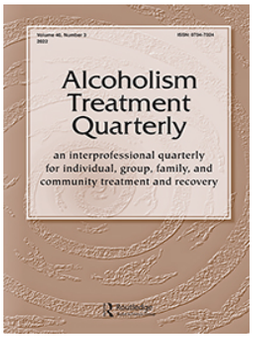

Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/watq20

Comparing Enacted and Perceived Parental Communication as Predictors of Adolescents' Emotion Regulation in Families with Harmful versus Non-Harmful Parental Alcohol Use

Marie C. Haverfield & Jennifer A. Theiss

To cite this article: Marie C. Haverfield & Jennifer A. Theiss (2022): Comparing Enacted and Perceived Parental Communication as Predictors of Adolescents' Emotion Regulation in Families with Harmful versus Non-Harmful Parental Alcohol Use, Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly, DOI: 10.1080/07347324.2022.2112001

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/07347324.2022.2112001

Published online: 14 Aug 2022.

ALCOHOLISM TREATMENT QUARTERLY
https://doi.org/10.1080/07347324.2022.2112001

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group

Comparing Enacted and Perceived Parental Communication as Predictors of Adolescents' Emotion Regulation in Families with Harmful versus Non-Harmful Parental Alcohol Use

Marie C. Haverfield [a] and Jennifer A. Theiss [b]

[a]Department of Communication Studies, San Jose State University, San Jose, California, USA; [b]Department of Communication, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA

ABSTRACT

Emotion regulation is an important skill that adolescents typically learn through early interactions with their primary caregivers. Associations between parental communication and adolescent emotion regulation are well-documented however, it is unclear whether the parent's actual communication behavior or adolescents' perceptions of the parent's behavior is a more robust predictor of emotion regulation outcomes. This study used Baumrind's parenting styles typology as a theoretical foundation for examining parents' enacted responsiveness and control and adolescents' perceptions of their parent's responsiveness and control during conversation as competing predictors of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation during two parent-child interactions. Sixty parent-adolescent dyads participated in an interaction-based study comparing communication dynamics between families with (n = 30) and without harmful parental alcohol use (n = 30). Parent-child interactions were coded by outside observers for the presence of parental responsiveness and control and adolescents completed self-report measures of their perceptions of the parent's responsiveness and control and their own emotion regulation following the interactions. Results indicated that adolescent perceptions of parental communication were stronger predictors of adolescent emotion regulation than the observed parental communication behavior. In addition, perceived parental control was more strongly associated with adolescent emotion regulation in families with harmful parental alcohol use.

KEYWORDS

Harmful parental alcohol use; family communication; emotion regulation; observation methods; resilience

Communication between a parent and child can be very influential in the way children view themselves and the world around them. Children learn how to emotionally respond to experiences in their environment based on early interactions with primary caregivers (Cupach & Olson, 2006). The ability to manage those emotions is referred to as emotion regulation (Gross & John, 2003). Primary caregivers who encourage children to identify and explain their emotions, whether they are positive or negative, facilitate increased emotion regulation ability (Beebe, Lachmann, & Jaffe, 1997; Fonagy & Target, 1997; Straussner & Fewell, 2011). Children who are encouraged to label their emotions and practice healthy emotional expression will cultivate the social skills necessary to effectively navigate affective experiences. In contrast, parents who fail to guide children through the experience of

CONTACT Marie C. Haverfield marie.haverfield@sjsu.edu San Jose State University, Hugh Gillis Hall 108, One Washington Square, San Jose, CA 95192-0112

emotions, or respond to the expression of emotion in a negative way, can make it difficult for children to explain, manage, and effectively regulate their affective responses to social situations (Denham, 1998; Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Hajal & Paley, 2020). Especially when confronted with stressful situations, children who are more capable of regulating their emotion are less likely to be negatively affected by the stressful encounter and more likely to demonstrate resilience in the face of adversity (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1997; Prout, Malone, Rice, & Hoffman, 2019). Thus, these early interactions with primary caregivers set the foundation for long-term emotional well-being.

Baumrind (1988) identified two primary dimensions of parental communication that are associated with developmental outcomes in children: responsiveness and control. Parental responsiveness encompasses communication behaviors that are attentive to the needs of a child as well as foster independence and is associated with more effective emotion regulation skills, fewer insecurities, and fewer feelings of rejection (Baumrind, 1971; Haverfield & Theiss, 2017, 2020; Rohner, 2004). Parental control is communicated through increased discipline and firm demands with children and it is associated with more maladaptive behaviors in children (Amato, 1990; Aunola & Nurmi, 2005). Although the associations between parental communication behaviors and children's developmental outcomes are well-documented (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005; Barber, 1996; Hubbs-Tait, Kennedy, Page, Topham, & Harrist, 2008), an unanswered question is whether the actual communication behaviors enacted by parents or children's perceptions of their parent's communication are more robust predictors of adolescent development and adjustment. Thus, the first goal of this study was to examine observed and perceived parental responsiveness and control as competing predictors of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation.

Enacted and perceived parental responsiveness as predictors of emotion regulation

Given that individuals may have a biased view of their own parenting behavior, exploring how communicative manifestations of responsiveness and control are associated with children's emotional reactivity during interaction is an important contribution to the literature. Observing features of parental responsiveness in interaction provide a clearer view of the strategies that parents enact to help children cope with emotion and the immediate effects of those behaviors on children's emotion regulation. Previous research suggests that children of responsive parents often exhibit healthy emotion regulation by demonstrating effective support-seeking strategies and positive emotions (Haverfield & Theiss, 2020; Kliewer, Fearnow, & Miller, 1996), as well as demonstrations of sympathy and problem-solving (Eisenberg, Fabes, Schaller, Carlo, & Miller, 1991). Taken together, this evidence suggests that responsive parental communication can help adolescents regulate their emotions more effectively. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H1:Observed parental responsiveness during interaction is positively associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation.

Although outside observers may recognize markers of responsiveness in parents' communication behavior, adolescents' perceptions of their parents' communication might be

influenced by their relationship history, previous interactions, or their current emotional state. In families characterized by caregiver depression and family instability, children tend to make more biased attributions of anger and other negative emotions (Healy, Murray, Cooper, Hughes, & Halligan, 2015; Schultz, Izard, & Ackerman, 2000). One study found that adolescents who perceived that their mother cared a great deal about them reported higher self-esteem, lower levels of depression, and fewer suicide attempts than adolescents who perceived that their mother cared about them very little or not at all (Ackard, Neumark-Sztainer, Story, & Perry, 2006). This evidence suggests that adolescents who perceive that their parents are responsive, attentive, and caring may have more confidence in their ability to effectively manage their emotions. Thus, we present the following hypothesis:

H2:Adolescent perceptions of parental responsiveness are positively associated with their own self-reported emotion regulation.

Adolescence is often characterized as a period of heightened "storm and stress" marked by increased conflict with parents, mood disruptions, and risk behaviors as adolescents begin to seek emotional autonomy and independence from parental influence (Allison & Schultz, 2004; Arnett, 1999). Under these circumstances, adolescents may perceive their parents' communication differently than outside observers might. For example, adolescents may be more likely to view their parents' responsive behaviors as invasive rather than helpful or patronizing rather than caring. Thus, we wonder if adolescents' emotion regulation is more strongly influenced by a parent's actual behaviors during interaction or by the adolescent's perceptions of those communication behaviors. Accordingly, we advance the following research question:

RQ1:Is observed or perceived parental responsiveness a more robust predictor of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation?

Enacted and perceived parental control as predictors of emotion regulation

Parents who assert more control in their communication may inhibit children's motivation and ability to regulate their own emotion (Houck & LeCuyer-Maus, 2004). One study found that aggressive and dominating communication behavior, which are often employed in parental control, were associated with poorer emotion regulation ability following exposure to a stressful situation (Calkins, Smith, Gill, & Johnson, 1998). Children exposed to psychological and behavioral control tend to demonstrate less obedience to parental authority and low self-esteem (Garbarino & Gilliam, 1980; Grolnick, Gurland, DeCourcey, & Jacob, 2002). These studies indicate that family environments characterized by high levels of parental control may discourage healthy emotion regulation for adolescents. Based on these assumptions the following hypothesis is presented:

H3:Observed parental control during interaction is negatively associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation.

Whereas outside observers may recognize expressions of parental control as consistent with norms and expectations for parental roles, adolescents who are on the receiving end of controlling communication may perceive their parents' actions in a more negative light. For example, adolescents tend to perceive demonstrations of parental control as oppressive rather than setting appropriate boundaries (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). In addition, adolescents tend to have negative perceptions of parental control and interpret high levels of control as intrusive and indicative of how little they matter to their parents (Kakihara & Tilton-Weaver, 2009). One study found that adolescents' self-reported feelings of being over-controlled were positively associated with norm-breaking and depressive symptoms and negatively associated with self-esteem, and that feeling over-controlled fully mediated associations between these outcomes and parental control (Kakihara, Tilton-Weaver, Kerr, & Stattin, 2010). Based on this evidence, we advance the following hypothesis:

H4:Adolescent perceptions of parental control are negatively associated with their own self-reported emotion regulation.

Given the nature of parental control, it is likely that adolescents perceive their parents' controlling communication differently than outside observers might. Outside observers are more likely to view controlling communication as expressions of discipline or authority that are consistent with parental roles. Through this lens, an appropriate level of rule setting and discipline is suitable to parental communication and necessary for promoting positive emotional and psychological adjustment (Egeland, Weinfield, Bosquet, & Cheng, 2000; Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). On the other hand, adolescents who are trying to assert their independence tend to perceive normative levels of parental control as intrusive, oppressive, and excessive (Kakihara & Tilton-Weaver, 2009; Kerr & Stattin, 2000). Thus, an important question is whether adolescents' motivation and ability to effectively regulate their emotions is a product of appropriate parental expressions of control or their own perceptions and interpretations of parental control. To explore these competing possibilities, we advance the following research question:

RQ2:Is observed or perceived controlling communication a more robust predictor of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation?

A second goal of this study was to explore how adverse circumstances within a family may moderate associations between parental communication behavior and adolescent emotion regulation. Specifically, we look to families of harmful parental alcohol use as one context that may introduce barriers to effective parental communication behavior and adolescent adjustment. Research on communication in families of harmful parental alcohol use often documents high levels of conflict, topic avoidance, and inconsistency (Connors, Donovan, & DiClemente, 2001; Straussner & Fewell, 2011). Exposure to these family communication characteristics can limit children's ability to develop effective skills and strategies for emotion regulation. For example, frequent conflict coupled with topic avoidance might stifle conversations about taboo topics or uncomfortable issues, which can undermine efforts to develop effective strategies for coping with negative emotion (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Haverfield & Theiss, 2016). Furthermore, when children have heightened uncertainty about their interactions with family members, they can experience

increased emotional distress that undermines effective communication and overwhelms their capacity to regulate negative affect (Cummings, 1987; Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2002; Haverfield & Theiss, 2020). Thus, this study seeks to document how a parent's harmful alcohol use may moderate associations between observed and perceived parental communication behavior and adolescent emotion regulation.

Communication and child outcomes in families with harmful parental alcohol use

The communication climate in families with harmful parental alcohol use may differ from that of families with non-harmful alcohol use and contribute to poorer emotion regulation abilities among adolescents. The use of alcohol as a coping mechanism often leads to antisocial behavior, narcissism, and denial (Britton, 2004; Cornwell, 1968; Jacob, Leonard, & Haber, 2001). Parents who harmfully consume alcohol are known to neglect their family and work obligations, have a low frustration tolerance, experience high levels of anxiety, and have low self-esteem (NIAAA, 2010; Schade, 2006). The severity of their drinking can lead to manipulation of family members (Lyon & Greenberg, 1991), and the affection they give is often inconsistent, fluctuating between warmth and rejection (Woititz, 1985). Fathers who harmfully consume alcohol are reportedly less sensitive and communicate very little with their children compared to fathers who consume alcohol at non-harmful levels (Eiden, Chavez, & Leonard, 1999). Another common trait in families with harmful parental alcohol use is manipulated or inconsistent communication, making it difficult for children to interpret how to appropriately perceive communication and respond (Fonagy et al., 2002; Fonagy & Target, 1997). Taken together, the features of communication in families with harmful parental alcohol use may present unique challenges to children's healthy emotion regulation development.

One way that harmful parental alcohol use can influence the family environment is through the relationship between the parent harmfully consuming alcohol and their spouse. Conflict and miscommunication often arise in couples where a partner engages in dangerous drinking (Fals-Stewart & Birchler, 1998; Kelly, Halford, & Young, 2002), as well as a higher chance for disinterest and decreased levels of intimacy than in couples without harmful alcohol consumption (Carroll, Robinson, & Flowers, 2002). The higher levels of conflict found in these partnerships increases the potential for verbal and physical abuse (Straus & Sweet, 1992; Testa, Quigley, & Leonard, 2003; Wekerle & Wall, 2002). When the parent who harmfully consumes alcohol is unable to fulfill their work obligations due to intoxication, the parent who does not harmfully consume alcohol may call in sick for their partner, thereby enabling and perpetuating the behavior, and potentially exposing the family to further abuse (Zelvin, 2004). In addition, partners of a spouse who harmfully consumes alcohol are at an increased risk for mental health issues that may be detrimental to their long-term well-being (Le Poire, 2006). Therefore, partnerships with harmful alcohol use have the potential to involve hardships at the personal and relational level.

Previous research has documented emotional shortcomings as a common characteristic among children of parents who harmfully consume alcohol. Frequent conflict, which is often reported in families with harmful parental alcohol use, may contribute to emotional distress among children due to their uncertainty about the parents' relationship (Cummings, 1987). Children of parents who harmfully consume alcohol often report low

self-esteem and high levels of depression (Hussong & Chassin, 1997; Rangarajan & Kelly, 2006). Consistent exposure to a strained environment can reduce feelings of emotional security and inhibit appropriate development (Davies & Cummings, 1994). Along these lines, children with parents who harmfully consume alcohol are more likely to develop poor internalizing and externalizing behaviors than children without a dangerous drinking parent (Hill-Soderlund & Braungart-Rieker, 2008; Shuckit et al., 2007). Thus, children of parents who harmfully consume alcohol are known to demonstrate impulsive behaviors and poor management of emotion.

Adolescents are even more susceptible to issues stemming from their parent's alcohol use than younger children due to the longevity of exposure to the behavior and negative outcomes resulting from it (Peleg-Oren & Teichman, 2006). In addition, during adolescence the brain is in-development, which can make it difficult to manage emotions experienced (Cozzolino, 2006; Straussner & Fewell, 2011). At the same time, hormonal changes are also rapidly taking place impacting the amygdala, or area of emotion control, which can intensify emotional experiences. Thus, adolescents often appear to make rash decisions, seem narcissistic, be overly dramatic, and make poor judgments (Cozzolino, 2006). The stressful experiences of being an adolescent also add to the difficulty in coping with stressors at home. Developmental issues that emerge in childhood are often exacerbated during adolescence and into adulthood. In many cases, these problems lead to addiction, with more than half of the adolescents exposed to substance abuse developing an addictive disorder (Saraceno, Munaf, Heron, Craddock, van den Bree, 2009; Biederman, Faraone, Monuteaux, & Feighner, 2000; Rothman, Edwards, Heeren, & Hingson, 2008). As with most children exposed to harmful parental alcohol use, feelings of guilt and shame related to a parent's drinking are also present and may be associated with fear of disclosure regarding their parent's behaviors and related outcomes to family and/or health care professionals (Straussner & Fewell, 2011).

In light of this evidence, we consider the potential moderating effect that harmful parental drinking may have on associations between parental communication and adolescent emotion regulation. Given that expressions of affection and emotion tend to be suppressed in families with harmful parental alcohol use (Jones & Houts, 1992), adolescents from these families might reap fewer benefits from responsive parenting that is highly infrequent compared to their peers from families without harmful parental alcohol use, where expressions of affection and caring are more typical. On the other hand, adolescents with a parent who harmfully consumes alcohol might benefit more from a rare instance of responsive parenting because it is so atypical, whereas adolescents without harmful parental drinking may come to take their parents' attentiveness and responsiveness for granted and, therefore, experience fewer benefits for their own emotion regulation. With regard to control, another commonly reported characteristic of families with harmful parental alcohol use is inflexible discipline (Stanger, Dumenci, Kamon, & Burstein, 2004). Thus, parental control may be less influential for adolescents' emotion regulation in families with harmful parental alcohol use because they are not conditioned to anticipate or respect parental authority in the same way that adolescents from families with non-harmful parental alcohol use might be. Moreover, given that parenting is more inconsistent in families with harmful parental alcohol use, children in families with harmful parental drinking might demonstrate more reactance to parents' efforts to exert control if they perceive that the parents lack discipline themselves. Thus, conditions in families of harmful parental alcohol use have the

potential to strengthen or weaken associations between parental communication of responsiveness or control and adolescents' emotion regulation. To examine possible differences between families with and without harmful parental alcohol use, the following research question is proposed:

RQ3:To what extent does a family's harmful parental alcohol use status, moderate the associations between observed and perceived parental communication and adolescent emotion regulation?

Method

To compare observations of parental communication and adolescents' perceptions of parental communication in predicting adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation, this study utilized data from observations of two 5-minute interactions between parent-adolescent dyads and post-interaction self-report measures completed by adolescents. Participants in this study included 60 parent-adolescent dyads, 30 families with harmful parental alcohol use and 30 families of non-harmful parental alcohol use. Participating families were recruited by posting announcements in social media platforms and local businesses and relying on snowball sampling. Recruitment and data collection efforts were conducted in New Jersey, Texas, and California. Institutional Review Board approval was obtained prior to study recruitment.

Eligibility requirements for families of non-harmful parental alcohol use specified that (a) the adolescent be between 12 and 19 years of age; (b) parents must be either married and both living at home with the adolescent, or unmarried and share custody of the adolescent with visitation occurring at least once a month; (c) participants must be able to speak, read, and write in English; and (d) the adolescent is not taking any medication for emotional or psychological disorders. Qualifications were the same for families with harmful parental alcohol use, with the exception that at least one of the parents meets the criteria for an alcohol use disorder.

Sample

The adolescent participants included 24 young men (40%) and 35 young women (58.3%), with one adolescent declining to report. The average age of adolescent participants was 14.8 years (SD = 1.93), ranging from 12 to 19. For adolescents, most identified as Caucasian (70%), followed by African American (10%), Hispanic/Latino (6.7%), Asian (1.7%), Native American (1.7%), and Other (6.7%), with two adolescents' declining to report (3.3%). Parent participants included 14 men (23.3%) and 45 women (75%), with one declining to report. Average age of parents was 46.62 years (SD = 7.76), ranging from 27 to 63 years. Parents predominantly identified as Caucasian (80%), followed by African American (10%), Hispanic/Latino (8.3%), and Indian (1.7%).

The majority of parents reported they were involved in a committed relationship with the adolescent's other parent (85%), including 3.3% dating but not married, 80% married, 3.3% in a common law marriage, and 13.3% declined to report. For those parents who were not romantically involved with the adolescent's other parent (15%), 37.5% identified as

separated, 37.5% divorced, 12.5% widowed, and 12.5% reported never having a committed relationship.

Among families with harmful parental alcohol use, the participating parent identified as the parent with harmful alcohol use in 6 dyads and the nonparticipating parent was identified in 13 dyads. Both parents identified as harmfully consuming alcohol in 11 of the dyads. An alcohol use disorder was assessed based on consumption of more than 14 drinks per week for males and more than 7 drinks per week for females. In addition, we used the DSM-V as a diagnostic tool that identifies features of alcohol use disorders and classifies individuals who select 2 or more items from the checklist as having an alcohol use disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Among parents who engaged in harmful alcohol use, 15% identified as being in recovery or seeking treatment for their alcohol use, with recovery ranging from 6 to 10 years.

Procedures

When parents and adolescents arrived to the laboratory, they were asked to complete consent forms and pre-interaction surveys. Then, each dyad was asked to participate in two interaction tasks, one to discuss a happy experience and another to discuss an unhappy experience (Afifi, Granger, Denes, Joseph, & Aldeis, 2011). Happy and unhappy experiences were generated prior to each interaction by asking adolescents to write down three happy and unhappy experiences that occurred recently on separate note cards (McLaren & Pederson, 2014). Adolescents were then instructed to select one experience from each set of topics that they would be willing to discuss with their parent. The way in which happy and unhappy topics were distributed was randomized to avoid ordering effects. A timer was set to allow 5 minutes for each dyadic interaction. Interactions were videotaped for analysis of parental responsiveness and control. After each interaction, adolescents were asked to complete a post-interaction questionnaire pertaining to their parent's responsiveness and controlling communication during the interaction and their own emotion regulation. Once participants completed their involvement in the study, dyads were debriefed and both parent and adolescent were compensated $50 for their time.

Observation rating procedures

Four research assistants were trained to rate videotaped interactions based on the two dimensions of parental communication. Research team members were not made aware of which dyads came from families with harmful versus non-harmful parental alcohol use. Before rating the interactions, research team members met with the first author to review the rating scheme and practice rating procedures on several interactions. Once the team demonstrated an understanding of the rating process they were asked to rate several sets of interactions at a time and all team members rated every interaction. Once a week, the research team met with the first author to review sample interactions and rating procedures. Following completion of each set of coded interactions, reliability of raters was confirmed. Reliability was assessed using a consistency-based intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) (Courtright, 2014; Fleiss, 1986). The threshold for acceptable reliability was set at ICC > 0.60. ICC was compared across families of alcoholics versus non-alcoholics and across happy versus unhappy interactions. All categories had an acceptable reliability

of ICC > 0.60. Since reliabilities across happy and unhappy interactions were similar, they were collapsed. Ratings for family type however, demonstrated greater reliability in one family versus the other. Thus, we report separate ICCs for families with and without harmful parental alcohol use.

Ratings for parental responsiveness and control were based on Baumrind's (1991) classifications. Raters were asked to evaluate each 30-second interval of the videotaped interaction using a 5-point Likert-scale (1 = *not at all responsive/controlling*, 5 = *completely responsive/controlling*). For a responsive communication style, raters were directed to look for verbal and non-verbal expressions of encouragement and support. Raters were directed to identify verbal and non-verbal signs of impatience and discomfort for an unresponsive communication style. Rating reliability for responsiveness was ICC = 0.66 for families with harmful parental alcohol use and ICC = 0.75 for families without harmful parental alcohol use (M = 3.66, SD = 0.48). For a controlling communication style, raters were asked to identify verbal and non-verbal expressions of demands and aggression. Raters were directed to look for verbal and non-verbal signs of parent's adaptation and passivity for a low controlling communication style. The reliability for control ratings was ICC = 0.87 for families with harmful parental alcohol use and ICC = 0.80 for families without harmful parental alcohol use (M = 2.55, SD = 0.59).

Post-interaction measures

All post-interaction scales were subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to assess internal and external validity (Hunter & Gerbing, 1982). The threshold for a good fitting model was set at $\chi^2/df < 3.0$, $CFI > 0.90$, and $RMSEA < 0.08$. All scales exceeded the criteria for acceptable fit.

Adolescent perceptions of responsiveness

Reis' (2003) responsiveness measure was used to assess parental responsiveness. The original measure was modified and shortened to apply to the research context. The assessment operates on a 5-point Likert-scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) that refers to one's appraisal of responsiveness within the interaction (e.g., *"I felt that my parent often understood me," "My parent made me feel cared for")*. Adolescents were asked to complete an assessment of parental responsiveness following each interaction. Following a confirmatory factor analysis, 4 items were retained in the composite measure of parental responsiveness. (*Happy: M* = 4.50, SD = 0.53, α = 0.67; *Unhappy: M* = 4.23, SD = 0.84, α = 0.76).

Adolescent perceptions of control

The questionnaire included Christensen and Heavey's (1990) measure of marital control, which was modified to fit the parent-child context with 8-items that address the extent of control present in the interaction. Adolescents used a 5-point Likert-scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) to indicate their agreement with eight items reflecting parental control in the interaction (e.g., *"Made the interaction very formal," "Tried to dominate me")*. Following a confirmatory analysis 7 items were retained for the composite variable (*Happy: M* = 1.79, SD = 0.54, α = 0.70; *Unhappy: M* = 1.82, SD = 0.54, α = 0.73).

Adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation

Items from the Emotion Regulation Checklist (ERC; Shields & Cicchetti, 1997) were adapted to assess the adolescent's perceptions of their emotion regulation during the interaction. Adolescents were asked to rate their emotion regulation ability during the preceding conversation on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree* (e.g., *"I was able to quickly recover whenever I became upset or stressed," "I was happy to discuss things with my parent")*. Following a confirmatory factor analysis, 11 items were retained in the composite measure (*Happy: M* = 1.81, SD = 0.55, α = 0.76; *Unhappy: M* = 1.96, SD = 0.64, α = 0.81).

Statistical analyses

As a first step, a series of independent sample *t*-tests were conducted to identify any differences between groups based on family alcohol status, gender of the adolescent, and gender of the parent. We also conducted paired-sample *t*-tests to compare means for the observed variables versus the perceived variables. Next, we calculated bivariate correlations for families with and without harmful parental alcohol use. To test our hypotheses and research questions, we used hierarchical linear regression. The analyses consisted of four different models with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation as the dependent variable. In the first step of the regression, control variables included adolescent age, gender, parent relationship status, number of children, and a dummy coded variable that indicates whether the participating parent harmfully consumes alcohol. The second step of the model included observed and perceived variables of parental responsiveness and control, as well as a dichotomous variable identifying families with and without harmful parental alcohol use. An interaction term was added to the third step of the model to assess potential moderating effects of family alcohol status. Interaction terms were between the substantive predictors and the family alcohol status variable. The observed and perceived variables of parental responsiveness and control were included as predictors on the same step to examine the relative strength of each variable as a predictor of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation.

Results

In the first analysis (t (56) = −1.11, $p < .02$), adolescents from families without harmful parental alcohol use reported a higher mean (M = 1.89, SD = 0.65) for adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation in the happy interaction compared to adolescents from families with harmful parental alcohol use (M = 1.73, SD = 0.43). The second analysis examined differences based on gender of the adolescent, in which no significant differences were found. The third independent samples *t*-test considered differences based on gender of the parent. Observed parental control in the unhappy interaction (t (57) = 2.01, $p < .00$) was greater for fathers (M = 2.95, SD = 1.00) compared to mothers (M = 2.53, SD = 0.55). Adolescents perceived greater parental responsiveness by fathers (M = 4.73, SD = 0.33) during the happy conversation (t (56) = 1.80, $p < .01$) when compared to mothers (M = 4.43, SD = 0.57). Adolescents also perceived more parental responsiveness (t (57) = −1.52, $p < .02$) and control (t (57) = −0.19, $p < .03$) on the part of the mothers (responsiveness M = 4.33, SD = 0.75; control M = 1.83, SD = 0.49) during the unhappy interactions when compared to fathers (responsiveness M = 3.95, SD = 1.07; control M = 1.80, SD = 0.71).

Adolescents also self-reported a higher mean for emotion regulation with fathers (M = 1.99, SD = 0.85) compared to mothers (M = 1.94, SD = 0.59) during the unhappy interaction (t (55) = 0.25, p < .02).

In both the happy and unhappy interactions, adolescents' self-reported perceptions of responsiveness were significantly higher than the outside observers' ratings of parental responsiveness during the interaction (t (58) = −10.73, p < .00; *self-reported happy:* M = 4.50, SD = 0.53; *observed happy:* M = 2.91, SD = 0.13; t (59) = −5.87, p < .00; *self-reported unhappy:* M = 4.22, SD = 0.84; *observed unhappy:* M = 3.60, SD = 0.55). In addition, adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control were significantly lower than the conversational ratings from outside observers (t (59) = 6.81, p < .00; *self-reported happy:* M = 1.79, SD = 0.54; *observed happy:* M = 2.48, SD = 0.59; t (59) = 7.95, p < .00; *self-reported unhappy:* M = 1.82, SD = 0.53; *observed unhappy:* M = 2.62, SD = 0.69).

In families with harmful parental alcohol use, observed parental control was positively associated with observed responsiveness in the happy interaction (see Table 1). Adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control were negatively associated with adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental responsiveness in both the happy and unhappy interactions. Adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation was negatively associated with adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental responsiveness in the happy interaction and positively associated with self-reported perceptions of parental control in the happy interaction. In the unhappy interaction, adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation was negatively associated with adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental responsiveness and positively associated with self-reported perceptions of parental control.

For families with non-harmful parental alcohol use, observed parental control was negatively associated with observed responsiveness in the unhappy interaction. In the

Table 1. Bivariate correlations.

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10
V1: Ob. Responsiveness (Happy)	–	−0.22	0.07	0.23	0.02	−0.05	0.09	−0.21	0.16	−0.02
V2: Ob. Responsiveness (Unhappy)	0.07	–	−0.02	−0.51**	−0.08	0.69***	0.10	−0.25	0.21	−0.60***
V3: Ob. Control (Happy)	0.40*	−0.23	–	0.60***	−0.23	−0.13	−0.14	0.15	−0.09	0.32
V4: Ob. Control (Unhappy)	0.39*	−0.22	0.79***	–	0.08	−0.66***	−0.24	0.44*	−0.19	0.70***
V5: Ad. Perceived Resp. (Happy)	−0.02	−0.03	−0.05	−0.02	–	−0.12	−0.64***	0.18	−0.58***	0.23
V6: Ad. Perceived Resp. (Unhappy)	−0.29	0.04	−0.32	−0.25	0.34	–	0.15	−0.66***	0.10	−0.77***
V7: Ad. Perceived Cont. (Happy)	0.08	0.16	0.14	−0.08	−0.57**	−0.25	–	−0.05	0.82***	−0.20
V8: Ad. Perceived Cont. (Unhappy)	0.25	−0.08	0.16	0.08	−0.11	−0.62***	0.00	–	−0.00	0.73***
V9: Ad. Interaction ER (Happy)	−0.22	0.21	0.06	−0.02	−0.54**	−0.05	0.36*	−0.15	– -	0.19
V10: Ad. Interaction ER (Unhappy)	0.12	−0.12	0.14	0.10	−0.28	−0.69***	0.16	0.81***	0.15	–

Note. Families with harmful parental alcohol use (N = 30) scores are reported below the diagonal, families with non-harmful parental alcohol use (N = 30) scores are reported above the diagonal.

* p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001.

unhappy interaction, adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental responsiveness were positively associated with observed parental responsiveness, and adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation was negatively associated with observed parental responsiveness. Adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental responsiveness was negatively associated with observed control, and adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control were positively associated with observed control in the unhappy interactions. Adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation was positively associated with observed parental control in the unhappy interaction. In both the happy and unhappy interactions, adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control and self-reported emotion regulation were negatively associated with adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental responsiveness. Adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation was positively associated with adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control in both the happy and unhappy interactions.

Test of hypotheses

Parental responsiveness

To review, the first set of predictions assumed that observed parental responsiveness (*H1*) and adolescent perceptions of parental responsiveness (*H2*) would be positively associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation. A research question was introduced to explore whether observed or perceived parental communication is the stronger predictor of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation (*RQ1*), followed by another research question to examine whether family alcohol status moderates these effects (*RQ3*). In the first model, the substantive predictors on step two accounted for 23% of the variance in the happy conversation and 61% of the variance in the unhappy conversation (see Table 2). The association between observed parental responsiveness and adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation was not significant in either the happy or unhappy interaction, demonstrating no support for *H1*. Contrary to our initial predictions for *H2*, adolescents' self-reported

Table 2. Observed and perceived parental responsiveness and adolescents' perceived emotion regulation.

Perceived Emotion Regulation				
	Responsiveness Happy		Responsiveness Unhappy	
	R^2 Δ	β	R^2 Δ	β
Full Model	0.63		0.82	
Step One	0.12		0.05	
Adolescent Gender		0.08		0.07
Adolescent Age		0.29		0.09
Parent Rel. Status		−0.10		−0.16
No. of Children		0.12		0.03
Participating Parent		−0.01		−0.08
Step Two	0.23**		0.61***	
Family Alc Status		−0.04		−0.17
Resp. Observed		−0.11		−0.16
Resp. Perceived		−0.50***		−0.72***
Step Three	0.04		0.00	
RespObservedxAlc		0.07		−0.05
RespPerceivedxAlc		−0.25		0.13

Note. Cell entries are R^2 Δ statistics and standardized β coefficients.
** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

perceptions of parental responsiveness were negatively associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation in both the happy and unhappy interactions. With regard to *RQ1*, results suggest that adolescent perceptions of parental responsiveness are a more robust predictor of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation than observed parental communication, though in the opposite direction than was expected. The interaction terms entered on step three were not significant (*RQ3*).

Parental control

The second set of hypotheses predicted that observed parental control (*H3*) and adolescents' perceptions of parental control (*H4*) would be negatively associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation. We also queried whether observed or perceived parental control is a stronger predictor of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation (*RQ2*) and if family alcohol status moderates these effects (*RQ3*). In the second model, the substantive predictors on step two accounted for 28% of the variance in the happy conversation and 59% of the variance in the unhappy conversation (see Table 3). Observed parental control was positively associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation in the unhappy interaction only (*H3)*. Similarly, adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control were positively associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation in both the happy and unhappy interactions (*H4*). Each of these associations are in the opposite direction of initial predictions. In response to *RQ2*, although there was a significant association between observed parental control and adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation in the unhappy interaction, the significantly larger effect sizes for adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control suggest again that adolescents' emotion regulation is more strongly associated with their perceptions of parental communication than with the parents' actual communication behaviors as evaluated by outside observers. For *RQ3*, the interaction term on step three of the model revealed a significant moderating effect in the happy conversation only and accounted for 22% of the variance in adolescents' self-

Table 3. Observed and perceived parental control and adolescents' perceived emotion regulation.

Perceived Emotion Regulation				
	Control Happy		Control Unhappy	
	R^2 Δ	β	R^2 Δ	β
Full Model	0.77		0.83	
Step One	0.09		0.05	
Adolescent Gender		0.13		0.07
Adolescent Age		0.18		0.09
Parent Rel. Status		−0.10		−0.16
No. of Children		0.14		0.03
Participating Parent		−0.07		−0.08
Step Two	0.28**		0.59***	
Family Alc Status		−0.05		−0.15
Cont. Observed		0.03		0.27**
Cont. Perceived		0.54***		0.69***
Step Three	0.22***		0.04	
ContObservedxAlc		−0.19		0.26
ContPerceivedxAlc		0.72***		−0.23

Note. Cell entries are R^2 Δ statistics and standardized β coefficients.
** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$.

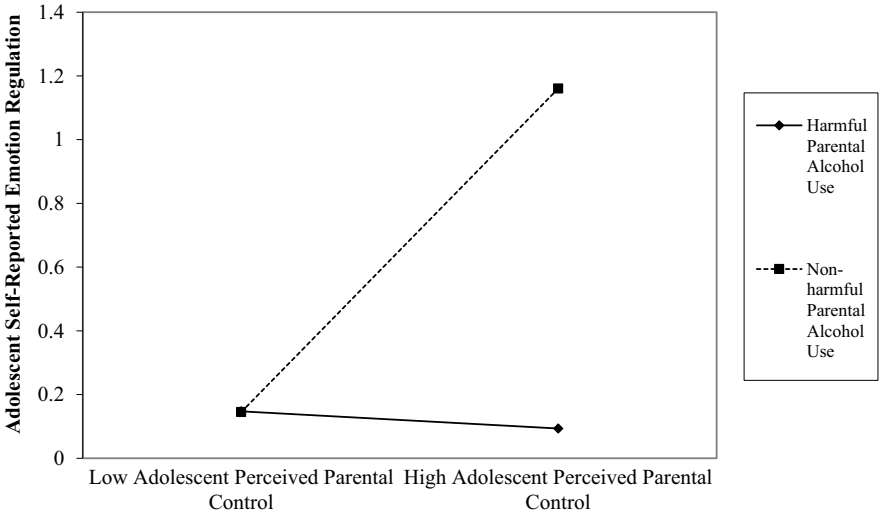

Figure 1. Moderating effect of family alcohol status on the association between adolescent perceived parental control and adolescent self-reported emotion regulation during the happy interaction.

reported emotion regulation. To evaluate the moderation, we conducted a simple slopes analysis (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006). As shown in Figure 1, the association between adolescents' self-reported perceptions of parental control and adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation was positive and significant for families with non-harmful parental alcohol use ($\beta = 0.94$, $p < .001$) and not significant for families with harmful parental alcohol use ($\beta =$

-0.05, $p = .77$). These findings suggest that adolescents in families with non-harmful parental alcohol use are more effective at regulating emotions in response to perceived parental control than are adolescents in families with harmful parental alcohol use.

Discussion

This study set out to examine two dimensions of parental communication, responsiveness and control, as predictors of adolescent emotion regulation. We sought to compare the effects of observed parental communication and adolescent perceptions of parental communication. We also explored the potential moderating effect that harmful parental alcohol use might have on the associations between parental communication and adolescent outcomes. In almost every instance, adolescent perceptions of parental communication were the stronger predictor of adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation, but in the opposite direction from what was expected. Moderation analyses of adolescent perceptions of parental control were more strongly associated with adolescent emotion regulation in families with non-harmful parental alcohol use. The results of this study make theoretical and practical contributions to the family communication literature. Theoretically, this study clarifies whether parents' actual communication behavior or children's perceptions of their parents' communication is more influential in shaping emotional outcomes for children. Pragmatically, this study explores the ways in which adverse conditions in a family can shape communication dynamics and outcomes, which can highlight useful areas to target

for interventions. In the sections that follow, we discuss these findings and consider possible implications for both theory and practice.

Observed versus perceived communication

The results of this study indicated that outside observers' ratings of parental responsiveness and control were not significantly associated with adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation, but adolescents' perceptions of their parent's communication were significantly associated with their reported emotion regulation during the interaction. One way to interpret these findings is that adolescents' perceptions of parental communication are more important for shaping their experience and expression of emotion than the actual behaviors of their parent. This news could be a source of consternation or relief for parents of adolescents. On one hand, these findings suggest that the way parents communicate with their children has a limited, direct correlation to the emotional and behavioral outcomes demonstrated by their child. If this is true, parents may be particularly frustrated that their efforts to shape and socialize their children through communication are ineffectual. On the other hand, some parents might be relieved to learn that their specific communication behaviors in any given interaction have less of a hand in shaping their children's outcomes than they may think. For parents who worry that their actions might be responsible for the negative outcomes experienced by their children, these results may help to alleviate some of those concerns.

The other good news for parents is that their children appear to rate their parents' communication behavior in more favorable ways than outside observers. Results of this study indicated that adolescents perceived more responsiveness and less control in their parent's communication than was acknowledged by outside observers. Whereas cultural stereotypes imply that adolescents tend to be at odds with their parents and often attribute the very worst intentions to their parenting (Kakihara & Tilton-Weaver, 2009; Kerr & Stattin, 2000), our findings suggest that adolescents might make more generous attributions for their parents' behavior than initially realized.

Although adolescent perceptions of their parent's communication behavior emerged as the more robust predictor of their reported emotion regulation, we caution against the assumption that parents' communication behavior is unimportant for developing and promoting healthy expression of emotion. Clearly, adolescent perceptions of parental responsiveness and control are at least partially informed by the communication behaviors that parents perform during interaction and prior research demonstrates that perceptions can mediate associations between parenting behaviors and adolescent outcomes (Kakihara et al., 2010). Moreover, the stronger associations among the perceived variables in this study could be evident because both were based on self-report. To some extent, there is a certain amount of shared variance among the perceptions that exist within the mind. Despite these caveats, the fact that adolescents' perceptions of parental communication were stronger predictors of their emotion regulation than the observed parental communication behaviors, suggest that the way adolescents interpret their parents' communication is important for their development and adjustment. From a practical standpoint, these findings suggest that efforts to improve adolescents' emotion regulation may want to focus less on changing the way parents communicate and more on altering the ways that adolescents' perceive their interactions with a parent.

Although adolescent perceptions of parental communication were the more robust predictor of their self-reported emotion regulation, the effects were in the opposite direction from what was expected. Adolescents reported less emotion regulation under conditions of parental responsiveness and more emotion regulation under conditions of parental control. In hindsight, the direction of these effects makes sense. When parents are perceived as responsive, attentive, and caring, perhaps adolescents feel that it is unnecessary to control their emotions or refrain from expressing negativity. In some ways, parental responsiveness can be interpreted as encouragement, acceptance, and approval of one's actions and behaviors (Baumrind, 1971; Rohner, 2004) thus, under these conditions, adolescents may feel that they do not need to regulate their emotional expressions in order to receive affection and approval from a parent. In contrast, parental control communicates expectations for appropriate behavior, discipline, and regimented action (Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009). Under these conditions, adolescents may feel that they need to adapt or adjust their emotional expressions in order to align themselves with parental expectations. In other words, adolescents who perceive that their parent is controlling may feel increased demands to express their emotions in ways that will be met with approval. Taken together, although the findings in this study run counter to expectations, upon further consideration there seem to be reasonable explanations for the valance of these effects.

Family alcohol status

After testing for a moderation effect in four separate models, only one significant interaction was found. Family alcohol status moderated the association between adolescent perceptions of parental control and adolescents' self-reported emotion regulation in the happy interaction. More specifically, adolescents from families with non-harmful parental alcohol use reported significantly more emotion regulation in the face of perceived parental control compared to adolescents from families with harmful parental alcohol use.

We believe there are two primary reasons for this finding. First, adolescents from families with harmful parental alcohol use may experience more inconsistent controlling communication from parents who regularly shift between presence and absence (Fonagy et al., 2002), whereas adolescents from families with non-harmful parental alcohol use might confront more consistent parental control as part of their parents' typical communication of discipline and parental authority (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). Because adolescents of parents with non-harmful alcohol use likely experience more consistent control from parents, they are likely socialized to respond to parental control in ways that regulate emotions to conform to expectations and avoid punishment. The effect for children in families with harmful parental alcohol use was nonsignificant, but trending in a negative direction, which could indicate that adolescents are more reactive to perceptions of parental control in families with harmful parental alcohol use where the parents themselves are incapable of regulating their behavior. Second, because adolescents in families with non-harmful parental alcohol use have the benefit of more consistent demands and expectations from parents, they are more likely to understand the behavioral changes that are required to regulate their emotions in ways that are satisfactory to their parents. In contrast, the inconsistent nature of communication in families with harmful parental alcohol use places adolescents in the position of not knowing how their actions will be received. In some cases, adapting one's emotions and behaviors is met with approval and, in other cases, the same adaptations are

insufficient to satisfy a parent's demands. Thus, adolescents from families with harmful parental alcohol use may struggle to learn appropriate emotion regulation strategies and, therefore, fail to enact acceptable behavioral changes in response to parental control. In general, more research is needed to better understand the mechanisms underlying this difference between families with and without harmful parental alcohol use.

Notably, the majority of our moderation effects were nonsignificant, which is good news for adolescents from families with harmful parental alcohol use. These findings suggest that the ability to effectively regulate emotions may not suffer amidst the adversity that children might experience growing up with a parent that harmfully consumes alcohol. Though the potential for negative experiences growing up with a parent who harmfully consumes alcohol are well-documented (for example Connors et al., 2001; Straussner & Fewell, 2011; Werner & Johnson, 2004), our results indicate that perhaps the effects of growing up in a home where harmful parental alcohol use is present may not be that different from adolescents growing up with non-harmful parental alcohol use.

Strengths, limitations, future directions

There are several strengths to this research. First, this study utilized both observation and self-report measures to examine the effects of perceptions and actual communication on adolescent outcomes. Second, this study included a unique sample of parent-adolescent dyads that allowed for a more holistic picture of dyadic communication. Third, we collected data from families with and without harmful parental alcohol use to see if family alcohol status resulted in different perceptions among adolescents. The fourth strength of this project is how it contributes to communication theory. Though communication between parent and child is extremely important, our research illustrates that adolescents' perceptions may be a more significant channel toward healthy development and overall well-being.

Our study also presents several limitations and opportunities for future research. Though our sample was sufficient for the purposes of testing our hypotheses it is by no means generalizable. A larger study that included a more ethnically diverse sample of families would be beneficial to address this constraint. We also did not account for gender concordance between parent and adolescent, which may have impacted findings. Future research should consider how gender concordance impacts enacted and perceived communication. Further, few parents reported engagement in treatment or recovery efforts, therefore we did not control for this in our analyses. Parent involvement in some form of treatment or recovery (e.g., mutual help groups) could have implications on both enacted and perceived communication. Another limitation is the inability to factor in other possible influences such as co-parenting, sibling relationships, and personality traits on adolescent perceptions. Research that involves the entire family system would provide a more holistic view of the communication climate and corresponding outcomes.

Moving forward, research should continue to examine perceived versus observed effects on outcomes to make clearer recommendations of where prevention and intervention efforts should be made. The results of this study present many directions for future research involving parent-child communication, perception, and emotion regulation. An important next step in examining parent-child communication is to develop and research communication-based tools for evidence-based application and implementation. Another direction is to explore enacted and perceived communication in families of parents with co-occurring

psychiatric and substance use disorders. People with psychiatric diagnoses demonstrate distinct communication patterns that could have important implications on adolescent emotion regulation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

Family Process Institute

ORCID

Marie C. Haverfield http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2949-0229
Jennifer A. Theiss http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7991-7791

References

Ackard, D. M., Neumark-Sztainer, D., Story, M., & Perry, C. (2006). Parent-child connectedness and behavioral and emotional health among adolescents. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *30*(1), 59–66. doi:10.1016/j.amepre.2005.09.013

Afifi, T. D., Granger, D., Denes, A., Joseph, A., & Aldeis, D. (2011). Parents' communication skills and adolescents' salivary α-amylase and cortisol response patterns. *Communication Monographs*, *78*(3), 273–295. doi:10.1080/03637751.2011.589460

Allison, B. N., & Schultz, J. B. (2004). Parent-adolescent conflict in early adolescence. *Adolescence*, *39*(153), 101–119.

Amato, P. (1990). Dimensions of the family environment as perceived by children: A multidimensional scaling study. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *52*(3), 613–620. doi:10.2307/352928

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Mental disorders. Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (5th ed.).

Arnett, J. J. (1999). Adolescent storm and stress, reconsidered. *American Psychologist*, *54*(5), 317–326. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.54.5.317

Aunola, K., & Nurmi, J. E. (2005). The role of parenting style in children's problem behavior. *Child Development*, *76*(6), 1144–1159. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2005.00840.x-i1

Barber, B. K. (1996). Parental psychological control: Revisiting a neglected construct. *Child Development*, *67*(6), 3296–3319. doi:10.2307/1131780

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology*, *4*(1, Pt.2), 1–103. doi:10.1037/h0030372

Baumrind, D. (1988). Rearing competent children. In W. Damon (Ed.), *Child development today and tomorrow* (pp. 349–378). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Baumrind, D. (1991). The influence of parenting style on adolescent competence and substance use. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, *11*(1), 56–95. doi:10.1177/0272431691111004

Beebe, B., Lachmann, F. L., & Jaffe, J. (1997). Mother-infant interaction structures and presymbolic self and object representations. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, *7*(2), 133–182. doi:10.1080/10481889709539172

Biederman, J., Faraone, S. V., Monuteaux, M. C., & Feighner, J. A. (2000). Patterns of alcohol and drug use in adolescents can be predicted by parental substance use disorders. *Pediatrics*, *106*, 792–797.

Britton, P. C. (2004). The relation of coping strategies to alcohol consumption and alcohol-related consequences in a college sample. *Addiction Research & Theory*, *12*(2), 103–114. doi:10.1080/16066350310001613062

Calkins, S. D., Smith, C. L., Gill, K., & Johnson, M. C. (1998). Maternal interactive style across contexts: Relations to emotional, behavioral, and psychological regulation during toddlerhood. *Social Development*, *7*(3), 350–369. doi:10.1111/1467-9507.00072

Carroll, J. J., Robinson, B. E., & Flowers, C. (2002). Marital estrangement, positive feelings toward partners, and locus of control: Female counselors married to alcohol-abusing and non-alcohol-abusing spouses. *Journal of Addictions & Offender Counseling*, *23*(1), 30–40 doi:10.1002/j.2161-1874.2002.tb00168.x.

Christensen, J. P., & Heavey, C. L. (1990). Gender and social structure in the demand/withdraw pattern of marital conflict. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59*(1), 73–81. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.59.1.73

Connors, G. J., Donovan, D. M., & DiClemente, C. C. (2001). *Substance abuse treatment and the stages of change: Selecting and planning interventions*. Mishawaka, IN: The Guildford Press.

Cornwell, G. (1968). Factors in interpersonal and family relationships and alcoholism. *Journal of Psychiatric Nursing and Mental Health Services*, *6*, 274–278.

Courtright, J. A. (2014). *Observing and analyzing communication behavior*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Cummings, E. M. (1987). Coping with background anger in early childhood. *Child Development*, *58*(4), 976–984. doi:10.2307/1130538

Cupach, W., & Olson, L. (2006). Emotion regulation theory: A lens for viewing family conflict and violence. In D. Braithwaite & L. Baxter (Eds.), *Engaging theories in family communication: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 213–229). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. doi:10.4135/9781452204420.n14

Cozzolino, L. (2006). The neuroscience of human relationships. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc.

Davies, P. T., & Cummings, E. M. (1994). Marital conflict and child adjustment: An emotional security hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *116*(3), 387–411. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.116.3.387

Denham, S. (1998). *Emotional development in young children*. New York, NY: Guildford.

Egeland, B., Weinfield, N. S., Bosquet, M., & Cheng, V. K. (2000). Remembering, repeating, and working through: Lessons from attachment-based interventions. In J. D. Osofsky & H. E. Fitzgerald (Eds.), *WAIMH handbook of infant mental health: Vol 4 Infant mental health in groups at high risk* (pp. 38–89). New York, NY: John Wiley & Songs, Inc.

Eiden, R. D., Chavez, F., & Leonard, K. (1999). Parent-infant interactions among alcoholic families. *Journal of Development and Psychopathology*, *11*(4), 745–762. doi:10.1017/S0954579499002308

Eisenberg, N., Cumberland, A., & Spinrad, T. L. (1998). Parental socialization of emotion. *Psychological Inquiry*, *9*(4), 241–273. doi:10.1207/s15327965pli0904_1

Eisenberg, N., Fabes, R. A., Schaller, M., Carlo, G., & Miller, P. (1991). The relations of parental characteristics and practices to children's vicarious emotional responsiveness. *Child Development*, *62*(6), 1393–1408. doi:10.2307/1130814

Fals-Stewart, W., & Birchler, G. R. (1998). Marital interactions of drug-abusing patients and their partners: Comparisons with distressed couples and relationship to drug-using behavior. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, *12*(1), 28–38.

Fleiss, J. L. (1986). *The design and analysis of clinical experiments*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Fonagy, P., Gergely, G., Jurist, E., & Target, M. (2002). *Affect regulation, mentalization and the development of the self*. New York, NY: Other Press.

Fonagy, P., & Target, M. (1997). Attachment and reflective function: Their role in self-organization. *Development and Psychopathology*, *9*(4), 679–700. doi:10.1017/S0954579497001399

Garbarino, N. L., & Gilliam, G. (1980). *Understanding abusive families*. Lexington, MA: Lexington.

Gottman, J. M., Katz, L. F., & Hooven, C. (1997). *Meta-emotion: How families communicate emotionally*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Grolnick, W. S., Gurland, S. T., DeCourcey, W., & Jacob, K. (2002). Antecedents and consequences of mothers' autonomy support: An experimental investigation. *Developmental Psychology*, *38*(1), 143–155. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.38.1.143

Grolnick, W. S., & Pomerantz, E. M. (2009). Issues and challenges in studying parental control: Toward a new conceptualization. *Child Development Perspectives*, *3*(3), 165–170. doi:10.1111/j.1750-8606.2009.00099.x

Gross, J. J., & John, O. P. (2003). Individual differences in two emotion regulation processes: Implications for affect, relationships, and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*(2), 348–362. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.85.2.348

Hajal, N. J., & Paley, B. (2020). Parental emotion and emotion regulation: A critical target of study for research and intervention to promote child emotion socialization. *Developmental Psychology*, *56*(3), 403–417. doi:10.1037/dev0000864

Haverfield, M. C., & Theiss, J. (2016). Parent's alcoholism severity and family topic avoidance about alcohol as predictors of perceived stigma among adult children of alcoholics: Implications for emotional and psychological resilience. *Health Communication*, *31*(5), 606–616. doi:10.1080/10410236.2014.981665

Haverfield, M. C., & Theiss, J. (2017). Parental communication of responsiveness and control as predictors of adolescents' emotional and behavioral resilience in families with alcoholic versus nonalcoholic parents. *Human Communication Research*, *43*(2), 214–236. doi:10.1111/hcre.12102

Haverfield, M. C., & Theiss, J. (2020). Emotion regulation and resilience in parent-adolescent interactions among families of harmful versus non-harmful parental alcohol use. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, *48*(1), 26–48. doi:10.1080/00909882.2019.1704827

Healy, S. J., Murray, L., Cooper, P. J., Hughes, C., & Halligan, S. L. (2015). A longitudinal investigation of maternal influences on the development of child hostile attributions and aggression. *Journal of Clinical & Child Adolescent Psychology*, *44*(1), 80–92. doi:10.1080/15374416.2013.850698

Hill-Soderlund, A. L., & Braungart-Rieker, J. M. (2008). Early individual differences in temperamental reactivity and regulation: Implications for effortful control in early childhood. *Infant Behavior & Development*, *31*(3), 386–397. doi:10.1016/j.infbeh.2007.12.007

Houck, G. M., & LeCuyer-Maus, E. A. (2004). Maternal limit setting during toddlerhood and self-regulation at 5 years. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, *25*(1), 28–46. doi:10.1002/imhj.10083

Hubbs-Tait, L., Kennedy, T. S., Page, M. C., Topham, G. L., & Harrist, A. W. (2008). Parental feeding practices predict authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, *108*(7), 1154–1161. doi:10.1016/j.jada.2008.04.008

Hunter, J. E., & Gerbing, D. W. (1982). Unidimensional measurement, second-order factor analysis, and causal models. In B. M. Straw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior, 4*, (pp. 267–299). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Hussong, A. M., & Chassin, L. (1997). Substance use initiation among adolescent children of alcoholics: Testing protective factors. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, *58*(3), 272–279. doi:10.15288/jsa.1997.58.272

Jacob, T., Leonard, K. E., & Haber, J. R. (2001). Family interactions of alcoholics as related to alcoholism and drinking condition. *Alcoholism, Clinical and Experimental Research*, *25*(6), 835–843. doi:10.1111/j.1530-0277.2001/tb02287.x

Jones, D. C., & Houts, R. (1992). Parental drinking, parent-child communication and social skills in young adults. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, *53*(1), 48–56. doi:10.15288/jsa.1992.53.48

Kakihara, F., & Tilton-Weaver, L. (2009). Adolescents' interpretations of parental control: Differentiated by domain and types of control. *Child Development*, *80*(6), 1722–1738. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01364.x

Kakihara, F., Tilton-Weaver, L., Kerr, M., & Stattin, H. (2010). The relationship of parental control to youth adjustment: Do youths' feelings about their parents play a role? *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *39*(12), 1442–1456. doi:10.1007/s10964-009-9479-8

Kelly, A. B., Halford, W. K., & Young, R. M. (2002). Couple communication and female problem drinking: A behavioral observation study. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, *16*(3), 269–271. doi:10.1037/0893-164X.16.3.269.

Kerr, M., & Stattin, H. (2000). What parents know, how they know it, and several forms of adolescent adjustment: Further support for a reinterpretation of monitoring. *Developmental Psychology*, *36*(3), 366–380. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.36.3.366

Kliewer, W., Fearnow, M. D., & Miller, P. A. (1996). Coping socialization in middle childhood: Tests of maternal and paternal influences. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 2339–2357. doi:10.2307/1131627

Lyon, D., & Greenberg, J. (1991). Evidence of codependency in women with an alcoholic parent: Helping out Mr. Wrong. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *61*(3), 435–439. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.61.3.435

Le Poire, B. A. (2006). Family communication: Nurturing and control in a changing world. Sage.

McLaren, R. M., & Pederson, J. R. (2014). Relational communication and understanding in conversations about hurtful events between parents and adolescents. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(1), 145–166. doi:10.1111/jcom.12702

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. (2010). *Parenting to prevent childhood alcohol use*. NIH Publication No. 10-7467.

Preacher, K. J., Curran, P. J., & Bauer, D. J. (2006). Computational tools for probing interactions in multiple linear regression, multilevel modeling, and latent curve analysis. *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics*, *31*(4), 437–448.

Prout, T. A., Malone, A., Rice, T., & Hoffman, L. (2019). Resilience, defense mechanisms, and implicit emotion regulation in psychodynamic child psychotherapy. *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy*, *49*(4), 235–244. doi:10.1007/s10879-019-09423-w

Peleg-Oren, N., & Teichman, M. (2006). Young children of parents with substance use disorders (SUD): A review of the literature and implications for social work practice. *Journal of Social Work Practice in the Addictions*, *6*(1–2), 49–61. https://doi.org/10.1300/J160v06n01_03

Rangarajan, S., & Kelly, L. (2006). Family communication patterns, family environment, and the impact of parental alcoholism on offspring self-esteem. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *23*(4), 655–671. doi:10.1177/0265407506065990

Reis, H. T. (2003). *A self-report measure of perceived partner responsiveness*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY.

Rohner, R. P. (2004). The parental "acceptance-rejection syndrome": Universal correlates of perceived rejection. *American Psychologists*, *59*(8), 830–840. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.59.8.830

Rothman, E. F., Edwards, E. M., Heeren, T., & Hingson, R. W. (2008). Adverse childhood experiences predict earlier age drinking onset: Results from a representative US sample of current or former drinkers. *Pediatrics*, *122*, e298–e304.

Schade, J. (2006). *The complete encyclopedia of medicine and health* (pp. 132–133). Foreign Media Books.

Schuckit, M. A., Smith, T. L., Danko, G. P., Pierson, J., Hesselbrock, V., Bucholz, K. K., & Chan, G. (2007). The ability of the Self-Rating of the Effects of Alcohol (SRE) Scale to predict alcohol-related outcomes five years later. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, *68*(3), 371–378 doi:10.15288/jsad.2007.68.371.

Schultz, D., Izard, C. E., & Ackerman, B. P. (2000). Children's anger attribution bias: Relations to family environment and social adjustment. *Social Development*, *9*(3), 284–301. doi:10.1111/1467-9507.00126

Shields, A., & Cicchetti, D. (1997). Emotion regulation among school-age children: The development and validation of a new criterion Q-sort scale. *Developmental Psychology*, *33*(6), 906–916. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.33.6.906

Stanger, C., Dumenci, L., Kamon, J., & Burstein, M. (2004). Parenting and children's externalizing problems in substance-abusing families. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, *33*(3), 590–600. doi:10.1207/s15374424jccp3303_16

Straussner, S. A., & Fewell, C. H. (Eds.). (2011). *Children of substance-abusing parents: Dynamics and treatment*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.

Straus, M. A., & Sweet, S. (1992). Verbal/symbolic aggression in couples: Incidence rates and relationships to personal characteristics. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *54*(2), 346–357. https://doi.org/10.2307/353066

Saraceno, L., Munaf, M., Heron, J., Craddock, N., & van den Bree, M. B. M. (2009). Genetic and non-genetic influences on the development of co-occurring alcohol problem use and internalizing symptomology in adolescence: A review. *Addiction*, *104*, 1100–1121. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-0443.2009.02571.x

Testa, M., Quigley, B. M., & Leonard, K. E. (2003). Does alcohol make a difference? Within-participants comparison of incidents of partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *18*(7), 735–743 doi:10.1177/0886260503253232.

Wekerle, C., & Wall, A. M. (2002). *The violence and addiction equation: Theoretical and clinical issues in substance abuse and relationship violence*. Routledge.

Werner, E. E., & Johnson, J. L. (2004). The role of caring adults in the lives of children of alcoholics. *Substance Use & Misuse*, *39*(5), 699–720. doi:10.1081/JA-120034012

Woititz, J. G. (1985). *Struggle for intimacy*. Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications, Inc.

Zelvin, E. (2004). Treating the partners of substance abusers. *Clinical Work with Substance-Abusing Clients*, *2*, 264–283.