The Relation between Implicit and Explicit Self-Esteem Predicting Inconsistent Parenting

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE RELATION BETWEEN IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT SELF-ESTEEM

PREDICTING INCONSISTENT PARENTING

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

BETHANY J. OTTO

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without my mom, sister, and future husband. Each of you provided unique support and understanding that is unparalleled. Thank you for your love and support. I love you all so much.
To my parents, siblings, and future husband
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ABSTRACT

Recent research has begun to examine insecure high self-esteem, which is characterized by low implicit (unconscious) and high explicit (conscious) self-esteem. However, little work has investigated its possible origins. Examining its origins is important because empirical findings have linked insecure high self-esteem to defensiveness, narcissism, in-group bias (Bosson et al., 2003; Jordan et al., 2003; Trumpeter et al., 2008), and anxiety (Bos, Huijding, Muris, Vogel, and Biesheuvel 2010). The current research investigated the possible origin of insecure high self-esteem in inconsistent parenting based on relevant research and theories that link parenting to the development of implicit and explicit self-esteem. Contrary to what was hypothesized, this link was not found in the combined parents inconsistent parenting measure or mom measures of inconsistent parenting. However, a significant relation was found between dad inconsistent parenting the development of insecure high self-esteem.
THE RELATION BETWEEN IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT SELF-ESTEEM
PREDICTING INCONSISTENT PARENTING

Introduction

Researchers have examined both explicit (i.e., self-reported, accessible) and implicit (i.e., unconscious, automatic) self-esteem and how they interact to influence people’s behavior and response to threat. Specifically, research has begun to investigate insecure (high explicit and low implicit) versus secure high self-esteem (high explicit and high implicit) and important outcomes related to these different “types” of high self-esteem (Bosson, Brown, Zeigler-Hill, & Swann, 2003; Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne, & Correll, 2003; Kernis, Cornell, Sun, Berry, & Harlow, 1993; Trumpeter, Watson, O’Leary, and Weathington 2008). Research on insecure high self-esteem has found an association with it and a number of negative social interactions, notably defensiveness, narcissism, in-group bias (Bosson et al., 2003; Jordan et al., 2003; Trumpeter et al., 2008), and mental health problems of anxiety (Bos, Huijding, Muris, Vogel, and Biesheuvel 2010). However, the possible origins of insecure high self-esteem have yet to be examined.

One possible origin of insecure high self-esteem is inconsistent parenting, which is most commonly seen in parenting behaviors that are expressed to the child on one day, and not expressed on the next. Characteristics of inconsistent parenting include
inconsistency in discipline, mood, attitude, love, support, expectations, autonomy, etc. These types of inconsistencies can be expressed by the parent in a number of ways, namely the parent says one thing to the child and then does another, a specific behavior is encouraged by the parent one day and punishable the next, or the parent verbally professes love for the child but withholds all physical expressions of love (DeHart, Pelham, & Tennen, 2006; Luxton, 2007; Yoshizumi, Murase, Murakami, & Takai, 2006). Inconsistent parenting encompasses a wide range of behaviors and expressions. Researchers have examined the inconsistency of parenting and its association with the instability (i.e., standard deviation) of explicit self-esteem across a two week period (Kernis, Brown, and Brody, 2000; Luxton, 2007; Trumpeter, Watson, O’Leary, and Weathington, 2008). To my knowledge, there has been no empirical investigation of how the inconsistency of parenting may be related to the origins of insecure high self-esteem.

**Insecure High Self-Esteem**

Jordan and colleagues (2003) proposed that individuals hold self-evaluations that have been over-learned and incorporated into the automatic, unconscious (implicit) self-esteem and also self-evaluations that are more recently learned, and incorporated into conscious (explicit) self-esteem. Specifically implicit self-esteem is unconscious, develops earlier in age, and is more difficult to change; whereas explicit self-esteem is believed to develop later than implicit self-esteem, is conscious, and is more easily altered (Bowlby, 1988; Koole, Dijksterhuis, & van Knippenberg, 2001). Although implicit and explicit self-esteem are both related to one’s self-concept, they are weakly correlated at best (Bosson, Swan, and Pennebaker, 2000).
Several researchers have investigated the relation between implicit and explicit self-esteem, and most importantly between low implicit and high explicit (insecure high) self-esteem (Jordan et al., 2003; Zeigler-Hill, 2006; Kernis et al.’s [2000] research on the stability of explicit self-esteem). Jordan and colleagues (2003) have proposed that there are four potential associations between implicit and explicit self-esteem: secure high self-esteem (high explicit and high implicit), stable low self-esteem (low implicit and low explicit), “glimmer of hope” self-esteem (high implicit and low explicit), and insecure high self-esteem (low implicit and high explicit). Individuals with high implicit self-esteem and low explicit self-esteem (glimmer of hope) are thought to have had previously positive interactions with significant others resulting in high implicit self-esteem, but due to more life events (i.e., death of a loved one, divorce) are currently experiencing low explicit self-esteem (Bosson, Brown, Zeigler-Hill, & Swann, 2003; Bosson, Lakey, Campbell, Zeigler-Hill, Jordan, & Kernis, 2008). Lastly, individuals with insecure high self-esteem presumably hold positive conscious self-beliefs, while their unconscious self-beliefs are more negative (Jordan et al., 2003).

Kernis et al. (2000) did not specifically look at the relationship between implicit and explicit self-esteem, but rather examined the stability of explicit self-esteem. In their research the authors characterized unstable/fragile self-esteem as “vulnerable feelings of immediate self-worth that are subject to the influence of externally provided and internally generated positive and negative experiences.” While implicit self-esteem was not deliberately measured, based on their definition of unstable self-esteem and Jordan et al.’s (2003) definition of insecure high self-esteem, Kernis et al.’s (2000) work is
conceptually related to insecure high self-esteem (Jordan et al., 2003). For example, for individuals with unstable self-esteem, their self-esteem is more likely to be affected by a positive or negative event related to their self-worth (Kernis et al., 2000), much like insecure high self-esteem (Jordan et al., 2003).

Zeigler-Hill (2006) identifies the discrepancy between explicit and implicit self-esteem as being either discrepant low or discrepant high self-esteem. Discrepant low self-esteem is the combination of high implicit and low explicit self-esteem, which Zeigler-Hill (2006) attributes to current distress in one’s self-evaluation (similar to Jordan et al,’s “glimmer of hope”). Whereas discrepant high self-esteem is the combination of low implicit and high explicit self-esteem characterized by positive explicit self-evaluations that are vulnerable and fragile due to the low implicit self-evaluation that one holds (Zeigler-Hill, 2006; similar to Jordan et al.’s [2003] insecure high self-esteem and Kernis et al.’s [2000] unstable/fragile self-esteem). Ziegler-Hill (2006), Jordan et al. (2003), and Kernis et al.’s (2000) ideas are conceptually related and it is therefore reasonable to assume that defensive, unstable, and discrepant self-esteem relate to the similar concept of insecure high self-esteem (Zeigler-Hill, 2006). Thus, for practical purposes, these different concepts will be referred to as insecure high self-esteem throughout the rest of this paper to reduce potential confusion of using more than one name to describe a single concept.

Insecure high self-esteem has been associated with an inadequate internalized structure (Trumpeter, Watson, O’Leary, and Weathington, 2008) and a number of negative interpersonal outcomes (Jordan et al., 2003). Trumpeter and colleagues (2008)
proposed that a self with a strong internalized structure, presumably facilitated by positive, consistent parenting, allows an individual to be less fragile when faced with threat. On the other hand, individuals with inadequate internalized structure, likely instilled by inconsistent parenting, are more likely to act defensively in the face of threat. Those with insecure high self-esteem are known to have defensive reactions when their positive, explicit self-view is threatened. When the explicit self-view is threatened, the implicit negative self-view may come into focus spurring an individual to react in a defensive manner and use self-maintenance techniques to restore their positive self-view (Jordan et al., 2003). Self-maintenance techniques employed by those with insecure high self-esteem include derogation of others and dissonance reduction (Jordan et al., 2003).

Not only do individuals with insecure high self-esteem exhibit interpersonal compensatory behaviors in the face of threat, they also exhibit higher levels of narcissism (Bosson, Lakey, Campbell, Zeigler-Hill, Jordan, and Kernis, 2008; Jordan et al., 2003; Otway and Vignoles, 2006, Ziegler-Hill, 2006) and are more likely to report inflated self-perceptions (Bosson, Brown, Zeigler-Hill, and Swann, 2003). Although Bosson, Brown, Zeigler-Hill, and Swann (2003) did not specifically assess narcissism in their research, they highlighted the connections between the insecure high self-esteem self-enhancement strategies and the strategies employed by people high in narcissism. The researchers further mentioned that the personality profile to which the high explicit and low implicit (insecure high) self-esteem participants were most likely to identify with was inherently narcissistic. While not identical, insecure high self-esteem and narcissism are similar in their negative expressions, biases and compensatory behaviors. Given all of the negative
outcomes associated with insecure high self-esteem, it is important to examine the potential developmental origins of these “high” self-esteem individuals.

**Origins of Explicit and Implicit Self-Esteem**

The self is socially constructed in that it is highly influenced by parents, family members, peers, and close others (Bowlby, 1988; Harter, 2012; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, and Downs, 1995; Leary, 2005). For example, Symbolic Interactionism specifies that the development of one’s self-concept is highly contingent on the treatment one receives from others (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). In addition, according to Attachment Theory, beliefs about the self are believed to develop early in life based on interactions with caregivers (Bowlby, 1988). That is, how responsive a caretaker is to a child’s need are internalized into a working model. This working model functions as both an unconscious (implicit) and conscious (explicit) evaluation of how the child is perceived by others, and is a basis for the development of the child’s implicit and explicit self-esteem (Bowlby, 1988). Attachment Theory proposes that a child’s secure attachment with parents produces the greatest amount of competence and confidence within a child, while insecure attachment with parents is associated with lower confidence and competence (Bowlby, 1988).

According to the Sociometer Theory, explicit self-esteem is an indicator of one’s perceived interpersonal value to others (Leary et al., 1995; Leary, 2005). This theory posits that an individual’s self-esteem is formed through social interactions. For instance, according to Sociometer Theory, those who have high self-esteem have perceived interpersonal acceptance, while those with low self-esteem have perceived interpersonal
rejection. DeHart and colleagues (2006) have suggested that implicit self-esteem is also an indicator of perceived interpersonal value to others. Interpersonal rejection or acceptance can be identified unconsciously, which influences the development of implicit self-esteem. It seems reasonable to assume that upon further evaluation of the situation, the unconscious interpersonal rejection or acceptance can be brought into explicit, conscious view that ultimately impacts both the implicit and explicit self-esteem.

Baumrind (1966) identified three common parenting styles that are related to self-esteem: permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative. Permissive parenting is characterized by little control or structure, and self-governance of the child. Conversely, authoritarian parenting is characterized by control and strict rules. Authoritative parenting, arguably the most beneficial parenting style, is identified by a parent-child give-take relationship with well-structured rules based in communication and collaboration. In relation to self-esteem, authoritativeness has been linked to more positive and healthy self-functioning (Harter, 2012). In contrast, authoritarian parenting has been linked to lower self-esteem in which children typically inflate their self-views to protect themselves against their parents’ expectations and lack of warmth (Buri, 1989; Harter, 2012). Finally, permissive parenting is associated with lower self-esteem and narcissism (Trumpeter, Watson, O’Leary, and Weathington, 2008). Parental inconsistency can be linked to both parental permissiveness and authoritarianism (Kernis, et al., 2000). Permissive parents can be perceived as inconsistent in that they do not express enough concern about the child to provide structure and rules although expressing a lot of love for the child. Authoritarian parenting can also be associated with
inconsistent parenting in that love and acceptance are often contingent on the child’s adherence to strict rules and regulations.

DeHart, Pelham, and Tennen (2006) looked at the relation between undergraduate participants’ implicit self-esteem and parenting experienced as a child. In their research DeHart et al. (2006) asked participants to recall the parenting styles they experienced growing up. Participants who reported having more nurturing and caring interactions with their parents during childhood also reported higher levels of implicit self-esteem. Conversely, DeHart and colleagues (2006) found that participants who reported more parental overprotectiveness reported lower levels of implicit self-esteem, whereas permissive parenting (i.e., rule structure irregularity) was not related to implicit self-esteem but it was related to explicit self-esteem. In the third study, mothers’ reports of parenting were also related to their child’s levels of implicit self-esteem. To my knowledge, their work provided the first empirical evidence showing that parenting was related to both implicit and explicit self-esteem. The current study is an extension of DeHart and colleagues research (2006), but will focus on the important association of inconsistent parenting and insecure high self-esteem.

Potential Origins of Insecure High Self-esteem

While researchers have studied, measured, and identified outcomes of insecure high self-esteem, little research has been conducted on the possible origins of insecure high self-esteem. Kernis, Brown, and Brody (2000) looked at unstable/fragile explicit self-esteem (related to insecure high self-esteem) and its potential roots in parent-child communication and inconsistent parenting. The authors proposed that inconsistent
parenting conveys the message that parents are uninvolved with children or do not care enough to enforce consistent rules, reducing self-regulation of children, and providing inconsistent reflected appraisals to developing children and their self-esteem.

Characteristics of inconsistent parenting include inconsistency in discipline, mood, attitudes, love, support, expectations, autonomy, etc. As mentioned previously, inconsistent parenting can be expressed by the parent in a number of ways: incoherence of verbal and behavioral expressions, rules that the child is expected to adhere and punishment variation, and verbal, behavioral, and emotional expressions of love toward the child that do not correspond (DeHart et al., 2006; Luxton, 2007; Yoshizumi, Murase, Murakami, & Takai, 2006). In regards to inconsistent parenting, Kernis and colleagues (2000) found that parents who were perceived as more critical, who used name-calling, and who were psychologically controlling had children with unstable explicit self-esteem. These behaviors can be perceived as inconsistent in that the parent may be very critical of behaviors exhibited by the child, yet engage in the behaviors him/herself, or psychologically controlling in that clear expectations are not given to the child creating confusion and anxiety. Conversely, parents who were perceived as expressing more approval, were discipline consistent, and used positive problem solving had children with stable explicit self-esteem (Kernis et al., 2000).

For children, indications of nurturance, acceptance, and love given to them from parents act as a foundation for the development of positive, stable self-esteem, and mixed messages received from parents can lead to unstable self-esteem (Buri, 1989; Harter, 2012). Research conducted by, Harter (2012) found that children of parents who are cold
and hold high expectations for their children are found to typically inflate their self-views to cover implicit insecurities and protect themselves against their parents’ expectations and lack of warmth (also see Otway and Vignoles, 2006). Additionally, psychological control, authoritarian, and permissive parenting were associated with narcissism (Horton, Bleau, and Drwecki, 2006; Ramsey, Watson, Biderman, and Reeves, 1996). Research by Trumpeter et al. (2008) specifically looked at the relation between parenting and children’s explicit self-esteem, which revealed a negative association between parental inconsistency and self-esteem. Overall, theory and research suggest that inconsistent parenting may lend itself to insecure high self-esteem in which narcissistic tendencies arise and are expressed later in life (Otway and Vignoles, 2006; Ziegler-Hill, 2006).

**The Current Study**

The current study wants to extend previous research (DeHart et al., 2006) by examining inconsistent parenting that may be related to insecure high self-esteem. In other words, we want to examine the interaction between implicit and explicit self-esteem as it relates to inconsistent parenting. It is hypothesized that there will be a significant main effect of explicit self-esteem on inconsistent parenting. This would suggest that people high in explicit self-esteem would report less inconsistent parenting than people with low explicit self-esteem. I also predict that there will be a main effect of implicit self-esteem. That is, people with high implicit self-esteem are less likely to report inconsistent parenting than people with low implicit self-esteem. Finally, I predict that there will be a significant Explicit Self-esteem x Implicit Self-esteem interaction predicting inconsistent parenting. That is, the relationship between implicit self-esteem
and inconsistent parenting depends on whether people have high or low explicit self-esteem. Additionally, the predicted simple slopes will reveal that implicit self-esteem is negatively related to inconsistent parenting for those with high explicit self-esteem. For those with low explicit self-esteem, it is also predicted that implicit self-esteem will be negatively related to inconsistent parenting, although this effect will be weaker. Thus, implicit self-esteem is predicted to be associated with inconsistent parenting for those with high and low explicit self-esteem, although the effect will be weaker for those with low explicit self-esteem.

**Methods**

**Participants**

We recruited 300 participants in two phases to participate in an online survey through MTurk in exchange for 50 cents and the opportunity to win $50 in a raffle. Round one of data collection (N = 200) was open to international respondents, while round two (N = 100) was limited only to respondents within the United States. Ten participants were dropped from the analyses because they failed attention check items. Two hundred ninety participants, 143 males and 147 females, with an average age of 33 years (M= 32.8), were included in the analyses. The ethnic identity of this sample included 7% African-American, African or Black, 47% Asian-American, Asian, or Pacific-Islander, 38% European-America, Anglo, or White, 4% Hispanic-American or Latino, 3% Native American or American Indian, and 1% Bi- or Multi-Racial individuals.
Overview of Procedure

Participants who grew up (0-18 years of age) in contact with a mother and a father were asked to take a survey about parenting styles. In addition, participants were required to be at least 18 years or age and have an MTurk “HIT” approval rating (an approval rating system in which requesters grade the quality of workers’ “work”) of at least 95% to help ensure the collection of quality data. The survey included demographic measures (age, race, sex, etc.; see Appendix A), a measure of explicit self-esteem, implicit self-esteem, and three parenting measures. Each parenting measure included a separate version for mothers and a separate version for fathers.

Measures

Implicit self-esteem. The Name-Letter measure is an indirect measure of implicit self-esteem (Kitayama & Karasawa, 1997; Koole et al., 2001; Nuttin, 1985). Participants were asked to rate letters of the alphabet on a 9 point scale (1 = dislike very much to 9 = like very much; see Appendix B) with instructions to rate the letters quickly and use their “gut impressions” when making decisions. To create a baseline liking score for each letter, mean ratings were taken from individuals who do not have those specific initials (see Kitayama & Karasawa, 1997; Koole et al., 2001). Participants’ ratings for their initials were then subtracted from this baseline average letter liking. Participants first and last name exhibited a modest correlation, \( r(281) = .42, p < .01 \), and were averaged together. The combined difference score was then used as an indicator of the individual’s implicit self-esteem, with higher scores indicating higher implicit self-esteem and lower scores representing lower implicit self-esteem.
Explicit self-esteem. Rosenberg’s (1965) 10-item measure of explicit self-esteem was used (e.g. “On the whole, I am satisfied with myself;” see Appendix C). Participants were asked to rate how much each statement reflects their self-view on a seven-point scale (1= not at all true, 7= completely true). Negative items were reverse scored so that higher reported ratings indicated a more positive global explicit self-esteem (α = .88).

Parent-Child Communication Measure. Kernis et al.’s (2000) measure was compiled from preexisting measures (for a full review, see Kernis et al., 2000) and new items developed for their study (see Appendix D). Participants were asked to rate how much each statement reflects their perceived parents’ parenting style and communication on a seven-point scale (1= not at all true, 7= completely true). Kernis et al.’s (2000) measure includes items on Critical/Insulting (e.g., “Your mom/dad has a tendency to say things to you which it would be better if s/he kept to her/himself”), Psychological Control: Guilt Induction (e.g., “Does your mom/dad think and talk about your misbehavior long after it is over?”), Approval: Verbal Acknowledgments (“Your mom/dad talks about the good things you have done”), Approval: Modes of Expression (e.g., “Your mom/dad lets you know that s/he is pleased with something that you have done”), Discipline Consistency (“How often does your mom/dad make a rule, but forget it soon afterward?”), Positive Problem Solving (e.g., “How often does your father/mother listen to your side of an argument?”), and Negative Problem Solving (e.g., “How often does your dad/mom just seem to get angry?”). Appropriate items were reverse scored and averaged together (Mom α = .92, Dad α = .91).
**Consistency of Parenting Measure.** Luxton (2007) developed a 40-item measure to assess parental consistency in control/autonomy (e.g., “S/he allowed me to choose my own way of doing things”) and care/warmth/support (e.g., “S/he made me feel like I had a number of good qualities”) as it relates to uncertain self-esteem. Participants rated how much each item described their moms (and dads) consistency on a seven-point rating scale (1= not at all consistently, 7= very consistently, see Appendix E). Appropriate items were reverse scored and averaged together (Mom $\alpha = .97$, Dad $\alpha = .97$).

**Parenting Scale of Inconsistency.** Yoshizumi and colleagues (2006) developed a 12-item measure to examine parental inconsistency (e.g., “What my father/mother said and how they acted were not consistent,” and “Whether or not my father/mother got angry at what I did depended on their mood at the moment”). Participants were asked to rate items on a seven-point scale (1= not at all descriptive, 7= very descriptive; see Appendix F). These items were averaged together (Mom $\alpha = .94$, Dad $\alpha = .95$) to create separate measure variables for moms’ and dads’ inconsistent parenting.

**Results**

**Descriptive Statistics**

Table 1 contains the descriptive statistics and correlations of implicit self-esteem, explicit self-esteem, and individual and aggregated parenting measures. Explicit self-esteem was negatively correlated with all mom and dad inconsistent parenting measures. Implicit self-esteem was only correlated with Mom Consistency, Dad Consistency, and Dad Parent-Child Communication. All of the parenting measures were highly correlated with one another, with the exception of Dad Consistency with Mom Inconsistency and
Dad Inconsistency with Mom Consistency. Because all mom inconsistent parenting measures were highly correlated (all $r$’s > .42, $p$’s < .01), they were combined into one mom inconsistent parenting measure ($\alpha = .80$). Similarly, because all dad inconsistent parenting measures were also significantly correlated (all $r$’s > .27, $p$’s < .01), they were averaged into one dad inconsistent parenting measure ($\alpha = .75$). The overall mom and overall dad inconsistent parenting measures were highly correlated ($r = .32$, $p < .01$), so they were combined to create an aggregate inconsistent parenting measure ($\alpha = .76$). Explicit self-esteem was significantly correlated with the combined mom and combined dad measures, and the aggregate inconsistent parenting. In regards to the combined inconsistent parenting measures, implicit self-esteem was only correlated with the aggregate inconsistent parenting measure.
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mom-Communication</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consistency</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistency</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad-Communication</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consistency</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistency</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mom</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Dad</td>
<td>.71**</td>
<td>.85**</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Combined</td>
<td>.53**</td>
<td>.68**</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.81**</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparing Round One and Round Two

Because data was collected in two rounds\(^1\), Round One consisted of respondents from around the world and Round Two consisted of only respondents from the United States, we wanted to examine whether or not the different rounds were significantly different on key measures. To determine whether or not Round One respondents were significantly different from Round Two respondents we conducted t-tests on implicit self-esteem, explicit self-esteem, combined mom measures, combined dad measures, and the aggregate parenting measure (See table 2). These analyses revealed that there was not a significant difference in Round One and Round Two respondents on implicit self-esteem and explicit self-esteem in the combined mom inconsistent parenting measure, the combined dad inconsistent parenting measure, and the overall mom and dad inconsistent parenting measure (all mom and dad measures combined and averaged). The only significant difference observed was in the overall dad inconsistent parenting measure where participants from Round One reported significantly higher inconsistent dad parenting than Round Two respondents. We included round of assessment as a control variable in all of our subsequent analyses.

\(^1\) Data collection in two rounds was not intentional. The first round allowed individuals from around the world to participate. This was a concern because different cultures have different parenting practices. As such, we decided to administer another round of the survey to only individuals within the United States.
Table 2. Ratings of self-esteem and inconsistent parenting measures as a function of round one and round two of data collection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Round One</th>
<th>Round Two</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>5.12(1.06)</td>
<td>5.38(1.30)</td>
<td>-1.64</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Self Esteem</td>
<td>1.02(1.68)</td>
<td>.96(1.64)</td>
<td>.316</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mom</td>
<td>3.79(.88)</td>
<td>3.68(1.34)</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Dad</td>
<td>3.67(.98)</td>
<td>3.31(1.20)</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Combined</td>
<td>3.70(.78)</td>
<td>3.54(1.04)</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ethnicity and Study Variables

In addition to investigating the differences between Round One and Round Two, we wanted to examine the differences between the different ethnicity groups. To do this, we first performed a one-way ANOVA on the relation between ethnicity and our key study variables. The one-way ANOVA revealed that there was a significant difference of ethnicity on explicit self-esteem, F (2, 256)= 4.56, p = .01, dad inconsistent parenting, F (2, 199)= 6.24, p < .01, mom inconsistent parenting, F (2, 184)= 3.79, p = .02, and aggregate inconsistent parenting, F (2, 139)= 6.63, p < .01. This suggests that participant’s with different ethnicity varied on our key variables. To examine this finding, we condensed the six ethnicity variables into three categories: (1). Racial Minorities (African-American/Black, Hispanic-American/Latino, Indian-American/Native-American, and Multi-, Bi-Racial), (2). Asian (Asian-American/Asian/Pacific-Islander), and (3). White (European-American/Anglo). First, we looked at the linear contrasts of White against the two other groups of ethnicity (See Table 3). There was a significant difference between White vs. Asian and White vs. Racial Minorities on explicit self-esteem, mom inconsistent parenting, dad inconsistent parenting, and parents combined inconsistent parenting. However, the differences between both linear contrasts were not
significant for implicit self-esteem. Next, we examined the linear contrasts of Asian vs. Racial Minorities (See Table 4). The results showed that there was not a significant difference between Asian and Racial Minorities on implicit self-esteem, explicit self-esteem, dad inconsistent parenting, and mom inconsistent parenting. However, there was a significant difference on overall inconsistent parenting. Because there was not a significant difference between Asian and Racial Minorities on our predictor variables, implicit and explicit self-esteem, we combined these two groups of ethnicity into one Non-White ethnicity group. This leaves us with two ethnicity groups, White vs. Non-White, that significantly differed from each other on explicit self-esteem, mom inconsistent parenting, dad inconsistent parenting, and overall inconsistent parenting (See Table 5). However, there was not a significant difference on implicit self-esteem. We included this ethnicity variable as a control in all of our subsequent analyses.

Table 3. Linear contrasts of white vs. Asian and white vs. African-American, Native-American, Latino, and multiracial ethnicities on self-esteem and inconsistent parenting measures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>3 vs. 2</td>
<td>5.48 vs. 5.10</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 vs. 1</td>
<td>5.48 vs. 4.92</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>3 vs. 2</td>
<td>.98 vs. 1.11</td>
<td>-.62</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 vs. 1</td>
<td>.98 vs. .68</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mom</td>
<td>3 vs. 2</td>
<td>3.52 vs. 3.87</td>
<td>-2.03</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 vs. 1</td>
<td>3.52 vs. 4.10</td>
<td>-2.85</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Dad</td>
<td>3 vs. 2</td>
<td>3.24 vs. 3.68</td>
<td>-2.62</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 vs. 1</td>
<td>3.24 vs. 3.93</td>
<td>-3.65</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Combined</td>
<td>3 vs. 2</td>
<td>3.39 vs. 3.74</td>
<td>-2.25</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 vs. 1</td>
<td>3.39 vs. 4.18</td>
<td>-4.69</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1= African-American/Black, Hispanic-American/Latino, Indian-American/Native-American, and Multi-, Bi-Racial, 2= Asian-American, Asian, Pacific-Islander, 3= White, Caucasian, Anglo
Table 4. Linear contrasts of Asian-American, Asian, Pacific-Islander vs. African-American, Native-American, Latino, and mulit-racial ethnicities on self-esteem and inconsistent parenting measures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>2 vs. 1</td>
<td>5.09 vs. 4.92</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>2 vs. 1</td>
<td>1.11 vs. .68</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mom</td>
<td>2 vs. 1</td>
<td>3.87 vs. 4.10</td>
<td>-1.45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Dad</td>
<td>2 vs. 1</td>
<td>3.68 vs. 3.93</td>
<td>-1.51</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Combined</td>
<td>2 vs. 1</td>
<td>3.74 vs. 4.18</td>
<td>-3.12</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1= African-American/Black, Hispanic-American/Latino, Indian-American/Native-American, and Multi-, Bi-Racial, 2= Asian-American, Asian, Pacific-Islander

Table 5. Ratings of self-esteem and inconsistent parenting measures as a function of white vs. non-white ethnicity groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>Non-White 5.06</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>-2.91</td>
<td>257</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td></td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Self-Esteem</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mom</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Dad</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Combined</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Main Regression Analyses**

The joint effects of explicit self-esteem and implicit self-esteem on the adult child perception of parenting inconsistency were examined using multiple regression. The analysis followed the prescription of Aiken & West (1991). Predictor variables were centered (by subtracting the appropriate sample means) and then the centered variables were used in the analyses. The predictors in this multiple regression equation are (a) explicit self-esteem, (b) implicit self-esteem, and (c) the interaction term for explicit and implicit self-esteem variables. The criterion variable is perceived parenting inconsistency, with lower values indicating consistent parenting and higher values indicating inconsistent parenting. Ethnicity, gender, round, parent’s marital status, and education were also added to the model as control variables.
The multiple regression analyses revealed that the combined parents inconsistent parenting measure was not related to implicit self-esteem, \( B = -.07 \), \( \beta = -.13 \), \( t (120) = -1.50, p = .14 \). However, the overall combined parents inconsistent parenting measure was significantly related to explicit self-esteem, \( B = -.25 \), \( \beta = -.36 \), \( t (120) = -3.96, p < .01 \), while also controlling for ethnicity, gender, round, parent’s marital status, and education. This suggests that there is a negative relation between explicit self-esteem and inconsistent parenting, or in other words, as explicit self-esteem increases, inconsistent parenting decreases. The Explicit x Implicit Self-Esteem Interaction was not significant. That is, the relationship between the combined parents inconsistent parenting measure and implicit self-esteem does not depend on whether one has high vs. low explicit self-esteem, \( B = -.03 \), \( \beta = -.07 \), \( t (120) = -.81, p = .42 \).

Next, we wanted to examine whether implicit and explicit self-esteem interacted to predict the separate composites of mom and dad inconsistent parenting. First, we examined the combined mom inconsistency variable. Multiple regression analyses revealed that the overall mom measure of inconsistent parenting was not related to implicit self-esteem, \( B = .02 \), \( \beta = .03 \), \( t (162)= .33, p = .75 \). However, explicit self-esteem was significantly related to the overall mom measure of inconsistent parenting, \( B = -.33 \), \( \beta = -.37 \), \( t (162)= -4.63, p < .01 \). This significant negative relation suggests that as explicit self-esteem increases mom inconsistent parenting decreases. The Explicit x Implicit Self-Esteem Interaction was not significant. That is, the relationship between the overall mom measure of inconsistent parenting and implicit self-esteem does not depend
on whether one has high vs. low explicit self-esteem, $B = .02, \beta = .04, t (162) = .46, p = .65$.

However, there was a significant effect of the Explicit x Implicit Self-Esteem Interaction on dad inconsistent parenting. As summarized in Table 6, this analysis revealed that the main effect of explicit self-esteem was significant predicting dad parenting inconsistency. This suggests that people low in explicit self-esteem reported more dad parenting inconsistency than people high in explicit self-esteem. The main effect of implicit self-esteem was not significant, suggesting that people with low and high implicit self-esteem were not significantly different in their perception of dad inconsistent parenting. As previously stated, there was a significant Explicit x Implicit Self-Esteem interaction. That is, the relationship between implicit self-esteem and perception of dad parenting inconsistency depends on whether one has high vs. low explicit self-esteem$^2$.

---

$^2$ We also examined a series of 3-way interactions between each of our control variables (e.g., ethnicity, round, marital status) and explicit and implicit self-esteem predicting inconsistent parenting. None of these 3-way interactions were significant. Therefore, the control variables did not moderate the effect between inconsistent parenting and insecure high self-esteem.
Table 6. Predicting perception of dad inconsistent parenting from explicit and implicit self-esteem.

<table>
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<td>Ethnicity</td>
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<td>.17</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.99</td>
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<tr>
<td>Round</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent’s Martial Status</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.89</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-2.22</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit Self-esteeem</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>-2.74</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit Self-esteeem</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-1.63</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit X Implicit Self-Esteeem</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-2.12</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Ethnicity was coded as 1= non-white, -1= white, Gender was coded as 1= male, -1= female, Round was coded as 1= Round 1, -1= Round 2, Parent’s marital status was coded as 1= Married, -1= Not Married/Separated

Next, the nature of the Explicit x Implicit Self-Esteeem interaction was examined by calculating two variables to represent participant’s one standard deviation above (i.e., high explicit self-esteem) and below (i.e., low explicit self-esteem) the mean on trait explicit self-esteem. Then, analyses were run in which the new high and low explicit self-esteem variables were separately entered into the regression equation to replace the original explicit self-esteem variable. As depicted in the regression lines of Figure 1, simple slopes revealed that implicit self-esteem is only related to dad parenting inconsistency for those with high explicit self-esteem, $B = -.17$, $\beta = -.27$, $t (171) = -2.46$, $p = .02$. That is, for participants with high explicit self-esteem, there is a negative relation between implicit self-esteem and inconsistent parenting for dads. For participants with low explicit self-esteem, there was no relation between implicit self-esteem and dad inconsistent parenting, $B = -.01$, $\beta = -.02$, $t (171) = -.17$, $p = .87$. This indicates that whether implicit self-esteem was associated with perceived dad inconsistent parenting depended on one’s level of explicit self-esteem. People high in explicit self-esteem report
a negative association between implicit self-esteem and their perception of dad inconsistent parenting.

Figure 1. Predicting perception of dad inconsistent parenting from explicit and implicit self-esteem.

Discussion

The goal of the present study was to demonstrate the relation between inconsistent parenting and insecure high self-esteem. Contrary to what was hypothesized, this relation was not found in the combined parents inconsistent parenting measure or mom measures of inconsistent parenting. However, the present study does demonstrate that dad inconsistent parenting is significantly associated with the development of insecure high self-esteem. Specifically, implicit self-esteem is negatively associated with dad inconsistent parenting for those with high explicit self-esteem. This effect was not observed for people with low explicit self-esteem. In other words, people who reported high explicit self-esteem reported more inconsistent parenting if their implicit self-esteem
was lower. This suggests that insecure high self-esteem is related to the reports of inconsistent parenting among dads.

Finding the hypothesized pattern of results only for fathers was interesting because research has historically focused on the influence of mothers and their greater involvement with their children (Bowlby, 1988; Killeen & Forehand, 1998; Nock & Kingston, 1988). Even though recent research has included the effect of fathers, they still highlight the primary maternal influence on children’s development (Gryczkowski, Jordan, & Mercer, 2010; Dette-Hagenmeyer & Reichle, 2014) and identify mothers as being more involved in childrearing than fathers (Killeen & Forehand, 1998; Nock & Kingston, 1988; Kalil, Ryan, & Chor, 2014). Even though these findings may seem contradictory to our results, they can provide a potential explanation for what we found in the present research. Specifically, although dads may spend less time interacting with their children (Lamb, 2000), inconsistent, negative parenting practices may be more easily identified and recalled and not overshadowed by their positive parenting practices. On the other hand, because moms spend more time with their children (Lamb, 2000), it may be the case that inconsistent, negative parenting practices are harder to recall because these instances are incorporated with, or overshadowed by, other positive parenting practices.

The current study’s results is further supported by Dette-Hagenmeyer and Reichle (2014) and Gryczkowski, Jordan, and Mercer (2010). Dette-Hagenmeyer and Reichle (2014) investigated parents’ depressive symptoms and how they influence parenting and child adjustment. Their results showed that parents are less consistent (as it related to inconsistent discipline practices) the more depressed they are. However, for mothers,
relation between depression and inconsistency did not affect positive parenting. In other words, mothers are able to maintain their positive parenting regardless of depression and inconsistency. This was not the case for fathers who showed less positive parenting as depression and inconsistency increased.

Similarly, Gryczkowski et al. (2010) paralleled these results in their study looking at parenting practices and the development of negative externalizing behaviors in children. Specifically, mothers reported more positive parenting and involvement with their children than fathers, however, mothers and fathers did not differ in their inconsistent discipline practices. So, even though mothers and fathers did not differ in their inconsistent discipline practices, mothers were more involved and exhibited more positive parenting practices. The combination of Dette-Hagenmeyer and Reichle’s (2014) and Gryczkowski et al.’s (2010) results would suggest that dads’ increase in depressive symptoms and inconsistent parenting is associated with less positive parenting, while moms are able to maintain positive parenting in the face of increased depressive symptoms and inconsistent parenting.

Thus, a potential explanation for the current research findings on inconsistent parenting and insecure high self-esteem could be the result of their coinciding drop in positive parenting. Specifically, because dads’ positive parenting behaviors decrease with inconsistent parenting, children have no shield against inconsistent parenting resulting in its negative influence in the development of insecure high self-esteem. On the other hand, moms’ inconsistent parenting coupled with maintained positive parenting could be enough to safe-guard or buffer the child’s self-esteem from moms' inconsistent parenting. Furthermore, because dads are less involved in caretaking, their fewer interactions with
their children could have a greater impact on the child’s self-esteem development than moms’ inconsistent, but positive parenting (Dette-Hagenmeyer & Reichle, 2014). This is an important consideration for future research and is discussed in more detail below.

**Limitations and Future Directions**

As with most research, a number of factors limit the generalizability of the present results. The current research asked adult children to recall the parenting they experienced growing up (0-18 years of age). This retrospective aspect of the survey could have affected the results of the study. Since the average of participants was 33 years old (M=32.8), participants were asked to recall their perception of experienced parenting from many years prior. As a result, their recall is likely not as accurate due to distorted memories and individual positive or negative biases related to their parents. Specifically, because mothers spend more time with their children and exhibit more positive parenting, adult children may recall inflated views of their mothers as compared to fathers. Future research should look at the effects of inconsistent parenting on children. By asking children, who are currently experiencing their parents’ parenting styles, research could identify specific factors of inconsistent parenting that have more or less of an effect in the development of insecure high self-esteem.

Furthermore, the present research would also have benefitted from surveying parents on their inconsistent parenting practices. These reports, in conjunction with the inconsistent parenting reports of children, would increase the accuracy of inconsistent parenting experienced. The current research is still limited by its cross-sectional nature, which hinders our ability to identify a casual, or directional relation between inconsistent parenting and insecure high self-esteem. However, a positive aspect of gaining parent
reports would be to capture inconsistent parenting practices that were not recalled by the adult child. For example, many do not recall life events before the age of four or five. By asking parents to describe their own parenting practices, we could capture influential inconsistent parenting in the early years of the child when self-esteem begins developing.

It could be argued that another limitation can be found in our over-representation (47%) of Asian (Asian-American, Asian, or Pacific-Islander) participants. This over-representation was identified and examined. We found that there were significant differences between Asian and White participants on key variables (for a full review of how different cultures define the self, see Cross, Hardin, & Gereck-Swing, 2011). As such, ethnicity was included in all of our main analyses as a control variable to account for its influence on the relation between inconsistent parenting and insecure high self-esteem.

In addition to replicating the current pattern of results, future investigation of the influential power of inconsistent, negative father parenting as compared to mothers while considering positive parenting practices and overall time spent with children would be important. More specifically, because fathers spend less time with their children, do their inconsistent parenting practices have more of an influence on self-esteem than the inconsistent parenting practices of mothers? Furthermore, is the relation between inconsistent parenting, time spent with children, and insecure high self-esteem influenced by positive parenting? To my knowledge no research has examined this relation and it would prove to be important to identifying the specific risk factors of inconsistent parenting’s influence on the development of insecure high self-esteem.
Even though the current research did not find the hypothesized significant relation between the combined inconsistent parenting measure and insecure high self-esteem, it did reveal that dad inconsistent parenting is related to the development of insecure high self-esteem. As insecure high self-esteem is associated with defensiveness, narcissism, in-group bias (Bosson et al., 2003; Jordan et al., 2003; Trumpeter et al., 2008), and anxiety (Bos, Huijding, Muris, Vogel, and Biesheuvel 2010), these are important findings. First, it provides a potential explanation in inconsistent parenting as to how insecure high self-esteem develops. Second, the results shed light on who influences the development of insecure high self-esteem in children. Although many may assume that mothers are the primary influencers of this type of negative self-esteem, our research identifies that it may in fact be fathers who primarily effect its development. Finally, this research provides a base to which other empirical investigations can develop. Although these findings shed light on the relation between inconsistent parenting and the development of insecure high self-esteem, there are other factors that could influence this relation and more questions to be answered by future research.
APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
1. What is your date of birth?
   Month _____  Day _____  Year _____

2. What is your sex? (Circle one number)
   1 – Male       2 – Female

3. What is your ethnicity?
   ____ African-American, Black, African, Caribbean
   ____ Asian-American, Asian, Pacific Islander
   ____ European-American, Anglo, Caucasian
   ____ Hispanic-American, Latino(a), Chicano(a)
   ____ Native-American, American Indian
   ____ Bi-racial, Multi-racial

4. What is your current marital status (please circle one of the following)?
   married           divorced/separated      never married
   widowed

5. How many children do you have? ______

6. What is your highest level of education?
   Less than High School Graduate
   High School Graduate or G.E.D.
   Associates Degree
   Bachelor’s Degree
   Graduate, Doctorate or Professional Degree
APPENDIX B

NAME-LETTER MEASURE
We would like you to help us develop some stimuli for future studies. In particular, we would like you to rate some letters, numbers, or symbols for how much you like them. By getting this information, we will be able to develop stimuli for future studies of linguistic and pictorial preferences.

Please use the following scale to report how much you like each letter, number, or symbol that appears in the set below. Simply trust your intuitions, work quickly, and report your gut impressions.

Please use the following scale, and place your rating of each symbol in the box containing that symbol:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dislike</td>
<td>Very Much</td>
<td>Like</td>
<td>Very Much</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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APPENDIX C

ROSENBERG SELF-ESTEEM SCALE
The next measure is a global measure of your feelings about yourself. Please answer the next ten items using the following scale.

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___ 1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
___ 2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
___ 3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
___ 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
___ 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
___ 6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
___ 7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
___ 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
___ 9. At times I feel that I am useless.
___10. At times I think I am no good at all.
APPENDIX D

PARENT-CHILD COMMUNICATION MEASURE
Parent-Child Communication Measure - Mother

Below is a set of parenting behavior questions. Please read the questions carefully and respond with the corresponding scale.

1. Your mom had a tendency to say things to you that would have been better if she kept to her/himself.
   
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7
   Disagree 2  Neither Agree 4  nor Disagree 5  Agree 6  Very Much 7
   Very Much

2. Your mom nagged/bothered you.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7
   Disagree 2  Neither Agree 4  nor Disagree 5  Agree 6  Very Much 7
   Very Much

3. Your mom insulted you when she was angry with you.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7
   Disagree 2  Neither Agree 4  nor Disagree 5  Agree 6  Very Much 7
   Very Much

4. When your mom disagreed with you, you knew that she still loved you.*

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7
   Disagree 2  Neither Agree 4  nor Disagree 5  Agree 6  Very Much 7
   Very Much

5. Your mom talked about the good things you had done.

   1  2  3  4  5  6  7
   Disagree 2  Neither Agree 4  nor Disagree 5  Agree 6  Very Much 7
   Very Much
6. How often did your mom criticize your appearance or the clothes that you chose to wear?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never nor Often Often

7. How often did your mom criticize the way that you did things?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never nor Often Often

8. How often did your mom call you names like stupid or lazy?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never nor Often Often

9. Did your mom think and talk about your misbehavior long after it was over?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never nor Often Often

10. Did your mom say to you, “if you love me, you would do what I want you to do”?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never nor Often Often
11. If you hurt your mom, how often did she stop talking to you?

1. Never 2. 3. 4. Neither Never nor Often 5. 6. 7. Often

12. How often did your mom make a rule, but forget it soon afterward?

1. Never 2. 3. 4. Neither Never nor Always 5. 6. 7. Always

13. How often did your mom punish you for doing something one day, but not punish you for doing the same thing on another day?

1. Never 2. 3. 4. Neither Never nor Always 5. 6. 7. Always

14. Once a punishment had been decided, how often could you get out of it?

1. Never 2. 3. 4. Neither Never nor Always 5. 6. 7. Always

15. How often did your mother listen to your side of an argument?

1. Never 2. 3. 4. Neither Never nor Always 5. 6. 7. Always

16. How much did your mother consider your feelings?
17. When you and your mom had a disagreement, how often could the two of you figure out how to deal with it?

18. How often did your mom agree with you about how to solve a disagreement?

19. How often did your mom seem to get angry?

20. How often did your mom criticize you or your ideas for solving the disagreement?

21. How often did your mom refuse, even after talking, to work out a way to solve the disagreement?
22. How often did your mom insist that you agree to her way of solving the problem?

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*Item reverse scored*

**Parent-Child Communication Measure - Father**

Below is a set of parenting behavior questions. Please read the questions carefully and respond with the corresponding scale.

1. Your dad had a tendency to say things to you that would have been better if he kept to her/himself.

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2. Your dad nagged/bothered you.

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3. Your dad insulted you when he was angry with you.

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4. When your dad disagreed with you, you knew that he still loved you.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Disagree Neither Agree Agree
Very Much nor Disagree Very Much

5. Your dad talked about the good things you had done.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Disagree Neither Agree Agree
Very Much nor Disagree Very Much

6. How often did your dad criticize your appearance or the clothes that you chose to wear?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never Often
nor Often

7. How often did your dad criticize the way that you did things?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never Often
nor Often

8. How often did your dad call you names like stupid or lazy?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Never Neither Never Often
nor Often

9. Did your dad think and talk about your misbehavior long after it was over?
10. Did your dad say to you, “if you love me, you would do what I want you to do”?

11. If you hurt your dad, how often did he stop talking to you?

12. How often did your dad make a rule, but forget it soon afterward?

13. How often did your dad punish you for doing something one day, but not punish you for doing the same thing on another day?

14. Once a punishment had been decided, how often could you get out of it?
15. How often did your father listen to your side of an argument?

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16. How much did your father consider your feelings?

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17. When you and your dad had a disagreement, how often could the two of you figure out how to deal with it?

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18. How often did your dad agree with you about how to solve a disagreement?

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19. How often did your dad seem to get angry?

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20. How often did your dad criticize you or your ideas for solving the disagreement?

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21. How often did your dad refuse, even after talking, to work out a way to solve the disagreement?

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22. How often did your dad insist that you agree to his way of solving the problem?

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*Item reverse scored*
APPENDIX E

CONSISTENCY OF PARENTING MEASURE
Consistency of Parenting- Mother

This part of the questionnaire has to do with the consistency of parenting behaviors. Specifically, we are interested in whether your primary caretakers responded to your needs and behaviors when you believe that they should have. We are not interested in the frequency of behaviors per se, but rather how often the behaviors occurred when you believe that they should have occurred.

Below are statements that describe various behaviors of fathers. Please read each statement carefully and then indicate how consistent this person was at doing each behavior.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7
Not at all Consistently Neither Consistently nor Non-Consistently Very Consistently

1. My mother encouraged me to tell her how I felt about things.
2. My mother taught me to have respect for myself.
3. My mother praised me for my accomplishments.
4. My mother was very controlling over me.
5. My mother listened to my ideas and opinions.
6. My mother told me that she was proud of me.
7. My mother made me feel good about my abilities.
8. My mother felt I could not look after myself unless she was around.
9. My mother told me how much she loved me.
10. My mother made me feel like I had a number of good qualities.
11. My mother made me feel loved even if I did poorly in school or other activities.
12. My mother let me decide things for myself.
13. My mother seemed to think of me often.
14. My mother spoke of the good things that I did.
15. My mother told me that it was okay to make mistakes.
16. My mother made me feel ashamed about myself.
17. My mother showed me that she cared about me.
18. My mother made me feel that I was appreciated.
19. My mother made herself available to me when I needed help.
20. My mother insisted that I must do exactly what I was told to do.
21. My mother showed that she loved me.
22. My mother recognized my accomplishments.
23. My mother helped me to learn from my mistakes.
24. My mother was protective of me.
25. My mother talked with me a lot.
26. My mother made me feel good about myself.
27. My mother made decisions for me when I had already made my own decision about something.
28. My mother made me feel guilty about something that I failed at.
29. My mother made an effort to be involved in my life.
30. My mother tried to make me feel dependent on her.
31. My mother talked with me about my worries.
32. My mother tried to control everything that I did.
33. My mother helped me when I needed it.
34. My mother liked me to make my own decisions.
35. My mother paid attention to me.
36. My mother allowed me to choose my own way of doing things.
37. My mother supported my decisions.
38. My mother showed that she was satisfied with me.
39. My mother showed or told me that she respected me.
40. My mother made me feel that I had a lot to be proud of.
Consistency of Parenting- Father

This part of the questionnaire has to do with the consistency of parenting behaviors. Specifically, we are interested in whether your primary caretakers responded to your needs and behaviors when you believe that they should have. We are not interested in the frequency of behaviors per se, but rather how often the behaviors occurred when you believe that they should have occurred.

Below are statements that describe various behaviors of fathers. Please read each statement carefully and then indicate how consistent this person was at doing each behavior.

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<td>Very Consistently</td>
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1. My father encouraged me to tell him how I felt about things.
2. My father taught me to have respect for myself.
3. My father praised me for my accomplishments.
4. My father was very controlling over me.
5. My father listened to my ideas and opinions.
6. My father told me that he was proud of me.
7. My father made me feel good about my abilities.
8. My father felt I could not look after myself unless he was around.
9. My father told me how much he loved me.
10. My father made me feel like I had a number of good qualities.
11. My father made me feel loved even if I did poorly in school or other activities.
12. My father let me decide things for myself.
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19. My father made himself available to me when I needed help.
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36. My father allowed me to choose my own way of doing things.
37. My father supported my decisions.
38. My father showed that he was satisfied with me.
39. My father showed or told me that he respected me.
40. My father made me feel that I had a lot to be proud of.
APPENDIX F

PARENTING SCALE OF INCONSISTENCY
**Parenting Scale of Inconsistency - Mother**

Indicate the extent to which each item applies to you using the following scale:

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<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Neither Descriptive</td>
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1. What my mother said and how they acted were not consistent.
2. Whether or not my mother got angry at what I did depended on her mood at the moment.
3. What my mother said and how she acted differed with circumstances.
4. The presence of others altered my mother’s attitude toward me.
5. My mother forbade me from doing something which she herself themselves did.
6. What my mother said was not consistent with her facial expression or attitude.
7. My mother at times treated me well, while at other times she thoughtlessly hurt my feelings.
8. My mother turned into a bad mood all of a sudden.
9. My mother did not have consistent expectations of my future.
10. I followed what my mother said, yet she scolded me.
11. My mother changed rules according to her mood.
12. My mother scolded me for doing something which she at other times allowed me to do.

**Parenting Scale of Inconsistency - Father**

Indicate the extent to which each item applies to you using the following scale:

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<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>Neither Descriptive</td>
<td>Very Descriptive</td>
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1. What my father said and how he acted were not consistent.
2. Whether or not my father got angry at what I did depended on his mood at the moment.
3. What my father said and how he acted differed with circumstances.
4. The presence of others altered my father’s attitude toward me.
5. My father forbade me from doing something which he himself did.
6. What my father said was not consistent with his facial expression or attitude.
7. My father at times treated me well, while at other times he thoughtlessly hurt my feelings.
8. My father turned into a bad mood all of a sudden.
9. My father did not have consistent expectations of my future.
10. I followed what my father said, yet he scolded me.
11. My father changed rules according to their mood.
12. My father scolded me for doing something which he at other times allowed me to do.
REFERENCE LIST


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VITA

Bethany Otto grew up in Malcom, Iowa, a small town located in central Iowa. Before attending Loyola, she attended Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. She graduated from Coe in 2012 with a double major in Psychology and Sociology.

While earning her master’s degree in Applied Social Psychology at Loyola, Bethany worked as a Graduate Assistant at Loyola’s Wellness Center on the Campus Grant. In her work there, she served as a sexual assault advocate, coordinated Loyola’s sexual assault hotline volunteers, and co-created their innovative ‘I’m Here for You’ iPhone application.

Currently Bethany lives in New Haven, Connecticut with her fiancé and works at Women’s Health Research at Yale, a research center within the Yale School of Medicine.