

## **The Connections Between Parenting Styles and Emotional Regulation in Young Adults**

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### **Abstract**

The present study investigated the relationship between perceived parenting style and emotional regulation levels among college students. 43 Emory University students completed an online survey with an adjusted version of the Parental Bonding Instrument (Parker et al., 1979), which was used to designate their primary caregiver as either authoritative, authoritarian, passive, or neglectful based on their degree of care and protection, and the Emotional Regulation Questionnaire (Gross & Oliver, 2003), which was used to designate each participant as either having a positive emotional outcome or a negative emotional outcome based on their use of suppression and rumination. No significant correlation was found between perceived parenting style of participants' primary caregivers and participants' level of emotional regulation. This deviates from previous findings in the field that largely focused on younger children, meaning more research is needed to understand if and how perceived parenting style may impact emotional outcomes for young adults.

*Keywords:* parenting style, emotional regulation, young adults

## Introduction

It is not novel to say that an individual's childhood impacts how they view and approach the world as an adult — this has been shown in countless studies across different disciplines such as politics (De Neve, 2013), medicine (Dalton et al., 2016), and even music (Skoe & Kraus, 2012). This idea is widely accepted among the general population, and, as a result, it is common for parents to joke that they're going to have to start a therapy fund for their child after making a mistake. However, this begs the question of if and how the way an individual was raised (i.e. the parenting styles their guardian(s) utilized) affects their emotional regulation as a young adult. Past research has shown that parenting styles impact children's emotional regulation (Morris et al., 2007; Ramsden & Hubbard, 2002) and even their lifetime emotional outcomes (Bariola et al., 2011), which are then associated with life quality, mental health, and self esteem (Niaraki & Rahimi, 2013). However, far less research has been done on how parenting styles may specifically impact young adults' emotional regulation. Studying these potential relationships could foster better understanding of the foundations of an individual's emotional regulation capabilities, which could open the door to possible therapies and strategies to manage difficulties in this area. This is especially pertinent to college students as they enter the world with independence for the first time and are introduced to new situations — such as their first serious romantic relationship, a particularly difficult academic course or a fight with their roommate — that could spark emotions they may not have faced before. We are interested in seeing if and how college students regulate these emotions is informed by the parenting styles they grew up under before attending college.

A parenting style refers to a pattern of how an individual's parent(s) treated and raised them, especially in terms of affection and discipline (Kuppens & Ceulemans, 2019). There are

several specific labels one could use to categorize parenting styles, although they tend to group parents into the same basic themes: 1) being too harsh and rigid; 2) being too laid back and hands off; 3) being too anxious and controlling; and 4) being a good balance of the other three groups (Baumrind, 1991; Kilic et al., 2015; Sanvictores & Mendez, 2022). Parenting styles can typically be described as authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, or neglectful (Baumrind, 1991; Kilic et al., 2015; Sanvictores & Mendez, 2022). Authoritative parents are nurturing and communicative with their children, holding clear, meetable expectations and using discipline as support rather than punishment; authoritarian parents are strict with high, unexplained standards that result in harsh punishment upon failure; permissive parents are warm and nurturing but have little to no expectations or discipline; and neglectful parents are not nurturing or communicative, but also fail to hold expectations or discipline their child (Sanvictores & Mendez, 2022). Most past studies have opted for surveys and self reports to operationally define and gather data on parenting styles, ranging from Tammilehto et al.'s (2023) use of the My Memories of Upbringing Questionnaire-Short Form (Arrindell et al., 1999) to Kilic et al.'s (2015) use of the Parental Attitudes Scale (Kuzgun & Eldeklioglu, 1996).

On the other hand, emotional regulation refers to how individuals modify and control their emotions through both innate and purposeful strategies (Gross, 2015). This can present in a variety of ways, including strategies such as reappraisal, suppression and rumination (Tammilehto et al., 2023). Reappraisal refers to interpreting a situation as more positive, therefore encouraging more positive emotions, while suppression refers to the tendency to bury emotions and not express feelings to other people (Gross, 2015). Rumination is the tendency to get stuck on negative emotions and experiences and dedicate time to revisiting them rather than attempting to move on (Nolen-Hoeksema et al., 2008). The use of different strategies can impact

an individual's emotional well-being, suggesting that the strategies play a role in regulating emotions. For example, reappraisal seems to improve mental wellbeing, while suppression and rumination seem to harm mental wellbeing (Aldao et al., 2010). There are several specific strategies one could use to quantify emotional regulation, whether that is by measuring emotional regulation directly (Kilic et al., 2015) or by measuring factors relating to emotional regulation, whether they are the traits contributing to emotional regulation, such as inhibitory control (Tammilehto et al., 2023), or the traits that seemingly stem from emotional regulation, such as depression (McKinney et al., 2011). Most past studies have opted for surveys and self reports when gathering information on participants' emotional regulation, such as Tammilehto et al.'s (2023) use of the Adult Temperament Questionnaire-Short Form's effortful control scale (Evans & Rothbart, 2007) to assess participants' effortful control by measuring activation, attention, and inhibitory control.

Although far less extensive than the research on children, some studies have attempted to explore the relationship between these two variables in young adults, generally concluding that parenting styles appear to correlate with young adults' emotional regulation. McKinney et al. (2011) found that individuals raised under an authoritative parenting style and individuals who faced less harsh discipline are more likely to grow into well-adjusted young adults in terms of emotions, as opposed to individuals raised under authoritarian parenting styles and individuals who faced harsh punishments. Similarly, Tammilehto et al. (2023) found that parental warmth seemed to link with less suppression and rumination, while overcontrol seemed to result in greater suppression. Additionally, Kilic et al. (2015) found that democratic parenting styles are more likely to positively influence young adults' emotional management skills, while

overprotective parenting styles are more likely to negatively impact their young adults' emotional management skills.

This past research informs the basis of what we expected to see in the present study: participants with warm, supportive parents growing into more emotionally regulated adults than participants with cold, controlling parents. We further investigate the potential relationship between parenting styles and emotional regulation in young adults in this study, specifically looking at how the parenting styles of participants' primary caregiver may have differing impacts on their children's emotional regulation as young adults. This sets this study apart from past work, which has largely grouped all of an individual's parental figures into one entity when rating their parenting styles, which could create issues if, for example, a participant had a loving and supportive father but a cold and domineering mother.

To investigate this potential relationship, participants, who were all Emory University undergraduate students, were asked to conduct a survey about the parenting styles they grew up under and their emotional regulation capabilities, as well as general demographic information. Specifically, we utilized the Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI) (Parker et al., 1979) to gather data on participants' parenting style experiences. The PBI, which McKinney et al. (2011) also used, is beneficial because it asks 25 questions for each parental figure to quantify their individual parenting style based on their degree of care and overprotection. The PBI also asks questions from the perspective of the child, not the parent, which provides a more honest perspective on how participants recall being raised. We collected information on participants' emotional regulation with the Emotional Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ) (Gross & Oliver, 2003), which uses a 10-question Likert scale to directly measure emotional regulation by quantifying participants' use of cognitive reappraisal and expressive suppression. The survey

was dispersed through methods such as posting flyers with QR codes in dorms and libraries, sending links in group chats and mail lists, and asking acquaintances. Gathering this information through these questionnaires gave us a solid understanding of individual participants' parenting style experiences and emotional regulation capabilities, therefore opening the door to a deeper understanding of how the two variables may be related.

We hypothesize that if someone is raised with an authoritative parenting style, then they will have higher levels of emotional regulation. In contrast, if someone is raised with an authoritarian parenting style, then they will have lower levels of emotional regulation.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

The sample included 48 undergraduate students at Emory University, although five were removed due to incomplete surveys. About 66.67% of the participants identified as female, 29.17% identified as male, and 4.17% identified as gender non-conforming. The age of the participants ranged from 19 to 22 ( $M = 20.4$ ,  $SD = .91$ ). Of the participants, 41.67% identified as Asian, 33.33% identified as White, 14.58% identified as Black, 10.42% identified as Hispanic or Latino, 6.25% identified as another unlisted race, 2.08% identified as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 0% identified as Native American or Alaska Native. This was a convenience sample, as participants were recruited to fill out the study's survey through various manners including email, flyers, QR codes, etc.

### **Materials and Measures**

Participants took a survey consisting of three main subsections on Microsoft Forms. The first set of questions was a demographics survey confirming the participants' status as a student

at Emory University and gathering information on their gender, race, age, and type of household (see Appendix A).

Next, participants responded to a slightly adapted form of the PBI (see Appendix B). The only alteration made to the PBI was changing the label “mother” to “maternal guardian or parental figure 1” and “father” to “paternal guardian or parental figure 2” to account for participants who did not grow up in a traditional mother-father household. The PBI was left in its original form otherwise, with a total of 50 questions: 25 regarding the maternal guardian or first parental figure and 25 regarding the paternal guardian or second parental figure. Of each set of 25 questions, 12 were care items and 13 were overprotection items. For each question, participants were instructed to read a statement such as their guardian “spoke to me in a warm and friendly voice” or “made me feel I wasn’t wanted” and indicate whether the statement seemed “very like,” “moderately like,” “moderately unlike,” or “very unlike” their guardian being assessed. About half of the questions dedicated to assessing care were written so that an answer of “very like” indicated the presence of care (e.g. “was affectionate to me”), while the other half were written so that an answer of “very like” indicated the lack of care (e.g. “seemed emotionally cold to me”). The questions dedicated to assessing overprotection were written similarly, with half describing traits seen in caregivers with high levels of overprotection (e.g. “was overprotective of me”) and half describing traits seen in caregivers with low levels of overprotection (e.g. “let me go out as often as I wanted”). We then coded results on a scale of zero to three so that answers indicating the presence of care or overprotection were given a greater number (e.g. if a participant answered the statement “spoke to me in a warm and friendly voice” with “very like,” their answer was coded as a three to indicate the presence of care, while a participant who answered “very unlike” would have had their answer coded as a zero to

indicate the lack of care). The scores were then summed to give participants a total score for both care and overprotection for each parental figure, with a larger number indicating greater presence of the given quality. These scores were used to determine the parenting style of each participants' primary caregiver, whom participants were asked to identify during the demographic survey.

This was done by labeling each parent as either having high or low care and protection. To have high care, mothers needed to receive a score of 27 or greater, while fathers needed to receive a score of 24 or greater. To have high protection, mothers needed a score of 13.5 or greater, while fathers needed a score of 12.5 or greater. Primary caregivers were then labeled with a parenting style using the following designations: high care and high protection is authoritative, high care and low protection is permissive, low care and high protection is authoritarian, and low care and low protection is neglectful (Parker et al., 1979). The PBI has very high internal consistency for care items ( $\alpha = .86$ ) and moderate internal consistency for overprotection items ( $\alpha = .62$ ) (Karim & Begum, 2017), where any value for Chronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) above .60 indicates an acceptable level of consistency (Raharjanti et al., 2022).

Next, participants responded to the ERQ (see Appendix C). In the ERQ, participants answered 10 questions: six reappraisal items and four suppression items. For each question, participants were instructed to read a statement such as "I keep my emotions to myself" or "when I'm faced with a stressful situation, I make myself think about it in a way that helps me stay calm" and rate the statement on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The scores were summed to give participants a total score for both reappraisal and suppression, with a higher score indicating greater use of the strategy. The ERQ has very high interitem reliability for both the reappraisal items ( $\alpha = .79$ ) and suppression items ( $\alpha = .73$ ) (Gross & John, 2003), with  $\alpha$  falling above the .60 threshold for both measures (Raharjanti et al., 2022). After

completing the ERQ, participants rated how they felt while taking the survey on a scale of 0 (*not at all distressed*) to 10 (*extremely distressed*) to ensure we were able to omit any answers given in an extremely distressed state, which could skew how a participant responds. However, this was not necessary as none of the participants indicated that they were highly distressed.

### **Procedure and Design**

The study was a correlational, cross-sectional design studying the relationship between the variables of interest: perceived parenting style and emotional regulation. Participants were recruited through various manners including email, flyers, QR codes, etc. and those who indicated interest were then taken to Microsoft Forms to complete the study, which took each participant approximately 11 minutes to complete. Participants had to indicate consent after reading an informed consent form and had to verify that they were a current Emory University undergraduate student prior to taking the survey. If participants did not give consent or did not identify as an Emory undergraduate student, the survey automatically closed and did not allow them to participate further. Participants who met the requirements and gave consent then completed the demographics survey, followed by the slightly altered PBI, then the ERQ. Participants could go back to previous questions as needed but could not advance to the next stage without completing current questions. Participants then indicated how they felt while taking the survey before submitting their responses. Lastly, participants were given a written debriefing. Participants did not receive any compensation for participating in the study.

## **Results**

### **Overall Descriptives for Measures**

See Table 1 for overall descriptive statistics of the variables central to the analyses (household type, primary caregiver, perceived parenting style of primary caregiver, and level of

emotional regulation). Authoritarian was the most common parenting style utilized by primary caregivers, with 36.59% of primary caregivers being labeled as such. Authoritative was the second most prevalent parenting style, followed by permissive and finally neglectful (see Table 1). On average, mothers presented with an authoritarian parenting style with low care and high protection, while, on average, fathers presented with a neglectful parenting style with low care and low protection, although scores varied widely across participants (see Table 2). Additionally, on average, participants presented with a positive emotional outcome with greater use of reappraisal than suppression (see Table 2).

### **Tests of Main Hypotheses**

A one-way ANOVA was used to examine the hypotheses that if someone is raised with an authoritative parenting style, then they will have higher levels of emotional regulation, while someone raised with an authoritarian parenting style will have lower levels of emotional regulation. A  $p$ -value of .05 was used to determine significance. There was no significant effect of the parenting styles on the emotional outcome,  $F(3,39) = 1.24, p = .31$ . Therefore, one can conclude that this data does not suggest a difference between emotional regulation in young adults reared under authoritative v. authoritarian v. permissive v. neglectful primary caregivers (see Figure 1).

### **Discussion**

This study investigated the relationship between perceived parenting style and emotional regulation capabilities of college students. We used the PBI to assess parenting style and the ERQ as a measure for emotional regulation. This topic is important because past research has shown how parenting styles impact children's emotional regulation (Morris et al., 2007; Ramsden & Hubbard, 2002), but far less research has been done on how parenting styles may

have a long-term effect on young adults' emotional regulation. This study therefore aims to consider how one's childhood, specifically how their parents raised them, could impact how they approach the world as an adult. Investigating this relationship could broaden our understanding of healthy parenting styles and contribute to the ongoing discussion of how to best raise children to grow into emotionally-regulated adults. Additionally, studying potential relationships could help individuals understand possible underlying causes for difficulties they may face in regulating their emotions, which could make it easier to begin working on replacing unhealthy emotional regulation strategies with more effective options.

It was hypothesized that if someone is raised with an authoritative parenting style, then they will have higher levels of emotional regulation; it was also hypothesized that if someone is raised with an authoritarian parenting style, then they will have lower levels of emotional regulation. However, we did not find any differences in emotional regulation across parenting styles. These findings deviate from those of several previous studies that suggest young adults raised under an authoritative parenting style will have higher levels of emotional regulation (McKinney et al., 2011; Tammilehto et al., 2023). This could be due to extraneous variables largely impacting the present study's population in a way that harms their emotional regulation, such as the COVID-19 pandemic (Hen et al., 2022). Specifically, studies have shown that many adolescents and young adults who lived through the COVID-19 pandemic, which forced many people into isolation and resulted in the loss of family members and friends due to the virus, experienced an increase in negative affect, depressive symptoms, and loneliness (Branje & Morris, 2021), as well as a decrease in their ability to regulate these emotions (Mariani et al., 2021). Further, Mariani et al. (2021) found that individuals generally experienced a decrease in reappraisal, which is measured in the ERQ, during COVID-19 lockdown. Although it is possible

that parenting styles may influence emotional regulation, there is a chance that the COVID-19 pandemic, which occurred after many earlier studies had already been conducted, had a stronger correlation with emotional regulation, essentially overshadowing any impact from parenting styles. Additionally, one could speculate that factors uniquely present throughout the childhood of today's college student — such as a rapid increase in technology use (Gioia et al., 2021) and a need for both parents to spend the majority of the day at work to afford to live in the United States economy (Kim et al., 2013) — might have caused parents to spend less time with their children than they used to, therefore mitigating any former correlation between parenting style and emotional regulation for some participants.

### **Limitations**

There are several limitations to this study that are vital to note, firstly concerning the sample and generalizability. The sample only included 43 participants and was disproportionate in terms of gender, with 66.67% of participants identifying as female and 29.17% identifying as male. This could hinder the sample's ability to be generalized to the U.S. population, which has a more balanced distribution of females and males — in the United States, female students make up about 58% of the undergraduate student population, while male students make up 42% (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). Additionally, past research has shown that female individuals and male individuals tend to regulate their emotions differently, meaning the disproportionate number of female participants could have skewed the results. Specifically, women typically exhibit greater and earlier emotional responses to negative stimuli than men (Gardener et al., 2013). Studies have also shown that men are able to regulate their emotions more efficiently and with less effort than women, but women are typically able to up-regulate positive emotions as a strategy to decrease negative emotions more than their male counterparts

(Gardener et al., 2013; McRae et al., 2018). Therefore, the high degree of female representation in the present study may prevent the results from truly capturing the landscape of emotional regulation in U.S. college students.

Additionally, these participants were recruited as a convenience sample, only including Emory University undergraduates. This might prevent the sample from being generalizable to the population, as Emory students could, on average, have parenting experiences that differ from the population as a whole, especially when one considers the fact that 79.17% of participants reported that both parental units are in their life and 16.67% reported that they were raised by only one parent. Comparatively, a Pew Research Center study conducted in 2019, which was when the present study's participants were between 15 to 18 years old, found that about 23% of American children were being raised in single parent households (Kramer, 2019). Additionally, authoritative was the most common parenting style reported by participants, which differs from parenting trends in the United States, where authoritative is the most common parenting style and typically viewed as the ideal approach (Rangarajan et al., 2020). However, this could be explained by Emory University's cultural diversity. International students make up about 15% to 18% of the undergraduate population (Emory University Office of Undergraduate Admission, 2023), with the majority of international students hailing from China, South Korea, and India (Emory University International Student and Scholar Services, 2023). Authoritarian parenting styles are much more common in these Asian cultures where discipline and respect are highly valued (Yim, 2022). This could skew the parenting styles seen at Emory University, especially when one considers the fact that Emory's international student population is far greater than the United States as a whole, where international students only account for 5.6% of the total higher education population (Open Doors, 2023).

Additionally, the study's correlational design could act as a limitation by making it more difficult to control possible third confounding variables. This could be exacerbated by the fact that participants took the study on their own through a virtual form with the PBI and the ERQ, both of which are self-report surveys, meaning there is no way to confirm participants were fully truthful or consistent when responding, especially if they were distracted by environmental or external factors that were out of our control. Additionally, participants' mood at the time of the study could likely impact how they responded, especially to the ERQ. Although both the PBI and ERQ have high internal validity (Gross & John, 2003; Karim & Begum, 2017), there is a chance other strategies to measure parenting style and emotional regulation are more accurate. Additionally, the survey was relatively tedious, which could have made participants more prone to distraction or rushing through the survey to complete it without proper care or attention.

### **Implications and Future Directions**

This study suggests that there is no relationship between perceived parenting style and emotional regulation in young adults. This finding fills a gap in the discussion of parenting style and emotional regulation, as research in this field typically focuses on young children and how their emotional outcomes seem to be largely influenced by parenting style (e.g., Bahrami et al., 2018; Boediman & Desnawati, 2019; Karim et al., 2013). The present study seems to deviate from these past studies, as many come to the general consensus that parenting style does impact younger children's emotional outcomes (e.g., Bariola et al., 2011). This difference could suggest that the influence of parenting style on emotional regulation decreases as children grow older and spend more time on their own, as our participants did when they left home to attend Emory University. Parental influence almost seems to act as springboards for children's emotional regulation, perhaps influencing their emotional outcome when they are younger and giving them

a foundation to build off of as they leave home. Therefore, it is vital to adopt parenting styles that seem to produce the best emotional outcomes in young children to give them a greater chance at healthy emotional regulation as adults, rather than making them play catch-up with their peers as they learn how to leave behind any previously-learned harmful emotional regulation strategies in favor of healthy strategies after leaving home.

However, it is important to note that other studies have found correlations between parenting style and emotional regulation in young adults (e.g. McKinney et al., 2011; Tammilehto et al., 2023), suggesting that a relationship may exist between the two variables. When one considers this in tandem with the fact that most research focuses on young children, it becomes clear that more work needs to be done to gain a better understanding of this study's research question. The present study only considered parenting style as an isolated variable, when, in reality, it is likely that this is only one aspect of an individual's childhood that could influence their emotional regulation as an adult. Therefore, aside from replicating this study with a more generalizable sample (i.e. more diverse in gender, location, education, ethnicity, etc.) and measurement tools other than the PBI and ERQ, researchers in this field should consider how other factors may influence parenting style and emotional regulation and how these two variables interact. For example, researchers should investigate how gender could play a role in the relationship between perceived parenting style and emotional regulation, especially in terms of parental gender. Previous research has shown that mothers are more likely to adopt an authoritarian parenting style, while fathers are more likely to be authoritative or permissive (Russell et al., 1998), so it could be beneficial to run such an analysis for each participant twice, taking both their mother and father into account to determine how, if at all, their gender impacts their parenting style and therefore their children's emotional regulation. Furthermore, researchers

could compare results with both mothers and fathers between male, female, and gender non-conforming participants to see if children's gender influences the relationship between perceived parenting style and emotional regulation. The level of influence parenting has on young adults' emotional regulation appears to be influenced by parent and child gender (McKinney et al., 2011). For example, McKinney et al. (2011) found that the use of corporal punishment correlates with increased depression when looking at sons' relationships with both parents, but not daughters' relationships with either parent. Additionally, increased parental care is correlated with increased self-esteem in young adults when looking at the relationship between sons and fathers, sons and mothers, and daughters and mothers, but no correlation was found between care and self-esteem when looking at the relationship between daughters and fathers (McKinney et al., 2011). However, McKinney et al.'s (2011) study is unique, as most research in this field does not explicitly consider how the correlation between perceived parenting style and emotional regulation may be influenced by the gender of participants and parents (e.g., Kilic et al., 2015; Sanvictores & Mendez, 2022; Tammilehto et al., 2023), suggesting that further research is needed to better understand this topic.

Considering gender differences raises the question of how parents' own emotional regulation capabilities may impact that of their children, opening the door to another factor researchers should consider in future studies. As previously discussed, men and women tend to regulate emotions differently (Gardener et al., 2013; McRae et al., 2018), which could influence how mothers regulate their own emotions v. how fathers regulate their emotions. Furthermore, research has shown that children heavily rely on their parents to learn how to regulate their emotions, such as by observing their parents' emotional responses to different situations and later applying those emotional regulation practices to their own lives (Rutherford et al., 2015).

However, researchers could take this a step further to investigate how parents' own emotional regulation capabilities may inform the type of parenting style they adopt, potentially influencing their children's own emotional outcome.

In short, future studies should look to examine how these other factors may play a role in the relationship between perceived parenting style and emotional outcomes in young adults. The present study investigated this relationship by determining the emotional outcome of college students and the parenting style they were raised under. However, no significant correlation was found between parenting style and emotional outcome. This, when coupled with the fact that past research has found such a correlation to exist, suggests that the present study may have been too narrow in its approach, so further research needs to be done to determine how other factors, such as gender and parents' emotional regulation capabilities, may work together to shape children's emotional outcome rather than parenting style acting as one dominant influence over emotional outcome. Although no significant results were found, the present study can serve as a useful starting point for exploring how parenting style may influence emotional regulation in young adults — a population that has largely been left out of conversation surrounding this topic. It is common knowledge that childhood can shape how an individual approaches the world as an adult, and knowing the extent of this relationship — or lack thereof — could help parents adopt the healthiest parenting styles (Șițoiu & Pânișoară, 2022) and young adults know potential origins of their emotional regulation capabilities.

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### Additional Materials

**Table 1**

*Overall proportions for descriptive statistics*

| Measure                                     | Percentage                           |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Household Type                              | 79.17% raised by both parental units |
|                                             | 12.50% raised by single mother       |
|                                             | 6.25% raised by grandmother          |
|                                             | 4.17% raised by single father        |
|                                             | 4.17% raised by grandfather          |
|                                             | 4.16% other unlisted household type  |
|                                             | 2.08% raised by other relatives      |
| Primary Caregiver                           | 84.44% mother                        |
|                                             | 8.89% father                         |
|                                             | 6.67% other                          |
| Primary Caregiver Perceived Parenting Style | 36.59% authoritarian                 |
|                                             | 31.71% authoritative                 |
|                                             | 17.07% permissive                    |
|                                             | 14.63% neglectful                    |
| Level of Emotional Regulation               | 76.74% positive                      |
|                                             | 23.26% negative                      |

**Table 2**

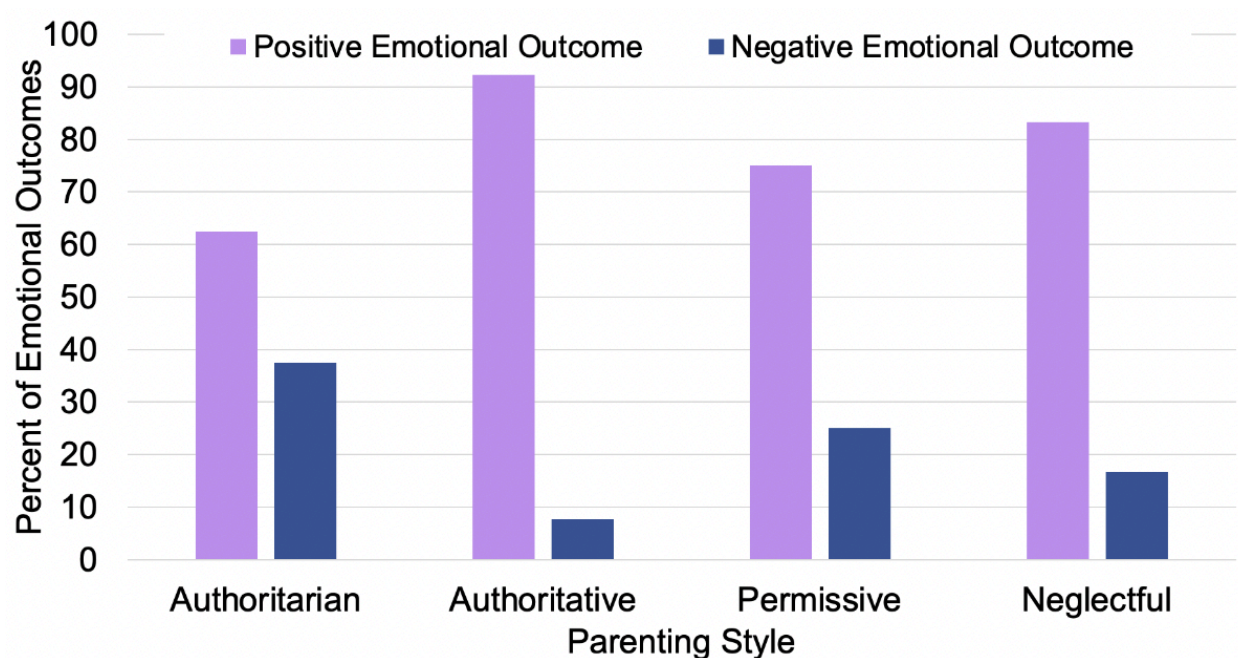
*Overall means and standard deviations for PBI and ERQ Scores*

| Measure   | <i>M</i>                  | <i>SD</i>                |
|-----------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| PBI Score | Mother care = 23.58       | Mother care = 8.70       |
|           | Mother protection = 15.63 | Mother protection = 8.34 |
|           | Father care = 20.05       | Father care = 9.60       |
|           | Father protection = 9.53  | Father protection = 6.60 |
| ERQ Score | Reappraisal = 5.08        | Reappraisal = 1.04       |
|           | Suppression = 3.90        | Suppression = 1.54       |

*Note.* PBI = Parental Bonding Instrument; ERQ = Emotional Regulation Questionnaire

**Figure 1**

*Positive emotional outcome associated with primary caregivers' parenting style*



**Appendix A**

*Demographics Survey*

**Demographics Survey**

1. Are you a current Emory undergraduate student?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
2. Which gender do you most closely identify with?
  - a. Male
  - b. Female
  - c. Non-binary
  - d. Prefer not to say
  - e. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
3. What race do you identify as? Select all that apply.
  - a. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
  - b. Native American or Alaska Native
  - c. Asian
  - d. Black
  - e. Hispanic or Latino
  - f. White
  - g. Prefer not to say
  - h. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
4. What is your age? You must be 18 or older to complete this survey.  
\_\_\_\_\_ (Participants fill in their age)
5. Which option(s) most accurately describe your household? Select all that apply.
  - a. Both parental units were in my life
  - b. I was raised in a single mother household

- c. I was raised in a single father household
  - d. I was raised by my grandmother
  - e. I was raised by my grandfather
  - f. I was raised by other relatives
  - g. I was raised by foster parents
  - h. Other: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Who was your primary caregiver? If you select "other," please specify.
- a. Mother
  - b. Father
  - c. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B

*Adapted form of the Parental Bonding Instrument*

### Parenting Survey

Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. If your parent changed their behavior toward you during your childhood, please think of your parent's behavior during the time you were around 16 years old.

#### My maternal guardian or parental figure 1 (PART ONE):

Please do not put "N/A" unless you were raised in a single-parent household without a maternal guardian.

|                                             | Very Like                | Moderately Like          | Moderately Unlike        | Very Unlike              | N/A                      |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Spoke to me in a warm and friendly voice | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

|                                                   |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 2. Did not help me as much as I needed            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Let me do those things I liked doing           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Seemed emotionally cold to me                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Appeared to understand my problems and worries | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Was affectionate to me                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Liked me to make my own decisions              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Did not want me to grow up                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Tried to control everything I did              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. Invaded my privacy                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. Enjoyed talking things over with me           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. Frequently smiled at me                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**My maternal guardian or parental figure 1 (PART TWO):**

Please do not put "N/A" unless you were raised in a single-parent household without a maternal guardian.

|                                                                 | Very Like                | Moderately Like          | Moderately Unlike        | Very Unlike              | N/A                      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 13. Tended to baby me                                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Let me decide things for myself                             | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Made me feel I wasn't wanted                                | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. Could make me feel better when I was upset                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Did not talk with me very much                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. Tried to make me feel dependent on her/him                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. Felt I could not look after myself unless she/he was around | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. Gave me as                                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

|                                              |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| much freedom<br>as I wanted                  |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
| 22. Let me go<br>out as often as<br>I wanted | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. Was<br>overprotective<br>of me           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. Did not<br>praise me                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25. Let me<br>dress in any<br>way I pleased  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**My parental guardian or parental figure 2 (PART ONE):**

Please do not put "N/A" unless you were raised in a single-parent household without a paternal guardian.

|                                                      | Very Like                | Moderately<br>Like       | Moderately<br>Unlike     | Very Unlike              | N/A                      |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Spoke to<br>me in a warm<br>and friendly<br>voice | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Did not<br>help me as<br>much as I<br>needed      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Let me do<br>those things I<br>liked doing        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Seemed<br>emotionally<br>cold to me               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

|                                                   |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5. Appeared to understand my problems and worries | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Was affectionate to me                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Liked me to make my own decisions              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Did not want me to grow up                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Tried to control everything I did              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. Invaded my privacy                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. Enjoyed talking things over with me           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. Frequently smiled at me                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**My parental guardian or parental figure 2 (PART TWO):**

Please do not put "N/A" unless you were raised in a single-parent household without a paternal guardian.

|                       | Very Like                | Moderately Like          | Moderately Unlike        | Very Unlike              | N/A                      |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 13. Tended to baby me | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

|                                                                 |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 14. Did not seem to understand what I needed or wanted          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Let me decide things for myself                             | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Made me feel I wasn't wanted                                | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. Could make me feel better when I was upset                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Did not talk with me very much                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. Tried to make me feel dependent on her/him                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. Felt I could not look after myself unless she/he was around | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. Gave me as much freedom as I wanted                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. Let me go out as often as I wanted                          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. Was overprotective of me                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. Did not                                                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |





