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# PERCEPTION OF PARENTIFICATION: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF HISPANIC FAMILIES IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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A Project

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Social Work

by

Kaylin A. Lopez

May 2022

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May 2022

Approved by:

Dr. Rigaud Joseph Faculty Supervisor, Social Work

Dr. Armando Barragán, M.S.W. Research Coordinator



#### **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study is to explore the perception of child parentification among Hispanic families in the High Desert region of California. This study is intended to act as a stepping-stone to conducting further research about the cultural implications of parentification on Hispanic children by focusing on Hispanic perceptions of the problem. This cross-sectional study utilizes an exploratory research design and non-experimental methods in collecting data about participants' subjective reality regarding parentification through semistructured interviews. From the data analysis emerged six themes: 1) Children as a resource in the household: chores, siblings, advisors, comforters, 2) Parentification requires parental consent: obey rules and follow directions, 3) Parentification depends on child's age, 4) Parentification as a learning experience, 5) Parentification should not be a physical or emotional burden for the child: the limits of parentification, and 6) Mixed perceptions on aspects of parentification: finance, conflict resolution, influence. These six themes were conceptualized by two theories: Attachment Theory and Psychosocial Development Theory. The implications of the findings, study limitations and direction for future research are also discussed for the benefit of future research on parentification.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take a moment to acknowledge the challenging and exciting reality of conducting research. Like everything in social work, it took a team of individuals to get it done but we did it.

To the participants, thank you for your willingness to participate in this project and provide honest feedback. Your feedback prompted a great deal of reflection and appreciation.

To my research advisor, Dr. Rigaud Joseph, thank you for your continuous commitment to making this research project as painless as possible. I am beyond grateful that I had the experience to learn from you. Your vigor and passion for research and teaching is contagious and highly respected. Thanks to you, I can say, I no longer fear research. Thank you for your support, patience and encouragement.

To Lisa Badarou, when I needed your support the most to complete this project, you were there with words of encouragement and a gentle reminder that I do not need to take on the world but simply prioritize. Thank you for your flexibility, understanding and honesty.

To my friends and family, thank you for your prayers, words of encouragement and constant reassurance. You all uphold me in love, and I am immensely grateful.

#### DEDICATION

To my Father in Heaven, I am only here because of you. You continuously opened doors for me to walk through and gave me the strength and support to press on when it became challenging. You constantly reminded me that where you guide, you provide and when my body and mind were weak, your Spirit upheld me. May this research project bear good fruit and glorify your name.

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## CHAPTER ONE PROBLEM FORMULATION

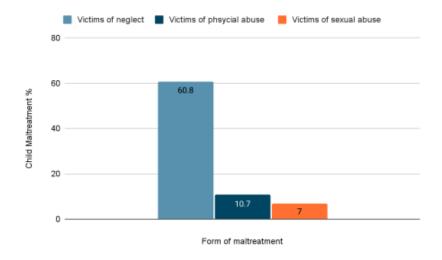
#### Overview and Scope of the Problem

Parentification is the result of children being ascribed roles and responsibilities that are typically attributed to adults. Many children are performing caregiving tasks and roles in their households through inappropriate expectations for them to meet their own needs or the needs of siblings and parents at the expense of their developmental capacity (Tam, 2009). According to the Young Caregivers in the U.S. (2005), a report by the National Alliance of Caregivers and United Hospital Fund as many as 1.4 million children in the U.S. between the ages of 8 and 18 provide care for an older adult or a sibling. Of the 28.4 million households that have a child 8 to 18 years of age, 906,000 households include a child caregiver. Many of these children are members of minority groups and are from single-parent, low-income families (American Psychological Association, 2010). Three in ten child caregivers are ages 8 to 11 years of age, and 38% are ages 12 to 15. The remaining 31% are 16 to 18 years old (Hunt et al, 2005). Figure 2 below displays the age ranges of child caregivers.

Parentification can be the result of neglect, however, it can also be the result of poverty. When parents exhibit neglectful behavior parentified children are forced to adopt the role of a caregiver for themselves, their siblings, and

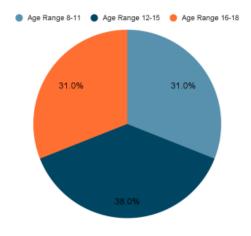
their parents. Parentified roles in this respect are considered neglect due to the denial of basic childhood necessities and experiences. Primary reasons are that parents typically being unwilling or unable to uphold their emotional and/or physical responsibilities as a caregiver (Englehardt, 2012). Of the 3,534,000 million children who were the subject of an investigation or alternative response in the fiscal year 2018, 678,000 children were determined to be victims of maltreatment, which is an increase from 674,000 victims in 2017. (See figure 1 below). In total, 60.8 percent of victims were neglected, 10.7 percent were physically abused, and 7.0 percent were sexually abused (Administration for Children and Families, 2020). Poverty is not maltreatment but can also have consequential outcomes resulting in parentification. Economic disadvantage shapes the everyday lives of families that may lead to parentification. For example, families may have limited access to formal childcare or other social services and require older children in the family to provide extensive care for younger ones (Burton, 2007). Parentification is multifaceted, however, regardless of negligence or poverty, children are facing a problem in needing to abandon their childhood status which can have substantial consequences.

Figure 1. Child Maltreatment Report Fiscal Year 2018



Source: American Psychological Association (APA)

Figure 2. Percentage of Children Caregivers by Age Range



Source: National Alliance for Caregiving in collaboration with United Hospital Fund

#### Causes and Multifaceted Impact of Parentification

Parentification is the result of individual and structural deficits. Individual parental deficits within dysfunctional family systems are often characterized by a lack of boundaries and an improper understanding of parental and childhood roles and behaviors. Children in economically disadvantaged families can also play a role in parentification. In a study regarding low-income families, it was found that lowincome parents are often preoccupied with the responsibility of meeting daily physical needs resulting in lack of time and energy to manage the emotional and social needs of their children. In addition, parents from low-income families appear to cope with their lack of attention for emotional and social needs through to enlisting their children's help with household chores (Chee et al, 2014). In adopting the roles and responsibilities of parents, children take on heavy burdens to meet their needs and the needs of those around them. The heavy burdens parentified children carry can lead to challenges such as depressive symptoms, anxiety, somatic symptoms, and externalized behaviors such as aggressiveness and disruptive behavior (Englehardt, 2012). Parentified adolescents may also develop dysfunctional behaviors due to the influence of their parents' behaviors or miss out on their own childhood due to overwhelming responsibilities. When experiencing parentification, children are also at risk of neglecting short-term and long-term developmental milestones, such as "identity formation, school achievement, and moving toward autonomy and intimacy" (Stein et al., 2007).

Major Interventions Aimed at Addressing Parentification

Neglect is a federally recognized form of child maltreatment that many children face. The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974 (CAPTA) has acknowledged the need for a safety net to address neglect and encompassing issues such as parentification (P.L. 93-247). CAPTA addresses child abuse and neglect through funding, guidance for States, and taking on a role in supporting research, evaluation, technical assistance, and data collection activities CAPTA was originally enacted on January 31, 1974, in P.L. 93-247 by President Richard Nixon and has been amended various times between the years 1978 and more recently 2019 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [USDHHS], 2019). CAPTA has established the Office of Child Abuse and Neglect, as well as a national clearinghouse of information relating to child abuse and neglect. CAPTA has also established a federal definition of child abuse and neglect which is defined as the failure of a parent or other person with responsibility for the child to provide needed food, clothing, shelter, medical care, or supervision to the degree that the child's health, safety, and well-being are threatened with harm (USDHHS, 2019). Within this definition of neglect, it is appropriate to categorize parentification as a form of neglect. Parentification proves to be a form of neglect in that the parent places their child in a position to adopt adult roles and responsibilities due to failing to provide for the basic needs of the child. Parental negligence resulting in parentification causes children to abandon a childhood status in needing to adapt to an environment that forces

children to provide for their own needs and the needs of others at a level that is not developmentally appropriate. Through CAPTA, parentification is addressed by setting definitions and standards for child treatment and reinforcing these standards through prevention, assessment, investigation, prosecution, and treatment activities (USDHHS, 2019).

Purpose, Rationale, and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the perception of child parentification among Hispanic families in the High Desert region of California. The following research question will be pursued: How is child parentification perceived among Hispanic families in the High Desert region of California?

The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Stipulates:

Social workers should demonstrate knowledge that guides practice with clients of various cultures and be able to demonstrate skills in the provision of culturally informed services that empower marginalized individuals and groups. Social workers must take action against oppression, racism, discrimination, and inequities, and acknowledge personal privilege (NASW, 2017, p. 9-10).

Social workers are also expected to "demonstrate an understanding of culture and its function in human behavior and society, recognizing the strengths that exist in all cultures" (NASW, 2017, pp. 9-10). Without knowledge regarding parentification perceptions in the Hispanic community, social workers are limited

in recognizing and providing culturally informed services to Hispanic families with children undergoing parentification. Research is limited to parentification in different cultural contexts and does not specifically address the Hispanic experience of parentification from the perspective of Hispanic families. This study is intended to act as a stepping-stone to conducting further research about the cultural implications of parentification on Hispanic children by focusing on Hispanic perceptions of the problem. By doing so, social work practice can be better prepared to work with Hispanic families in identifying and addressing parentification. On a macro level, it is important to know about the problem of parentification in a Hispanic context because California houses one of the largest immigration populations in the country. Understanding the extent to which Hispanic families consider parentification a problem will provide greater insight for micro-level practice in having informed discussions about the nature and consequences of parentification. The findings of this study may have important implications for social work practice. Identifying common perceptions of parentification in Hispanic families can guide social workers in assessing inner and outer client resources within their external environment as well as increase understanding about services and resources that can be provided for Hispanic families with parentified children.

## CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

This chapter contains an overview of the literature regarding parentification among Hispanics. Four sections are outlined in this chapter with the first two sections focusing on the synthesis and limitations of existing literature and the last two sections focusing on theories such as attachment theory and psychosocial developmental theory that guide research on parentification.

#### Synthesis of the Literature

Over the last two decades, there have been studies conducted in the United States on parentification in Hispanic populations. Researchers from George State University, Kuperminc et al. (2013) conducted a quantitative short-term, longitudinal study of 199 Latino seventh and eighth-grade students at a public middle school in the Southeastern United States. Through the resilience perspective, the study explores family responsibilities and perceived fairness of caregiving activities as a potential risk or protective factor in the development of Latino adolescents from immigrant families (Kuperminc et al., 2013). Data analysis is based on the structural equation modeling (SEM) and multistate model with invariant parameters (MSIP) to

analyze the change in caregiving and perceived fairness. This study found that filial caregiving efforts can be a potential risk factor when Latino youth, with an immigration background, feel that their efforts are not sufficiently acknowledged or reciprocated, however, the findings also suggest that "family caregiving activities can contribute to positive development among Latino youth" (Kuperminc et al., 2013).

East and Weisner (2009) conducted a qualitative longitudinal research study examining the relations between Mexican American adolescents' family caregiving and their adjustment in providing care for their teenage sister's infant. The theoretical framework of the study was based on Pearlin's stress process model (1978). Utilizing short interviews and self-administered questionnaires, 85 families consisting of 110 Mexican American adolescents and mothers were studied throughout southern California. Participants included families in which a teenage daughter was currently pregnant, between the ages of 15 and 19 years of age and younger siblings between the ages of 12 and 17 years of age. Data were analyzed through hierarchical regressions. Findings of this study indicate that extensive care family responsibilities for infant care and frequent interpersonal conflict surrounding caretaking have detrimental effects on youth.

Researchers Telzer and Fuligni (2009) conducted a qualitative study of 752 adolescents, 232 adolescents being of Mexican descent, to explore a potential relationship between the well-being among groups that place a high importance on family assistance. Participants were chosen with diverse ethnic,

socioeconomic, and immigrant backgrounds from three public high schools in the Los Angeles, California, metropolitan area between the ages of 14 and 15. The study revealed a positive impact on adolescents helping their family when adolescents feel as though they are fulfilling their role as a good son or daughter which appeared to support social identity theory in its basic premise that feeling connected to, and valued by a group relates to better well-being (Telzer & Fulgini, 2009). The daily behaviors of adolescents' assistance were examined utilizing a daily diary method to gather data on the implications for both detrimental and beneficial aspects of psychological well-being. Traditional mean differences, regression analyses, and multilevel modeling were utilized for analysis of collected data from the daily diary method. The findings of this study indicated that daily assistance to the family was not a stressor for adolescents, but a source of increased happiness due to the role fulfillment achieved during assisting their family. "Family assistance serves as a meaningful activity in adolescents' lives by creating a sense of connection to the family" (Telzer & Fulgini, 2009).

#### Limitations of Existing Literature

There are research studies on parentification among Hispanic populations; however, there are also limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, existing research is primarily focused on Hispanic individuals under the age of 18. Adolescent perceptions about the experience of parentification is highly

valuable, however, these studies are not inclusive of the perceptions about parentification throughout various age ranges within the Hispanic population. Third, the synonymousness between immigration status and Latin ethnicity is also a limitation within the studies.

Synthesis of Theoretical Perspectives Guiding this Research
There are two fundamental theories that provide substantial explanations
for the phenomenon of parentification. Attachment theory primarily focuses on
the relationship between children and caregivers which provides a great wealth
of information to assess why children are developing healthy and unhealthy
attachments with their caregivers. Psychosocial development theory focuses on
the social environment in which children learn to adjust and respond to situations
that will ultimately influence growth and development. The social environment of
a child and the relationship between child and caregiver are essential factors
that contribute to understanding the nature and impact of parentification on
children.

#### Attachment Theory

Attachment theory was first developed in the 1930s by psychiatrist John Bowlby, after considering links between infant separation and later maladjustment within the relationship between infants and mothers (Bowlby, 1958). In studying links between infants and mothers, Bowlby formulated the theory of attachment and defined attachment as a "lasting psychological"

connectedness between human beings" (1969). Attachment theory holds that the relationships formed throughout a child's life is highly influenced by the support they receive when undergoing stress and the expectations about the extent to which they will receive support. The main components of attachment theory emphasize the child-caregiver relationship, the dynamics of comfort, security, proximity maintenance, and separation distress between children and caregivers, and attachment styles developed due to the impact of these factors. Attachment styles consist of anxious, dismissive-avoidant, fearful-avoidant and secure attachments which assist in explaining how children are impacted by their environment and relationships with their caregivers and identify how their attachment style will influence their responses to their contemporary environments and relationships (Ainsworth, 1979). Key characteristics of attachment theory are expressed through five basic assumptions: 1) attachment is considered to be adaptive, 2) attachment developments are developed during specific phases in a life cycle, 3) the preferences for specific figures are not inherent, 4) infants usually develop a hierarchy of relationships, 5) preferences for a primary attachment figure are developed with the accumulation of experiences in social interactions depending on the support and responsiveness of a caregiver, especially in contexts requiring safety, and 5) the emergence of adaptive attachment behaviors due to "internal working models of social relationships, persistent separation from a familiar caregiver,

or continuous changes in who is the primary caregiver" (Bowlby, 1958, 1969, 1973).

#### Erikson Psychosocial Development Theory

In 1950, psychologist and psychoanalyst Eric Erickson formulated the psychosocial development theory which proposes that ego identity is reached by facing psychosocial conflicts and goals throughout eight stages of development over the entire life cycle. The main components of psychosocial development include the influence of the social environment, the stages of development through the lifespan, the result of resolving crises through contrary dispositions, the mastering of resolving psychosocial conflict, and the strengthening of the ego in utilizing character strengths. The psychosocial theory holds that there are eight stages in a lifespan in which an individual will need to resolve a psychosocial conflict which will result in acquiring a healthy personality and a basic virtue if resolved successfully, however, if the conflict is not resolved it can be detrimental to an individual's sense of self.

The stages of psychosocial development are established by age range with each age range encompassing a psychosocial conflict and a basic virtue. From zero to 18 months of age, the psychosocial conflict is between trust and mistrust with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of hope. The psychosocial conflict from one to three years of age is between autonomy and shame and doubt with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of will. A child between three to five years old may experience psychosocial conflict between initiative and

guilt with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of purpose. From five to 12 years of age, the description of psychosocial conflict is between industry and inferiority with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of competency. In adolescence, between 12 to 18, the psychosocial conflict is often between identity and role confusion with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of love. From 18 to 40 years old, adults may experience psychosocial conflict between intimacy and isolation with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of care. In later stages of life, between 40 to 65 years of age, the psychosocial conflict is often between generativity and stagnation with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of hope. For age 65 and older, the psychosocial conflict is between integrity and despair with the potential to acquire the basic virtue of wisdom (Erikson, 1959). Psychosocial development theory is founded on the assumptions that social expectations in each stage of development are the same across all cultures, parental influence exists throughout the stages of childhood and adolescence, and humans develop similarly across the eight stages (Erickson, 1959).

Critical Analysis of Theoretical Perspectives Guiding this Research

Theory Evaluation Scale

The Theory Evaluation Scale (TES) is a tool developed by Joseph and Macgowan (2019) that measures the quality of a theory. Using the scale, theories are scored based on nine criteria. TES evaluates whether a theory has

coherence, conceptual clarity, clearly outlines and explains its philosophical assumptions, describes its historical roots in connection with previous research, can be tested and proven false via observational and experimental methods, has been critically tested and validated through empirical evidence, explains its boundaries or limitations, and accounts for the systems within which individuals interact with people around them and recognizes humans as active agents within their environment. TES was utilized in conducting a critical analysis of attachment theory and psychosocial development theory. Both theories have strengths and limitations that need to be accounted for when making use of their theoretical frameworks in ongoing research for parentification.

#### Attachment Theory

#### Coherency

Attachment theory has received a full score on the TES for coherency due to the consistent definition of its meaning, as well as the basic tenets within its formulation, and throughout its utilization in research. In John Bowlby's work, Attachment and Loss (1969, 1982) he clarifies the distinction between the meaning of attachment in his original work and how attachment has been further expanded in the advancement of his theory. The theory of attachment advanced is an attempt to explain both attachment behavior, with its episodic appearance and disappearance, and the enduring attachments that children and older individuals make to figures. In this theory, the key concept is that of a behavioral system. By explaining this distinguishment, attachment theory is

explained by keeping the original meaning of the theory while acknowledging the adaptations to attachment by many other researchers such as Mary Ainsworth (1969, 1972,1978), as well as Bischof (1975), Sroufe and Waters (1977), and Bretherton (1980). Attachment theory has continued to be understood through a clear understanding of its intended meaning.

#### Conceptual Clarity

Regarding conceptual clarity, attachment theory has received a full score on the TES as it is behavioral and psychological in its nature. There is clarity in the sense that professionals, clinicians, and researchers are given a clear presentation of the theory regardless of its behavioral and psychological implications. The provision of the definitions for attachment and attachment behavior allows for conceptual clarity with similar implications for various fields of knowledge. John Bowlby first noted and provided clarity for both the behavioral and psychological meaning of attachment. The psychological definition of attachment is considered a strong disposition to seek closeness and contact with preferred individuals especially in specific situations that require support, safety, and comfort. The disposition of a specific attachment slowly changes over time but is unaffected by any present situation. The behavioral meaning of attachment, by contrast, refers to behaviors that a child commonly utilizes to reach and/or maintain the desired proximity. Attachment behavior time is dependent on present conditions and may be absent or present.

#### Philosophical Assumptions

There are three distinct elements in attachment theory that point toward a combination of the positivism and post-positivism paradigms. First, attachment theory demonstrates a realist ontology through its evolutionary basis of instinctive behavior induced by attachment bonds in the caregiver and child relationship. Second, John Bowlby studied attachment through a dualist and objectivist epistemology which is displayed through disclosing that he was utilizing an ethological and psychoanalysis perspective and approach in studying attachment which is focused more on observation rather than manipulation of variables. Bowlby relied heavily on direct observation in which he did not interfere with the variables he studied but rather observed and recorded them. Third, attachment theory exhibits post-positivism critical multiple methodologies through empirical observations and data collection. Bowlby emphasized describing certain patterns in childhood and personality formulation within natural settings with the intention of introducing discovery about childhood patterns of response and personality formulation. Primary data observations can be used to describe certain patterns of response that occur regularly in early childhood and, thence, to trace out how similar patterns of response are to be discerned in the functioning of later personality (Bowlby, 1969, 1982). For this section, attachment theory received a three on the TES because the philosophical assumptions are not entirely overt in attachment theory, however, there is significant information presented that allows for an analysis of philosophical assumptions.

#### <u>Historical Roots</u>

Attachment theory was originally theorized by psychiatrist John Bowlby in the 1930s, during his training at the London Child Guidance Clinic. Bowlby developed the theory after considering links between infant separation and later maladjustment within the relationship between infants and mothers (Bretherton, 1992). The first basic blueprint of attachment theory is compiled from five papers written by Bowlby between the years 1958 and 1962. His works were known as "The Nature of the Child's Tie to His Mother" (1958), "Separation Anxiety" (1959), and "Grief and Mourning in Infancy and Early Childhood" (1960), and two further papers on defensive processes related to mourning which were written in 1962 but never published (Bretherton, 1992). Attachment theory was initially applied almost exclusively to the study of children and their caregivers (Moss, 2016). Bowlby formulated the theory of attachment, based on a psychobiological and evolutionary account of the nature and function of the child's bond to his or her caregivers but was later expanded to focus on parenting and consistent patterns of attachment, and in the 1980s, the theory was extended to understand adult romantic relationships and then, eventually to all friendships (Ainsworth, 1978; Fearon & Roisman, 2017; Moss, 2016). The research of attachment styles expanded Bowlby's original attachment theory and was utilized to continue to build on the theory and its components. According to Research conducted by Ainsworth (1979, Ainsworth et al., 1978), there were three attachment styles established by conducting a

research study that examined attachment with infants and caregivers. A fourth attachment style was later introduced by Main and Solomon (1986) and used to describe children who defied classification under Ainsworth's rubric (Engelhardt, 2012). In further studying attachment theory, knowledge of attachment has led to the exploration of cognitive mechanisms such as relational schemas, internal working models, and scripts associated with attachment styles (Moss, 2016). Since its development in the 1930s, attachment theory has continuously expanded based on its theoretical framework and contributes to the knowledge-building process in which research is able to utilize the theory of attachment. This section received full credit on the TES.

#### <u>Testability</u>

In this section, attachment theory has received a three on the TES. Given that assessment focuses on biological and psychological perspectives on attachment, there appears to be an imbalance in the means to test and assess attachment for both aspects of attachment theory. Two main classes of measures have been developed to assess attachment style wherein some researchers apply narrative reports such as the Adult Attachment Interview and Experiences in Close Relationships Revised scale. Researchers utilize self-report measures to assess the extent to which participants explicitly feel they seek close relationships and fear rejection (Fraley et al., 2000). Some researchers argue the categorical classification is too restrictive, prohibiting an exploration of graduation in attachment style, and have developed continuous scales to differentiate

attachment styles (Simpson et al., 1992; Simpson & Rholes, 1998). In terms of testing and assessing the biological aspects of attachment, there is a strange situation in a laboratory procedure, but given the empirical nature of the theory, this aspect is assessed primarily through observation.

#### <u>Empiricism</u>

Empirical studies have long characterized the formulation and establishment of attachment theory. John Bowlby, himself conducted empirical research on the theoretical framework of attachment theory. Bowlby's first empirical study, based on case notes from the London Child Guidance Clinic, dates from this period. Like the boy at the school for maladjusted children, many of the clinic patients were affectionless and prone to stealing. Through a detailed examination of 44 cases, Bowlby was able to link their symptoms to histories of maternal deprivation and separation (Bretherton, 1992). Once attachment theory was established as a theoretical framework, two empirical studies were conducted by Mary Ainsworth. Both studies were observational, with the first study taking place in Uganda (1953) and the second observational study taking place in Baltimore (1963). Each study provided a rich source of information regarding the individual differences in the quality of mother-infant interaction and revealed the emergence of characteristic mother-infant interaction patterns (Bretherton, 1992). This section received a four due to its foundation and ongoing empirical research.

#### Boundaries

In this section, attachment theory received a three on the TES due to the

acknowledgment of limitations in the original work of John Bowlby and continued acknowledgment of the theory limitations. In the work Attachment and Loss, Bowlby explicitly admits to understanding that his theory is being studied through a radical perspective and that there is controversy on the validity of a direct observation. He attributes a whole chapter explaining objections, misconceptions, and clarifications of the theory. (Bowlby, 1969, 1982). According to Bolen (2000), attachment theory has various limitations specifically for research on trauma, violence, and abuse. The difficulty in measuring attachment is that it represents the unconscious representation of a relationship that can contradict the individual's conscious perception of the relationship. Additionally, there is potential for the misapplication of attachment theory in primarily perceiving a mother as the primary caregiver. Finally, attachment theory holds the view that attachment is a dyadic property at the level of the family despite societal causes.

#### Usefulness for Practice

The usefulness of attachment theory is inconsistent with support due to the theory's roots in different concepts from ethology, cybernetics, information processing, developmental psychology, and psychoanalysts. The various domains of knowledge have caused controversy in accepting the theory as useful. Benefits of the use of attachment theory include a theoretical framework for understanding some physiological, psychological, and cognitive adaptations to violence and abuse in victims and victimizers, a relational perspective on

many victim-victimizer relationships, and a framework for understanding some dynamics in intrafamilial and extrafamilial violence and abuse (Bolen, 2000). However, the cautions towards the usefulness include the potential for it to become value-laden, recognition of the limitations of the knowledge base, and interpreting findings and limitations of measures (Bolen, 2000). This section received a two-point score on the TES due to its inconsistency of support of usefulness.

#### Human Agency

Attachment theory has implications for active human agency to a certain extent, however, there is research that suggests the active human agency is strictly presented in the context of an external environment. According to Fearon and Roisman (2017), attachment theory makes the bold claim that the causes of variation in attachment security are largely, if not entirely environmental, and that caregiver's sensitivity to infants' attachment cues and communications is the primary environmental determinant. In the work of John Bowlby, there is an acknowledgment of the human agency in making decisions, as well as how the general environment can influence these decisions. John Bowlby noted that in reaching the decision to utilize certain actions rather than others, the attachment system is conceived as drawing on the symbolic representations, or working models of the attachment figure, the general environment, and the self, which are already stored and available to the system. It is by postulating the existence of these cognitive components, and their utilization by the attachment system, that

the theory is enabled to provide explanations of how a child's experiences with attachment figures come to influence how the pattern of attachment he develops (Bowlby, 1969, 1982). Bowlby relied heavily on theories of instinct and instinctual response to propose that attachment behaviors were instinctual responses specific to man which results from the activation of a structure in the presence of particular external conditions (Bowlby, 1958). Despite this reliance on instinctual responses, John Bowlby demonstrated acknowledgment of active human agency in making decisions and the influence of the environment in his later work on attachment and loss (Bowlby, 1969, 1982). Hence, this section received a three-point score on the TES.

#### Psychosocial Development Theory

#### <u>Coherency</u>

Psychosocial development theory has received a full score on the TES. The basic tenets of the theory include life stages, characteristic developmental crisis, ego virtues, and defense mechanisms which are clearly defined and presented. Erikson asserts in his psychosocial theory that ego identity is reached by facing goals and challenges throughout eight stages of development over the entire life cycle (Erickson, 1959). Throughout the work of Erickson, he further elaborates on each tenet of the theory which leaves no space for misunderstanding.

#### Conceptual Clarity

Psychosocial development theory was evaluated using the TES has received a full score. Within the practice and research of social work, there has not been

much evidence to show that there is ambiguity in the direction in which the theory can be applied to practice and research. Erikson's theory postulates that people advance through the stages of development based on how they adjust to social crises throughout their lives. Traumatic events instruct how individuals react to the surrounding world and provide social work professionals with a group of signals that help determine how successfully clients handle crises and progress along with a "maturation timetable" (Erickson, 1959). Conceptual understanding of the definition of the theory and its basic tenets is clear and univocal throughout social work research (Armstrong, 2013; Howe, 1997; Robinson & Kaplan, 2011).

# Philosophical Assumptions

Psychosocial development theory received a three on the TES for this section. The basic assumptions of the theory include social expectations in each stage are the same across all cultures, parental influence exists throughout the stages of childhood and adolescence, and humans develop similarly across the eight stages (Erikson, 1959). These assumptions display a constructivist paradigm specifically in its ontological approach in that the stages of the theory appear to be dependent upon the person that holds them, hence, the emphasis on taking culture into consideration. In terms of epistemology, the theory is subjective in the specific emotional crises and basic virtues acquired in resolving these crises that have been constructed by Erikson. Methodologically, Erikson did not conduct empirical research for his theory, in fact, in Insight and

Responsibility (1964) Erikson suggests that the theory offers a descriptive overview of psychosocial development and does not attempt to define the detailed mechanisms or steps involved.

## Historical Roots

Psychosocial development theory received a full score on the TES for this section due to the widely known provenance of the theory. In 1950, psychologist and psychoanalyst Eric Erickson formulated the psychosocial development theory which proposes that ego identity is reached by facing psychosocial conflicts and goals throughout eight stages of development over the entire life cycle. In 1942 Erikson became a professor of psychology at the University of California, Berkeley. During the 1940s Erikson produced the essays that were collected in Childhood and Society (1950), the first major exposition of his views on psychosocial development (Britannica, 2021). Erikson began by working with Freud's theories specifically, but as he began to dive deeper into biopsychosocial development and how other environmental factors affect human development, he soon progressed past Freud's theories and developed his own ideas (Knight, 2017). Not much research has been added to the theory, however, the theory has been utilized in research.

#### Testability

The testability of psychosocial development theory received a three on the TES. The theory provided a framework for development, but the stages that have been identified by Erikson have been utilized to create measures to test

development. There are two tools to measure psychosocial development known as The Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory (EPSI) and the modified version following it (MEPSI) (Orenstein & Lewis, 2020). There is also the Measure of Psychosocial Development (MPD) self-inventory tool and the Inventory of Psychosocial Balance (Domino & Affonso, 1990). The theory itself is not tested, however, its basic tenets are utilized in research to create test measures as well as find similarities between different studies that can validate the framework provided by Erikson.

## **Empiricism**

The psychosocial development theory was not empirically tested by Erik
Erikson when formulating his theory, rather he utilized and built on the work of
Sigmund Freud's psychosexual theory to formulate new ideas about
development. There is not a large amount of research that has empirical
evidence for the theory itself, however, empirical research has been conducted
based on the literature on psychosocial development theory. There have been
many research studies based on the Erikson stages of development, some
studies have noted that the theory is under-developed and lacks validity,
whereas other studies have provided support for the theory (McAdams, 2001;
McCrae & Costa, 1997). This imbalance of support for empirical research places
the psychosocial development theory at a three on the TES.

### Boundaries

Psychosocial development theory received a two on the TES for this section because there is evidence for the acknowledgment of limitations for this theory, however, these limitations are not all entirely explicitly presented by Erickson. There are some notable limitations with the theory. Specifically, stages may not be sequential or play out in the order described, and the age range for each stage may not be correct. Stage eight suggests a move from activity to passivity, but many people are highly productive, active members of the community in their later years. Searching for identity may occur many times throughout our lives, not only during adolescence, and the development processes involved in each stage are unclear (Brown & Lowis, 2003; Marcia, 2010; McCrae & Costa, 1997; Orenstein, 2020). Furthermore, the theory also fails to explain how and why development occurs.

### Usefulness for Practice

Psychosocial development theory received a two on the TES since the usefulness of the theory is not specific to social work, nor does it provide a strong foundation for implementation in practice. However, the theory does provide a broad framework to conceptualize development throughout the lifespan. The eight stages in Erikson's psychosocial development theory establish a maturation timeline that has empirical support and provides a stepping-stone for movement toward proper growth. Social workers can apply this knowledge to distinguish individual difficulties and, in turn, provide the

appropriate support and services for tackling these challenges, however, the theory falls short as a one-size-fits-all social work tool.

## Human Agency

Human agency within psychosocial development theory is not entirely emphasized, however, it is not completely negated either. This section received a three on the TES. Psychosocial development theory places emphasis on individuals reacting and being shaped by the environment while also acknowledging that individuals play a role in responding in the process of selfawareness, adjustment, human development, and identity. In analyzing psychosocial development theory, it is important to note that although the theory places a great emphasis on the environment of an individual, Erikson believed that the individual played an active role in identity formulation by creating a coherent sense of self and who one is in relation to the world. Erikson proposed that identity development continued throughout the lifespan and was not inherently complete by a certain age (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2004). This perspective on identity development demonstrates that Erikson believed the personality of individuals is not solely dependent on the environment but also on how the individual responds to the environment.

#### CHAPTER THREE

#### **METHODS**

#### Introduction

In thoroughly assessing the social problem and research question being addressed, chapter three provides the process and methods utilized in conducting this study through components involved in planning and executing an ethical and appropriate research study. The seven components presented in this chapter include the protection of human subjects, research design, sampling, data collection instruments and procedures, sensitizing concepts, research hypotheses, and data analysis.

#### Protection of Human Subjects

The researcher completed the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative program course: Social and Behavioral Responsible Conduct of Research in June 2020 and received a certificate valid until June 2025. The research study was submitted to the CSUSB Institutional Review Board for approval during the academic fall semester in 2021. Informed consent was conducted through the provision of an electronic consent form providing information about key components, risks and benefits of the research study, and the extent of participation that will be involved. Given the current covid-19 restrictions, the researcher abided by Center for Disease Control (CDC) guidelines throughout

the time of collecting data from participants. This research study utilized identification numbers to provide participant privacy in which data collected cannot be traced back to a participant. Data was made confidential in a secured spreadsheet for electronic data as well as a locked location for handwritten data. The data files will be destroyed after three years after the completion of the study.

## Research Design

A qualitative approach is employed in this study with the purpose of exploring perceptions about parentification among the Hispanic population. This study utilizes an exploratory research design aimed at exploring the research question established by the researcher. A non-experimental method was used to collect data about participants' subjective reality regarding parentification through interviews. This study is cross-sectional in that the researcher collected data while simultaneously examining the study variables from the same sample during the same period. The findings of this study cannot be generalized to the larger population because the data are collected in an uncontrolled environment.

## Sampling

This study used non-probability sampling methods including purposive and snowball sampling with a sample of one individual per Hispanic family

(N=up to 20). After providing an informed consent form and the participant agreeing to be 18 or older, of Hispanic ethnicity, and bilingual in English and Spanish, the researcher provided a questionnaire requesting demographic information in which participants provided age, gender, city of residency, and family member status. The researcher utilized purposive sampling by asking permission to place flyers in locations that serve a large population of Hispanics such as Hispanic restaurants, locally owned Hispanic businesses, Hispanic churches, and Hispanic grocery stores in the High Desert such as Vallarta, El Super and Cardenas. Snowball sampling was used by the researcher in contacting acquaintances and colleagues to request assistance in recruiting potential participants.

# Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

The qualitative nature of this research study relies on the researcher as a principal instrument for collecting and processing data from participants. The researcher developed an informed consent form and a questionnaire form to collect demographic characteristics such as age, ethnicity, gender, language, family member status, city of residency in the High Desert and an email to be reached at. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews via telephone calls, video calls, or in-person conversations. Interview questions were openended to encourage discussion. The questionnaire was carefully worded to prevent leading questions and ensure there are no negatively constructed

questions that could affect the goal of neutrality in discussing parentification.

Interview questions were guided by a parentification instrument (Mika, Bergner, & Baum, 1987) and the guidance of the research supervisor.

The procedure for inviting potential participants to participate in the study included placing flyers with a QR code that directs a participant to the informed consent form in strategic locations that serve Hispanic populations. The researcher also provided an electronic copy of the flyer and a link to the informed consent form to acquaintances and colleagues to help distribute the information to potential participants. The procedure for administering the demographics questionnaire was through an electronic QR code or electronic link which allowed the researcher to screen participants prior to scheduling an interview. After screening potential participants that met the inclusion criteria and appeared to be the best fitting for the study, the researcher emailed them about conducting an interview via a telephone call, video call, or a personal conversation at a time, date, and location that worked best for the participant.

On the day of conducting the interview, the researcher asked covid-19 screening questions and explained informed consent, privacy, and confidentiality. The researcher confirmed that the participant agreed to allow the researcher to audio record the interview. The researcher confirmed the participant will be notified of plans for keeping and destroying files. The researcher conducted the interview and ask open-ended questions to the participant. At the end of the interview, the researcher allowed for clarifying questions to eliminate any

ambiguity or confusion. The meeting with the participant concluded with the researcher asking for permission to contact the participant if necessary for the remainder of the study.

# Sensitizing Concepts

There are several key terms that are pertinent to this study. Parentification is approached as the extent to which a child contributes to a family system with an emphasis on the impact on the child psychically, emotionally, and psychologically. Contribution is defined as any help being provided by a child for the overall functioning of a family system. Responsibility is defined as an expectation to fulfill certain tasks and roles within a family system. Perception is defined as an individuals' subjective reality. The High Desert is defined as the region within the Victor Valley area in Southern California composed of the cities Adelanto, Apple Valley, Hesperia, Lucerne Valley, and Victorville. Hispanic is defined as an individual of Latin descent.

## Data Analysis

The data underwent systematic and thorough thematic analysis of audio recordings, interview transcripts, and questionnaire responses to identify patterns in the meaning of parentification. Audio recordings were transcribed, and an interview transcript was created for each participant. There were three files created to house audio recordings, interview transcripts, and questionnaire

responses. Each file will have a coding system to identify a participant's audio recording, interview transcript, and questionnaire response without personally identifiable information for confidentiality purposes. The researcher created a handwritten codebook for the participant coding system. The research utilized ground-up coding to ensure that preconceived notions are not the basis of coding data. Ground-up coding was utilized by categorizing codes according to themes that emerge from the data itself.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

#### **RESULTS**

#### Introduction

This study sought to answer the question: How is child parentification perceived among Hispanic families in the High Desert Region of California? This chapter provides results regarding the perceptions about parentification among six Hispanic individuals in the High Desert Region. Participants were asked thirteen questions derived from a parentification scale. These questions were specific to identifying children acting in a spousal role in relation to their parents, a parental role in relation to their parents, and a parental role in relation to their siblings.

## Frequency Distribution

Table 1 presents the demographic characteristics of the study participants. All the participants were Hispanic. In terms of gender, half of the respondents were males, and the other half were female. All participants were 18 and older. Participants are between the age range of 18-44 with the majority being in the 35-44 age range. Within the High Desert Region, a majority of the participants are in Hesperia, and one is in Apple Valley. The participants reported their family statuses within their current residence resulting in three participants being parents, one participant being an aunt, one participant being a sibling and another participant being another member not specified.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics (N=6)

Variables	N
Race	
Hispanic	6
Gender	
Male	3
Female	3
Age	
18-24	2
25-34	1
35-44	3
Preferred Language	
English	6
Spanish	
Family Member Status	
Parent	3
Sibling	1
Aunt	1
Uncle	
Cousin	
Other	1

# City of Residence

Adelanto

Apple Valley 1

Hesperia 5

Lucerne Valley

Victorville

# Study Themes

Thematic analysis of interview responses uncovered consistent and similar perceptions on certain aspects concerning parentification. Table 2 Highlights the six major themes that emerged from the data: 1) Children as a resource in the household: chores, siblings, advisors, comforters, 2) Parentification requires parental consent: obey rules and follow directions, 3) Parentification depends on child's age, 4) Parentification as a learning experience, 5) Parentification should not be a physical or emotional burden for the child: the limits of parentification, and 6) Mixed perceptions on aspects of parentification: finance, conflict resolution, influence. Each of these themes is described below.

Table 2. Study Themes

Themes	Description
Theme 1	Children as a resource in the household (contributors, chores, siblings, advisers, comforters)
Theme 2	Parentification requires parental consent (obey rules and follow directions)
Theme 3	Parentification depends on the child's age
Theme 4	Parentification is a learning experience
Theme 5	Parentification should not be a physical or emotional burden for the child (the limits of parentification)
Theme 6	Mixed perceptions on aspects of parentification (finance, conflict resolution, influence)

#### Children As a Resource in the Household

All six participants were asked questions regarding children contributing to their families, giving advice to their parents, and consoling their parents in times of distress. The responses to these questions revealed a perception of viewing children as resources in the household when contributing to chores and caring for siblings, as well as acting as advisers and comforters.

## Contribution to Chores

Participants reported similar views on the type of contribution children should be making to families. Regarding contributing to chores, participants expressed that it was expected for children to participate in house cleaning, room cleaning, taking care of pets and animals, outdoor cleaning, and picking up after themselves. Below are the responses of participants regarding contributing to household chores.

With chores, we always refer to our household as a team, so we work together to make sure that everyone's doing their part, to you know, take care of animals, to clean the house. (Participant R)

As kids grow up, they can kind of fulfill more responsibilities, such as cleaning around the house, or outdoor things as well too, if maybe they have dogs or, you know, cleaning the, you know, poops or stuff like that from the dogs. (Participant O)

They should be able to contribute...around the house, you know, just simple work, like...making sure your room is clean...if your parents need help with something or whatever. (Participant F)

Basic house things, I think. Especially cleaning their own space...maybe washing their own dishes... doing their own laundry. (Participant C)

# Contribution to Sibling Care

Regarding children contributing to their families through sibling care, participants displayed an expectation for children to care for their siblings through certain physical responsibilities and emotional support. Below are responses from participants regarding physical responsibilities:

I think maybe babysitting and they can assist with feeding...and I think that's as far as should go. But I think it also depends on the age because if you're 15 and over then you can help a little more. (Participant S)

Babysitting is a good physical responsibility, maybe even making dinner.

(Participant O)

Depending on their age and how younger their siblings are; it would probably be things that might pertain to looking over like observation.

Where they can assure that the younger children are not getting into some sort of trouble or danger or physical harm. That could be like probably the best and you know, if they do see them being harmful, they will alert the parents. (Participant G)

If you can or if you're able to cook, cooking can go a long way when making sure that your siblings are fed. If the parents are unable to do so make sure that your siblings are clean, that they're dressed, that they're that you're able to get them where they need to go, if you're able to drive or whatever. (Participant F)

Below are responses from participants regarding children providing emotional support for their siblings:

Be able to share with each other and talk with each other and deal with things like siblings would but, again, it would be important to make sure that it doesn't go beyond a sibling thing. (Participant C)

I would say that siblings should be able to love each other of course because it's your flesh and blood and you know they are children too and they need support, and they need love...for those who have a good moral center and who have compassion for people they'll always be support systems for their siblings and you know love on them and all. (Participant F)

Not entirely responsible, but they should help them out if, you know, if their siblings are going through something, too. As siblings, you know, whether you're older or younger...want to help each other out too and, I mean, that's within your inner circle too so it's good to help your inner circle out too with whatever is going on within y'all. (Participant O)

## Contribution as Advisors

Regarding children acting as advisors, most of the participants shared a common view that children should be able to provide advice on certain issues but not all issues, especially issues that are heavily weighted. Participants expressed that children should have the opportunity to share their thoughts and give suggestions when parents are asking for advice in making important decisions. Below are the responses to perceptions of children being advisors for important decisions:

At any age it is ok for parents to ask their children for advice... I think it depends on the situation or factors, you know, it could be a suggestion like an advisor, what do they think of like you know of clothing, maybe something...small. (Participant S)

I think if the important decision that's being made has to do with the child... then I think they should be kind of given that opportunity to have a say in it so you know I mean after all the parent is the one who's going to make the final decision. (Participant O)

I think it depends on how weighted those decisions are... I would say generally, nothing more than just having them in the conversation, you know. (Participant C)

If it's considered with their age and their maturity and you know if they have a good head on their shoulders then they could put in the advice but only when it's appropriate because you know, to make a kid be your sole

center of stability or responsibility or accountability is not good.

(Participant F)

## Contribution as Comforters

Regarding children as comforters, participants were asked the question: How should children console their parents when their parents are in distress? All participants expressed children could provide comfort for their parents, but responses varied in how this comfort could be displayed. Four out of six participants mentioned physical affection as a form of providing comfort. Expressing sympathy, showing recognition, and being encouraging were among other forms of comfort as well.

If they were just seeing mommy sad and wanted to give me candy or

something, or hugs, of course, you know, so generally not at all but you know, of course, we're all human, and I think they deserve to be a comforting factor, too, if they can. (Participant C)

I think maybe just by recognizing...that mom is having a really stressful day...give a quiet hug... understanding, recognizing and not necessarily having to go over the top and like "Oh, I love you I you know you're the most beautiful thing in the world," like I don't think a parent really needs to be coddled or held with a white glove in that sense. (Participant R)

Ideally, they would try to comfort them. Try to kind of express some sympathy for them too. I mean just at least like hearing them out, would

probably be a good, good way to support that parent in distress.

(Participant O)

Uh, encourage them to know that everything's gonna be OK. Tell them you love them, you know, physical affection is important. Uh, affirmation towards them can really go a long way so let them know everything is gonna be OK and that you know that you are there for them and that you love them... and you know let them know that they're alright. (Participant F)

Touching, hugging, sitting close. That's kind of, I think, their way of expressing their consolation. That's the thing that's natural, developmentally, especially with little kids. (Participant G)

Parentification Requires Parental Consent: Obey Rules and Follow Directions

All participants were asked two specific questions: 1) What are children's roles and responsibilities within the family? 2) When is it appropriate for older siblings to set rules and make decisions about day-to-day activities for their siblings? The responses to these questions revealed a perception that children are expected to follow parental rules and directions. This leads to the theme that parentification requires parental consent in that parents are expecting children to follow their rules and directions even when they may lead into a parentified role.

For example, when participants were asked about the roles and responsibilities

of children, most of the participants gave responses regarding obedience, adhering to a structure, and being good students.

A child's role within the family is to obey their parents, honor their parents and to care for one another. (Participant G)

To always, you know, be understanding towards your parents because, you know, obviously no one is perfect and, you know, just recognize...the effort that your parents are putting in...also...when you can, you know, being an aid to your parents. (Participant F)

To be good listeners and almost in a sense to be students when we're teaching them. (Participant R)

To adhere to the structure that's being given by their parents, as much as possible. Same thing, you know, as long as it's like, well within like a sensible approach or scope, you know, and give respect and kind of mind their manners as well to everyone. (Participant O)

When participants were asked about when it is appropriate for older siblings to set rules and make decisions about day-to-day activities for their siblings, the responses were based on older siblings being given rules and directions from their parents to take part in certain decisions and activities for their siblings.

When it's being given to them by their parents. Making sure that communication between them and their parents is clear that they know what their role is as far as looking after their siblings. (Participant F)

It's always the parent's job to set those responsibilities or limits. Unless the parents just kind of asked the older sibling to communicate their rules to the siblings but never make up their own. (Participant G) When they have had enough experience with how, like the kids kind of respond to daily activities as well as to like, what do the kids do...So, if the one kid is always running around and screaming and stuff like that too and, you know, the older sibling already has an idea of how this kid reacts to maybe like it's sugary treats that get them that way too so they may you know kind of dictate what food he eats throughout that day too. So, and they know what's good for that child at that point to like I said where they kind of inherit that parental responsibility because of... Maybe not, not enough time for the parents to spend with their kids. And I think they're there are well...within their rights to kind of make the decision that makes sense for further siblings because they've already had enough time with them, maybe even more than the parents honestly in some cases.

(Participant O)

I think it's appropriate when maybe there's harm... we put my eldest in charge of my youngest to go run to the grocery store real quick and she has the phone and if anything were to happen. He knows he needs to follow her into the safe zone and for direction. the same thing with let's just say they're eating junk food and he wants something, and she knows that they're not allowed to have that because we're coming home with dinner

or whatever I think in that point in time when she can step in and redirect him remind him then I think that would be an appropriate time for her to have a sense of authority over the younger sibling. (Participant R)

# Parentification Depends on The Child's Age

This theme emerged from a consistent pattern of participants referring to the age of children when responding to different questions. Participants appeared to perceive age as a standard by which a child could fulfill certain responsibilities and tasks. "Age" was the basis of how questions were answered by participants and guided the extent to which participants perceived parentification was present. Responses for the age of children were given based on three questions: Below are responses to the question: Can children benefit from being responsible for doing laundry, making dinner, cleaning the house, or doing all the dishes for the family?

So, um it depends upon the age. Children are considered in the United States from ages 0 to 17. So, it would vary, it would definitely vary in degrees as far as responsibilities. It's more instructional and more assisting rather than it is like doing completely or fully and I guess when they grow older obviously more and more responsibility is given to them. (Participant G)

I would say what's your definition of a child or children? I think the responsibility to be solely responsible for everything that you've listed off

should be a responsibility that an older child carries, who may not have the responsibility of still being in school. (Participant R)

Below are responses to the question: How involved should children be in their parent's emotional needs?

I don't think they should be 100% into it. It depends on the situation and the problem, and the age of the child. (Participant S); ... I think at a certain point, but maybe not if they're 18 and under. They shouldn't really be so invested in their parents like emotional issues and stuff like that or things that are really sensitive topics...I think there's a fine line of like how much into depth, you should go. But I think when we're getting to really sensitive topics, and you know like motion a vulnerability. I think that can probably be something that can be done later in life, maybe like in like into young adulthood, possibly, where you can finally find friendship with your parents as well too. (Participant O)

It just depends upon like the age I think. The age has to do a lot with how much they can bear. I think if anything, if uh the younger they are I don't think they should be exposed to any arguments or disputes between parents or emotional needs anything like that because they're in their developmental stage. (Participant G)

Below are responses to the question: When is it okay for parents to ask their children for advice in making important decisions?

I think it's important when you already know the answer to those decisions. So, they can start learning or understanding how to problem solve and guide them through those decisions so that they make decisions that you already made. But again, it's just it's the age right. (Participant G) When the child's over 20... I don't think it's a burden that we share with our kids. I think we try to do our best to shoulder the burden of responsibilities for our kids so that our kids can be focused on being kids and not have to worry about the extra I guess consequences of life that adults normally shoulder. (Participant R)

# Parentification as a Learning Experience

Participants expressed a perception in children can receive learning experiences through contributing to the responsibilities and roles that the participants expect from children.

It gives them an idea of having responsibilities as they grow up. It gives them the concept of when they become adults, they can take over responsibility and have an understanding of what it is... they'll just make a better character of them to be responsible. (Participant S)

I think it's important for children to have responsibilities because that's how they're learning. If we do not give them a sense of responsibility.

There's no sense of ownership, there's no sense of pride in taking care of

what they have, what they've earned. It sets them up for failure as older kids, as young adults. (Participant R)

It can teach discipline... reinforce positive behaviors... creating good habits to show that things don't just fall off. You know like the money tree or anything, you know, so that like they have to work to earn something as well too. So, nothing is just always there. They don't have to always live a spoon-fed life. And having responsibilities, like I said, it kind of makes other experiences, more satisfactory as well too... Because if you, you know, kind of gone through hardships, depending on, of course, like the level of difficulty too, but definitely teaches...to gain a sense of maturity as well. (Participant O)

There is a direct consequence to everything, and not even in the negative sense. You don't get to... walk away, and just take all the good in life. I think it's really important that they understand there are consequences to everything they do, whether they're good or bad consequences you know it doesn't have to be really terrible things, and that's it. (Participant C) Well, that's so it could teach them how to be productive adults when they get older. So, the family is like a microcosm, if you will, a nucleus of the larger society. So, contributing with responsibility in the household the hope is that eventually in society, they will also display those responsibilities and actions and care. (Participant G)

Parentification Should Not Be a Physical or Emotional Burden for The Child

This theme arose from the responses of participants when responding to questions regarding physical responsibilities and emotional responsibilities to parents and siblings. Participant responses exhibited a perception that parentification is detrimental when responsibilities are burdensome and inappropriate thus, revealing the limits of parentification. Below are a few responses to the limits of physical responsibility:

As far as contributing to the family I think it's depending on the difference of age between siblings because usually when it comes to parents having multiple siblings but like the oldest sibling will usually be 10 years older or more to the other siblings that come after they take on the mantle of also being like another caretaker to the younger ones... that can be a rough time because you know obviously, the child didn't asked when to be born at all, this sort of thing it happens and so but as it is contribution should always be spread amongst equally you know it should never have to be a burden on just one person. (Participant F)

I think for the most part children should not contribute anything that deals with like labor, anything hard like that. (Participant G)

No, it should not be solely the responsibility of a child, because I find that children benefit when they aren't carrying responsibilities of an adult...We're guiding them so that they're learning to be capable of doing it on their own as they get older as far as responsibilities... it's allowing

them to participate in general chores that they can handle for that particular age range. (Participant R)

Below are responses that reflect the limitations to emotional responsibilities:

I don't think they should be exposed to any arguments or disputes between parents or emotional needs or anything like that because they're in their developmental stage. It is incrementally teaching them about the adult responsibilities' um so yea it's not so much like having them share your weight of emotional needs or feelings. (Participant G)

I think it's important for kids to have you know things that they can be honest about or ask questions about but I don't know, you know, about emotional throw up onto your kids, or you know, letting them know about situations that might not benefit their well-being at the time. I think them knowing too much is negative, but at a certain point they should they should be in the know, at the same time, I think it's important that they

If your parent is going through something, you know, be willing to listen of course but at the same time responsibility of solving everything does not lie with them because overall they don't know how to approach something as drastic as mental health or anxiety depression or you know things going on between the parents like adultery's lying gambling. You know any dangerous factor that can affect a marriage the child should not have to be

know about their parents as humans, you know their past or their lives in

general. (Participant C)

a part of that because it's not something that a child should experience you know it can be very traumatizing and it can be very hard on the child to understand that you know that people can do that to each other you know... Whatsoever so yeah, it's definitely a fine line between helping you know being an encourager to your parents that's stressed out to being around the parent that can be a danger to themselves and others so. (Participant F)

Mixed Perception on Aspects of Parentification: Finance, Conflict Resolution, and Influence

There are mixed perceptions about the role of children on key familial issues. Participants had inconsistent views on the extent to which children should be involved in financial matters, conflict resolution between parents, as well as the degree of influence children should have in important family decisions.

#### Financial Matters

One participant was supportive of children being actively involved in financial matters within a family:

So I would say that if they're at all able to help out it should be discussed of how they can help out but you know to say your child needs to work very long hours throughout the week in order to help out in the house can be very rough...So now whether the child is OK with it and sees that this is how they're gonna help out their family then that's a good thing, you know but if they know

that they have to in order to keep a roof over their head, it's doable and in a sense they should be able to contribute, but it doesn't make it any easier for them, so it can be it's very difficult to you know approach that with a sense of understanding and clarity of like "Oh well this is what's just what I'm got to do because you know our family is poor and you know this is this is the only way we keep a roof over our head and you know this just what I have to do."

(Participant F)

A few participants were supportive of children being involved in financial matters but only from a teaching perspective:

You can, you know, train them, or teach them how we operate in financial situations. Again, everything is a teaching aspect right so they get to like, to learn, or you can teach them to have their own financial like supplement or money and help them or assist them on paying for certain things that they might want but never like yeah never role within parent context. (Participant G) They should have the role of a listener, understanding what the importance is and maybe, if there's a financial struggle, understanding what that financial struggle is so that they can in part, maybe help with turning off the lights, not leaving the lights on or taking shorter showers. The conversation is just the parents letting the kids know, "Hey? You know, Mom and dad both work. Mom just lost her job or Dad just lost his job. We're in good standings but we just want you guys to know that there's something that we need to worry about." It's a different approach, it's a different conversation. But I would say, just for our

family in general, we like to include our kids, so that they're aware and that they can again help as a team to maybe cut costs with hot water, or, you know, lights being on or situations like that otherwise I would say, you have to be very careful with with again having adult conversations with children who just aren't old enough to be able to comprehend because I think it in certain situations you may be causing more stress and anxiety for that child, because they aren't they aren't too sure how how to help. But in that immediate sense they feel like there's an obligation to help and it's almost like we're kind of setting them up for failure. (Participant R)

Other participants were against children having any involvement in financial matters:

I don't think kids have the best perspective on how finances are, you know, taking into account I mean, every family is different of course too, and every individual is different. But I do think maybe when they are closer to, like, still like maybe 18 kind of still makes sense where like they can start to kind of like take into consideration the financial aspect of like the family dynamic...But even then, like that they're probably barely getting a job, for instance you know like getting out of school and stuff so they don't have, like I said, the biggest idea of like how issues can be so I'm not very involved, I guess. Like, not not having the biggest say I suppose. (Participant O)

They shouldn't have a role in that. It's the parents or the adults. (Participant S)

Yeah, not at all. I don't think finances are ever, ever kids place, I mean, what are they gonna do? Yeah, in my family you were really young when you started getting jobs, and I don't think that's appropriate. I don't. Yeah, no, not at all. (Participant C)

# Conflict Resolution

When asked how children should take responsibility for dealing with parental conflict, three participants expressed those children are responsible to communicate with parents about the conflict:

I think through communication will be the perfect way...So then it would depend on the conflict on how they respond. (Participant S)

Their responsibility is to be honest, to be as open as possible, whether they are open immediately, or whether they need time to be open and transparent with us to share whatever their struggles are. (Participant R)

They probably have seen this conflict, right? between parents. So, if they have, it's about having them talk it out. Having parents listen, apologizing when we're asking for forgiveness, if need be. So that's kind of how I would say that responsibility is, just having a comfortable environment where they can actually voice their opinion of what they witnessed. (Participant G)

Whereas three participants expressed those children should have no responsibility in dealing with parental conflict:

Not at all. I don't think that parental issues are something that they should be involved with, at least not between each other. (Participant C)

I think for the most part, like I said, if it doesn't involve them to a big degree, then they should probably stay out of it... for bigger issues I think that's probably better left for the parents. (Participant O)

When it comes to regular arguments or whatever you know obviously don't get involved because it's none of your concern, you know, and parents do argue you know it's just a fact of life...the child should never get in between two parents because it's not their fight you know. They shouldn't have to, you know, fight someone else's battle. (Participant F)

# Degree of Influence

Participants were asked the question: how influential children should be when parents are making important adult decisions? Below are mixed responses from participants:

Yeah. extremely important. So I think it's a matter of how involved that decision is going to affect their lives, and then that determines how weighted it is.

(Participant C)

I think if the important decision that's being made has to do with the child...Then I think they should be kind of given that opportunity to have a say into it so you know I mean after all the parent is the one who's going to make the final decision. And they shouldn't be okay with, you know, taking an opinion from their child that may not be what they're seeking, but it could give them some reinforcement into maybe shaping their decision a little bit better...It

could have given them some clarity. But also, don't hold it to the highest degree at the same time. (Participant O)

If it's considered with their age and their maturity and you know if they have a good head on their shoulders then they could put in the advice but only when it's appropriate because you know to make a kid be your sole center of stability or responsibility or accountability is not good, so yeah there's a parent has to be stable within themselves so that the child can lean off of that stability from them. (Participant F)

Influential. Not so much. I would say only if it deals with something that they may benefit from, for instance clothes or a toy or something like that, that they earned. (Participant G)

I think we try to do our best to shoulder the burden of responsibilities for our kids, so that our kids can be focused on being kids and not have to worry about the extra, I guess, consequences. (Participant R)

#### CHAPTER FIVE

#### DISCUSSION

Research has not provided a significant amount of knowledge regarding the Hispanic cultural context and perceptions of Hispanic individuals surrounding parentification. The purpose of this study was to explore the perception of child parentification among Hispanic families in the High Desert region of California. This study utilized a qualitative approach of collecting data through semistructured interviews consisting of thirteen questions derived from items on a parentification scale that measures parentified roles and responsibilities in the parental and sibling relationship. The results from the semi-structured interviews reveal the following themes: children as a resource in the household, parentification requires parental consent, parentification depends on child's age, parentification as a learning experience, parentification should not be a physical or emotional burden for the child, and mixed perceptions on aspects of parentification.

## Consistency with the Previous Research

Prior research has primarily utilized a quantitative approach to conducting research on parentification within Hispanic culture, as it has also focused more on caregiving efforts and family assistance rather than parentification itself.

(Kuperminc et al., 2013) focused on Latino young adolescents from immigrant families and found that there is a potential risk for Latino youth from immigrant

families when youth feel that their considerable filial caregiving efforts are not sufficiently acknowledged or reciprocated. Findings also suggest that enacting family caregiving activities can contribute to positive development among Latino youth. East and Weisner (2009) focused on Mexican American adolescents who provide infant care for their older sisters and found that extensive family responsibilities for infant care and frequent interpersonal conflict surrounding caretaking have detrimental effects on youth. Telzer and Fuligni (2009) focused on adolescents from Latin America and found that family assistance is associated with higher levels of happiness because of the sense of role fulfillment that it provides to adolescents from Latin American backgrounds. Providing daily assistance to the family generally is not stressful for these adolescents.

The findings from this study neither reflect nor depart from the findings of prior quantitative research, however, the findings represent new knowledge for qualitative research on parentification with a Hispanic cultural context. This new knowledge includes six themes that reflect the perceptions of Hispanic individuals regarding parentification. These six themes describe children as a resource in the household, parentification requiring parental consent, parentification depending on the child's age, parentification as a learning experience, parentification not being a physical or emotional burden for the child, and mixed perceptions on aspects of parentification.

## Implications of the Findings

## <u>Implications of the Findings for Theory</u>

The findings of this study can be conceptualized through attachment theory and psychosocial development theory. Regarding attachment theory, particular themes within this study have reflected attachment as the basis on which parentification is carried out if it is present in a household. The main components of attachment theory emphasize the child-caregiver relationship, the dynamics of comfort, security, proximity maintenance, and separation distress between children and caregivers. The first theme regarding children as a resource in the household is reflective of the dynamics of comfort and security. Children as a resource in the household is not viewed in a negative light by Hispanic individuals, rather children are viewed as sources of comfort and security that contribute to the overall functioning of the household. The second theme discusses parentification requiring parental consent. The fourth theme discusses parentification as a learning experience which reflects the childcaregiver relationship through the lenses of attachment in that parents exhibit a parenting approach to parentification, as opposed to parentification based on neglect or abuse. This parenting approach demonstrates proximity maintenance in that these two themes are reflective of children experiencing the roles and responsibilities that can encompass parentification in a way that involves parents giving consent and teaching lessons from the experiences thus creating attachment.

There are three additional themes from the findings that are reflected in the main components of psychosocial development theory. The third theme acknowledges parentification depends on age demonstrates how participants highlighted the importance of age as a major factor for the presence of parentification. This theme heavily emphasizes the importance of taking age into account with different aspects of parentification due to developmental needs of children. The psychosocial theory holds that there are eight stages in a lifespan in which an individual will need to resolve a psychosocial conflict before acquiring a healthy personality and a basic virtue if resolved successfully. However, if the conflict is not resolved it can be detrimental to an individual's sense of self. Parentification being dependent on age reflects this same concern for whether children will experience detriment if they are parentified at a certain age. The fifth theme recognizes parentification should not be a physical or emotional burden for the child and the sixth theme identifies mixed perceptions on aspects of parentification in regard to financial matters, conflict resolution and degree of influence. These two themes are reflective of the influence of the social environment and resolving crises through contrary dispositions. The participants often referred to the importance of children not being placed in positions where they could not handle the weight of adult roles and responsibilities because of the individual needs of the children regardless of the household needs. These two themes reflect how participants value individual needs within a household setting thus making parentification a developmental process of self.

## Implications of the Findings for Research

To the researcher's knowledge no study has been, conducted for the High Desert area nor has there been a study that exclusively focuses on the perceptions of the participants in regard to parentification. This study did not call upon the personal experiences of participants but rather the perceptions on certain aspects of parentification. Participants answered questions that were based on roles and responsibilities attributed to parentification without being given knowledge of background information about parentification. Therefore, this study makes a significant contribution to literature on parentification.

## <u>Implications of the Findings for Social Work Practice</u>

The findings of this study can have implications for both micro and macro social work practice. On a micro level, the findings of this study can assist in providing some understanding about parentification as a form of parenting within Hispanic culture. Social workers will be able to take the themes found in this study to engage Hispanic clients during assessments without assuming Hispanic families are being neglectful or abusive to their children. In recognizing the influence of culture, attachment development and parenting approaches that occur within Hispanic families, this study can provide insight on the values and expectations of Hispanic families regarding parentification.

On a macro level, the findings indicate that there may be a disconnect between laws that would consider parentification a form of neglect whereas the findings in this study would disagree due to participants' view on parentification as child contribution and even a vehicle for teaching children. Laws such as The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974, would consider parentification a form of neglect in that parents place their child in a position to adopt adult roles and responsibilities that forces children to provide for their own needs and the needs of others. The findings in this study can be utilized to assist social work departments, agencies, and organizations to acknowledge the cultural differences that may not be aligned with law and policy in regard to parentification. Hopefully, the information in this study will push professionals to advocate for Hispanic families when the policies and laws are not aligning with their values and expectations within the relationships with their children.

## Limitations of the Findings in this Study

This study added meaningful knowledge about parentification through the perceptions of Hispanic individuals, however, various limitations exist. First, the sample size (N=6) is relatively small. Findings could have been different with a larger sample size and added requirements for sampling such as the inclusion of older participants. The location of the study also poses a limitation. Solely focusing on the High Desert region does not reflect the perceptions of Hispanics across the whole Southern California, thus findings are not generalizable but have implications strictly for the High Desert region. Another limitation includes the possibility of social desirability bias. The participants' social desirability bias could be reflected by answering questions that are based on their own Hispanic culture, as well as parenting styles or experiences with parenting styles that are

closely related to parentification. The researcher could not rule out the possibility of respondent bias, especially social desirability bias.

## Directions for Future Research

It would be wise for future research to address the limitations acknowledged in this study. More specifically, future research should recruit a larger number of participants to approximate the population being studied more closely. In recruiting more participants, the age range of participants should be more diverse and obtaining older participants should be highly considered. It would be beneficial to recruit from different areas across Southern California to improve generalizability. To limit bias quantitative methods should be used in future research. In the meantime, the findings in this study can serve as a template for future research.

## APPENDIX A INFORMED CONSENT

#### INFORMED CONSENT

The study in which you are being asked to participate is designed to investigate the extent to which a child contributes to a family system and its impact to the child psychically, emotionally, and psychologically. This study is being conducted by Kaylin Lopez under the supervision of Dr. Joseph Rigaud, Assistant Professor in the School of Social Work at California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB). This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board, California State University, San Bernardino.

- ❖ PURPOSE: The purpose of this study is to explore the perceptions about child parentification among Hispanic families in the High Desert region.
- ❖ DESCRIPTION: Upon completion of the survey and reviewing informed consent, the participant will be contacted to schedule an interview.
- ❖ PARTICIPATION: Your participation is completely voluntary, and you do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer.
- ❖ CONFIDENTIALITY: Researcher will utilize a secured spreadsheet and a locked location for handwritten data. Data files, including audio recordings will be destroyed three years after the study is completed.
- ❖ DURATION: The survey will take about 30 minutes to complete. Duration of interviewing will be based on participants; however, interviews will not exceed 45 minutes for any given session.
- \* RISKS: Although not anticipated, there may be some discomfort in answering some of the questions. You are not required to answer and can skip the question or end your participation.
- ❖ BENEFITS: There will not be direct benefits to participants, but the results of the study will capture the voice of Hispanic individuals regarding children in Hispanic households and expand future research on this topic.
- ❖ AUDIO & VIDEO RECORDINGS: I understand and agree to interviews being audio and/or video recorded. The researcher will only use the audiotape and videotape in ways that you agree to. Initials\_\_\_\_\_
- ❖ CONTACT: For answers to pertinent questions about the research and research subjects' rights, and whom to contact in the event of a research-related injury feel free to contact the research supervisor of this study, Dr. Rigaud Joseph via (909) 537- 5507 (office number), (954) 773-6347 (cellphone), or rigaud.joseph@cussb.edu.
- \* RESULTS: Results of the study can be obtained from the Pfau Library ScholarWorks database (http://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/) at California State University, San Bernardino.

This is to certify	that I read the above and I am 18 years or older.
Initials	Date

# APPENDIX B INTERVIEW GUIDE

## Perception of Parentification: A Qualitative Study of Hispanic Families in Southern California Interview Guide

### Child contribution

- 1. How should children contribute to their families?
- 2. What are children's roles and responsibilities within the family?
- 3. Why is it important for children to have responsibilities within the household?

### Adult Role Taking-nonspecific items

4. Can children benefit from being responsible for doing laundry, making dinner, cleaning the house or doing all the dishes for the family?

## Spousal Role-Parent items

- 5. How involved should children be in their parent's emotional needs? Such as listening to their parents' personal problems and concerns, intimate secrets, or arguments.
- 6. What role should children have in discussing family financial issues with their parents?
- 7. When is it okay for parents to ask their children for advice in making important decisions?

## Parental Role-parent's items

- 8. How influential should children be when parents are making important adult decisions?
- 9. In what ways should children take responsibility in dealing/responding with conflict between parents?
- 10. How should children console their parents when their parents are in distress?

#### Parental Role-sibling items

- 11. What kinds of physical responsibilities should the eldest siblings have for their younger siblings? Ex: Babysitting, bathing, dressing, feeding, assisting with homework, discipling.
- 12. When is it appropriate for older siblings to set rules and make decisions about day-to-day activities for their siblings?
- 13. How are children responsible for their siblings' emotional well-being?

THIS INTERVIEW GUIDE WAS CREATED BY THE RESEARCHER, KAYLIN LOPEZ.

APPENDIX C
IRB APPROVAL

November 4, 2021

#### CSUSB INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Administrative/Exempt Review Determination Status: Determined Exempt IRB-FY2022-61

Rigaud Joseph Kaylin Lopez CSBS - Social Work, Users loaded with unmatched Organization affiliation. California State University, San Bernardino 5500 University Parkway San Bernardino, California 92407

Dear Rigaud Joseph Kaylin Lopez:

Your application to use human subjects, titled "Perception of Parentification: A Qualitative Study of Hispanic Families in Southern California" has been reviewed and determined exempt by the Chair of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of CSU, San Bernardino. An exempt determination means your study had met the federal requirements for exempt status under 45 CFR 46.104. The CSUSB IRB has weighed the risks and benefits of the study to ensure the protection of human participants.

This approval notice does not replace any departmental or additional campus approvals which may be required including access to CSUSB campus facilities and affiliate campuses. Investigators should consider the changing COVID-19 circumstances based on current CDC, California Department of Public Health, and campus guidance and submit appropriate protocol modifications to the IRB as needed. CSUSB campus and affiliate health screenings should be completed for all campus human research related activities. Human research activities conducted at off-campus sites should follow CDC, California Department of Public Health, and local guidance. See CSUSB's COVID-19 Prevention Plan for more information regarding campus requirements.

You are required to notify the IRB of the following as mandated by the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) federal regulations 45 CFR 46 and CSUSB IRB policy. The forms (modification, renewal, unanticipated/adverse event, study closure) are located in the Cayuse IRB System with instructions provided on the IRB Applications, Forms, and Submission webpage. Failure to notify the IRB of the following requirements may result in disciplinary action. The Cayuse IRB system will notify you when your protocol is due for renewal. Ensure you file your protocol renewal and continuing review form through the Cayuse IRB system to keep your protocol current and active unless you have completed your study.

- Ensure your CITI Human Subjects Training is kept up-to-date and current throughout the study.
- Submit a protocol modification (change) if any changes (no matter how minor) are proposed in your study for review and approval by the IRB before being implemented in your study.
- Notify the IRB within 5 days of any unanticipated or adverse events are experienced by subjects during your research.
- Submit a study closure through the Cayuse IRB submission system once your study has ended.

If you have any questions regarding the IRB decision, please contact Michael Gillespie, the Research Compliance Officer. Mr. Michael Gillespie can be reached by phone at (909) 537-7588, by fax at (909) 537-7028, or by email at <a href="mailto:mgillesp@csusb.edu">mgillesp@csusb.edu</a>. Please include your application approval number IRB-FY2022-61 in all correspondence. Any complaints you receive from participants and/or others related to your research may be directed to Mr. Gillespie.

Best of luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Nicole Dabbs

Nicole Dabbs, Ph.D., IRB Chair CSUSB Institutional Review Board

ND/MG

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