduction in the use of physical punishment over their predecessors (Roopnarine et al., 2013a). Research also suggests confusion and uncertainty regarding alternative methods of discipline, especially when there are disagreements about parenting practices across generations or between parents (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016).

It would be unfair and misleading to give a general impression that all Caribbean families are harsh disciplinarians. Roopnarine (2004) reports that methods of harsh discipline are under strict societal scrutiny, and as a result, may be on the decline in the Caribbean. This may be due in part to dissemination of research findings on the impact of physical punishment on children's social and cognitive skills (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017). Additional contributing factors may be the United Nations child well-being initiative that addresses harsh disciplinary practices at home in least developed and developing countries (Cappa & Khan, 2011; Landon et al., 2017; UNICEF, 2010) and efforts statewide by Caribbean countries to address the harsh treatment of children. For example, the Jamaican government is discussing implementation of programs that address cultural beliefs regarding child discipline, viewing such programs as a means of addressing the "cultural view that use of aggression and violence is the most efficient way of 'bending the tree while it is young'" (Smith, Springer, & Barrett, 2011).

A great deal of attention has focused on linkages between physical punishment and harsh treatment of young children and clinical, cognitive, psychological, emotional, and social outcomes (see recent meta-analysis by Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). There is overwhelming evidence that physical punishment has adverse consequences on intellectual

functioning and a range of childhood behaviors (see Gershoff, 2010; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017). However, comparable data on Caribbean families has historically been thin. Of late, several studies utilizing various methodological approaches have focused on the moderating role of parental warmth on the associations between physical punishment and children's social and academic skills (Lee, Altschul, and Gershoff, 2013; Roopnarine, Jin, & Krishnakumar, 2014; Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar, & Davidson, 2013b). These studies indicate similar negative associations between physical punishment and childhood outcomes as those found across the world (Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff & Gorgan-Kaylor, 2016; Khaleque & Rohner, 2012). Nevertheless, culturally specific interpretations of physical punishment, childrearing and socialization practices in Caribbean families and their particular effects on child outcomes remain murky (e.g., Rohner, Kean & Cournoyer, 1991; Roopnarine, Jin, & Krishnakumar, 2013; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017). Utilizing the UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) data, Dede, Yildirim and Roopnarine (2017) found that physical punishment but not harsh physical punishment had negative associations with children's literacy skills among families with preschool-aged children in Guyana and the Dominican Republic, and in Belize, harsh physical punishment had negative associations with children's literacy skills.

In view of the growing body of work on the negative impact of physical punishment on childhood development, more research is needed on the factors that moderate and mediate the associations between physical punishment and outcomes in families in the developing countries of the Caribbean where physical punishment is viewed as normative (Roopnarine et al., 2005; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017). Leo-Rhynie (1997) argues that parenting in Caribbean families often reflects a hybrid of authoritarian/punitive control mixed with indulgence and protectiveness. Moreover, she suggests that there are variations in the use of different forms of

physical punishment between countries, and by socio-economic status and gender. For example, it was reported that African Caribbean parents who are among low-income earners are more likely than higher-income earning parents to use harsher forms of discipline and to hold unreasonable developmental expectations of children (Leo-Rhynie, 1997). Other researchers have found that parenting styles also vary tremendously across Caribbean countries with a significant number of parents using an authoritative parent style (Lipps, Lowe, Gibson, Halliday, Morris, Clarke, & Wilson, 2012; Roopnarine et al., 2013a).

An argument has been made that parental warmth moderates the association between physical discipline and children's social and academic skills (Lansford et al., 2005). Accordingly, it has been hypothesized that in cultural settings where physical punishment is normative, parental warmth along with other parenting practices may temper the negative consequences of physical punishment on childhood development (Lansford et al., 2005). While earlier studies conducted in different cultural communities around the world (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Grogan-Kaylor & Otis, 2007) provide some support for the normativeness hypothesis, others conducted on various ethnic groups in the United States have failed to support the normativeness principle (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Lee et al., 2013; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2014). Because physical punishment is so widespread in the Caribbean region (Cappa & Khan, 2013; Dede Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017), Trinidad and Tobago provides an ideal setting to further explore the moderating role of parental warmth on the associations between physical punishment and childhood outcomes.

Against this backdrop, this study examined the associations between physical punishment and childhood outcomes. More specifically, it sought answers to the following questions: (a) Are there gender-of-parent and gender-of-child differences in the use of physical punishment among

families with preschool-aged children in Trinidad and Tobago? (b) Does maternal use of warmth during parenting moderate the associations between parental assessments of severity and fairness of physical punishment and preschool-aged children's social and academic skills? And, (c) Does paternal use of warmth during parenting moderate the associations between severity and fairness of physical punishment and preschool-aged children's social and academic skills? This study sheds additional light on the normativeness hypothesis and physical punishment and childhood development outcomes in the Caribbean region. In the next chapter, a review is provided of the empirical literature on parenting and physical punishment. Implications for childhood development are identified.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Physical or corporal punishment has been utilized in the socialization of children throughout history (Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff, 2010; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Scott, 1996; UNICEF, 2010). According to the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006), "corporal or physical punishment is defined as any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light" (articles, 19; 28, para.2; and 37). Straus (1994) concurs that "corporal punishment is the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for correction or control of the child's behavior" (p. 504; see also, Gershoff, 2002a). Despite contemporary agreement on the definition of physical punishment, difficulties remain in distinguishing when physical punishment becomes child abuse. Parents and other caregivers in developed and developing countries use physical punishment as a common method of addressing behavioral difficulties in children, but culture and other factors profoundly affect the distinction between physical punishment and abuse (see Table 1, Gershoff, 2002a).

Some scholars have presented a distinction between what is referred to as "normative" corporal punishment and physical abuse (Gelles & Straus, 1988; Zigler & Hall, 1989; Baumrind, Larzelere, & Cowan, 2002). Normative spanking or slapping (with an open hand) is often considered acceptable when conducted within an established supportive parent-child relationship or in the context of a relationship with a loving caregiver. Without abusive techniques and within the context of these relationships, normative spanking or slapping may be considered an appropriate part of parenting (Baumrind et al., 2002). However, this also implies that a parent possesses the basic knowledge of appropriate milestones in child development and sufficient emotional control to remain on the "normative" side of the continuum between abuse and

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punishment (see Table 1, Gershoff, 2002b). Additionally, international laws and policies of

individual countries distinguishing corporal punishment from abuse are non-existent, vague or

arbitrary (Gershoff, 2002a; UNICIEF, 2010, 2014). The present study utilized the Straus (1994)

and the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006) definitions of corporal

punishment as the basis of this inquiry.

Data collected by UNICEF (2014) in 62 countries between 2005 and 2013 indicated that

physical punishment was the most pervasive form of violence against children. Globally, most

caregivers employ a combination of non-physical (e.g., verbally explaining why the behavior is

undesirable or removing privileges) and physical (e.g., spanking, hitting with an object) forms of

discipline (UNICEF, 2014). According to the UNICEF data, on average four in five children

between the ages of two and 14 experience physical discipline. About 17% of children

experience severe physical punishment (e.g., hitting on the head and/or slapping in the facial

region) repeatedly; the most common forms of physical punishment are spanking, hitting or

slapping with a bare hand. Forty percent of children were exposed to other actions such as,

hitting on the bottom or elsewhere with an object and being hit or slapped on the face, head or

ears (p. 101). Very few caregivers reported exclusive use of physical disciplinary methods.

There is general agreement that beginning in the second half of the twentieth century

corporal punishment and its associated consequences on childhood development became a focus

in parenting research. It soon became clear that physical punishment was associated with

concerning childhood outcomes such as higher levels of aggression, poorer mental health, lower

levels of the internalization of moral standards, impaired parent-child relationships, and higher

risk for child abuse (Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor 2016). Moreover, some of the

effects of physical punishment seem to persist into adulthood (Gershoff's 2002, see pp. 545-47

of meta-analysis; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). This body of work also identified that these associations might be mediated or moderated by factors within the family (e.g., family structure/history, sociodemographic characteristics, parental beliefs) and community (e.g., violence, norms of physical punishment) (Gershoff, 2002a).

There are numerous other complex factors relevant to understanding the relationships between physical punishment and child outcomes. Children's characteristics influence parents' use of physical punishment. Research shows that boys experience physical discipline to a higher degree than girls (Brown et al., 1997; Smith, 2009). However, this gender difference might be culture-specific. Among the vast majority of countries in the UNICEF study referred to earlier, there were significant differences in the prevalence of physical discipline meted out by boys and girls (UNICEF, 2014, p. 102). Similarly, the prevalence of physical punishment across different age groups is equally as complex. Some research indicates that during the middle childhood years (approximately ages five to 10) children are more likely to experience physical punishment than those in other age groups (Wood Charlesworth, 2017). There is also evidence to suggest that caregivers may perceive non-physical disciplinary methods such as explaining why a behavior is wrong or removing privileges from a child to be more appropriate at later developmental ages (Durrant & Ensom, 2011).

In the United States spanking is the most utilized form of physical discipline with school-aged children (Greven, 1991; MacKenzie, Nicklas, Waldfogel, & Brooks-Gunn, 2013). The primary goal of physically disciplining children is to deter undesirable behaviors with the hope of stopping their reoccurrence and increasing favorable behavior in the future (Gershoff, 2013). According to Hineline and Rosales-Ruiz (2012), physical punishment can only accomplish the goal of decreasing undesirable behavior but may not necessarily increase favorable behaviors in

the future. Several studies (see Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2013) that have examined whether physical punishment increases the possibility of future desirable behavior in children, including obedience to commands, have found that it reduced noncompliance with parents (Gershoff, 2013; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016).

Ethnic differences in the use of and preference for physical punishment are well documented within the United States (McLoyd, Kaplan, hardaway, & Wood, 2007; Gordon Simons, & Simons, 2013). Studies show African-American parents employ spanking more frequently than European-American parents, even when controlling for socio-economic status (Day, Peterson, & McCracken, 1998; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; see meta-analyses, Gershoff, & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Smith & Brooks-Gunn, 1997). Some research suggests that physical punishment by African-American parents differs from their European American counterparts in that discipline is most likely to be accompanied with warmth and less likely to be carried out in a harsh or punitive manner (Deater-Deckard, & Dodge, 1997). These findings support the concept of a normative approach to physical punishment, with children of African-American families accepting this form of discipline as a normal part of socialization. As a result, African American children are less likely to exhibit the negative child outcomes that are often associated with physical punishment in other ethnic groups.

However, it should be noted that several other studies have found that physical punishment is linked to adverse externalizing and internalizing behaviors in both European American and African-American families (Lau, Litrownik, Newton, Black, & Everson, 2006; see meta-analyses, Gershoff, & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Pardini, Fite, & Burke, 2008). Others (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2006) did not find that spanking was associated with favorable outcomes in African-American families (p. 496). Furthermore, Gershoff and Grogan-Kaylor

(2006) found no differences between African-American and White families in how spanking was related to externalizing and internalizing behaviors.

In the developed world, many parents report spanking their children as a form of socialization by age three or four (Regalado, Sareen, Inkelas, Wissow, & Halfon, 2004; Straus & Stewart, 1999). Even with its widespread use, child development experts disagree on whether corporal punishment is typically beneficial (Baumrind, 1996, 1997; Larzelere, 1996, 2000) or harmful (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1998; Lytton, 1997; McCord, 1997). Establishing the exact incidence of physical punishment within families is difficult as well. Most parents in the developed world (e.g., United States) report that they use physical punishment as a last resort and that spanking is not more effective than non-physical alternatives such as timeouts (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2013). In Gershoff's meta-analysis, the most common rationale employed against the use of physical punishment is the concept of modeling the normative nature of aggression (Bandura, 1973, 1977; Gelles, 1979; Walters & Grusec, 1977; White & Straus, 1981).

Since Gershoff's seminal review, many studies have analyzed the association between parental use of physical punishment and childhood outcomes (Khaleque & Rohner, 2005, 2012; McLoyd, Kaplan, Hardaway, & Wood, 2007). Nonetheless, the need for more culturally contextualized analysis of the effects of physical punishment remains (Roopnarine, Jin, & Krishnakumar, 2014; Lansford, Chang, Dodge, Malone, Oburu, Palmerus, & Quinn, 2005; Sim & Ong, 2005; Stacks, Oshio, Gerard & Roe, 2009). Furthermore, in recent years, a growing number of countries have implemented policies or laws that restrict caregivers from utilizing physical punishment as a way of disciplining children (e.g., Austria, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Germany) but this has occurred primarily in European countries (Gilensky, 1998). Physical punishment in other world regions such as the Caribbean, North and Sub-

Saharan Africa, and Asia remains widespread (Chen & Liu, 2011; Jocson, Alampay, & Lansford, 2012; Kim, Guo, Koh, & Cain, 2010; Lansford, Malone, Dodge, Chang, Chaudhary, Tapanya, & Deater-Deckard, 2010; Roopnarine et al., 2013a; Roopnarine, Krishnakumar, Davidson, & Wang, 2013b; Sim & Ong, 2005).

Parent-child relationships are woven into a complex assortment of interconnected factors (Roopnarine, 2004; Roopnarine, Bynoe, Singh, & Simon, 2005; Super & Harkness, 1997). These include mothers' and fathers' ethnotheories about childrearing and socialization practices, the availability of economic and social capital within the larger family ecosystem, ethnicity, father, mother and child characteristics, couple/partner relationship, caregiver stability, and contextual factors such as family structural and organizational behavior, community connections, and religious activity, to name a few (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine, Evans, & Pant, 2011; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016). Thus a more contextualized analysis of physical punishment must take into account these wide ranging factors that are culturally embedded (Conger & Elder, 1994; Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Dix, Ruble, & Zambarano, 1989; Greenfield & Suzuki, 1998; Hastings & Grusec, 1998; Mason, Cauce, Gonzalez, & Hiraga, 1996; McCabe, Clark, & Barnett, 1999), and race-ethnicity (Alyahri & Goodman, 2008; Chen & Liu, 2012; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Kim et al., 2010; Mcloyd, Kaplan, Hardaway, & Wood, 2007; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2016). The remainder of this chapter discusses factors within the context of the Caribbean family and cultural community that have an influence on childrearing practices.

Caribbean Families

Poverty Rates and Diverse Ethnic Groups

A significant portion of Caribbean families lives at or below the poverty level. For

example, 43.2% of families in Guyana, 21% in Trinidad, 18.7% in Jamaica live at or below the

poverty level. According to Roopnarine (2004), poverty unquestionably contributes to family

structural arrangements and simultaneously creates barriers for caregivers to fulfill parenting

roles and implement effective childrearing strategies (see Roopnarine et al., 2013a; Roopnarine

et al., 2013b). Moreover, families living in or at near the poverty line are less likely to use

adaptive strategies in childrearing and more likely to be less cohesive in their family structural

arrangements (Anderson, 2007; Samms-Vaughan, 2005). In general, low-income Caribbean

families engage in less positive interactions with children and show an increased likelihood of

using physical punishment during childrearing (Ricketts & Anderson, 2008). Table 1 presents

key sociodemographic characteristics of Caribbean families.

Table 1

Sociodemographic Characteristics in Selected Caribbean Countries					
Country	Human Development Index (2015)	Life Expectancy (2015)	Mean Years of Schooling (2015)	Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (2015)	Ethnicity (three largest population) *CIA World Factbook 2017
Trinidad and Tobago	0.780	70.5	10.9	28,049	East Indian 35.4% African 34.2% Mixed African/East Indian 7.7%
Jamaica	0.730	75.8	9.6	8,350	Black 92.1% Mixed 6.1% East Indian 0.8%
Guyana	0.638	66.5	8.4	6,884	East Indian 39.8% Black 29.3% Mixed 19.9%
Barbados	0.795	75.8	10.5	14,952	Black 92.4% Mixed 3.1% White 2.7%
Dominica	0.726	77.9	7.9	10,096	Black 86.6%

					Mixed 9.1%
					Indigenous 2.9%
Suriname	0.725	71.3	8.3	16,018	Hindustani 27.4%
					Maroon 21.7%
					Creole 15.7%
Bahamas	0.792	75.8	10.5	14.952	Black 90.6%
					White 4.7%
					Mixed 2.1%
Belize	0.706	70.1	10.5	7,375	Mestizo 52.9%
					Creole 25.9%
					Maya 11.3%
St. Kitts and Nevis	0.765	74.0	8.4	22,436	Black 75%
					Mixed 12.3%
					Mulatto 5,3%
Grenada	0.754	73.6	8.6	11,502	Black 82%
					Mixed 13.3%
					East Indian 2.2%

(Human Development Report – retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI)

The Caribbean region is ethnically and culturally diverse with long histories of colonization and oppression. There are several distinct groups across the region. Most of the population of the Caribbean are descendants of slaves brought from Africa. After slavery was abolished, East Indians were brought into the region as indentured servants to fill labor shortages (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine et al., 2011) and today East Indians mostly live in Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, and Suriname (Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016). According to the CIA World Factbook (2016), Trinidad and Tobago consists of 35.4% Indo-Caribbeans, 34.2% African-Caribbeans, and 15.3% individuals of mixed-ethnic ancestry. Guyana consists of 43.5% Indo-Caribbean, 30.2% African-Caribbean, 16.7% individuals of mixed-ethnic ancestry, and a small percentage of indigenous people. Likewise, Suriname is made up of diverse ethnic groups: Indo Surinamese, African Surinamese, Javanese, indigenous groups, and individuals of European

ancestry. Other Caribbean countries such as the Dominican Republic and Belize have sizable

mixed-ethnic populations. Despite this diversity in populations, a majority of research studies on

Caribbean families have focused on individuals of African descent with Indo-Caribbean and

mixed-ethnic families receiving far less attention (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2015; Roopnarine &

Krishnakumar, 2006; Roopnarine et al., 2011; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016).

Family Structure

There is good documentation that African Caribbean families have high rates of

nonmarital births (Roopnarine, 2004; Roopnarine et al., 2005; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016).

For most African Caribbean families, childbearing occurs in non-residential visiting unions (man

and woman sharing a sexual relationship; the parents are not legally united, nor do they share a

residence). A co-residential union includes both legal marriage and common-law union of a man

and woman that are not legally joined, but they share a sexual relationship and a residence

(Anderson, 2007; for detailed description of family structure see also, Leo-Rhynie & Brown,

2013; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016). Researchers believe that the history of slavery and the

harsh economic and social conditions under colonization may have contributed to the evolution

of the diverse relationship and union patterns present among African Caribbean families today.

Two widely accepted practices in African Caribbean families are mate-

shifting/progressive mating/multiple-partner fertility and child-shifting. Mate-shifting involves

having several partners throughout the life cycle whereas child-shifting is the practice in which

the biological parent(s) give custody (nonbinding agreement) or childrearing responsibilities to

another person, usually a relative. The potential outcomes of these practices are instability

within the family structure, high rates of mother-headed households, non-marital unions, and

nonresidential fatherhood. Research conducted in similar demographic and social communities

in Kingston, Jamaica indicated that among men under the age of 30, only 9.5% were married, 41% were in common-law unions and 44% were in visiting relationships (Williams, Brown, & Roopnarine, 2006). Men and women tend to enter into conjugal activities in non-residential visiting unions in which they bear children before embarking on common-law relationships and then possibly marriage (Anderson, 2007). Marriage is more common among those in the "upper social strata" suggesting that temporary unions are not static. Culturally, African Caribbean families view marriage not necessarily as the commencement of a family union, but the "cementing of a union that already exists" (Anderson, 2007, p 5). Older African-Caribbean men are more likely to enter into marriage than their younger counterparts (Anderson, 2007). Research indicates that the rate of marriage for men over 50 years of age was 54.3%; with only 8.9% in visiting relationships (see Anderson & Bailey, 2015). Older men are more economically stable, relatively speaking, and therefore are more likely to enter into marriage. An aspect of progressive mating (mateshifting) is that men and women have children from several partners (Roopnarine et al., 2013a).

Mateshifting and childshifting are less common among the Indo Caribbean compared to mixed-ethnic and African Caribbean families, at least in Trinidad and Tobago (Roopnarine et al., 2013). The Indo-Caribbean family structure is mainly based on marriage and reflects a combination of nuclear and extended households, and families are more likely to have a father residing in the home (Roopnarine et al., 2005; Roopnarine et al., 2013a; Roopnarine & Krishnakumar, 2010). The custom of arranged marriage still exists. However, young adults are increasingly choosing their own partners (see Roopnarine et al., 2011). The results from a recent nationally representative sample in Trinidad and Tobago showed that 22% of African Caribbean, 62% of Indo-Caribbean, and 27% of individuals of mixed-ethnic ancestry identified as being

married. It was noted that marriage constitutes a key aspect of transition into parenthood for Indo-Caribbean families (Roopnarine et al., 2013). However, Roopnarine and his colleagues (Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016) also suggest that Indo-Caribbean family structure is in a state of transition, with increasing rates of divorce, common-law relationships, poverty, and a movement away from traditional religious Hindu values and beliefs situated in patriarchal, marriage-based traditions. For example, a national study from Trinidad and Tobago indicates that roughly one-quarter to one-third of African Caribbean, Indo-Caribbean, and individuals of mixed-ethnic ancestry identify as being in common-law unions (Roopnarine, Jin, & Krishnakumar, 2014).

Multiple Caregivers

For African Caribbean women, womanhood is highly valued and childlessness is traditionally considered a curse (Williams, Brown, & Roopnarine, 2006). African Caribbean women approach parenthood with a spirit of firm determination regardless of the source of their kinship or non-kinship parenting responsibilities or monetary or economic circumstances (Roopnarine et al., 2005). From the early childhood years onward, mothers continue to assume most responsibility for children. This was aptly described in Edith Clarke's 1957 seminal ethnographic work entitled *My Mother Who Fathered Me* (Anderson, 2007; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine, 2004; Roopnarine et al., 2005; Roopnarine, Evans, & Pant, 2011). Because of conjugal family arrangements, child-shifting, and migration, diverse caregivers often assist with childrearing among different ethnic groups in the Caribbean (Williams et al., 2006). Brodber (1975) labels the utilization of multiple caregivers as reflecting a culture of "emotional expansiveness." These diverse caregivers consist of grandparents, aunts-uncles, siblings and nonrelated individuals who care for children (Barrow, 2005, 2008; Flinn, 1992; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine &Yildirim, 2016). An anthropological study conducted in northern

Trinidad showed that care distribution of children was as follows: 44% of children were cared for by mothers, 17.6% were cared for by grandparents, 16.3% were cared for by siblings, and 7.2% by distant kin/nonkinship members (Flinn, 1992). The practice of child-shifting, which encourages fosterage, is most commonly seen among low-income African Caribbean families. Reasons for child-shifting include internal and external migration of parent(s) for economic betterment, birth of another child, repartnering, economic instability, and the goal of providing a better life for children (Russell-Brown, Norville, & Griffith, 1997). It has been suggested that children are shifted not because of the lack of parental affection or attachment but because of the recognition by parent(s) of their inability to care for their children or the necessity to entrust the care of their children to others to establish economic stability for the family (Leo-Rhynie, 1997; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013).

Among most males in the Caribbean, conceptions of manhood are grounded in various religious practices and social-cultural scripts about male dominance and sexual competence (Anderson, 2007; Roopnarine, 2004; Roopnarine, Evans, & Pant, 2011). Early heterosexual activity with several partners is symbolic of manhood in African-Caribbean culture and imparts biological maturity leading to a sense of self-definition about fatherhood (Roopnarine, Evans, & Pant, 2011). The father/protector role and mother/nurturer role is widely accepted across Caribbean cultures (Roopnarine et al., 2011). Ninety-six percent of low-income single-earner and 74 percent of low-income dual-earner Jamaican fathers in common-law unions reported that fathers should be breadwinners and the head of the household.

However, studies also confirm the growing desire on the part of many men to share more actively in the nurturing role (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). For instance, Roopnarine (1999) found that low-income Jamaican men in common-law unions spent approximately one hour per

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day feeding, one-half hour per day bathing, and almost three hours per day playing with infants. Another study indicated that more than two-thirds of Guyanese fathers reported changing infants' diapers and bathing them, and in a Trinidadian sample, 10.3 percent of care interactions dispensed to children were by fathers (Flinn, 1992; Roopnarine et al., 2005). Moderate levels of daily investment in tidying the home, playing, and working with children on school-related activities were recorded among fathers in communities in Jamaica, Dominica, Trinidad, and Guyana (see Roopnarine, 2004; 2013).

Parenting Beliefs, Practices, and Styles

Parental beliefs and practices provide a framework for understanding how caregivers organize their thoughts and actions concerning their investment in the socialization of children (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine et al., 2011; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016; Super & Harkness, 1997). According to Super and Harkness (1986, 1997, 2002), parental beliefs or ethnotheories undergird childrearing goals and practices that are used in the socialization of children. These ethnotheories include assumptions about gender roles, discipline, and the care and education of children that guide the structuring of everyday cognitive and social experiences of children (Super & Harkness, 1997).

In Caribbean societies, there is a deep-rooted socio-cultural system promoting gender-polarizing behavior. This system supplies boys and girls with gendered opportunities to engage in different activities in the home and community (Williams, Brown, & Roopnarine, 2006). Brown, Anderson and Chevannes' (1993) Fathers Study on Caribbean men and the family provided the foundation for subsequent research on gender socialization in the region. This body of research concluded that gender socialization (Chevannes, 2001) and general concepts of masculinity and manhood (Anderson, 2007, 2012; Brown & Chevannes, 1998) and femininity

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and womanhood (see Brodber, 1975; Brown & Chevannes, 1998; Chevannes, 2001) are learned

by children from same sex caregivers, same sex extended family members, or other same sex

care providers. Additionally, parents formulate different perceptions of boys and girls based

primarily upon gender and form differing relationships with them (Roopnarine, Evans, & Pant,

2011). Gender distinctions and assumptions are central to most childrearing practices such as

chores, leisure activities, disciplinary practices, demonstrations of affection and messages to

children about their sexuality (Brown & Chevannes, 1998; Brodber, 1975; Chevannes, 2001). In

communities throughout the Caribbean, chores are prearranged encouraging girls to be confined

to the home, while boys are permitted involvement in activities away from home. Researchers

believe a lack of knowledge concerning the construction of gender and sexual orientation

encourages these distinctions (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). Recognizing that sexual curiosity

and experimentation exist among children, parents believe that only girls should be punished for

such behavior, because punishing boys, as exclaimed one father during an interview, could

"make them go the other way" (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). In short, based upon their beliefs

regarding the practical worth of children, parents formulate different perceptions of boys and

girls and form differing relationships with them (Roopnarine, Evans, & Pant, 2011). In this

milieu, general concepts of masculinity and femininity are learned from same sex caregivers or

same sex extended family members (Chevannes, 1999). It is also the case that Caribbean parents

believe that it is more difficult to rear boys than girls; they appear to treat boys more harshly than

girls (Roopnarine, Evans, & Pant, 2011). When we examine physical punishment and gender of

child globally, the findings are rather mixed (e.g., Hester, He, & Tian, 2009; Lansford et al.,

2005). Also, the modes of punishment do not seem to vary by family socioeconomic status in a

number of developing societies (UNICEF, 2009; UNICEF, 2016). While some studies reveal no

significant differences between modes, severity, and fairness of punishment as a function of gender-of-child in the Caribbean region, others show that boys are more likely to receive violent discipline than girls in Guyana and Barbados (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine et al., 2013).

It has been suggested that Indo Caribbean parenting practices are similar to parenting practices in India. Although reference is often made to religious practices that are infused in early childrearing (e.g., head shaving of the infant, namakaran or naming of the child, janew), to what degree Indo Caribbean parents have retained aspects of the ancestral culture has not been fully substantiated (Rauf, 1974; Roopnarine, Snell-White, Riegraf, Wolfsenberger, Hossain, & Mathur, 1997; Roopnarine et al., 2011; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016). Within the collectivistic tradition, Indo-Caribbean families appear indulgent during the early childhood years. Notions of family harmony and interdependence characterize the context of childrearing. Obedience and respect for parents and elders are encouraged. Manhood in Indo-Caribbean culture also involves being the spiritually appointed head of household with authority over women and children (Roopnarine, 2004; Roopnarine et al., 2011). This patriarchal perspective is derived from religious beliefs regarding the leadership/responsibility of the family in ancient religious texts (Roopnarine et al., 2011). A prominent belief of Caribbean fathers is that they are first and foremost economic providers; men who are unable to provide for their families are not seen as "men".

According to Leo-Rhynie (1997), parenting in African Caribbean families reflects a hybrid of authoritarian and punitive control mixed with indulgence and protectiveness. However, variations exist between countries and by socio-economic status, gender of parent, and gender of child. Leo-Rhynie (1997) found that low-income African Caribbean parents are more

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likely to use harsh strategies and have unrealistic developmental expectations than more privileged African Caribbean parents. Low-income African Caribbean families demonstrate a poorer understanding of age-appropriate developmental milestones as parental expectations often do not match children's behavioral skills or competencies. For instance, young children are expected to sit still for long periods of time and to avoid any form of messy play (Leo-Rhynie, 1997). However, more recent studies (e.g., Roopnarine et al., 2015) demonstrate that families across ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago have a good understanding of developmental milestones during the preschool years, yet Indo and mixed-ethnic caregivers remained more likely to have earlier developmental expectations of children than African Caribbean caregivers.

As with Indo Caribbean caregivers, African Caribbean parents emphasize obedience and compliance, unquestionable respect for and appropriate behavior in the presence of adults (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine et al., 2011; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016; Wilson et al., 2003). These expectations seem to resonate with parents across the Caribbean; 100% of parents in Antigua, 96% in St. Kitts, 85% in St. Lucia, 94% in St. Vincent, 82% in Barbados, and 95% in Jamaica believed that children should be obedient to their parents (Grant, Leo-Rhynie, & Alexander, 1983). A study of a diverse group of Guyanese parents also showed that they chose obedience as the most desirable socialization orientation for children (Wilson et al., 2003), and Dominican parents opined that childhood competence is composed of obedience to adults, academic ability, proficiency in chores, getting along with peers, and engaging in activities in the broader community and school (Dubrow, 1999).

There is much more variability in the parenting practices and styles of Caribbean families than has been acknowledged in the past by Caribbean scholars of the family. This diversity is manifested in several studies. Jamaican mothers were found to engage in more indulgence and

place greater emphasis on autonomy in higher socioeconomic status families (Ricketts & Anderson, 2008) and 53% of low-income Jamaican fathers, 60% of lower-middle income fathers, and 90% of middle/upper-middle income fathers used an authoritative parenting style, according to their children. Furthermore, 20% of lower-income fathers, 15% of lower-middle income fathers, and no middle/upper-income fathers were assessed by their children to have used an authoritarian parenting style (Ramkissoon, 2001). Families with more income and higher educational achievement appear more adaptable and flexible in their approach to parenting than those who have less income and lower educational achievement (Payne & Furnham, 1992; Samms-Vaughan, 2005). For instance, Barbadian parents with non-manual occupations showed more intellectual nurturance while those employed in manual occupations and those who were unemployed displayed more restrictive, controlling behaviors through guilt and suppression of children's feelings (Anderson & Payne, 1994; Payne & Furnham, 1992).

In a series of studies, Roopnarine and his colleagues (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2017) found that families from diverse ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago and Indo-Caribbean mothers in Guyana demonstrated high levels of warmth similar to ethnic groups in other parts of the world (e.g., China, Sweden, Jordan, Kenya, United States) but they also used quite a bit of control during parenting. Across Indo Caribbean, African Caribbean, and mixed-ethnic families in Trinidad and Tobago, parents used both positive parenting and high levels of rule setting during parenting. The use of both warmth and control seems to be more characteristic of Caribbean parenting at this juncture than the authoritarian parenting style (Roopnarine & Jin, 2016). In a subsequent study, mothers across Barbados, Belize, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Jamaica, and Suriname used low to moderate levels of cognitive engagement (e.g., book reading, counting) with preschool-aged children. Again, there was noticeable variation across countries with the

highest level of cognitive stimulation witnessed among parents in Barbados and the lowest levels found in Suriname and the Dominican Republic (Dede Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017).

In his examination of depressive symptoms among adolescents in Caribbean countries, Lipps et al. (2012) reported that 38.1% of parents in Jamaica, 38.2% in the Bahamas, 28.6 % in St, Vincent, and 32.7% in St Kitts and Nevis used the authoritative style of parenting, whereas 17.6% in Jamaica, 20.7% in the Bahamas, 23.2% in St, Vincent, and 18.5% in St. Kitts and Nevis used the authoritarian style. There were distressingly high rates of negligent parenting across the four countries with parents in St. Vincent showing the highest levels of negligent parenting (29.7%). Permissive parenting was highest in St. Kitts and Nevis (21.6%) and lowest in Jamaica (17.6%).

Physical Punishment

In addition to expectations of obedience and respect from children, Caribbean caregivers largely believe that discipline in the form of physical punishment imparted with warmth and attention is quite appropriate in childrearing (Roopnarine, 2004). Thus, in most Caribbean countries, parents consider physical punishment as an essential aspect of good parenting and a central component of childrearing (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). Non-physical alternatives are seen as abandoning discipline, giving authority to children, or allowing children to get out of control (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). Parents often caution that to "Spare the rod is to spoil the child" favoring harsher and stricter forms of discipline (Roopnarine et al., 2005). Leo-Rhynie and Brown (2013) point out that Caribbean parents usually discipline to express disapproval of behaviors they do not want, and rarely invoke physical or verbal methods such as praise or reward that reinforce desirable behaviors. As a result, expected behaviors are not often acknowledged. Praise or rewards are infrequent, and according to one survey, only 23.6 percent

of children received praise for doing something that pleased the parent (Leo-Rhynie, 1997).

Among some children, the absence of harsh punishment was how parents most often

demonstrated affection or approval (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013).

A survey conducted by Anderson and Payne (1994) asked 10 and 11-year-old children in

Barbados "how often" they were flogged. A staggering 82.4% of boys and 85.4% of girls

reported from "very often" to "a few times" with only a small number of children indicating they

had "never been flogged". Beating with a stick or belt or using verbal scorn were standard

disciplinary methods implemented both in the home and at school. In the same study,

researchers found that 40 percent of boys 10-14 years old and 51 percent of girls from the same

age group approved of flogging/caning five to seven year-old children. Parents indicated they

most often punished children because of disrespect shown to parents and elders, dishonesty and

lying, and general disobedience. They disapproved of physical punishment that cut the skin or

left scars.

One of the most extensive examinations of beliefs about and the use of physical

punishment of two to 14 year-olds in 34 low- and middle-income countries indicated that

Caribbean parents have some of highest rates of physical punishment in the world (Cappa &

Khan, 2011). In most Caribbean countries, in excess of 70 percent of families endorsed the use

of physical punishment as an appropriate disciplinary strategy and most used it routinely in

childrearing. In a separate study, Guyanese mothers of Indian ancestry used diverse physical

punishment approaches with preschool-aged children: 60 percent used spanking, 30 percent

slapped children, 30 percent shook children, and 19 percent made children stand for a long time.

There were no significant gender-of-child differences in the types of physical punishment

administered to children (Roopnarine et al., 2013).

Are beliefs and practices about the use of physical punishment changing in Caribbean cultural communities? From interviews conducted with parents in Jamaica, Brown and Johnson (2008) discovered that parents desired to change how they were parenting their children. Upon reflection, some parents avoided using corporal punishment because it was present in their childhoods and others reasoned that they should use other methods of discipline such as explanation, which was reportedly absent in their childhoods (Brown & Johnson, 2008). This may suggest a willingness on the part of parents/caregivers to adjust harsh methods of discipline in the socialization of young children. This attitude of the need for change in disciplinary practices was more prevalent among younger parents but led to confusion regarding alternative methods of discipline across generations or between parents (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). Older individuals had a hardened position about physical punishment and its use in everyday social transactions with children.

There is evidence that Caribbean parents use diverse disciplinary methods during childrearing, but harsh practices remain in place. Dede Yildirim and Roopnarine (2017) examined the use of physical punishment, positive discipline, psychological aggression, and harsh physical punishment in Belize, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Jamaica, and Suriname. Nearly half of (47.7%) mothers in Belize, 36.8% of mothers in Dominican Republic, 34.4% of mothers in Guyana, 58.1% of mothers in Jamaica, and 52.1% of mothers in Suriname used physical punishment (mainly spanking) but most also used explanations with preschool-aged children (from 88.6% in Belize to 67.9% in Dominican Republic). Smaller numbers of parents across the five countries used harsh physical punishment such as hitting with an object (from in 15.8% in Dominican Republic to 28% in Suriname).

This combination of the use of harsh and non-harsh disciplinary practices aside, parents in Jamaica and Suriname appear more similar in their disciplinary practices than parents in other Caribbean countries. In Suriname, which has diverse ethnic groups as in Trinidad and Tobago, the use of harsh physical punishment among parents deserves more attention. In rural Nickerie, Suriname, Van den Berg, Visser, Lamers-Winkelman, & Graafsma (2011) found that 61.2% of children were subjected to at least one form of abuse, with a prevalence of 33.2% for physical violence and 37.1% for psychological aggression in the home environment. In another study, 86.8% of Surinamese adolescents experienced physical punishment, psychological aggression or neglect (Van der Kooij, Nieuwendam, Bipat, Boer, Lindauer, & Graafsma, 2015). Among Jamaican adolescents (13-19 years), 77.6% were subjected to physical punishment (Smith, Springer, & Barrett, 2011). Adolescents rejected such treatment and suggested that talking to them would be a more productive alternative to teach them appropriate behaviors (Van der Kooij, Nieuwendam, Moerman, Boer, Lindauer, Roopnarine, & Graafsma, 2017; Van der Kooij, Nieuwendam, Bipat, Boer, Lindauer, & Graafsma, 2015).

In summary,, despite the fact that all English-speaking countries in the Caribbean ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child which indicates that States shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child (paraphrase, Article 19, 2), physical punishment and the verbal denigration of children are common in Caribbean countries today. The use of physical punishment outside of the home, especially in schools, continues to be widespread (Caselles & Miller, 2000; Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff, 2010; Lansford & Deater-

Deckard, 2012; Roopnarine et al., 2014; Scott, 2010; UNICEF, 2010, 2014). Twelve out of

fourteen states (87.7%) within the Caribbean allow corporal punishment in school (Global

Initiative, 2016) and none has banned it from the home (Global Initiative, 2016). Whether this is

a vestige of the violence and oppression that Caribbean families experienced during most of their

history is not clear. A long history of oppression, Family instability, poor economic conditions,

parenting stress, and entrenched beliefs about governing children's lives may well play a role in

parental preference for harsh disciplinary practices.

Parent-Child Relationship and Childhood Outcomes

Three important meta-analyses (Ferguson, 2013; Gershoff et al., 2002; Gershoff &

Grogan-Kaylor, 2016) conducted over two decades indicate that physical punishment has

deleterious effects on various aspects of childhood development in developed societies such as

the United States. For instance, an analysis of 88 studies indicates that physical punishment is

associated with immediate compliance ($d = 1.18$), aggression ($d = .36$), risk of child abuse ($d =$

.69), internalization of moral standards ($d = -.33$), mental health ($d = -.49$), delinquent and

antisocial behavior ($d = .42$), and quality of parent-child relationship ($d = -.58$). Later meta-

analyses (Ferguson, 2013; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Paolucci & Violato, 2004) showed

similar negative associations between physical punishment and childhood outcomes.

Within the international parenting literature, it is suggested that certain parenting beliefs

and practices may moderate and/or mediate the associations between harsh treatment of children

and children's behavioral difficulties. For example, among mothers in China, India, Italy, Kenya,

Philippines, and Thailand, higher use of physical discipline was associated with greater

behavioral difficulties but parental beliefs about physical punishment were found to moderate the

associations between physical punishment and children's behaviors problems (Lansford et al.,

2005). In other words, perceived normativeness of physical discipline did influence the associations between use of physical discipline and childhood outcomes. On the basis of these findings, Lansford et al. (2005) proposed that in cultural communities where physical punishment is embraced, the effects of physical punishment on children's social development might be lessened.

Comparatively speaking, the parenting literature in the Caribbean is relatively limited and there has been little attention paid to early patterns of socialization and childhood outcomes. In the national assessment of parenting practices in Trinidad and Tobago mentioned earlier, maternal physical punishment had direct negative associations with behavioral difficulties in preschool-aged children across Indo Caribbean, African Caribbean, and mixed-ethnic families (Roopnarine et al., 2013). Although ethnic socialization mediated the association between positive parenting and children's prosocial behaviors, it did not mediate the associations between physical punishment and children's behavioral difficulties across ethnic groups. In related work, maternal harshness of physical punishment had a direct negative association with preschoolers' prosocial behaviors in Guyanese families. In addition, maternal warmth did not moderate the association between harshness of physical punishment and children's prosocial behaviors in Guyanese preschoolers (Roopnarine et al., 2013b). Maternal warmth did not moderate the associations between physical punishment and children's behavioral skills in two other studies conducted in the United States either (Lee et al., 2013; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2015).

A cross-country analysis of the associations between physical punishment, positive discipline, psychological aggression, harsh physical punishment and children's literacy skills in Belize, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Jamaica, and Suriname produced mixed results. Only in the Dominican Republic and Guyana did physical punishment have a negative association with

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children's literacy skills. Positive discipline had a positive association with children's literacy skills. Surprisingly, harsh physical punishment (e.g., shook child, hit child with an object, slapped child on face) was not associated with children's literacy skills in any of these countries. The lack of uniformity in associations between physical punishment and children's literacy skills across countries is puzzling. It is possible that inconsistency may be due to the nature in which punishment and literacy skills were assessed in the UNICEF-MICS data.

Summary

With Gershoff et al's (2002) initial and follow-up meta-analyses on physical discipline and subsequent research in this area (Caselles & Milner, 2000; Gershoff, 2010; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Khaleque & Rohner, 2012; Lansford et al., 2010; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; McLoyd, Kaplan Hardaway, & Wood, 2007; UNICEF, 2010) the negative consequences of physical punishment have received considerable attention throughout the world. Recent research within the Caribbean region (Krishnakumar et al., 2014; Roopnarine et al., 2013a; Roopnarine et al., 2013b; Roopnarine et al., 2014) has also yielded valuable empirical data on the topic. However, a vacuum exists when it comes to data on physical punishment and childhood development on two issues in particular. First, there have been few studies of fathers' use of physical punishment and childhood outcomes across the world. In the Caribbean region, where the lack of paternal investment and involvement with young children has been a concern for decades (see Anderson & Bailey, 2015; Chevannes, 1999; Roopnarine, 2013a), data on paternal treatment of children can assist in the formulation of policies to deal with challenging issues related to parenting and family instability. Second, with few exceptions (e.g., MacKenzie et al., 2013; Straus &, Paschall, 2009), most of the emphasis has been on physical punishment and children's social skills and psychological adjustment. Much more needs to be done to

establish links between all forms of discipline and children's cognitive development in the Caribbean and other regions of the world. Accordingly, this study hopes to help fill this void on maternal and paternal physical punishment and children's cognitive skills while establishing whether maternal and paternal warmth moderate the associations between the severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's early social and academic skills in Trinidad and Tobago.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Diverse theoretical and conceptual frameworks have been utilized to examine the influence of parent-child socialization on childhood development across societies (Bornstein, 2013; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Gershoff et al., 2010; Lansford et al., 2010; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Mistry, Chaudhuri & Diez, 2003; Rogoff, 2003; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016; Super & Harkness, 1986). The current study was guided by propositions within theories and models on parenting and early childhood socialization that emphasize parenting beliefs, practices, and goals. Because parenting beliefs, practices, and goals are embedded and shaped within environmental and cultural settings (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016), scholars have begun to pay more attention to the cross-cultural meaning of different parenting styles and cultural pathways to childhood development (Alyahri & Goodman, 2008; Oshio, Gerard & Roe, 2009; Roopnarine et al., 2005; Sim & Ong, 2005; Smith et al., 2011).

It is generally agreed that parents determine which beliefs, practices, and goals are appropriate for the socialization of children within their cultural communities (Chen & Liu, 2011; Pinderhuges et al., 2000; Roopnarine et al., 2015; Super & Harkness, 1986). Thus, certain beliefs, practices, and goals are accepted over others and agreed upon by members within communities as adequate for childrearing (Super & Harkness, 1997, 2002). Within Caribbean cultural communities, low-income families often face unpredictable economic conditions, persistent levels of parenting stress, instability in mating unions, and high levels of internal and external migration. Furthermore, the combination of positive and harsh socialization practices employed in childrearing among Caribbean parents do not map on to the propositions purported in parenting frameworks and theories (e.g., Baumrind, 1967) primarily conceptualized and

substantiated with European and European American families. There are diverse approaches to parenting in the Caribbean that may require more indigenous interpretations of their meaning for childhood development (Roopnarine et al., 2014).

This study tapped into the disciplinary practices of three major ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago who have lived alongside each other and have shared cultural and childrearing practices for some time now. Although there exists some overlap in beliefs and practices regarding childrearing, such as multiple caregiving in extended kinship households, belief in obedience and respect for older members, and harsh discipline (Roopnarine et al., 2005), there remain distinct differences in childrearing between ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago. These differences are rooted in sociocultural factors tied to ancestral cultures (see Roopnarine et al., 2005). The long history of oppression and inherent differences in cultural and religious practices across Indo Caribbean, African Caribbean, and mixed-ethnic families makes it challenging to choose conceptual frameworks and models that are heuristically suitable for grounding this study. For instance, the retentionist thesis that has received attention among Caribbean scholars speaks to practices that have been held over from the ancestral cultures post-colonialism, while the creolization thesis lauds the borrowing of cultural practices between ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago through mere exposure and residential propinquity (Escayg, 2014). Neither thesis has adequately delineated what has been borrowed or retained across ethnic groups. The goal for this study was to identify conceptual frameworks that focus on cultural variations and pathways of associations between parenting and childhood development, but at the same time have been used to guide research in diverse cultural communities in developing societies at different levels of economic development.

Based on the aforementioned concerns, this study relied on three frameworks that speak to cultural processes and parenting practices in diverse cultural communities around the world. While their merits for interpreting family socialization practices in other parts of the world have been debated, these frameworks have been used to interpret Caribbean childrearing practices in certain studies (e.g., Rohner et al., 19) and some of their properties have been identified as having value in exploring pancultural processes in human behaviors. Accordingly, the major tenets of IPARTheory (Rohner, 2016), the developmental niche model (Super & Harkness, 1986, 1997, 2002), and the parenting styles framework (Baumrind, 1967, 1972, 1996) were chosen to assist in framing the questions and hypotheses for this study. The basic properties of these frameworks and their relevance to this study are outlined next.

Baumrind's Parenting Styles Framework

Baumrind's (1967) conceptual model of parenting prototypes (authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive) are recognized widely in parenting research across the world (see Li & Lamb, 2015; Sorkhabi, 2005). Like the central elements of IPARTheory, Baumrind's parenting typologies identify warmth and control as major elements of authoritative or optimal parenting and as producing the best social and cognitive outcomes in children. However, parenting research on groups outside of European and European American heritage cultures suggest variations in parenting styles as they relate to positive child outcomes (see Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar, & Davidson, 2013b; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2016). This was especially so among Caribbean families where social and cognitive skills in children were not significantly associated with varying levels of warmth and control (Roopnarine et al., 2014).

As scholarly inquiry into childrearing practices in different ethnic groups across the world grows, there is a need for alternative or conceptual frameworks that capture the hybrid of authoritarian/punitive control mixed with indulgence and protectiveness that is observed in so many Caribbean families and those in other cultural communities (for example, the Chinese and Indian cultures) that adopt a governing or more managerial style in parenting (see Li & Lamb, 2015; Saraswathi & Dutta, 2010). For now, Baumrind's authoritarian style that is characterized by cold and detached parenting attributes may help explain the connection between harsh parenting and children's social and academic skills in Trinidad and Tobago.

The Developmental Niche

The developmental niche model emphasizes the child's culturally constructed environment. This is a model that can be generalized to consider factors that influence children's development within a given culture. The developmental niche consists of three primary subcategories/components: the physical and social settings in which the child lives, culturally regulated customs of childcare and child-rearing, and the psychology of the caretaker (including parents and others such as teachers or childcare providers) (Super & Harkness, 1997). The three dimensions operate together as a system yet each is functionally embedded in aspects of the larger culture (Super & Harkness, 1986; 1997; 2002). In discussing parental beliefs and practices, Super and Harkness (2002) introduced the term parental psychology, which they describe as cultural scripts (an organized set of ideas that are shared by members of a cultural group) that parents hold regarding children, families, and themselves as parents. Parental psychology or ethnotheories about childrearing guide the socialization of children (Super & Harkness, 1986; 1997). In the case of this study, ethnotheories would be the deeply entrenched beliefs about the role of physical punishment in childrearing. The physical environment is seen

as providing both opportunities that instigate development and hazards that can undermine optimal development. Customs reflect cultural practices (e.g., co-sleeping) that are a part of the cultural community.

Even though parental beliefs about physical punishment were not assessed in this study, mothers and fathers were asked to reflect on the fairness doctrine in punishing children. The developmental niche model provides an additional lens through which the data from this study can be interpreted. For example, the normativeness principle has been applied to interpret the impact of physical punishment in other developing societies such as India and the Philippines (Lansford et al., 2005). As discussed by Deater-Deckard and Dodge (1997), the negative effects of physical punishment on children may be reduced in cultural contexts in which this practice is accepted by adults. However, some studies provide evidence to the contrary. The impact of physical punishment seems to have direct associations with children's social behaviors in cultural communities where physical punishment seems normative (Lee et al., 2013; Dede Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2015). Again, this study sheds some more light on the associations between two aspects of physical punishment in a cultural community in which physical punishment in highly accepted.

Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection Theory (IPARTheory)

IPARTheory has been used to guide research in 22 countries at various stages of economic development across the world for several decades (e.g., India, Kuwait, St. Kitts and Nevis, Guyana, Jamaica, Jordan, Thailand, Sweden, United States, Philippines, Kenya, Colombia, Egypt). In several meta-analyses (e.g., Khaleque & Rohner, 2012; Rohner & Khaleque, 2011), the theory appears adequate for assessing parental warmth and harshness and social adjustment, the major goal of this study. The initial focus of the IPARTheory was on

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parental acceptance and rejection (Rohner, 1975, 1986; Rohner & Rohner, 1981). In 1999, there

was a modification to the interpersonal acceptance and rejection paradigm (see Rohner, 2016).

The key assumption behind the original Parent Acceptance-Rejection Theory (PARTheory) was

that parental rejection was linked to adjustment difficulties (Rohner, 2016). The paradigm shift

incorporated a life course perspective which states that perceptions of rejection by an attachment

figure at any point in the life cycle is related to personality characteristics outlined in the initial

model. The interpersonal aspect of the theory now focuses on all forms of acceptance-rejection

within the context of attachment relationships with diverse individuals across the life span

(parent, peer, sibling, teacher, grandparent, caregiver, intimate partners, etc.) From the inception

of the IPARTheory paradigm (Khaleque, 2001; Rohner & Khaleque, 2011), studies across the

world have provided overwhelming support for the theory's underlying assumptions (Chyung &

Lee, 2008; Khaleque, Rohner & Laukala, 2008; Parmar & Rohner, 2005; Parmar, Ibrahim, &

Rohner, 2008; Ripoll-Nunex & Alvarez, 2008; Rohner, Uddin, Shamsunaher, & Khaleque, 2008;

Roopnarine et al., 2013; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2014; also see meta-analyses, Ali, Khaleque, &

Rohner, 2015; Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Khaleque, 2012; Khaleque &

Rohner, 2012).

The major tenets of Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection Theory (IPARTheory) serve as a

foundation for the current study because it focuses on warmth and harshness, two major

constructs assessed in the present effort. However, only the basic principles of the theory are

discussed here. IPARTheory considered an evidence-based theory of socialization (Ahmed,

Rohner, Khaleque, & Gielen, 2010; Ali, Khaleque, & Rohner, 2015; Khaleque, 2013; Khaleque

& Rohner, 2012; Putnick et al., 2014; Ripoll-Nunez & Rohner, 2006), (Rohner, 2016) focuses on

the effects of acceptance-rejection in childhood (Rohner, 2016). At the core of IPARTheory is

the continuum of acceptance (warmth, affection, care, comfort, concern, nurturance, support) and

rejection (absence, withdrawal of positive feeling/behavior and the presence of hurtful

behavior/effects) (Rohner, 2016). The warmth continuum assesses the quality of affectional

bonds between individuals (children and parents/caregivers, etc.) and the mechanisms (physical,

verbal, and symbolic behaviors) people use to express their caring or lack of caring about other

individuals who are emotionally close to them (Rohner, 2016).

The strength of IPARTheory lies in its fundamental focus on the universality of the

importance of warmth for healthy social adjustment and the negative consequences of hostility

and rejection on human development regardless of the cultural context. As such, this attempt to

assess the association between the perceived fairness and severity of physical punishment and

children's social and academic skills and the potential moderating role of warmth on these

associations provides a further test of some of the central attributes of IPARTheory at an early

stage of the life cycle: the formative preschool years.

Interface of Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptual Frameworks

This study's research questions and hypotheses were formulated on the basis of key

theoretical perspectives and concepts relevant to understanding the socialization of children

within a cultural milieu. These frameworks recognize that parental beliefs and practices

(Baumrind, 1967; Rohner, 1975, 1986; Super & Harkness, 1986, 1997) provide a basis from

which children are culturally socialized (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine & Yildirim,

2016). Baumrind's (1967) pioneering research focused on multiple dimensions of parenting to

classify parents on dimensions of responsiveness (warmth) or the quality of parent-child

interactions and demandingness (control) or the nature of parental discipline (Power, 2013).

Likewise, at the heart of IPARTheory is the importance of parental warmth and rejection. The

present study draws upon these dimensions in its conceptualization of the importance of parental warmth in the context of physical discipline. However, an important aspect of one of Baumrind's early studies is the exclusion of the African-American families because they (Baumrind, 1972, p. 261) showed patterns consistent with authoritarian parenting. In her sample, African-American girls with authoritarian parents were more assertive and independent compared to those with European American parents (Baumrind, 1972, p. 263). Baumrind attributed this to the level of responsibility (including the care of younger siblings) that young African-American girls are socialized into within the family. This is an example of the complex way in which parenting beliefs and styles within the Caribbean region shape child development and are influenced by environmental and cultural adaptations that may be similar to other groups that have faced long periods of oppression.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Relying on tenets within interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory (Rohner, 2016), the developmental niche model (Super & Harkness, 1986, 1997, 2002), and Baumrind's parenting styles typologies (Baumrind, 1967, 1972, 1997), this study sought to answer the following questions regarding physical punishment and childhood outcomes within the twin island nation of Trinidad and Tobago.

(a)   What are the predominant modes of physical punishment that mothers and fathers use during everyday socialization with preschool-aged boys and girls in Trinidad and Tobago?

(b)   Does paternal warmth moderate the associations between severity of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of preschoolers' social and academic skills in Trinidad and Tobago?

(c)   Does paternal warmth moderate the associations between fairness of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of preschoolers' social and academic skills in Trinidad and Tobago?

(d)   Does maternal warmth moderate the associations between severity of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of preschoolers' social and academic skills in Trinidad and Tobago?

(e)   Does maternal warmth moderate the associations between fairness of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of preschooler's social and academic skills in Trinidad and Tobago?

Based on theorizing on gender socialization practices and research on different activities that mothers and fathers engage in with children in Caribbean cultural communities (see Anderson & Bailey, 2015; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Samms-Vaughan, 2005), it was hypothesized that because mothers spend far more time with children than other caregivers, they will be more likely to use different modes of physical punishment with children than will fathers. Furthermore, based on more recent studies on physical punishment and childhood social and academic skills in the United States (Lee et al., 2013; MacKenzie et al., 2013) and the Caribbean (Roopnarine et al., 2013a), warmth is not expected to moderate the associations between fairness and justness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills for either mother or father. Instead, it is expected that mothers' and fathers' perceptions of fairness and justness of physical punishment will have more direct associations with children's social and academic skills.

Chapter 4: Methods

Participants

This dissertation is based on a data set on family socialization practices in the Caribbean country of Trinidad and Tobago collected in 2007-2008 (Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar, & Davidson, 2013b). The participants were 191 mothers and 179 fathers and their preschool-aged children from lower- to-upper middle-income families in four communities in northern, central, and southern Trinidad. The twin-island English-speaking nation of Trinidad and Tobago is located in the southern Caribbean just above Venezuela. Trinidad and Tobago has a population of about 1.3 million people. Because of its colonial history of slavery and indentured servitude, its population represents a unique blend of ethnic/cultural groups. The island is comprised of 35% Indo Caribbeans, 34% African Caribbeans, 15% people of mixed- ethnic groups, 8% mixed-African/East Indian ethnic group, and 8% unspecified or other ethnic group (CIA World Factbook, retrieved Feb 7, 2017, from http://www.cia.gov/index.htm). The median age is 35.5 years (male – 35 years, females – 36 years) with a literacy rate for the total population of 99%. The Human Development Index indicates that Trinidad and Tobago has a global ranking of 64, which places it as "high human development". Accordingly, the country is considered a high-middle developing country (UNDP, 2016).

Among the 191 mothers and 179 fathers, 17.9% of fathers self-identified as of mixed-ethnic background (includes those who self-identified as Creole), 60.1% as of Indo-Caribbean background (includes those who self-identified as Indo-Caribbean, East Indian, or Indian), and 20.1% as of African-Caribbean background (includes those who self-identified as African, and African-Trinidadian). Three fathers who self-identified as European/Caucasian were dropped from the sample (see Table 2). Seventy-three percent of parents identified their relational status

as married. The average age of mothers was 31.59 years and for fathers it was 36.19 years (see

Table 3).

Table 2
Sociodemographic Characteristics

	%
Child's gender (female)	43.4
Father's ethnicity	
Mixed	17.3
Indo-Caribbean	30.9
Afro-Caribbean	11.3
African	5.9
East Indian	14.9
Indian	14.3
European/Caucasian	1.8
Creole	0.6
Afro-Trinidadian	2.9
Married	73.7
Mother's ethnicity	
Mixed	13.0
Indo-Caribbean	31.4
Afro-Caribbean	15.4
African	3.6
East Indian	17.8
Indian	14.8
Creole	0.6
Afro-Trinidadian	3.6

Table 3
Participants' age

	Mean (SD)	Min-max
Child's age	3.86 (.64)	2-5
Father's age	36.19 (5.94)	22-59
Mother's age	31.59 (5.59)	16-49

Of the families who participated, 62.9% of mothers completed high school or indicated

they had some form of trade/technical school training and 22.7% completed University or post-

graduate training, while 63% of fathers reported completing high school or trade/technical

school, 21.5% completed University or post-graduate training (see Table 3). Eighty percent of

the respondents reported their family incomes to be below 20,000 Trinidad and Tobago Dollars

(TTD) per month (US$ 600 at the time of study) and 10% of families had incomes between

20,000 and 30,000 TTD dollars. Less than 12% of families earned more than 31,000 TTD

dollars per year (see Table 4).

Table 4

Parents' Education and Family Income

	%
Father's education	
Primary school	15.5
High school	32.6
Trade/technical school	30.4
University	11.0
Post-graduate/ professional school	10.5
Mother's education	
Primary school	14.4
High school	39.2
Trade/technical school	23.7
University	12.4
Post-graduate/ professional school	10.3
Family income	
Below 20,000 (TTD)	78.9
20,000 -30,000	9.9
31,000 -40,000	5.3
41,000 -50,000	2.6
Above 50,000	3.3

Fifty-seven percent of the children in the study were boys and 43% were girls with a

combined mean age of 3.86 years (SD=.64, R=2-5 years). The children attended a variety of

early childhood education programs funded by several sources (e.g., private tuition, community

organizations such as Servol, and government agencies such as the Ministry of Education).

Currently, there are over 160 early childhood centers approved by the Ministry of Education to

provide early childhood care and education (ECCE) (tt.connect.gov.tt). Most of the programs

are of a drill and practice nature where learning academic skills (e.g., letter and word skills, counting, tracing letters, memorizing factual information) is emphasized (see Logie & Roopnarine, 2013; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2018). For the most part, play-based learning is eschewed in most early childhood settings. Student-teacher ratios range from 1:14 to 1:24. At the time of the study, a majority of teachers were university graduates, or they were enrolled in early childhood education training programs at tertiary institutions or off-shore early childhood training programs.

The sample was drawn from four geographic locations chosen because of their ethnic make-up and socioeconomic diversity. Families were contacted through the directors of seven nursery schools. A brief description of the study and information concerning the mother's, father's and child's role in it was distributed to parents by the head teachers of the nursery schools. Parents conveyed their willingness to participate to the head teachers. Parents were not compensated for their participation. Teachers were also given a brief description of the study detailing their role in it. Of the families contacted, 66% agreed to participate. The study received Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from Syracuse University and the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago.

Procedures

Mothers, fathers and/or primary caregivers were asked to complete three questionnaires in their homes – the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ/CONTROL - Child Short Form) (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005), the Physical Punishment Questionnaire (PPQ) (see Rohner & Khaleque, 2005), and a sociodemographic sheet. At the time of the study, 93% of the parents reported being in a relationship (married, long-term commitment, or common law) and 84% of the children lived with both biological mother and father (see Appendix A). Data were

collected from both parents and were analyzed together and separately for mothers and fathers. Parents were instructed not to converse with each other while completing the questionnaires. After some training, preschool teachers administered the Child Development Index Card. This instrument was developed by the Ministry of Education in Guyana (GNEP, updated) to assess children's cognitive and social skills in particular domains. All instruments were administered in English and a pencil and paper format was employed.

Sociodemographic Questionnaire. Mothers and fathers filled out a sociodemographic questionnaire that asked for information on parent(s)/caregiver's age, child's age, target child's birth order, parent/caregiver educational level, family income, type of employment of mother and father, marital status, and an estimate of family standard of living.

Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ/CONTROL – Child). Mothers and fathers filled out the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ/CONTROL – Short Form) (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). This instrument consists of 29 items that are scored on a 4 point Likert-type scale 4 being (almost always true) to 1 (almost never true). It measures adults' perceptions of parenting practices focusing on degrees of parental warmth (care, affection, comfort, concern, nurturance, support) and rejection (absence, withdrawal of positive feeling/behavior, and the presence of hurtful behavior effects). These behaviors are viewed on a continuum, with warmth at one end and rejection at the other (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). Examples from the 29 items are: I hug my child when (s)he is good, I pay attention to my child, I make my child feel wanted or needed, I hit my child even when (s)he does not deserve it, I hurt my child's feelings, and I say unkind things to my child. In a nine-country study of parental acceptance-rejection conducted by Putnick, Bornstein, Lansford, Chang, Deater-Deckard, Di Giunta, and Bombi (2012), the parental acceptance-rejection scale

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yielded an alpha of .75 for maternal warmth. The PARQ is available in over 40 languages and

dialects and has been used in numerous studies worldwide (see meta-analysis by Khaleque &

Rohner, 2012; Rohner et al. 2016). A consideration of studies that used the PARQ indicates the

instrument has robust reliability (α = .76) and validity indices (Convergent and Discriminant) in

multi-ethnic and cross-cultural comparative research across 66 studies in 22 countries (Khaleque

& Rohner, 2012; Rohner et al., 2016). Because of the widespread use of the PARQ in

cultural/ethnic groups in India, China, the middle-east, Turkey, the Caribbean, and Europe,

(Khaleque & Rohner, 2013; Putnick et al., 2012; Rohner et al., 2016; Rohner & Khaleque, 2013;

Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar, & Davidson, 2013) and its psychometric properties in these

wide cultural settings, it was deemed appropriate for use in Trinidad and Tobago. This

instrument has a coefficient alpha aggregated across all versions of .89 that provides assurance of

its internal consistency (Khaleque & Rohner, 2012). In this study, only the warmth dimension

was used as a moderator. Eight items measured the warmth dimension (e.g., Treats me gently

and with kindness). A total score was obtained for warmth. The Cronbach's alpha from the

PARQ/Control-Child for maternal warmth was .76 and paternal warmth was .68.

Physical Punishment Questionnaire (PPQ). Each parent completed a Physical

Punishment Questionnaire (PPQ) (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). The questionnaire was developed

on the basis that physical punishment is used across cultural settings during childhood

socialization (see Gershoff et al., 2010; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylon, 2016; Khaleque & Rohner,

2011). This instrument asks parents to report on physical punishment on ten dimensions that

includes parental warmth, and severity and fairness of punishment. Items utilized for assessing

the severity of physical punishment are: How hard is the punishment? How often is the child

punished? The items used to assess fairness and severity included: How fair do you believe the

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punishment is? How hard do you believe the punishment is? The degree of fairness is scored on

a Likert-type scale format from 1 "almost never" to 4 "almost always." The degree of severity is

scored from 1 "only once/twice" to 5 "very often."   Additionally, on the PPQ parents are asked

whether or not they used 15 specific modes of punishment (spank, slap, shove, pull, kick, beat

(severely), hit/whip (not severely), pull hair, twist ear, kneel on objects, stand for a long time,

pinch, and shake) (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005).   These behaviors were scored 0 "never

experienced" or 1 "experienced at least once (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). In prior work, the ten

dimensions of the PPQ showed moderately good internal consistency (e.g., severity r =.62;

fairness r =.61).

Child Development Index Card. Developed by the Ministry of Education in Guyana,

this instrument reflects the student's early abilities in the following areas: academic performance,

conduct, behavior, and social skills. This tool is indigenous to the Caribbean and was determined

as more reliable than standardized instruments developed in North America and Europe.

Indigenous instruments (Berry, 2017; Berry et al., 2011) contain culturally suitable items that

could help in more accurately addressing cultural, developmental pathways to childhood

development (Greenfield, 2003). The scale was developed and tested as part of the national

preschool education program in Guyana (Harding, 2013). Its construction was grounded in

neoconstructivist principles of student learning (e.g., Weikart & Shweinhart, 2013).

The child's teacher was asked to complete the Child Development Index Card in three

terms per year for two years. Teachers experience in completing developmental assessment was

essential; each had several years of experience administering developmental assessments and

utilizing this and other early childhood development assessment tools. This instrument contains

34 items, 9 on psychomotor, 13 on socio-moral, and 12 on intellectual functioning. The twelve

items on intellectual functioning were used to assess the child's academic skills. Responses to

items are assessed on a 5-point Likert-type scale with 1 = weak to 5 = very good. A factor

analysis conducted on the instrument showed that all 12 items loaded on a single factor (see

Table 5). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .95 and the Child

Development Index Card had a Cronbach's alpha of .92. An average of each child's academic

skills was calculated based on all 12 items for each of the three terms in both academic years.

Assessing the child's academic development throughout the two years was not a focus of this

research therefore all six data points were collapsed in the factor analysis. The mean for all

children on the 12 items was 40.96 with a standard deviation of 5.72.

Table 5
Factor Analysis of Academic Skills

Response to Oral Language	.733
Use of Oral Language	.694
Inter-personal Communication	.742
Symbolic Play and Imitation	.733
Creative Imagination	.763
Expression of Ideas and Thoughts	.735
Logical-Mathematical Thought	.791
Development of Written Expression	.651
Development of Concepts	.714
Forms and Artistic Expression	.748
Perceptive Abilities	.754
Displaying Memory and Attention	.683

Child Rating Questionnaire. Children's social skills were assessed by administering

the Child Rating Questionnaire (Roberts & Strayer, 1996). Teachers conducted these

assessments at least three months into the school year after preschoolers had adapted to the new

school environment. This 47-item questionnaire is rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 = not at

all characteristic to 5 = extremely characteristic and provides an overall assessment of children's

social skills in preschool. Because of the limited use of the Child Rating Questionnaire in

developing societies, the scale was subjected to a factor analysis. Researchers in previous studies

subjected the instrument to maximum likelihood factor analysis using oblimin rotation

(Roopnarine et al., 2013). In the Roopnarine, Jin, and Krishnakumar (2014) study, two distinct

factors emerged (prosocial skills, 38.5% and anger, 12.5%) explaining 50.5% of the variance.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin value was .86 and the Cronbach's alphas for prosocial skills and anger

were .92 and .73 respectively in their study (p. 274).

In this study, the Child Rating Questionnaire (CRQ) was also subjected to a factor

analysis. Items that did not load well (factor loadings < .30) were dropped from the analysis. A

total of 34 items loaded that resulted in the presence of two discrete constructs, prosocial skills,

and anger (see Table 6). The items that loaded on the two factors were summed to form total

scores for prosocial behaviors and anger. In this study, the mean for prosocial behaviors was

3.24 with a range from 1.44 to 4.96 and the mean for anger was 2.0 with a range from 1 to 4.83.

The Cronbach's alpha for prosocial behaviors was .956 and for anger it was .795.

Table 6
Factor Analysis of Social Skills

Social Skills	Loading
Prosocial	
If there is a fight or quarrel, tries to stop it.	.506
Invites bystanders to join in a game or activity	.612
Likes to socialize with others rather than be alone	.605
Goes to the help of someone who has been hurt	.755
Cares about other people	.725
Tries to be fair in games or activities	.695
Is warm and friendly to other children	.687
Is content and happy most of the time	.677
Shares toys, food or other materials with others.	.681
Settles into work or other activities quickly	.715
Is generous in donating own time or contributing toward purchase of gifts for others	.489
Can work easily in a small group	.713
Shows high levels of responsibility	.792
Is aware and considerate of the feelings of others.	.747
Offers to help people who are feeling sick or in trouble	.748

Responds in a positive way if someone else does something well	.636
Has good interpersonal social skills relates easily to others	.698
Volunteers to help clean up a mess someone else has made	.574
Is willing to seek help from others	.475
Is independent and not overly influenced by group activities	.557
Is generally sensitive and responsive to others' emotions	.667
Offers to help other people who are having difficulty with a task or activity	.715
Is generally cooperative	.767
Demonstrates good intellectual problem-solving skills	.682
Is well liked by other classmates	.748
Shows imagination or creativity in work or play	.704
Shows maturity for his or her age in actions and judgments	.655
Shows concern and sympathy for others feelings	.776
Anger	
Expresses negative feelings easily and appropriately	.503
Gets into fights or arguments frequently	.573
Is bossy	.558
Displays anger frequently and sometimes inappropriately	.540
Expresses anger or hostility directly	.583
Behaves aggressively with other children	.658

Analytic Strategies

To address the questions formulated for this study, multiple regression analysis was used to determine the moderating role of parental (maternal and paternal) warmth on the relationship between severity of physical punishment and children's social and intellectual functioning and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and intellectual functioning. To examine the moderating role of maternal warmth and paternal warmth on the association between parenting practices and children's academic skills, interaction terms were created and entered in the analyses following guidelines indicated by Aiken and West (1991) and Frazier, Tix, and Barron, (2004). Because of the extreme income disparities and educational attainment in Trinidad (Income Inequality retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.tt/business/2017-02-15/income-inequality-tt-issue-says-farrell, UNHD Report, 2016) and the normative practice of mate-shifting and nonresidential unions (Rodman, 1970; Roopnarine, Evans & Pant, 2011),

parental education and income, marital status, and ethnicity were entered in Model 1 as control variables. Next, parental warmth, perceptions of fairness and severity of punishment were entered as predictor variables in Model 2 and the interaction terms (fairness*warmth and severity*warmth) were entered in Model 3. At each step of the analysis, R square, F statistic, and F change values were assessed along with standardized beta coefficients (β), unstandardized coefficients (Beta), standard errors and probability values. Because there were no significant interaction terms, no further probing of the data was conducted.

Chapter 5: Results

To reiterate, this study explored three basic questions regarding the differential use of modes of physical punishment by mothers and fathers and the moderating role of parental warmth on the associations between the severity of physical punishment and the fairness of physical punishment and preschoolers' social and academic skills in Trinidad and Tobago. This chapter first presents data on the predominant modes of physical punishment that mothers and fathers engaged in during the everyday socialization of their preschool-aged children (Research question 1). Next, the relations between the parental and child variables are discussed which is followed by a presentation of the findings on the moderating role of parental warmth on the associations between paternal and maternal assessments of severity of physical punishment and fairness of punishment and teachers' assessments of children's social and cognitive skills. (Research questions 2 and 3).

Because of the diversity in the sociodemographic characteristics of the sample, it was necessary to determine whether there were differences between ethnic groups on parental warmth, severity of physical punishment, and fairness of physical punishment before conducting the regression analyses. A series of one-way analysis of variance conducted on the three parental variables for mothers and fathers separately indicated that there were no group main effects for mothers or fathers on measures of warmth, perceptions of fairness of physical punishment, and severity of physical punishment (all ps >.05). Accordingly, the data were combined for Indo Caribbean, African Caribbean, and Mixed-ethnic families for all analyses.

Modes of Physical Punishment

Mothers and fathers were asked to indicate whether they used the different types of physical punishment included in the PAQ. The percentages of mothers and fathers who used the

different modes of physical punishment are displayed in Table 7. As can be seen in this table,

mothers and fathers employed a wide range of physical punishment approaches that vary in their

intensity. The most predominant modes of physical punishment by mothers and fathers were

spanking (over 75%), slapping (about 50% of mothers and 35% of fathers), hitting (40% of

mothers and 37% of fathers) and pinching children (30% for mothers and 15% for fathers).

Twenty-one percent of mothers and 17% of fathers shook the child. By contrast, mothers and

fathers were less likely to use kicking, beating with an object or pulling the child's hair. Notably,

beat with an object was quite rare. Mothers were significantly more likely to slap (49.7% of

mothers and 34.5% of fathers (df=1), $X^2 = 4.67$), pull (29% of mothers and 17% of fathers, df (1)

$X^2 = 5.03$), and pinch (29.5% of mothers and 15.2% of fathers, df=1, $X^2 = 7.24$) than did fathers.

Chi-square analysis indicated that mothers and fathers did not punish boys more than they did

girls (all ps>.05)

Table 7
Modes of Punishment

	Mother	Father	Chi-square	p-value
Spank	77.7 %	75.2 %	.244	.621
Slap	49.7 %	34.5 %	4.669	.031
Shove	9.7 %	10.6 %	.056	.813
Pull	29 %	17 %	5.028	.025
Kick	.7 %	.9 %	.032	.858
Beat with an object (appropriate)	1.4 %	.9 %	.139	.709
Beat with an object (inappropriate)	5 %	5.4 %	.025	.875
Hit or whip (appropriate)	40.1 %	37.3 %	.215	.643
Hit or whip (inappropriate)	21.8 %	19.8 %	.152	.696
Pull hair	5.6 %	1.8 %	2.344	.126
Twist ear	7.6 %	6.3 %	.170	.680
Kneel on objects	1.4 %	1.8 %	.069	.792
Stand for long time	18.6 %	18.9 %	.004	.952
Pinch	29.5 %	15.2 %	7.235	.007
Shake	20.7 %	17.4 %	.449	.503

N = Mothers - 191, Fathers - 179

Descriptive Statistics

Relations Between Parenting Variables and Child Outcomes

This study examined the moderating role of paternal and maternal warmth on the associations between fairness and severity of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills. Both mothers and fathers reported high levels of warmth with means of 3.77 and 3.71 respectively (see Table 10 and Figure 1 and 2 respectively). Mothers and fathers also reported high levels of fairness during times of discipline with means of 3.35 and 3.24 (R=1 to 4), respectively. As seen in Figures 1 and 2, the scores for both parents were negatively skewed. Mothers and fathers also perceived the severity of punishment they used to be moderately high (see Table 10; R=1 to 4 for both measures). Across settings teachers reported high levels of prosocial behaviors ($\bar{X} = 3.24$) and moderate levels of anger in children ($\bar{X} = 2.00$). Two-way ANOVAS indicated that there were no significant differences between mothers and fathers in their perceptions of fairness or severity of punishment and use of parental warmth during childrearing (all ps> .05). The means for these variables are presented in Table 8.

Table 8
Parenting Measures

Fathers (N=179) Mothers (N=191)	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Severity (Father)	1	4	2.01	1.013
Fairness (Father)	1	4	3.24	1.065
Severity (Mother)	1	4	1.98	.957
Fairness (Mother)	1	4	3.35	.941
Warmth (Father)	2.25	4.00	3.7104	.34529
Warmth (Mother)	2.13	4.00	3.7741	.30915
Prosocial	1.44	4.96	3.2473	.71028
Anger	1.00	4.83	2.0099	.76758
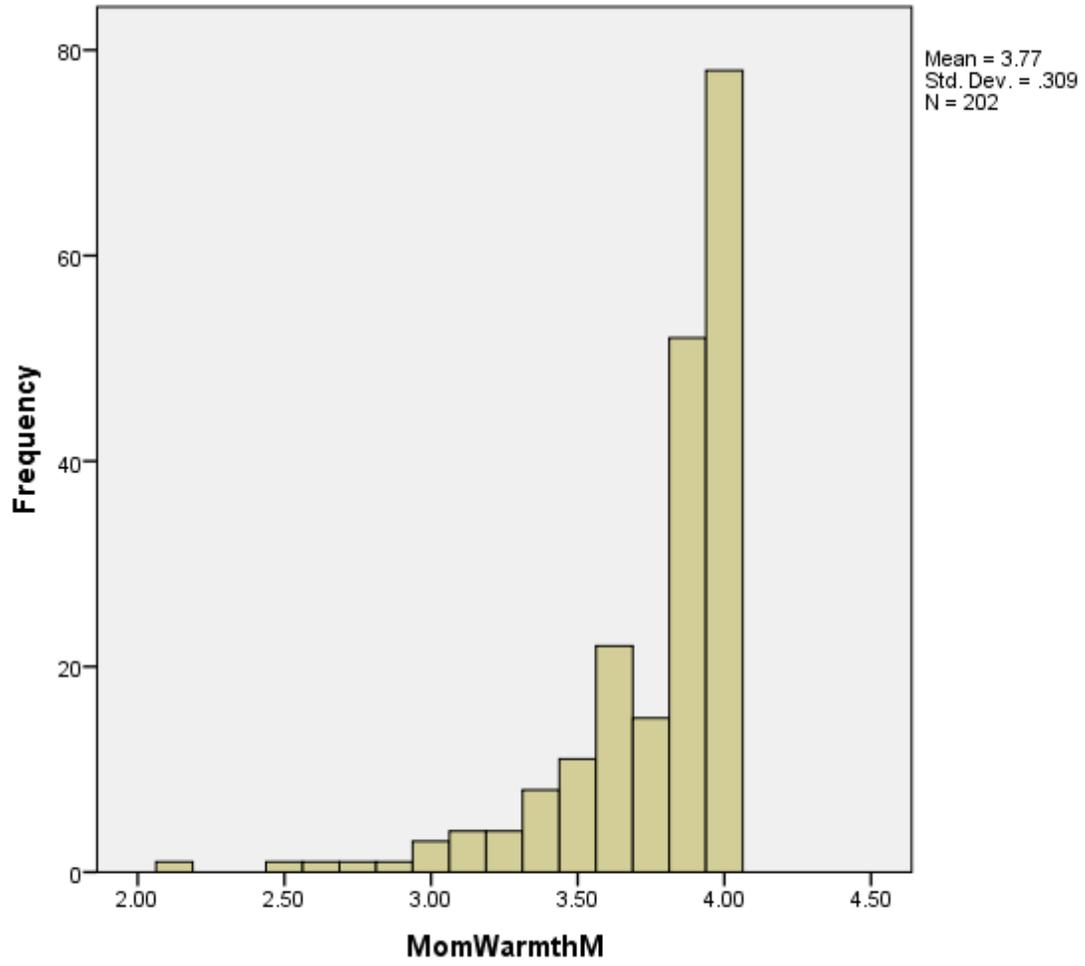
Figure 1. Maternal Warmth
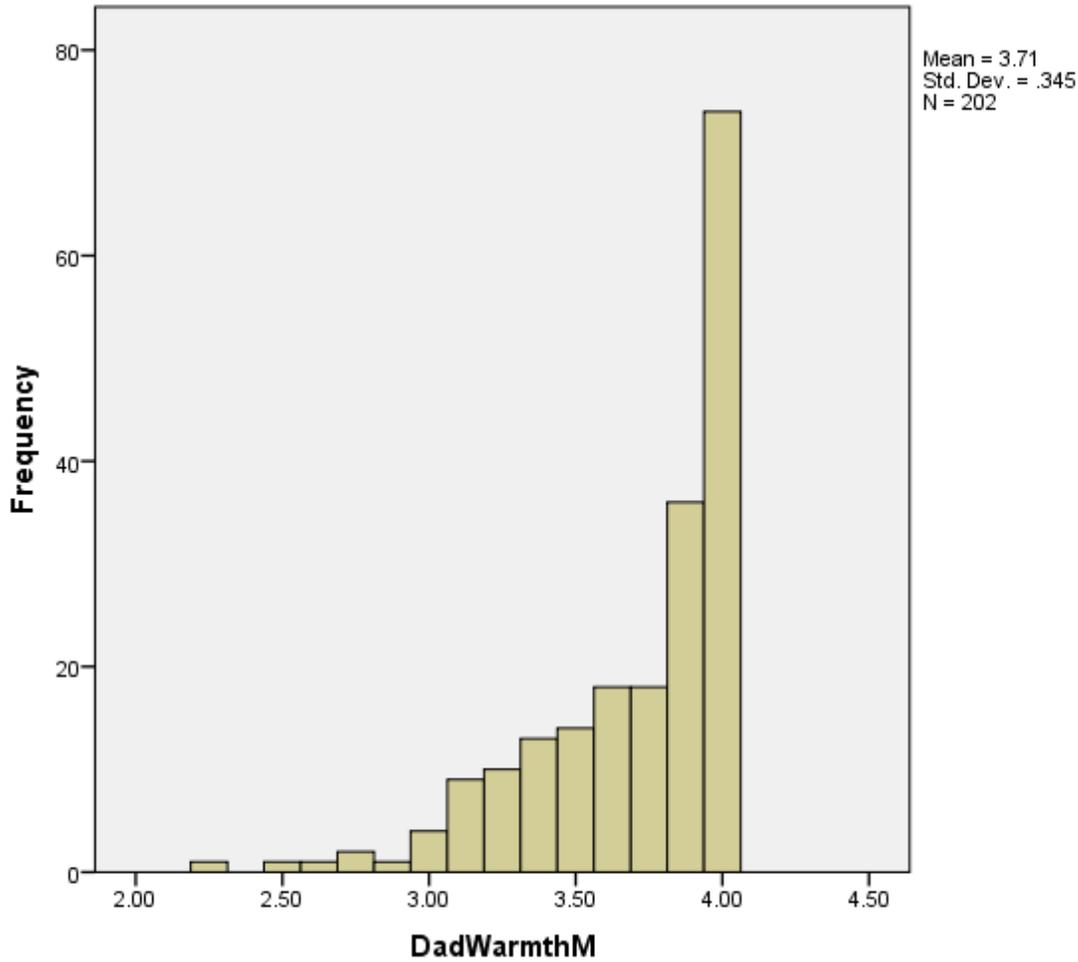
Figure 2. Paternal Warmth

Table 9 presents the Pearson correlation coefficients for the associations between the paternal and maternal and child outcome variables. As can be seen in Table 9, in general, there were weak associations between paternal and maternal assessments of the severity and fairness of punishment and children's prosocial skills and anger (see Appendix B for Paternal Correlation Matrix). Similar patterns were obtained for the associations between paternal and maternal assessments of the severity and fairness of punishment and children's academic skills. However, there were significant modest associations between paternal assessments of fairness of punishment and use of warmth during childrearing (r =.14, p<05) and between maternal assessments of fairness of punishment and use of warmth during childrearing (r =.26, p<.001).

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As might be expected, teachers' assessments of children's prosocial behaviors and anger were negatively related (r = -.17, p<.01).

Table 9
Correlations of Parental Variables and Child Outcomes

	Prosocial	Anger	Academic
Paternal Warmth	.04	-.01	.06
Maternal Warmth	.03	-.02	.05
Paternal Fairness	.04	-.004	.02
Maternal Fairness	.04	-.004	-.07
Paternal Severity	.11	.06	.06
Maternal Severity	.09	.03	.06

Moderating Role on Parental Warmth on the Association between Severity and Fairness of Punishment and Children's Social and Academic Skills

In view of research findings on the association between ethnicity, socioeconomic factors, and relationship union and childrearing practices in cultural communities in Jamaica, Guyana, and Suriname (see Anderson & Daley, 2015; Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013; Roopnarine et al., 2014, 2017; Samms-Vaughan, 2005), it was deemed necessary to enter parental education and income, marital status, and ethnicity as controls in the current analyses. Hierarchical regression was used to assess whether paternal and maternal assessments of warmth moderated the associations between paternal and maternal assessments of severity and fairness of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of children's prosocial behaviors and anger. Analyses were run separately for mothers and fathers.

To assess whether paternal warmth moderated the associations between severity of physical punishment and fairness of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of children's

prosocial behaviors and anger, ethnic background, marital status, education, and income were entered in Model 1 as control variables. Perceptions of physical punishment and fairness of physical punishment were entered in Model 2 as predictor variables. The interaction terms (fairness*warmth and severity*warmth) were entered in Model 3 as predictor variables.

The analyses yielded few significant associations between ethnic background, marital status, education, and income and children's prosocial behaviors (β ranged from -.02 to .06), anger (β ranged from -.03 to .10), and academic skills (β ranged from -.007 to .23). Race/ethnicity was significantly associated with children's academic skills (β =.23, p<01) and so was marital status (β =.14, p<.05) and both continued to be associated with academic skills in models 2 and 3. There were no significant direct associations between fathers' perceptions of the severity of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of children's prosocial behaviors (see Table 10), anger (see Table 11), and academic skills (see Table 14) or between fathers' perceptions of fairness of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of children's prosocial behaviors, anger, and academic skills (all Fs<1). Nor were the two interaction terms (fairness*warmth and severity*warmth) significant for prosocial behaviors, anger, and academic skills (all Fs<1) (see Table 15).

Table 10
Paternal Measures and Prosocial Behavior – Coefficients

Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
1 (Constant)	3.162	.185		17.069	.000
Race1	.115	.168	.059	.684	.495
Race2	.079	.126	.055	.630	.529
Education	.032	.050	.052	.637	.525
Income	-.015	.030	-.038	-.482	.630
Married	-.038	.134	-.022	-.281	.779
2 (Constant)	3.193	.187		17.102	.000
Race1	.108	.170	.055	.636	.526

Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
	Race2	.070	.127	.048	.546	.586
	Education	.021	.050	.035	.426	.670
	Income	-.016	.031	-.042	-.527	.599
	Married	-.022	.134	-.013	-.165	.869
	Warmth	.009	.020	.036	.461	.646
	Severity	.077	.055	.108	1.399	.164
	Fair	.044	.053	.065	.835	.405
3	(Constant)	3.192	.187		17.029	.000
	Race1	.123	.172	.063	.714	.476
	Race2	.070	.128	.048	.547	.585
	Education	.020	.051	.033	.400	.689
	Income	-.016	.031	-.042	-.527	.599
	Married	-.024	.135	-.014	-.178	.859
	Warmth	.014	.021	.056	.683	.496
	Severity	.080	.056	.112	1.425	.156
	Fair	.049	.054	.072	.917	.361
	Fair*Warmth	.012	.017	.059	.695	.488
	Severity*Warmth	.007	.024	.024	.292	.770

N = Mothers - 191, Fathers - 179

Table 11

Paternal Measures and Anger – Coefficients

Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
1	(Constant)	2.037	.199		10.233	.000
	Race1	.173	.181	.082	.958	.339
	Race2	.061	.135	.039	.450	.654
	Education	-.053	.054	-.080	-.986	.326
	Income	.041	.033	.097	1.252	.212
	Married	-.053	.144	-.028	-.368	.713
2	(Constant)	2.063	.201		10.258	.000
	Race1	.193	.184	.091	1.050	.295
	Race2	.066	.137	.042	.482	.630
	Education	-.064	.054	-.096	-1.171	.243
	Income	.039	.033	.092	1.164	.246
	Married	-.044	.144	-.024	-.303	.762
	Warmth	.302	.021	.000	-.003	.997
	Severity	.091	.060	.117	1.530	.128
	Fair	.003	.057	.005	.061	.951
3	(Constant)	2.059	.201		10.227	.000
	Race1	.210	.185	.099	1.136	.257
	Race2	.067	.137	.043	.487	.627

Education	-.065	.054	-.098	-1.195	.234
Income	.040	.033	.094	1.182	.239
Married	-.043	.145	-.023	-.300	.764
Warmth	.008	.022	.028	.339	.735
Severity	.089	.061	.115	1.471	.143
Fair	.013	.058	.018	.228	.820
Fair*Warmth	.010	.019	.044	.524	.601
Severity*Warmth	.024	.025	.078	.940	.348

N = Mothers - 191, Fathers - 179

Identical analyses were run for mothers where the control variables were entered first followed by the maternal parenting variables and the interaction terms. Among the control variables, race was a significant predictor of children's prosocial behaviors (β =16, p<.05, see Table 12) and academic skills (β =17, p<.05, see Table 18) and remained so even after the maternal variables and interaction terms were entered into the analyses (See Table 12). None of the other control variables were associated with children's prosocial and academic skills and no control variable was significantly associated with children's anger.

There were no significant direct associations between mothers' perceptions of the severity of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of children's prosocial behaviors (see Table 12), anger (see Table 13) or academic skills (see Table 15) or between mothers' perceptions of fairness of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of children's prosocial behaviors, anger, and academic skills. Nor were any of the interaction terms significant for the three outcome measures (see Table 17).

Table 12
Maternal Measures and Prosocial Behaviors – Coefficients

Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
1 (Constant)	3.231	.174		18.621	.000
Race1	.362	.177	.164	2.041	.043*

Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
Race2	-.005	.118	-.003	-.038	.969
Education	.025	.047	.042	.534	.594
Income	-.014	.030	-.034	-.451	.653
Married	-.075	.125	-.044	-.596	.552
2 (Constant)	3.220	.179		18.032	.000
Race1	.374	.181	.170	2.068	.040*
Race2	.002	.119	.002	.020	.984
Education	.021	.048	.035	.448	.655
Income	-.015	.030	-.037	-.487	.627
Married	-.058	.129	-.035	-.451	.652
Warmth	.007	.023	.024	.307	.759
Severity	.071	.055	.096	1.301	.195
Fair	.015	.057	.020	.266	.790
3 (Constant)	3.212	.180		17.870	.000
Race1	.382	.182	.173	2.102	.037*
Race2	.011	.121	.008	.091	.927
Education	.016	.048	.027	.337	.736
Income	-.008	.031	-.020	-.254	.800
Married	-.050	.130	-.030	-.385	.701
Warmth	.003	.025	.011	.126	.900
Severity	.071	.055	.095	1.296	.197
Fair	.015	.058	.020	.254	.800
Fair*Warmth	-.009	.019	-.038	-.469	.640
Severity*Warmth	-.017	.021	-.062	-.825	.410

N = Mothers - 191, Fathers – 179
Note: *$p < .05$

Table 13
Maternal Measures and Anger – Coefficients

Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
1 (Constant)	1.914	.188		10.169	.000
Race1	.120	.192	.051	.623	.534
Race2	.075	.128	.048	.588	.557
Education	.053	.051	.082	1.036	.301
Income	.026	.032	.062	.812	.418
Married	-.174	.136	-.096	-1.284	.201
2 (Constant)	1.892	.195		9.722	.000
Race1	.139	.197	.059	.708	.480
Race2	.085	.130	.055	.653	.515
Education	.054	.052	.083	1.038	.301
Income	.026	.033	.062	.802	.424

		B	Std. Error	Bata	t	Sig
	Married	-.159	.141	-.088	-1.127	.261
	Warmth	-.010	.025	-.032	-.409	.683
	Severity	.022	.060	.027	.370	.712
	Fair	.002	.063	.002	.028	.978
3	(Constant)	1.924	.193		9.954	.000
	Race1	.129	.195	.054	.659	.511
	Race2	.044	.130	.028	.336	.738
	Education	.042	.052	.064	.802	.424
	Income	.020	.033	.048	.611	.542
	Married	-.154	.140	-.085	-1.101	.272
	Warmth	.012	.027	.039	.461	.645
	Severity	.025	.059	.031	.417	.677
	Fair	.018	.062	.022	.282	.778
	Fair*Warmth	.045	.021	.177	2.177	.031*
	Severity*Warmth	-.017	.022	-.057	-.767	.444

N = Mothers - 191, Fathers - 179
Note: *$p < .05$

Table 14
Paternal Measures and Academic Skills – Coefficients

Models		B	Std. Error	Bata	t	Sig
1	(Constant)	38.986	1.358		28.718	.000
	Race1	-.338	1.232	-.022	-.274	.784
	Race2	2.535	.923	.228	2.747	.007*
	Education	-.032	.366	-.007	-.087	.931
	Income	-.319	.223	-.106	-1.431	.154
	Married	1.884	.979	.143	1.924	.056
2	(Constant)	39.194	1.374		28.517	.000
	Race1	-.352	1.254	-.023	-.281	.779
	Race2	2.461	.937	.222	2.627	.009*
	Education	-.081	.371	-.017	-.218	.828
	Income	-.345	.228	-.115	-1.513	.132
	Married	1.949	.986	.148	1.977	.050
	Warmth	.093	.147	.048	.636	.525
	Severity	.422	.407	.076	1.037	.301
	Fair	.104	.391	.020	.266	.790
3	(Constant)	39.195	1.381		28.387	.000
	Race1	-.436	1.266	-.029	-.344	.731
	Race2	2.460	.941	.221	2.614	.010*
	Education	-.074	.373	-.016	-.197	.844
	Income	-.341	.229	-.114	-1.489	.138
	Married	1.972	.991	.149	1.990	.048*

Warmth	.072	.154	.037	.469	.640
Severity	.379	.416	.068	.911	.364
Fair	.093	.396	.018	.234	.815
Fair*Warmth	-.090	.128	-.057	-.708	.480
Severity*Warmth	.032	.173	.015	.184	.854

N = Mothers - 191, Fathers - 179
Note: *$\rho < .05$

Table 15
Paternal Measures Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2
1	.313[a]	.098	.072	5.36332	.098	3.755	5	173
2	.326[b]	.107	.065	5.38438	.009	.550	3	170
3	.330[c]	.109	.056	5.40825	.003	.251	2	168

Table 16
Maternal Measures and Academic Skills – Coefficients

Models		B	Std. Error	Bata	t	Sig
1	(Constant)	39.128	1.322		29.609	.000
	Race1	.509	1.351	.030	.377	.707
	Race2	1.883	.898	.171	2.102	.038*
	Education	.208	.361	.045	.577	.565
	Income	-.298	.228	-.098	-1.306	.193
	Married	1.192	.952	.093	1.252	.212
2	(Constant)	39.164	1.357		28.854	.000
	Race1	.575	1.374	.034	.418	.676
	Race2	1.918	.904	.174	2.121	.035*
	Education	.201	.362	.043	.554	.580
	Income	-.326	.229	-.107	-1.422	.157
	Married	1.106	.983	.086	1.125	.262
	Warmth	.109	.173	.048	.627	.532
	Severity	.520	.417	.091	1.246	.214
	Fair	-.439	.436	-.076	-1.007	.315
3	(Constant)	39.181	1.367		28.660	.000
	Race1	.595	1.381	.035	.431	.667

Race2	1.890	.918	.171	2.059	.041*
Education	.155	.368	.033	.420	.675
Income	-.303	.237	-.099	-1.277	.203
Married	1.155	.990	.090	1.167	.245
Warmth	.128	.188	.057	.683	.496
Severity	.524	.419	.092	1.251	.213
Fair	-.415	.440	-.72	-.941	.348
Fair*Warmth	.034	.146	.019	.231	.818
Severity*Warmth	-.115	.158	-.54	-.727	.468

N = Mothers - 191, Fathers - 179

Note: *$p < .05$

Table 17
Maternal Measures Model Summery

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2
1	.220[a]	.048	.023	5.44669	.048	1.883	5	185
2	.249[b]	.062	.021	5.45265	.013	.865	3	182
3	.255[c]	.065	.013	5.47358	.003	.305	2	180

Chapter 6: Discussion

In the past decade, researchers have conducted studies both internationally (Roopnarine, Jin, & Krishnakumar, 2013; Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar, & Davidson, 2013; Mosby, Rawls, Meehan, Mays, & Pettinari, 1999; UNICEF, 2010, 2014) and within the United States (Lee et al., 2013; MacKenzie et al., 3013; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2015) on the effects of physical punishment on children's psychological adjustment and early academic performance. There have also been several authoritative reviews (Lansford, 2010) and meta-analyses of this literature (Gershoff, 2002a; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Grogan-Kaylor & Otis, 2007). These reviews point to the pervasive belief and use of physical punishment as a common disciplinary practice throughout the world (Gershoff, 2010; UNICEF, 2010) and to their associations with children's development: the internalization of moral standards, antisocial behavior, aggression, delinquency, and risk for child abuse (Gershoff et al., 2002; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). Despite these associations, parents in the 'majority world' use physical punishment as a frequent method of addressing behavioral concerns in children. That is, in different regions of the world such as North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, physical punishment is preferred to other methods of disciplining young children (e.g., explanations, time-out, redirection) (Chin & Liu, 2011; Roopnarine et al., 2013a).

Over two decades ago, childrearing was identified as the most important public health issue facing societies at different levels of economic development (Hoghughi, 1998). According to the language set forth in the Convention on the Rights of Children, physical control and other forms of harsh treatment by parents/caregivers are inimical to children's right to protection from all forms of violence (UNICEF, 2014). Moreover, as per UNICEF'S sustainable development goals, harsh treatment of children is antithetical to the development of a more just, equitable, and

sustainable world for children (UNICEF, 2016; Global Initiative, 2016; UNICEF, 2010, 2014).

Yet, the United Nations estimates that about one billion children between the ages of two to 14

are frequently subjected to physical punishment (UNICEF, 2014). On average, about four in five

children within this age range receive some form of physical punishment at home by their

parents/caregivers (UNICEF, 2014). UNICEF (2014) data indicate that a meagre 8% of children

across the world live in countries that completely prohibit corporal punishment in all settings

such as the home, school, alternative care, and daycare (UNICEF, 2014, p. 110). To date, 51

countries have banned any form of physical punishment acknowledging that its use is a violation

of the human rights of children and it works against the grain of stimulating change toward social

capital development in human beings.

In the Caribbean region, where physical punishment is reportedly high, all nations have

ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child and in so doing have committed in principle to

reform their legal systems to recognize the fundamental human rights of children (Committee on

the Rights of the Child, 2006). Nevertheless, children are hardly spared from physical

punishment. Consisting of approximately eight million children, no child is legally protected

from physical punishment in the home and school environments in the Caribbean region.

Trinidad and Tobago is the only independent Caribbean nation to have legally outlawed physical

punishment in public schools but not in home settings (Global Initiative, 2012). Most would

agree that there is a complex array of factors including but not limited to childhood, parent,

family, and community characteristics that are relevant to understanding the relationship between

physical punishment and child outcomes. Consequently, researchers have recognized the need

for more culturally contextualized analysis of physical punishment (Lansford et al., 2005;

Roopnarine et al., 2014; Sim & Ong, 2005; Stacks et al., 2009). This study provides some insights into this call.

Relative to western countries, there has been limited research on the prevalence of fathers' use of physical punishment and childhood outcomes in the English-speaking Caribbean nations as much of the focus has been on mothers and the harsh treatment of children (see Cappa & Kahn, 2013; Brown & Leo-Rhynie, 2013). Moreover, a bulk of the studies have focused on the prevalence of physical punishment and social development with limited efforts to establish links between the severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and a cognitive skills or the factors that might moderate the associations between physical punishment and childhood outcomes in general. In the main, this study sought to advance the existing and growing literature on physical punishment and childhood outcomes in the Caribbean region. The primary goals were to shed further light on the use of physical punishment by mothers and fathers and on the possible moderating effects of paternal warmth and maternal warmth on the relations between severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's early social and academic skills.

In this chapter, differences in the modes of physical punishment that mothers and fathers in Trinidad and Tobago used during every day physical disciplinary practices in addressing children's behavioral difficulties are first described, which is followed by annotations of paternal and maternal perceptions of the use of warmth and assessments of the severity and fairness of the use of physical punishment. Next, the moderating role of maternal and paternal warmth on the associations between the severity and fairness of the use of physical punishment and preschool-aged children's prosocial behaviors and anger and early academic skills are outlined.

Differences in use of modes of physical punishment between mothers and fathers

It is agreed upon by a number of cultural communities that physical punishment of children is a form of violence that compromises the human dignity and physical integrity of children. As noted already, The Convention on the Rights of Children emphasizes the crucial role of the family in protecting children and caring for their physical and emotional welfare (UNICEF, 2014). What types of physical punishment do mothers and fathers use in addressing childhood difficulties in Trinidad and Tobago? How do they perceive the fairness and severity of punishment in Trinidad and Tobago? These and other issues on children's academic and social development are outlined in this segment of the chapter.

Modes of Punishment

Recent UNICEF data indicate some movement away from physical punishment toward alternative methods of discipline in some developing countries. For example, 81% of children between the ages 2 to 14 received an explanation as to why their behavior was inappropriate and 48 % had privileges taken away from them in some Caribbean countries (Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017). Maternal and paternal reports of the use of physical punishment in the present study did support the hypothesis that mothers would be more likely to punish children than fathers. Findings are in line with those of prior studies on disciplinary practices in the less developed countries of the world (UNICEF, 2010, 2014). Beginning with dominant modes of punishment, 78% of mothers and 75% of fathers reported that they spanked their preschool-aged children. Fifty percent of mothers and 35% of fathers slapped children, 40% of mothers and 37% of fathers hit or whipped their child, 29% of mothers and 17% of fathers pulled their children, and 30% of mothers and 15% of fathers pinched their children. Likewise, as with other studies conducted in Caribbean nations (Anderson & Payne, 1994; Cappa & Kahn, 2011; Roopnarine, Jin & Krishnakumar, 2014; Roopnarine, Wang, Krishnakumar & Davidson, 2013),

parents used multiple forms of physical punishment. However, mothers exceeded fathers in the use of spanking, slapping, pulling, and pinching children. This is contrary to the popular assumption that fathers use discipline more often than mothers do in the Caribbean region and elsewhere. In short, fathers and mothers were more similar than different in the use of physical punishment strategies. .

As noted repeatedly, studies on early patterns of socialization indicate that the Caribbean region has some of the highest rates of physical punishment globally (Brown & Johnson, 2008; Cappa & Khan, 2011; Roopnarine et al., 2014; van der Kooij et al., 2015). Early studies (Arnold, 1982; Payne & Furnham, 1992) tended to draw attention to the more restrictive parenting practices, the outwardly controlling style with little nurturance. A cross-national study that included 24 countries found that 80% of mothers in Guyana, 90 % Jamaica, 83% in Belize, 74% in Trinidad and Tobago, and 82%% in Suriname reported the use of physical punishment (Cappa & Khan, 2013). What is troubling is that Caribbean children endorsed the use of physical punishment as well. An earlier survey of 1,000 students (ages 11 to 16) in Barbados found that a little over 60% were in favor of "flogging or caning" (Payne, 1988). Similarly, Anderson and Payne (1994) surveyed a total of 290 10- to 11-year-olds in the Caribbean and found that 75% approved of the use of flogging/caning for their grade level, 50% approved of its use in upper grades (secondary school) and about 33% approved of its use in lower age levels (ages 5 – 10) (p. 379). These favorable attitudes toward physical punishment by children likely reflect their socialization experiences within the family and their observation of their parents' disciplinary strategies. A minority of Barbadian parents did view corporal punishment as "uneducated" and "old-fashioned" (Payne, 1989).

The findings on the use of physical punishment by mothers and fathers in Trinidad and Tobago support the commonly held belief in the Caribbean that physical punishment is an essential aspect of "good" parenting (Bailey & Coore-Desai, 2014; Leo-Rhynie & Brown). In particular, spanking and slapping children are commonly employed parenting practices. An expressed desire among Caribbean parents and caregivers is to punish undesired behavior with hopes of increasing behaviors deemed favorable by mothers and fathers, and this occurs along with a lack of physical or verbal demonstration of praise or reward (Leo-Rhynie & Brown, 2013). However, the parents in Trinidad and Tobago did not engage in excessive physical punishment such as kicking children (mothers - 1%, fathers - 1%), pulling children's hair (mothers – 6%, fathers – 2%), having children kneel for long periods of time (mothers - 1%, fathers - 2%), or beating children with an object (mothers – 1%, fathers – 1%). This is consistent with recent studies on physical punishment in the Caribbean that have found that the use of extreme forms of physical punishment is dwindling a bit (Dede Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017).

Historically, studies on physical punishment in the Caribbean region have neglected distinctions among its different forms. At times, this has prompted discussions about the pathology that surrounds Caribbean parenting. Namely, that overall Caribbean parents mostly adopt harsh parenting styles and practices (Payne, 1989; Rohner, Kean, & Courmoyer, 1991). This is a rather biased view of Caribbean parenting that fails to consider the varying use of warmth and control among parents across the region. More contemporary research studies (e.g., Roopnarine et al., 2013) suggest that Caribbean parenting practices include high levels of warmth with varying levels of control and indulgence which may reflect an 'indigenous' perspective that embodies historical experiences of oppression, essential cultural mores, and economic and social realities of Caribbean peoples.

Severity of Physical Punishment

As per dose-response perspectives on adverse childhood experiences, it might be expected that severity of physical punishment would be an important consideration in determining the effects of physical punishment on children's social and academic skills. That is, as the severity of physical punishment increases, so would its effectiveness in curbing undesirable behaviors in children. Surprisingly, few studies have examined the severity of physical punishment in Caribbean parenting. Mothers and fathers in this study perceived their respective use of physical punishment to be moderately severe. Fathers and mothers did not differ in their perceptions on a global measure of the severity of punishment. Parental perceptions of the severity of physical punishment appear to match their reports of the use of less harsh methods of discipline such as spanking the child. Mothers' and fathers' awareness of the degree of severity of physical punishment is congruent with other findings in the Caribbean region. Parents and children in Barbados disapproved of excessive physical punishment that causes cuts or leaves scars (Anderson & Payne, 1994, p. 384) and parents in Jamaica and Suriname tend to ruminate about the appropriateness and consequences of harsh physical punishment (see Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017).

Fairness of Punishment

As is the case with severity, parental assessment of the fairness of the punishment employed may be a relevant factor shaping parent-child relationships. The mothers and fathers in this study perceived that they were generally fair in their use of physical punishment. Many Caribbean parents believe that a fair approach to parenting is comprised of both punitive and rewarding practices. A recent study of 1,504 households in Trinidad and Tobago found that adults overall used low levels of harsh discipline and high levels of material rewards to shape

children's behavior (Roopnarine et al., 2013). Further, a five-country study (Belize, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Jamaica, and Suriname) found that parents are utilizing more diverse forms of discipline (46% of caregivers took privileges away and 72% explained to the child why they felt the behavior was wrong) while still upholding traditional means of discipline (40% spanked, hit or slapped preschoolers and 56% yelled or screamed at the child) (Yildirim, & Roopnarine, 2017, p. 6). Dede Yildirim and Roopnarine (2017) suggested that factors such as physical environment, economic hardship, and other personal and family characteristics provide a possible explanation for this simultaneous use of positive parenting strategies and harsh methods of discipline (p. 7). At the very least, the families in Trinidad and Tobago seem aware of the fairness principle in the administration of punishment to children. This is hopeful in the sense that thinking about the fairness of physical punishment and it consequences on young children may be a first step toward reducing the use of harsh disciplinary practices in Caribbean families.

Parental Warmth

Feeling accepted by one's caregiver is essential to adaptive development and the reinforcement of the parent-child attachment relationship (Gerhardt, 2004; Rohner, 2006). The conceptualization of acceptance-rejection has its foundations in the warmth dimension (affection, care, comfort, concern, nurturance, support) of the parent-child relationship (Rohner, 1986, 2016). The mothers and fathers in this study exhibited comparable levels of warmth to those in nine Western and non-Western countries (see Putnick et al., 2012). In this study, parental warmth clustered on the high end of the acceptance-rejection continuum. Although not a focus of the present study, relative to parents in other countries such as China, Italy, and Thailand, Caribbean parents also displayed moderate levels of control supporting the argument that there exists a unique parenting typology within the Caribbean region (Roopnarine et al., 2013a; Roopnarine et

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al., 2013b). The distinct combination of parental warmth and harsh punishment seems to characterize Caribbean parenting (Leo-Rhynie, 1997; Roopnarine et al., 2014). This parenting typology aligns with parental ethnotheories about childrearing in the Caribbean (Super & Harkness, 2002; Leo-Rhynie, 1997; Lipps et al., 2012) that are an organized set of culturally generated concepts that filters particular societal values about physical punishment when attending to children's behaviors. For example, in Anderson's (2007) study, Caribbean fathers discussed the concept of paternal 'minding' and caring for children. The responsibility of being a good father includes taking care of your children and showing love and emotional support towards them. To "mind the child" is an embedded responsibility to provide financial support along with participating in caregiving and childrearing activities regardless of the level of commitment or the relationship with the child's mother (Rodman, 1971). Further study on the parenting practice of 'minding' children can shed additional light on elements of paternal and maternal warmth.

Children's Social Skills

Prosocial skills among the preschool-aged children consist of the ability to share, demonstrate concern for others, help and cooperate with others and to engage in perspective taking, displaying empathy to others' distress (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinard, 2006). Generally speaking, research on families in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago indicate that children demonstrate high levels of prosocial skills in their preschool classrooms (Roopnarine et al., 2014). This was also the case in the current study. At same time, they displayed low levels of anger during interactions with their peers in preschool. Whether these favorable social skills among this group of children is due to the quality of parenting children received or to the preschool programs the children attended cannot be determined from this study.

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Children's Academic Skills

Parents across the Caribbean have unrealistic and early developmental expectations of young children. Teachers too believe that children should learn numbers, letters, and words in preschool in order to prepare them for rigorous schooling later on (Leo-Rhynie et al., 2009; Roopnarine et al., 2015). The preschools that children attended were academically inclined with some options for play. Drill-and-practice was the predominant mode of delivering early education services to children. Most of the children's day was spent on seatwork.

The Child Development Index Card, a developmentally based instrument constructed by the Ministry of Education in Guyana, was used to assess children's academic skills. It contains such items as use and response to oral language, interpersonal communication, symbolic play, development of written expression and concepts, and expression of ideas and logical thought reflecting the objectives of early childhood curricula in the Caribbean. Based on teachers' assessments, the children in this study performed moderately well on an overall measure of early academic skills, but there was tremendous variability across the preschools. A recent study of children in Guyana also showed considerable variation in children's early academic performance. It was determined that only a third of 139 children were in the high performing range: use of oral language (30%), logical-mathematical thought (38%), interpersonal communication (32%), written expression (37%), artistic expression (30%), imagination (31%), expression of ideas and thought (32%), perceptive abilities (32%), displaying memory and attention (30%) (Roopnarine et al., 2014).

Associations between Fairness and Severity of punishment and Children's Social and Academic Skills

This study builds on previous work on parenting practices in Caribbean families by examining the moderating role of parental warmth on the associations between paternal and maternal perceptions of severity and fairness of physical punishment and teachers' assessments of children's social and cognitive skills. Before now, few studies have examined fathers' use of physical punishment and childhood outcomes and only one (e.g., Roopnarine et al., 2014) examined the links between maternal and paternal physical punishment and children's academic skills. Moreover, this study drew on tenets within cultural frameworks and parenting models and theories developed by Baumrind (1967), Super and Harkness (1986), and Rohner (Rohner, 1986; Rohner & Khaleque, 2005) to formulate the research questions and hypotheses. These conceptual frameworks have guided numerous studies on parenting beliefs and practices in cultural communities across the world. Built on personality sub-theory, coping sub-theory, and sociocultural sub-theory, Rohner's interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory proposes that warmth and rejection occur on a continuum with warmth at one end and rejection at the other. Unabashedly, warmth leads to good social adjustment whereas rejection is associated with negative social development across cultural communities (see meta-analyses by Khaleque & Rohner, 2012)

Parental warmth was used as moderating variable in part because it focuses on interpersonal relationships with an emphasis on the continuum of parental acceptance and rejection. Warmth indicates aspects of the affectional aspects of the relationship between the child and the parent/caregiver. This concept is based upon the belief that social factors such parental sensitivity can insulate children from the influences of harsh home, neighborhood, and community environments, regardless of the culture (Rohner, 2006). Accordingly, in this investigation it was predicted that maternal and paternal warmth would temper the negative

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associations between harshness and justness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills.

Findings from an international body of work show the unmistakable association between physical punishment and negative childhood adjustment. These include such consequences as diminished mental health, impaired parent-child relationship, higher risk for child abuse, heightened aggression, and child antisocial behavior (see meta-analysis, Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Landon et al., 2017; Lansford et al., 2005; Roopnarine et al., 2014; Sim & Ong, 2005; Stacks, Oshio, Gerard, & Roe, 2009; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017). Studies specific to the Caribbean also show associations between the severity and frequency of physical punishment and negative psychological effects (e.g., feeling rejected by parents) among children (Rohner, Kean, & Courmoyer, 1991). This latter association existed irrespective of whether children accepted the cultural notion that corporal punishment was appropriate or not.

Turning to the main questions and hypotheses of this study, there were no direct significant associations between severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills. Nor did maternal and paternal warmth temper the associations between severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills. These findings held even after the analyses were conducted without control variables. In view of previous findings (e.g., Gershoff et al., 2002; MacKenzie et al., 2013; Straus & Pachall, 2009), the lack of associations between severity of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills are surprising. There are two plausible explanations for these findings. There was limited variability in maternal and paternal reports of severity and fairness of physical punishment, and warmth hovered on the high end of the acceptance-rejection continuum with little variability in this measure as well. Ostensibly, this could have affected the way the findings

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turned out. Second the instruments used to assess severity and fairness of physical punishment were brief and may not have captured the deeper aspects of mothers' and fathers' reflective functioning.

Summary

Along with those conducted in other parts of the world (see Alyahri & Goodman, 2008; Lansford et al., 2005a; Putnick et al., 2009; Putnick et al., 2012;), this study further examined modes of physical punishment and the moderating role of warmth on the associations between two core aspects of physical punishment, severity and fairness, and childhood outcomes in the Caribbean region. Findings indicate that the use of physical punishment by mothers and fathers in Trinidad and Tobago was moderately high (see also Cappa & Kahn, 2011; Vander Kooij, et al., 2017). Both parents used spanking as the primary mode of physical punishment with mothers doing so significantly more than did fathers.

It has been proposed that in cultural communities where physical punishment is strongly endorsed, the impact of physical punishment on children's adjustment may be less severe. Although the normativeness principle was not tested in this study, an attempt was made to assess the moderating role of maternal and paternal warmth on the severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills. There were no direct associations between severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills and warmth did not moderate these associations for mothers or fathers. While several studies have established associations between physical punishment and children's social skills, parental warmth does not seem to moderate these associations (see Lee, Altschul, & Gershoff, 2013; Roopnarine et al., 2013b; Yildirim & Roopnarine, 2017). The question remains as to whether certain factors moderate and/or mediate the impact of harsh disciplinary practices on childhood

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development or the effects of physical punishment are so severe that they have direct associations with children's behavioral and academic difficulties.

Limitations

This study has several limitations that may have contributed to the lack of associations between the severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills. First, this study relied entirely on paternal and maternal reports of warmth and the use of physical punishment. Parents could have under-reported their use of physical punishment and overestimated their use of warmth in childrearing. Maternal and paternal warmth were perceptibly on the high end. Relatedly, the nature of the questions asked could seemingly induce self-consciousness related judgments about whether personal parenting practices match approved parenting practices in society. A sensitive topic such as physical punishment can cause parents to alter their responses to questions to make them appear more favorable or to "please" the researcher thus creating possible reporting bias. Future studies may want to reduce the likelihood of social desirability bias by considering other methods of data collection. For example, observations of family interaction patterns in the home may produce more reliable data than questionnaire items. Also considering the use of indigenous methodology that accounts for cultural rooted dialects such as patois, different from the country's standard language registry, may have provided a slightly different interpretation of the questions in the parenting instruments. The majority of parents sampled had a high school degree or less (54% of mothers and 48% of fathers).

Second, this study utilized a non-probability sampling method, which relied on the subjective judgements of the researcher to select early childhood centers. Thus, the early childhood centers included in this study may not be representative or match the population as

whole in Trinidad and Tobago. Seventy-nine percent of the current sample earnd below $20,000 TTD monthly, which is approximately $2,973 US dollars. The national average monthly salary in Trinidad and Tobago is $7000 TTD (http://www.averagesalarysurvey.com/trinidad-and-tobago) which is far higher than the earnings of sample families. Including families from more diverse socioeconomic backgrounds might have yielded a more representative reflection of overall parenting practices in Trinidad and Tobago. This study also relied on teachers' reports of children's academic skills. The use of standardized instruments (e.g., Kaufman Scales of Early Academic Performance) would have provided more accurate assessments of children's developmental quotients. Furthermore, recruiting a larger sample would have been more representative while simultaneously permitting more sophisticated analyses (e.g., moderation of warmth and rejection).

Recommendations for Future Research

Because this study focused on children in the preschool years (3 to 5 years), future efforts to explore the associations between physical punishment and childhood development may want to include older children who can provide their own assessments of the severity and fairness of physical punishment. Perhaps children's and not parents' assessments of the severity and fairness of physical punishment would be better predictors of social adjustment and academic performance. Research does suggest that the associations between physical punishment and childhood outcomes change during middle-childhood and early adolescence (McLoyd & Smith, 2002). This no doubt is due to children's increasing awareness of the consequences of physical punishment and the harm it may cause to them. Older children in Suriname thought that harming a child physically or emotionally may constitute abuse and that parents should not use corporal punishment out of anger or frustration, but as a last resort and with some positive goal in mind.

Moreover, they thought that corporal punishment was not effective in teaching children to listen and they would prefer parents talking to them (Van der Kooij et al., 2017).

Using alternative measures such as the Parental Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (PRFQ; Luyten, Mayes, Nijssens, & Fonagy, 2017) would have provided data on parents' capacity to mentalize about and reflect on their actual and evolving relationship with their children (Pazzagli, Delvecchio, Raspa, Mazzeschi, & Luyten, 2018). Researchers who used this approach have found that mothers and fathers with higher Parental Reflective Functioning (PRF) scores had greater involvement and communication with their children as well as practiced more positive discipline strategies, and experienced more satisfaction in their parental role (Rostad & Whitaker, 2016; Rutherford, Maupin, Landi, Potenza, & Mayers, 2017; Sharp & Fonagy, 2008). Parents' reflection on and assessment of their own parenting practices is an important area for further research, particularly because these concepts are intertwined with culture. Although this study's findings did not find ethnic variations in the use of physical punishment and differences in associations between severity and fairness of physical punishment and children's social and academic skills, future studies may also want to explore these links more fully in multi-ethnic communities in the Caribbean region.

A few Final Comments

Policy development and implementation on child maltreatment in the developed countries such as the United States date back to the late nineteenth century and have led to continued evaluation and implementation of laws that focus on the protection of children (Shelman & Lazoritz, 2005). A fundamental reorientation in child rights policies is needed in the Caribbean region that protects children in and outside of the home. Researchers from diverse disciplines throughout the Caribbean region have long advocated the need for policy change in the area of

physical punishment and the maltreatment of children (e.g., Brown & Leo-Rhynie, 2013). This would require further consideration of articles within the Convention on the Rights of the Child that was ratified by all member states within the Caribbean. For example, Article 4 implores governments to implement measures to ensure that the rights of the child are fulfilled.

Caribbean governments would have to review and overhaul existing laws on parental responsibilities when necessary and create funding mechanisms to implement updated policies. Additionally, governments are required to ensure that the articles in the Convention are executed within each country. Article 19 specifically discusses the responsibility of governments to protect children from all forms of violence both physically and mentally by their parents or caregivers (UNICEF, 2010, 2014). The Convention does not specify modes of punishment that can be employed. However, any form of discipline that seeks to inflict harm should be addressed. The Convention also encourages parents to acquire age-appropriate knowledge regarding the various stages of child development and to apply that knowledge as a means towards socializing, teaching, and disciplining their children (Article 5) with a clear emphasis on what is in the best interest of the child, which is paramount to their childrearing responsibilities (Article 18). Arguably, the most pressing issue is to marshal a shift in belief about parental rights over children's rights in the Caribbean (Landon et al., 2017). Long-standing cultural and religious practices that emphasize the parents' moral obligation in childrearing to correct undesirable behaviors by the use of the "rod" to avoid "spoiling" the child need greater scrutiny.

Appendix A

Marital Status

	Frequency	Percentage
Single parent	9	4.46
Married	151	74.75
Long-term commitment	5	2.48
Common law	31	15.35
Visiting relationship	1	0.50
Divorced/Separated	3	1.49
Other (Widowed)	2	0.99
Total	202	100.00

Child Currently Living With

	Frequency	Percentage
Bio mother and Bio father	124	63.27
Bio mother and Bio father and other relatives	41	20.92
Bio mother and partner	5	2.55
Bio mother and partner and other relatives	2	1.02
Bio mother and grandparents	6	3.06
Bio father and grandparents	3	1.53
Bio mother only	6	3.06
Bio father only	1	0.51
Grandparents only	3	1.53
Guardians	3	1.53
Other	2	1.02
Total	196	100.00

Correlations – Father (N = 179)

	Severity	Fairness	Prosocial	Anger	Warmth
Severity	1	.031	.107	.057	.020
Sig. (2-tailed)		.662	.130	.417	.777
Fairness	.031	1	.043	-.004	.136
Sig. (2-tailed)	.662		.546	.958	.054
Prosocial	.107	.043	1	-.174	.025
Sig. (2-tailed)	.130	.546		.013	.721
Anger	.057	-.004	-.174	1	-.006
Sig. (2-tailed)	.417	.958	.013		.937
Warmth	.020	.136	.025	-.006	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.777	.054	.721	.937	

Correlations – Mother N = 191)

	Severity	Fairness	Prosocial	Anger	Warmth
Severity	1	.019	.091	.033	-.095
Sig. (2-tailed)		.790	.198	.641	.178
Fairness	.019	1	.037	-.004	.261
Sig. (2-tailed)	.790		.602	.958	.000
Prosocial	.091	.037	1	-.174	.028
Sig. (2-tailed)	.198	.602		.013	.692
Anger	.033	-.004	-.174	1	-.016
Sig. (2-tailed)	.641	.958	.013		.818
Warmth	-.095	.261	.028	-.016	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.178	.000	.692	.818	

Child Rating Questionnaire (Strayer, 1985)

The CRQ was used in Roberts & Strayer (1996), and Strayer & Roberts (2004a, 2004b). Items 1 to 47 were taken from the Prosocial Behavior Questionnaire (Weir, Stevenson, & Graham, 1980) and the Affect Expression Questionnaire (Buck, 1977).

Name

Today's Date

Child's Name

We are interested in the relationship between different aspects of children's social behaviour and their social skills. Listed below are statements describing various behaviours. Please try to rate each behaviour as independently of the others as you can.

For each behaviour, please indicate how characteristic it is for the child you are rating by checking the most appropriate box. *Boxes – not shown in this version – were inserted after each question. Items were scored:*

1 = not at all characteristic

2 = somewhat characteristic

3 = fairly characteristic

4 = quite characteristic

5 = extremely characteristic

1. If there is a fight or quarrel, tries to stop it.

2. Is self-confident with respect to his or her abilities.

3. Expresses feelings openly and is easy to "read" emotionally.

4. Invites bystanders to join in a game or activity.

5. Has a high activity level.

6. Likes to socialize with others rather than be alone.

7. Goes to the help of someone who has been hurt.

8. Behaves aggressively with other children.

9. Cares about other people.

10. Tries to be fair in games or activities.

11. Is warm and friendly to other children.

12. Is content and happy most of the time.

13. Shares play, food or other materials with others.

14. Settles into work or other activities quickly.

15. Expresses anger or hostilities directly.

16. Is generous in donating own time or contributing toward purchase of gifts for others, charities etc.

17. Can work easily in a small group.

18. Displays anger frequently and sometimes inappropriately.

19. Shows high levels of responsibility.

20. Is aware and considerate of the feelings of others.

21. Offers to help people who are feeling sick or in trouble.

22. Is often anxious or worried.

23. Is bossy.

24. Controls his or her emotions.

25. Is easily influenced by other children and is apt to be a follower rather than a leader.

26. Responds in a positive way if someone else does something well.

27. Has good interpersonal social skills; relates easily to others.

28. Is highly verbal.

29. Volunteers to help clean up a mess someone else has made.

30. Shows a wide range of different kinds and intensities of emotions.

31. Is willing to seek help from others.

32. Is often difficult to get along with.

33. Is independent and not overly influenced by group activities.

34. Is generally sensitive and responsive to others' emotions.

35. Offers to help other people who are having difficulty with a task or activity.

36. Is generally cooperative.

37. Gets into fights or arguments frequently.

38. Shows a strong competitive spirit.

39. Is vocal about asserting rights and opinions.

40. Demonstrates good intellectual problem-solving skills.

41. Is often sad or disappointed.

42. Is well-liked by other children.

43. Expresses negative feelings easily and appropriately.

44. Shows imagination or creativity in work or play.

45. Shows maturity for his or her age in actions and judgements.

46. Shows concern and sympathy for others feelings.

47. Seems to be emotionally affected by others' display of emotions.

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

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Nazareth College
Department of Social Work
Clinical Assistant Professor
Rochester, New York   August 2007 – Present
  • Full-time faculty member in the School of Health and Human Services' Department of Social Work.

Kenyon International Emergency Services, Inc.
Consultant for Crisis management
USA Office: Houston, Texas   October 2000 – Present
  • Deploy to national and international incidents providing disaster response services
  • Focusing on Mental Health and Family services

Nazareth College and SUNY College at Brockport
Adjunct Instructor – Master of Social Work Program
Rochester, New York   August 2004 – August 2007
  • Adjunct Instructor for Master and Bachelor level courses at Nazareth College and SUNY College at Brockport in their social work departments.

Rochester City School District
School Social Worker
Rochester, New York   August 1998 – June 2007
  • Provide group and individual counseling to both students with mandated services and the general education population.
  • Meet with students and families – providing a variety of services including conducting interviews and completing psychosocial assessments.
  • Member of the Student Support Service Team which determines the least restricted environment for students, and recommending future placement.

University of Rochester
Strong Memorial Hospital - Department of Psychiatry
Crisis Specialist
Rochester, New York   December 1995 – October 2000
  • Assist in conducting Psychosocial Assessments and Mental Status Evaluations.
  • Link clients to appropriate mental health services and briefly monitor those services.
  • Part of a diverse team of mental health clinicians who respond to people in the community currently experiencing a mental health crisis.
  • Clinically document all contacts with clients and service providers.

Rochester Police Department
Counseling Specialist - FACIT Unit
Rochester, New York   November 1992 – December 1999
  • Provided Crisis Intervention counseling for a variety of needs.
  • Responded to cases involving domestic disputes, mental health issues, landlord-tenant problems, child abuse, juvenile delinquency, needs of the elderly, and similar concerns.
  • Provided on-scene assessment of the presenting crisis situation and individual and/or family needs.
  • Provided medication, short-term counseling, and referrals as needed.

Center for Youth Services
Youth Counselor
Rochester, New York   February 1993 – August 1993
- Provided counseling and other services to clients.
- Advocate for clients in obtaining independent living through Social Services.

Monroe County Office of Probation and Community Corrections
Alternatives to Incarceration Worker
Rochester, New York   October 1990 – August 1992

- Interviewed the pre-trial jail population and develop psychosocial profile.
- Determined need and eligibility for Drug / Alcohol and Mental Health treatment.
- Worked with the Public Defender's Office, The Probation Department, Pre-Trial Services Private Counsel and Jail staff to gather and provide information identifying referral alternatives.
- Prepared and presented treatment plans to the court and advocate for clients release to the appropriate treatment program.
- Provided referral readiness, case management and supportive services to clients.

Urban League of Rochester, Inc.
Juvenile Delinquency Diversion Program, Case Worker
Rochester, New York   April 1990 – October 1990

Hillside Family of Agencies
Northaven Non-secure Detention, Sociotherapist
Rochester, New York   October 1988 – April 1990

PUBLICATIONS:

Primus, M. (2014). [Review of the book *Civic Youth Work: Cocreating Democratic Youth Spaces* by R. VeLure Roholt, M. Baizerman, and R.W. Hildreth (Eds.)] Best Practices in Mental Health

Primus, M (January, 2009). [Review of the book *Social Work in Schools: Principles and Practice* by L. Openshaw]

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

The Role of the Father in Child Development, Damon City Campus, MCC, Rochester, NY, May 20, 2013

Fathering in the United States, Rajagiri College, Kochi, India, Jan 2013

Community, Institutional, and Interprofessional Support for Refugee Families and Children, New York State Social Work Education Association Conference, Oct 11, 2012

Volunteer / Membership / Certification

- Licensed Master Social Worker (LMSW)
- National Organization of Forensic Social Work
- National Association of Social Workers
- Social Worker Professional Liability Policy
- Member of the Mental Health Team at Woodstock '99

EDUCATION:

Syracuse University – Child and Family Studies – Ph.D.   2018
Syracuse University – School of Social Work – MSW   1999
Roberts Wesleyan College – Sociology / Religion & Philosophy – BA   1988