EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILDHOOD PARENTIFICATION, CULTURAL ORIENTATION, AND PARENTING BEHAVIOURS IN FEMALE PRIMARY CAREGIVERS

MIRELE J. KOUMARY
Bachelor of Science, McGill University, 2019

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

in

COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

Faculty of Education
University of Lethbridge
LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA, CANADA

© Mirele J. Koumary, 2025

EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILDHOOD PARENTIFICATION, CULTURAL ORIENTATION, AND PARENTING BEHAVIOURS IN FEMALE PRIMARY CAREGIVERS

MIRELE KOUMARY

Date of Defence: December 15, 2025

Dr. Lisa Starr Thesis Supervisor	Dean & Professor	Ph.D.
Dr. Charlotte Brenner Thesis Examination Committee Member	Assistant Professor	Ph.D.
Dr. Doug Checkley Thesis Examination Committee Member	Instructor	Ph.D.
Dr. Victoria Talwar External Examiner McGill University Montreal, Quebec	Professor	Ph.D.
Dr. Sharon Pelech Chair, Thesis Examination Committee	Associate Dean	Ph.D.

DEDICATION

I speak to experiencing parentification myself, which inspired my research. My mother immigrated from Syria to Canada and raised me and my brother on her own as a single mother for the early parts of my childhood. While I was aware my upbringing and family dynamic were different than that of my peers, I never knew of the hardships my mother was going through to keep us afloat. My mother's strength, resilience, and unconditional love masked the darkness of our circumstances. Words do not do justice to how grateful I am to my mother and her sacrifices, which have led me to this moment. I dedicate this paper to you, as well as to all the mothers, caregivers, sisters, daughters, aunts, cousins, grandmothers, and every person putting the needs of another ahead of their own.

ABSTRACT

Parentification is the phenomenon whereby children take on roles and responsibilities within their family that are typically reserved for adults, such as providing emotional or physical care for their parents or siblings. In this study, 70 female primary caregivers completed online questionnaires that measured parentification in childhood, cultural orientation, and parenting behaviours. Female primary caregivers who identified as individualists reported higher levels of instrumental parentification in childhood than those who identified as collectivists. Correlation analysis showed no strong or consistent relationships with parenting behaviours, but exploratory subscale findings suggest that perceived unfairness of parentification relates to fewer positive parenting practices. Furthermore, cultural orientation showed some direct effects on parenting behaviours. Using thematic analysis, the researcher created nine themes to capture the qualitative data from the short answer questions. Overall, parentification and the emerging area of the intergenerational transmission of parentification call for the attention of mental health, education, and family support systems to recognize parentification as a relational and cultural phenomenon with profound implications.

ETHICS STATEMENT

Work described in this thesis received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, "EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILDHOOD PARENTIFICATION, CULTURAL ORIENTATION, AND PARENTING BEHAVIOURS IN FEMALE PRIMARY CAREGIVERS", No. Pro00143241, JANUARY 14, 2025.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am eternally grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Lisa Starr, for her continual support and guidance throughout this journey. Thank you for investing the time and energy in my educational journey. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Charlotte Brenner and Dr. Doug Checkley, for their invaluable insight and feedback. Moreover, thank you to Dr. Victoria Talwar for agreeing to be my external examiner and Dr. Sharon Pelech for being the chair for the defence. Finally, thank you to Dr. Justin Parent and Dr. Michele Gelfand for permission to use their scales in this work.

This thesis is a culmination of two years of countless late nights, hours of hard work, and a combination of blood, sweat, and tears (mostly figuratively). I could not have made it through these past few years without the endless support and love from my family, and especially from my wonderful fiancée. Thank you for feeding me, taking care of me, forcing me to take breaks, and for being my sounding board from the moment the idea for this topic was still in its infancy; this body of work would likely still be in its early stages without you. *Il n'y pas de moi sans toi*.

Finally, to all the caregivers who participated in this study and shared their experiences with me: thank you. Thank you for being vulnerable, for sharing your truths, and for trusting me with your stories. Without you, this work would not be possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ... iii

ABSTRACT ... iv

ETHICS STATEMENT ... v

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ... vi

LIST OF TABLES ... x

LIST OF FIGURES ... xi

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ... 1

Family Systems ... 4

Impact of Parentification ... 5

Positionality Statement ... 7

Research Questions ... 8

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW ... 9

Defining Parentification ... 9

Contextual Factors and Parentification ... 10

Types of Parentification ... 13

Cultural Orientation, Ethnicity, and Parentification ... 17

Cultural Orientation ... 18

Age and Parentification ... 25

Gender and Parentification ... 26

Intergenerational Transmission of Parentification ... 29

Summary ... 32

CHAPTER 3: METHODS ... 33

Participants ... 33

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria ... 34

Demographic Survey ... 35

Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale (MAPS) ... 35

Parentification Questionnaire (PQ) ... 36

Individualism and Collectivism Scale (IND-COL) ... 36

Lived Experiences Questions ... 37

Procedures ... 38

Methods of Analysis ... 40

Descriptive Statistics ... 40

Reliability Analysis ... 40

Non-Parametric Independent Samples t-test ... 41

Spearman's rho and Pearson correlations ... 43

Hierarchical Linear Regression ... 43

Thematic Analysis 45
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS 51
Sample Description 51
t-Tests Results: Mean Differences between Collectivists and Individualists in Parentification 58
The Relationship Between Parentification and Parenting Behaviours 60
Spearman's rho 60
Pearson Correlations 62
Hierarchical Linear Regression: Effect of Cultural Orientation on the Relationship Between Parentification and Parenting Behaviours 63
Individualism, Positive Parenting and Parentification 64
Individualism, Negative Parenting and Parentification 65
Collectivism, Positive Parenting and Parentification 67
Collectivism, Negative Parenting and Parentification 68
Thematic Analysis Results 69
Research Question 1A: How do female primary caregivers perceive their childhood experiences? 76
Research Question 1B: (How Has the Perception of Childhood Experiences Shaped) Female Primary Caregivers' Parenting Behaviours? 78
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION 80
Interpretation and Synthesis of Results 80
Research Question One: Do Parentification Levels Differ by Cultural Orientation? 80
Research Question Two: Are Parentification Levels Associated with Parenting Behaviours? 85
Research Question Three: Does Cultural Orientation Moderate the Relationship Between Parentification and Parenting Behaviours? 86
Research Question Four: How do Female Primary Caregivers Perceive Their Childhood Experiences and How do These Shape Their Parenting Behaviours? 88
Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions 95
Strengths 95
Limitations 97
Future Directions and Conclusion 99
References 103
Appendix A 126
Appendix B 129
Appendix C 131
Appendix D 133
Appendix E 134
Appendix F 135
Appendix G 136

Appendix H 138

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Cronbach's Alpha for Questionnaire Subscales 41
Table 2: Combinations Analyzed and Their Rationale 43
Table 3: Sociodemographic Characteristics of Female Primary Caregivers 51
Table 4: Mann-Whitney U Test for Parentification Subscale Scores by Cultural Orientation 58
Table 5: Independent Samples t-Test Results for Parentification Subscales Scores by Cultural Orientation (Robustness Check) 59
Table 6: Spearman’s Correlations Among Parentification and MAPS Subscales 61
Table 7: Pearson’s Correlations Among Parentification and MAPS Subscales (Robustness Check) 63
able 8: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Positive Parenting (MAPS_POS) in Individualists.. 65
Table 9: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Negative Parenting Behaviours (MAPS_NEG) in Individualists.. 66
Table 10: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Positive Parenting Behaviours (MAPS_POS) in Collectivists 67
Table 11: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Negative Parenting Behaviours (MAPS_NEG) in Collectivists... 68
Table 12: Frequencies and Quotes for Themes of Female Primary Caregivers’ Perceptions of Their Childhood Experiences and How This Shapes Parenting Behaviours 70

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Codes and Themes Generated in Answer to RQ1A 76
Figure 2: Codes and Themes Generated in Answer to RQ1B 78
Figure 3: Connections Across Themes 89

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

According to principles of family therapy, children in healthy and adaptive families have traditional roles and responsibilities distinct from those of the parents or caregivers (Jurkovic, 1998). Within this framework, caregivers expect the child to achieve and attain developmentally age-appropriate milestones. Caregivers attune to children's developmental functioning and assign tasks and duties that align with the child's level of development (Kerig, 2005). These role distinctions reinforce and define interpersonal boundaries crucial to developing healthy adult autonomy (Jacobvitz et al., 1999; Minuchin, 1974).

When the lines between parents' and children's expectations are blurred, role crossover occurs, a phenomenon known as boundary dissolution. According to Garber (2011), boundary dissolution results in the enmeshment of caregiver-child dyads, which can take several forms: adultification, infantilization, and parentification. In adultification, the child becomes the parent's friend, confidante, and ally, resulting in a more reciprocal and mutual relationship than typical parent-child dyads (Burton, 2007). In contrast, because of a desire to feel needed, infantilization occurs when the parent inhibits the child from age-appropriate growth and independence, and this can result in the child under-functioning later in life (Jurkovic, 1997). Parentification was first defined in 1973 as "the subjective distortion of a relationship as if one's partner or even children were his parent." (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973, p. 151). Since its conceptualization, parentification is an expectation from a parental figure that a child will fulfill a parental role within the family system, particularly that of being the parent's or sibling(s)' caregiver (Earley & Cushway, 2002; Garber, 2011). To date, studies have shown that the impact of parentification on a child and their developmental outcomes can vary based on several factors, such as family structure, parenting behaviour and characteristics, child age and gender when

parentified, and culture (Borchet et al., 2022; Khafi et al., 2014; Masiran et al., 2023). Parentification more widely encompasses tenets of infantilization and adultification. This paper will explore its various forms in later sections; therefore, parentification as a phenomenon is the focus of this thesis.

Psychoanalysis, attachment theory, psychosocial developmental stages, and family systems theory have been used as theoretical frameworks to explain why boundary dissolution and role reversal occur in families. In 1948, psychoanalysts claimed that early interpersonal deprivation unconsciously disposes individuals to regard their children as parental figures (Schmideberg, 1948). Further, children may assume the roles of a buffer or confidante, especially during divorce or marital conflict (Freud et al., 1965; Mahler & Rabinovitch, 1956). Using attachment theory, Bowlby (1977) stated that boundary dissolution inverts the typical parent-child relationship and becomes a source of anxious attachment for the child. In 1982, Bowlby hypothesized that, due to their insecurity about the emotional availability of others, some parents turn to their children to meet their own emotional needs, placing developmentally inappropriate demands on young children to provide nurturance and comfort. The parents' emotional limitations lead to the inversion of the parent-child relationship and result in a pattern of insecure attachment in the child (Bowlby, 1982).

In addition to impacting a child's attachment style, Erikson's theory of psychosocial development explains the effect of parentification on children's developmental progress. According to Erikson's (1968) stages of psychosocial development, children enter the fourth stage between the ages of 6 and 12: industry vs. inferiority. Here, success leads to a feeling of competence and self-efficacy, while failure results in feeling inferior (Erikson, 1968). When a child is parentified at this stage, they may not be resourceful or developmentally mature enough

to cope with caretaking assignments and behaviours placed upon them (Jurkovic, 1997). Forcing children to fulfill tasks they are unlikely to succeed in can inhibit their completion of the fourth stage, reducing their ability to complete further stages and developing a negative sense of self into adulthood (Jurkovic, 1997). From ages 12-18, developmentally typical children proceed to the fifth stage of psychosocial development: identity vs. confusion. Erikson (1968) argued that a sense of identity is the most important accomplishment of late adolescence, preparing the adolescent for adulthood by developing a unified representation of the self. According to Kerig (2005), boundary dissolution and parentification in childhood compromise the development of individual autonomy, leading to lower levels of identity exploration and ultimately resulting in role confusion.

Similarly, Bowen (1978) describes a loss of identity and a merging of the child's identity with that of their parents through a term known as fusion. Bowen developed the family system's theory in which he viewed one person as a part of the larger family system (Bowen, 1966). Bowen (1970) theorized that family members are emotionally connected, resulting in emotional interdependence where one member's thoughts, feelings, and actions impact other family members. Bowen's theory rests on the idea that families are a system and that a change or modification in one part will impact other aspects, resulting in dysfunction. As a result of such dynamic interactions, Bowen (1978) developed the term differentiation of self (DoS). DoS refers to the ability of someone (e.g., a member of a family) to distinguish between the thoughts and feelings of others (e.g., the family system) (Bohlander, 1995). DoS is the result of the emotional functioning and emotional patterns in the family – both across generations and in the family of origin – and it has direct consequences for the family system patterns of functioning and interaction (Calatrava et al., 2022), and for determining an individual's level of DoS (Bowen,

1978). When children experience parentification, they may become emmeshed in their parents' emotional functioning, leading to a less developed "self" or DoS. As the Bowen Center for the Study of Family site (2024) describes, a lower or poorly differentiated sense of self can lead individuals to rely on the approval and validation of others, to the extent that they may set aside their own needs and wants to cater to others.

Family Systems

While these theories are strong and reputable, family dynamics are inherently unique, complex, and culturally bound. These theories, developed through a Westernized lens, do not acknowledge how one's culture, values, or beliefs impact familial relationships, nor do they consider how children may internalize their experience of parentification. For example, while differentiation of self finds a poorly differentiated sense of self to be "conforming" and inherently harmful, a non-Westernized view may see this as positive, as it represents greater connectedness between an individual and others. Cultural backgrounds influence concepts such as separateness and connectedness, more specifically, whether one's culture is contextualized as either individualistic or collectivistic (Erdem & Safi, 2018). According to Erdem and Safi (2018), individualism-collectivism can integrate into Bowen's family systems theory as a cultural dimension of differentiation of self. Researchers cannot deeply understand these constructs without focusing on the meaning and value individuals attribute to them. Family systems theory draws on the interactions among family members, their interactions with external systems, and past interactions across generations (Johnson & Ray, 2016). Therefore, subjective meaning and lived experiences are necessary components to form a greater, holistic understanding. Understanding the meaning and value individuals attribute to family dynamics is pivotal for creating a comprehensive framework that acknowledges diverse family experiences. The focus

on subjective meanings is essential as it allows the integration of personal and cultural narratives into the exploration of family relationships. According to Stephenson (2007), subjective meanings are influenced by individual perspectives, emphasizing the need for a relativistic approach that treats these meanings as context-specific judgments. A relativistic approach highlights the importance of viewing family dynamics not merely as static constructs, but as evolving interactions shaped by personal and cultural perceptions. Incorporating these nuanced insights into family systems theory enables practitioners to better address the varied interpretations families hold regarding their roles and interactions. Subjective meaning and lived experiences play a crucial role in shaping our understanding of family systems by providing a lens with which to examine individual and cultural narratives. Stephenson's (2007) theory emphasizes the importance of contextual recognition in analyzing family relationships, viewing them not as static entities but as complex interactions influenced by personal and cultural beliefs. These subjective interpretations offer insights into how family systems can vary widely across cultural contexts, highlighting the need for flexible frameworks that can accommodate diverse familial experiences. Incorporating cultural perspectives into family systems theory highlights the importance of understanding family dynamics not only through distinct conceptual lenses but also by recognizing the variegated cultural meanings that underpin familial roles (Adaki, 2023). By considering these perspectives, practitioners enrich family systems, fostering a nuanced appreciation of familial patterns and interactions.

Impact of Parentification

Since the 20th century, significant contributions have been made to understanding the impacts and mechanisms of parentification. The literature agrees that parentification can have positive and negative outcomes in the parentified individual throughout their life, depending on

certain factors. Namely, the context in which parentification occurs, the types of tasks expected of the child, the age of the parentified child, individual characteristics (e.g., internal locus of control), and cultural background and ethnicity have been found to influence the outcomes of parentified individuals (Masiran et al., 2023). However, investigations of the transmission of parentification across generations have not been conclusive. The few studies investigating this phenomenon have shown mixed findings, and they have yet to examine the dual implications of cultural orientation and parenting styles of people who were parentified as children. According to Hooper (2014) a significant contributor to the research on parentification, the transmission of parentification in a culturally and ethnically diverse family system is significantly understudied and limited.

In response to this gap, this concurrent mixed methods proposal aims to investigate the differences in the level of perceived childhood parentification among female primary caregivers based on cultural background and to examine whether a history of parentification affects current parenting behaviours. Levels of perceived childhood parentification, current parenting behaviours and cultural orientation have been analyzed using a quantitative survey method. The extent to which cultural background moderated the relationship between the level of experienced parentification and present parenting behaviours was analyzed using multiple regression. The surveys also included qualitative questions aimed at increasing the understanding of the experiences of childhood parentification. Based on a social constructivist approach, the inclusion of a qualitative design acknowledged the subjective and cultural perception of experiencing parentification and how this construction of meaning impacts current parenting behaviours. Qualitative data collected have been grouped, coded, and analyzed for themes using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Parentification is an area of research that can be studied

quantitatively or qualitatively. Combining these two using a mixed-methods design provides a deeper, more holistic understanding of parentification and will fill a gap in the current literature. It is also for this reason that the *perception* of parentification is specified throughout this paper as parentification is a nuanced phenomenon that deserves to be studied both quantitatively and qualitatively.

This thesis includes a review of the literature on parentification, specifically focusing on what factors increase the risk of parentification in children. Further, a distinction between the two types of parentification (instrumental vs. emotional) is outlined, and relevant studies on the intergenerational transmission of parentification are discussed. The literature review then outlines how parentification impacts individuals based on age, gender, and ethnic and cultural orientation. Following the literature review, the methods section outlines the participants sampled, instruments and materials used, procedures, and mixed-methods analysis. Results of the analyses are then presented, followed by a discussion of the findings. This thesis paper concludes with an overview of the strengths and limitations of the research and future research directions.

Given the mixed findings regarding the impacts of parentification on developmental outcomes and the limited literature on its transmission, determining whether patterns of parentification are passed down through generations by examining parenting behaviours and considering cultural backgrounds will fill a gap in the research. Moreover, the findings of this thesis could have broader implications for family systems therapy and education programs.

Positionality Statement

Recognizing my positionality as a first-generation child of an immigrant Middle Eastern family in Canada, a woman, and a family therapist intern within a practice that centers itself on systemic work, my personal experiences have significantly contributed to the development of

this research proposal and its research questions. As a woman who has experienced parentification and has researched the topic, I have reflected internally throughout this process to consider how parentification has impacted my life. Given my close and personal experience with this phenomenon, I am cautious not to make assumptions based on my own lived experience. I practiced value bracketing – intentionally setting aside my personal values, beliefs, and preconceptions – and took a reflexive approach to my work, being sensitive to how my cultural, political, and social contexts influence the research process (Greenbank, 2003). I acknowledge that my positionality influenced the selection of the research topic, how the research was conducted, and the results (Holmes, 2020).

Research Questions

Given the gap in the research considering how cultural orientation and lived experience influence parentification and its transmission, this thesis poses and responds to the following questions:

1. To what extent are there differences in the level of perceived parentification based on individualistic or collectivist cultural orientations?
2. To what extent are there differences in the level of perceived parentification in childhood concerning current parenting behaviours in female primary caregivers?
3. To what extent does cultural orientation moderate the relationship between the level of perceived parentification and parenting behaviour?
4. How do female primary caregivers perceive their childhood experiences, and how does this shape their parenting behaviours?

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining Parentification

Parentification in the family entails a functional and emotional role reversal in which the child's primary responsibility is to care for their parent(s) at the expense of their own needs for attention, comfort, and guidance (Chase, 1999). Doane and Diamond (1994) found a relationship between parents with disorganized attachment styles and their descriptions of childhoods characterized by a lack of coherence and poor psychological understanding from their parents. These same parents displayed higher incidences of parentification towards their children, showed little interest in their child's inner life, were often critical of their child and focused on their child's perceived defects (Doane & Diamond, 1994). Interestingly, the ability to fluently describe attachment experiences and contextualize negative experiences with parents in light of parental limitations, dilemmas, and conflicts was the most potent determinant of the attachment pattern a mother develops with her child (Hesse & Main, 1999). The significance of individuals' childhood experiences, particularly how they interpret these experiences and the meanings they attach to them, validates Bowlby's attachment theory (1982) and its role in parentification. The need for a mixed methods design to understand parentification and individuals' lived experiences is thus reinforced.

At the outset of their exploration of parentification through their work in family therapy, Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) found that temporary parentification of a child is a normal part of family life and teaches the child how to be responsible. Parentification becomes pathological and detrimental to the child's development when: (a) the parent becomes dependent on the child and assumes the role or behaviours of the child; (b) the role becomes a burden for the child and inhibits the child's personal development; (c) the role goes beyond what the child is

capable of doing; (d) the child is exploited in the role and is prevented or discouraged from acting in age-appropriate behaviours and activities; and (e) children are punished for acting out the role as the parent, even when expected to do so (Mika et al., 1987). In such cases, the child is overburdened with demands and responsibilities beyond their developmental capabilities (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Jones & Wells, 1996). To summarize, while the literature shows that parentification can be positive or negative to the child experiencing parentification, the contexts in which parentification occurs influence these outcomes; such contextual factors will be outlined in the following section.

Contextual Factors and Parentification

The literature states that parentification commonly occurs under certain contextual events or factors. Caregivers with characteristics such as substance use and dependence, severe medical and mental health conditions, and poor parenting skills are more likely to parentify their children (Cho & Lee, 2019). Contextual factors, such as the death of a parent, marital conflict or divorce, and low socioeconomic status, are also more commonly found in parentified families (Byng-Hall, 2008).

Growing up with a parent who struggles with substance use and dependence leads children to respond by meeting the needs of their parents before their own, taking on a parenting role for themselves and their parents (Chase et al., 1998; Tedgård et al., 2019). A study by Godsall and colleagues (2004) highlights this association by demonstrating that parentification scores were significantly higher in children of alcoholic parents than in children with non-alcoholic parents. Through a qualitative study, Tedgård and colleagues (2019) identified themes of taking the role of a parent when participants described and reflected on their upbringing. Their analysis found that most subjects took on the role of looking after, caring for, and forgiving their

parents, taking on both instrumental and emotional responsibilities in their families – including taking over the role of mother for younger siblings, picking up drunken parents from bars, and mediating arguments between their parents (Tedgård et al., 2019). Notably, the subjects described feeling abandoned because their parents' needs were always more important than their own (Tedgård et al., 2019). Similarly, when a parent has an illness or condition that impedes their caregiving abilities, such as physical disabilities or being diagnosed with a mental disorder, children step up to fill these roles, even without expectations or pressure to do so from their parents (Boumans & Dorant, 2018; Byng-Hall, 2008; Kelley et al., 2007). Chen and Panebianco (2019) reason that, as an ill parent's daily functioning is affected or altered by an illness and the demands associated with managing illness-related activities, role and responsibility redistribution among family members is often needed.

In 2016, Haxhe identified a theme of loss in various forms as a contextual event that leads to parentification. Through research on parents who parentified their children, the significant sources of loss identified were: (a) the loss of a parent, (b) the loss of a partner through death or divorce, and (c) the loss of home as a result of immigration. The death of a parent, particularly an untimely death, leaves a person with an unfulfilled need for care and support they had from their parent, which they attempt to fill with their children (Haxhe, 2016). Relatedly, being part of a couple in a romantic relationship can represent an essential resource and support. Parents will lean on their partner for help with parenting, and when the partner is lost, either due to separation or death, the remaining parent struggles to meet the same level of parenting on their own, leading to expecting more from their child to fill this need (Byng-Hall, 2002; Haxhe, 2016).

On the other hand, the traditional authority position of parents may be reversed in immigrant families, as children and adolescents acquire language faster and accept new norms and values more easily than their parents (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2018). In such contextual factors, children and adolescents of immigrant families can be seen to hold a “power” position whereby they are more adaptable and knowledgeable than their parents. Immigrant parents are likely to turn to their children for support in adjusting to their new home and for help understanding—or translating—the language (Jurkovic, 1997). This concept, known as *language brokering,* will be explored further in subsequent sections. Another common role children of immigrant parents take on is known as *cultural brokering,* which is when children educate and bridge their parents on the cultural gaps of their new home (Delgado, 2020; Yohani et al., 2019). As a result, immigration may put traditional parental support for their children at risk, as parents have their own struggles in adjusting to the new country and culture (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2018).

Furthermore, children from low socioeconomic status families may be expected to take on more responsibilities and caretaking roles, specifically towards their siblings, due to their parents' reliance on multiple sources of income to provide the daily necessities (Burton, 2007). Since ensuring their families' financial stability can be a primary concern for parents, caregiving may become secondary. Another reason may be that the parent wishes to prioritize caregiving; however, because they have to work several jobs simultaneously, they are often away and out of the home (Borchet, 2018). In such situations, children become the caregivers for their siblings, parents, and themselves to ensure their parents can continue to focus their efforts on the financial factors (Borchet, 2018). Gilford and Reynolds (2011) note that living within a low

socioeconomic environment leads Black youth to provide economic, instrumental, emotional, and mental support to their families.

Types of Parentification

Taking on parental roles as a child can encompass meeting functional or emotional needs. For example, a child may be parentified by growing up with the expectation that they are responsible for getting their younger sibling ready for school each morning. This is an example of *instrumental tasks* because it falls under functions necessary for the maintenance and support of the family (Jurkovic, 1997). On the other hand, *emotional responsibilities* could involve a child mediating between their parents during marital disputes or conflicts. In this case, the child is fulfilling the role of emotional support (Jurkovic, 1997).

The classifications of parentification can be assessed using various instruments. The Parentification Questionnaire (PQ) is the most widely used retrospective parentification measure (Hooper & Wallace, 2010; Hooper et al., 2011), assessing three dimensions of perceived parentification: instrumental parentification, emotional parentification, and perceived fairness of the parentification process (Jurkovic & Thirkield, 1998). The instrument is analyzed based on overall score (i.e., the general level of parentification) and subscale scores (i.e., level of emotional parentification, instrumental parentification, or level of perceived fairness). Similarly, the Parentification Scale (PS) measures children parenting their parent(s), acting as spouses to their parent, parenting their siblings, and taking on other roles generally taken by adults (Mika et al., 1987). As emotional and instrumental parentification are not exclusive (Schier et al., 2015), these instruments are valuable in that they combine both constructs in their assessments while also providing subscale scores. Although the research on parentification has demonstrated

differential outcomes based on the type of tasks assigned to a child, these findings are explored below.

Emotional Parentification. In emotional parentification, defined initially as *expressive tasks*, the child is responsible for the socioemotional needs of their parents (Dariotis et al., 2023). For example, the child may become a confidant or provide emotional comfort and support to their parents. Emotional parentification is commonly observed in families affected by domestic violence, where parentified children are required to care for their siblings and other family members (Callaghan et al., 2016).

Scholars have noted that emotional parentification is more stressful and requires more significant effort from the child than instrumental parentification (Jurkovic, 1997). Hooper and colleagues (2008) found greater psychological distress among children who experienced emotional parentification. Specifically, children who provide parent-focused emotional caregiving may perceive their feelings as a burden to their parents, thus developing uncertainty in sharing their emotions (Van Parys et al., 2015). This uncertainty was validated in Madden and Shaffer's 2016 study, which found that emotional parentification was negatively associated with constructive communication and positively correlated with avoidant and anxious attachment styles among young adults (Madden & Shaffer, 2016). Therefore, experiencing emotional parentification has implications for how children manage and view their own emotions while prioritizing the support and well-being of others. The need to care for others and receive validation through emotional caregiving is highlighted through the finding that individuals who were emotionally parentified develop *caretaker syndrome*. Caretaker syndrome, coined by Peek and Trezona (1984), describes an enduring and pervasive pattern of behaviour in which an individual proactively assumes roles with others of a heavily caretaking nature—i.e., fixer,

rescuer, or therapist. This definition was developed based on *overfunctioning.* Overfunctioning describes an individual who avoids worrying about their personal goals and problems by focusing on others and having difficulty sharing their vulnerabilities (Bowen, 1978).

On the other hand, the effects of emotional parentification on individuals have not always been found to be detrimental. Studies have found greater social responsibility, less psychological distress and fewer behavioural problems among children of divorced parents who have emotionally supported their parents (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 1999; McMahon & Luthar, 2007). When describing their experiences as family caregivers at a young age, subjects viewed their upbringing as an opportunity to learn positive coping mechanisms, develop problem-solving strategies, and recognize the significance of expressing emotion (Gilford and Reynolds, 2016). Additionally, emotional parentification has been found to increase the quality of the parent-child relationship, social competence, and positive parenting (Tompkins, 2007). In their study investigating the impact of parentification on children with HIV positive mothers, Tompkins (2007) found emotional parentification to involve an increased closeness in relationship to the mother, which in turn fostered an association with concurrent positive parenting (e.g., offering praise, encouragement, acknowledging and appreciating the child's efforts) and increasing mother and child-reported social competence in the child.

Instrumental Parentification. According to Jurkovic (1997), instrumental role assignments refer to tasks necessary for the maintenance and support of the family. For example, tasks can include cooking, helping to pay bills around the house or physical caregiving tasks. While instrumental tasks can go beyond a child's developmental abilities, they are generally considered less detrimental than emotional parentification (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Jurkovic et al., 1991). Moderate levels of instrumental caregiving allow the child to feel a sense

of contribution and responsibility, facilitating healthy identity formation and the development of self-esteem and self-efficacy (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Titzmann, 2012). Similarly, when children become cultural brokers for their parents' following immigration, studies have shown an increase in independence and resilience (Kim et al., 2024). The literature points to instrumental responsibility occurring on a spectrum. Low scores of instrumental responsibilities can lead to infantilization, moderate scores demonstrate normative and beneficial outcomes, while high scores show parentification. Much of the literature on parentification has focused more on emotional parentification or the combined effects of instrumental and emotional parentification. In response to this gap, Nuttall and colleagues sought to isolate the impact of instrumental parentification in childhood (Nuttall et al., 2019). The authors found an association between maternal history of instrumental parentification in childhood and externalizing symptoms in their children (Nuttall et al., 2019). Similarly, Khafi et al. found a relationship between instrumental parentification, increased externalizing behaviours, and decreased parent-child relationship quality (Khafi et al., 2014).

To critically examine Jurkovic's statement that emotional parentification is more detrimental to individual outcomes, Masiran and colleagues (2023) conducted a review, collecting evidence on the positive and negative aspects of instrumental over emotional parentification. In their paper, the authors critically reviewed 61 studies to investigate parentification and its outcomes. Although they could not conclusively determine that the outcomes of instrumental parentification were necessarily better than those of emotional parentification, the authors stated that emotional parentification is more likely to lead to adverse outcomes than instrumental parentification (Masiran et al., 2023). Additionally, the authors reviewed studies that identified mechanisms influencing the impact of parentification outcomes,

including children’s appraisals of their parentification experience, the child’s perceived fairness of their parentification, and the child’s ethnicity (Cho & Lee, 2019; McGauran et al., 2019). Each of these factors has roots in the values and narrative a child develops surrounding their upbringing.

Depending on one’s ethnicity or cultural background, parentification is typically viewed as a normal phenomenon in collectivist cultures, and thus, it is regarded as fair rather than dysfunctional (Cho and Lee, 2019). Similarly, Jankowski and colleagues (2013) found an association between increased perceptions of unfairness and increased mental health symptoms in participants who were parentified in childhood. These findings demonstrate the importance of subjective perceptions and the significance individuals associate with their childhoods.

Overall, parentification is a broad, diverse phenomenon. Whether instrumental or emotional, parentification may influence an individual’s perception of their experience and subsequent outcome differently. Moreover, the contextual events that result in parentification can impact these effects. Though the contexts in which parentification can occur listed earlier are not exhaustive, a phenomenological approach will be beneficial in this study to gain a deeper understanding of individuals’ unique parentification experiences. Other influencing factors, such as cultural orientation and ethnicity, are discussed.

Cultural Orientation, Ethnicity, and Parentification

Since the concept of parentification was developed within Western theoretical perspectives that value individuation and autonomy, it is crucial to examine how parentification is perceived in racially and ethnically diverse groups. Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) acknowledge this distinction in their statement that, in many cultures, taking on additional familial responsibilities as a child may be a natural part of childhood.

Cultural Orientation

Broadly, culture encompasses a group of people's social behaviour and norms, including factors such as race, religion, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation (Collins & Arthur, 2010). The acquisition of culture is commonly explained using the social learning theory (Bandura & Walters, 1963), which states that individuals learn behaviours by observing how others behave around them and then imitating the behaviours they witness. Within cultures, *cultural syndromes* exist as shared attitudes, beliefs, norms, roles, and values of members of each culture, organized around a theme (Triandis, 1996). Based on social learning theory, cultural syndromes are acquired as the individual learns the behaviours, ideas, attitudes, and traditions that represent their culture (Acevedo, 2003).

Two significant cultural syndromes, or cultural orientations, are collectivism and individualism. In collectivism, the central theme is the preservation and advancement of the group, while individualism centers on preserving and advancing the individual (Acevedo, 2003). Western countries like Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia are typically individualistic, while non-Western regions orient towards collectivism (e.g., South America, Central America, Asia, and Africa) (Koydemir & Essau, 2018). A significant study by Gaines and colleagues (1997) identified a third cultural syndrome: familism, which is an orientation toward the welfare of one's immediate and extended family. While this study proved the three constructs were separate dimensions, collectivism and familism were positively correlated (Gaines et al., 1997). Additionally, in racial and ethnic minority families, family obligations are considered essential for children and necessary to keep the family in harmony (Kuperminc et al., 2009), and several studies have identified a relationship between ethnic minority identity and collectivism (Ai et al., 2014; Heinrichs et al., 2006; Triandis et al., 1990).

Therefore, the following sections will group collectivist and familial values in reviewing parentification in racial and ethnic minorities, distinct from individualistic values in dominant groups.

Collectivism and Parentification. It has been widely shown that Latin American countries align with collectivist values and norms (Castro et al., 2023; Cuéllar et al., 1995; Triandis et al., 1973). Specifically, Cuéllar and colleagues (1995) identified a pattern of familism (*familismo*) in their sample, which places a strong emphasis on interdependence and the family as an emotional support system for individual family members (Keefe et al., 1978). Given these familistic values, Valenzuela (1999) investigated the role reversal in children of Mexican families in the United States. Notably, Valenzuela considers how Mexican immigrants to the United States come from rural or agricultural backgrounds, where the meaning of being a child differs from that of people in urban centers. While children in Westernized societies are considered economically "worthless" but emotionally "priceless," according to Zelizer (1985), non-Westernized or non-industrialized children may largely contribute financially to their households, taking on a breadwinner parentification role (Valenzuela, 1999). Moreover, role reversal for these children was considered normal and honourable to support one's family (Valenzuela, 1999). Titzmann (2012) discusses how, once in a new host country, parents may struggle to fulfill their parental roles due to a lack of sociocultural skills. In such cases, the risk of parentification and increased responsibilities on the child can arise from their quicker ability to adapt to new environments, whether they are first-generation immigrants or have the advantage of being born within the host country as second-generation immigrants (Lazarevic, 2017). A specific socio-cultural advantage of children over their immigrant parents is most frequently seen in their role as language brokers, in which children translate documents, bills, or interactions with their

parents (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Oznobishin & Kurman, 2009; Weisskirch, 2005). Children of immigrant parents often also become cultural brokers, explaining and mediating the host culture to their parents and helping them to integrate (Checkley, 2021; Kosner et al., 2014). In the adolescents sampled, themes of emotional distress and a loss of childhood as a result of their additional caretaking roles emerged. However, these adverse effects were mediated by family support, and some adolescents reported benefiting from their new roles, as family cohesion and relations were stronger (Kosner et al., 2014). Other positive effects of parentification have also been identified, and are explored further in subsequent sections.

Notably, having strong familial values and prioritizing familial bonds can influence how one perceives their parentification experience. According to Franklin (2007) the family is the most essential and substantial institution within the Black-American community. Given the importance of family in African-American families, Gilford and Reynolds (2011) investigated parentification in Black female college students. In their study, Gilford and Reynolds found that while Black college females significantly experienced parentification, even into adulthood and after they moved away for their education, this sample relied on internal and external sources of motivation (e.g., working to better their own lives and the lives of their family members) to mitigate the demands and pressures from their family, and remain successful and engaged in college (Gilford & Reynolds, 2011). In Black families, Boyd-Franklin (1989) stated that parentification can be a source of support and contributes to increased family function and independence, high self-esteem, empathy and altruism in the child. Similar positive outcomes from parentification, including higher resiliency scores, have been found in students in Malaysia (Yew et al., 2017).

Family culture and expectations are also primarily apparent in the Philippines. Specifically, Filipino sociocultural values uphold and emphasize traditional practices that encourage parental authority and child obedience (Teng et al., 2021). In investigating Filipino women's additional responsibilities and duties to care for their families, Teng and colleagues (2021) reported that women who felt indebted to care for their families wholeheartedly accepted their parentification. In addition, women said their experienced parentification led them to become more self-reliant, mature, and responsible daughters (Teng et al., 2021). Moreover, parentification has led to more significant interpersonal relationships, stronger family cohesion, and increased resilience in the parentified individual (Yew et al., 2017). Lastly, while parentification was not directly measured, researchers measured psychological control between mothers from collectivistic and individualistic cultures (Rudy & Halgunseth, 2005). Psychological control mirrors the process of parentification by intruding on a child's sense of self and inhibiting their discovery and expression of self, similar to the harmful effects of parentification on a child's development (Kerig, 2005). The study measured the impact of psychological control on children, and the authors found that psychological control was maladaptive in individualist groups but not in collectivist groups (Rudy & Halgunseth, 2005). This study highlights the impact cultural norms and values can have on mediating the outcomes of an experience.

The impact of parentification on children can vary significantly when considering cultural and racial contexts. Though strides have been made to fill the gap in the need to focus on racial and cultural diversity and parentification, such as Hooper's factor analytic study to measure the generalizability of parentification scales and measures in a Spanish version of the parentification inventory with a sample of South American students (Hooper, 2014), the field

remains limited. As described by Hall, parentification experienced in families defined as collectivistic may be related to fewer adverse outcomes than parentification in individualistic families (Hall, 2013) Yet, even though it is established and accepted that an individual's development is influenced by a series of interconnected environmental systems, such as family at the micro level and culture at the macro level (Bronfenbrenner, 2000), the research on parentification is limited in its acknowledgement of cultural diversity.

Individualism and Parentification. Parenting is culture-bound, and while collectivist cultures characterize this by parental rights and child duties, individualistic cultures emphasize parental responsibility and children's rights (Byng-Hall, 2008). With this characterization, the following section will review how parentification might appear in individualistic societies.

As parentification is associated with role confusion, investigations were conducted to examine the identity formation of young adults who experienced parentification in childhood. Consequences of role confusion include difficulties with commitment, poor mental health, a weak sense of self, and a lack of confidence (Ragelienė, 2016). Researchers tested this association with American women aged 18-24 and found that those who experienced boundary violations with either parent engaged in less identity exploration and development (Fullinwider-Bush & Jacobvitz, 1993). It was suggested that women with boundary dissolutions, particularly with their mothers, were more likely to employ an approach to identity resolution that involved premature identity commitments; these women accepted and integrated their parental values as part of their own identity without exploring personal alternatives (Fullinwider-Bush & Jacobvitz, 1993). A relationship was also found between childhood experiences of parentification, subsequent romantic relationship communication in young adults, and current attachment-related beliefs. Higher reports of emotional parentification were associated with lower levels of

constructive communication and higher insecure romantic attachment-related beliefs (Madden & Shaffer, 2016). Interestingly, this study, conducted with a sample of university students in the United States, found no gender differences regarding emotional parentification, instrumental parentification or constructive communication (Madden & Shaffer, 2016). Relatedly, Hooper and colleagues compared parentification scores in American college students and examined how race and ethnicity are associated with parentification scores (Hooper et al., 2015). While the results showed that White Americans reported lower levels of parentification than Black and Latino/Latina Americans, those White Americans who did experience parentification showed lower psychological functioning because of their childhood experience (Hooper et al., 2015). In contrast, Latin Americans with a history of parentification viewed their experience as fair and positive and had a greater overall sense of well-being (Hooper et al., 2015). These findings indicate that outcomes of parentification are influenced by an individual's cultural background, in which White Americans (individualists) are more susceptible to psychological distress as a result of childhood parentification than are Black or Latin Americans (collectivists) with the same reported childhood parentification experience (Hooper et al., 2015). Ultimately, since roles are culturally constructed, if a role fits one's narrative, role confusion is less likely.

On the other hand, adaptive developmental outcomes have been associated with childhood experiences of role reversal. For example, psychotherapists have been found to report higher incidences of parent-child role inversion and parentification (Burton & Topham, 1997; Fussell & Bonney, 1990). To investigate the early experiences of counselling psychologists, DiCaccavo (2003) sampled individuals who chose to train as counselling psychologists and individuals who pursued other professional fields in the United Kingdom. The results showed that experiences of parentification are more likely to be reported by counselling psychologist

trainees (DiCaccavo, 2003). It was concluded that, through experiencing parentification in childhood, parentified individuals learned to develop the necessary skills to work with the psychological demands of others and, through their role as a therapist, now allow these individuals to deal with their own distress vicariously through their clients (DiCaccavo, 2003). Furthermore, a positive relationship between parentification in childhood and caretaking behaviours in adulthood was found based on in-depth studies conducted with inpatients with borderline personality disorder in the United States (Judd & McGlashan, 2003). Specifically, children of maladaptive parents who were parentified become excellent caretakers adept at reading the cues and meeting the needs of those around them (Judd & McGlashan, 2003). Transforming the impacts of traumatic or stressful events into adaptive strategies, known as *posttraumatic growth*, has been examined within the framework of parentification. Posttraumatic growth refers to strengths and benefits gained from a traumatic event that someone can apply to new experiences, ultimately leading to more effective subsequent functioning (Carver, 1998). In a primarily White sample of college students, a retrospective exploratory study demonstrated partial support for emotional and instrumental parentification leading to posttraumatic growth (Hooper et al., 2008). These results were explained by the findings that the older one is and the more time that has elapsed since the trauma, the more likely one is to make meaning of the trauma (Morris et al., 2005).

As the literature shows, parentification can be experienced by many as traumatic and beneficial by others (Barnett & Parker, 1998). The meaning and value individuals attach to their parentification experience may vary significantly based on their cultural orientation and the cultural norms they have observed throughout their lives (Hooper, 2007; Jurkovic, 1997).

Additionally, a child's age and gender can impact their experience of parentification, as well as their perception of this experience. These are explored further below.

Age and Parentification

While parentification and role reversal can occur in adulthood, given the significance of early life experiences on development (Pembrey et al., 2014), it is crucial to review how parentification appears in children and adolescents.

A study by Wikle and colleagues (2018) investigated the caretaking behaviours of adolescents aged 15 to 18 towards their younger siblings and the quality of care. The study found that sibling caregiving is widespread, with 30% of adolescents who had younger siblings providing some form of care on any given day (Wikle et al., 2018). As many adolescents take on additional caretaking responsibilities, it is essential to consider how this may impact other developmentally appropriate responsibilities, such as academic performance and social relationships. Within the United States, a study was conducted to measure the learning and academic performance of high school students whose family health situations required them to take on caregiving roles (Siskowski, 2006). The study found that more than one-third (37.7%) of participants reported that their academic performance was negatively affected due to helping roles within the family (Siskowki, 2006). Specifically, participants were more likely to miss school and after-school activities to look after their parents, and their time studying was often interrupted, resulting in an inability to complete homework on time (Siskowski, 2006).

Caretaking roles were also studied internationally among immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union to Israel. These adolescents reported taking on additional responsibilities, such as serving as family navigators, cultural brokers, breadwinners, and providing emotional support to their parents (Kosner et al., 2014). Due to the time and energy these roles demanded,

the adolescents expressed that this led to a loss of childhood and reduced availability to spend time with friends or engage in their preferred activities, which in turn increased feelings of loneliness and emotional distress (Kosner et al., 2014). Similarly, a study was conducted to differentiate between emotional and instrumental parentification among adolescents. Of the 47,984 Polish adolescents aged 12-21, 83.8% reported experiencing parentification. The data showed that more adolescents experienced emotional parentification towards their parents (35.9%) than instrumental parentification (7.2%) (Borchet et al., 2022). The authors also assessed perceived injustice and satisfaction with their roles. Results indicated higher reports of injustice and lower satisfaction among those experiencing emotional parentification compared to instrumental parentification. Notably, the older adolescents' group (18-21) and middle adolescents (15-17) reported greater feelings of injustice and less role satisfaction than the younger group (12-14) (Borchet et al., 2022). As the authors note, it remains unclear whether the reduced satisfaction and increased sense of unfairness in the older group are due to developmental processes related to intergenerational conflicts as adolescents develop their identities, or if these are direct effects of parentification (Borchet et al., 2022). Nonetheless, this study highlights important differences in how adolescents experience parentification based on their age. As demonstrated, age and developmental stage influence the extent and severity of outcomes reported by parentified youth. Given the importance of Erikson's stages of psychosocial development, it is crucial to study parentification in children as early as possible and consider how its impact may evolve over time.

Gender and Parentification

Considering the caretaking nature of parentification, most of the literature emphasizes its impact on girls and women as a gendered experience. Although studies show that parentification

can affect boys and men as well, the research indicates it is more common among girls and women. Women undertake household division of labour and caretaking behaviours more frequently than men (Chen et al., 2018; Horne et al., 2018). Daughters are more likely to be parentified than sons (Jacobvitz et al., 2004), and mothers are more likely to parentify their children than fathers (Peris & Emery, 2005).

An explanation for this trend is *self-silencing* as a strategy to cope with patriarchal systems (Witte & Sherman, 2002). Patriarchy supports the idea of traditional gender roles, which portray men as strong, decisive, and protective, while women are emotional, nurturing, and submissive (Ullah et al., 2021). As a result, girls may compromise their authenticity in relationships at a young age when they start feeling pressure to conform to stereotypical female roles, especially if these conflict with their own desires or feelings (Goldner et al., 2022). The societal expectations of gender roles and women's compliance with these roles perpetuate the cycle that leads to women experiencing parentification more often than men (Toller et al., 2004).

In 1999, Valenzuela conducted a study to examine gender roles in immigrant families and found that young girls participated more than boys in tasks requiring detailed explanations. Girls were also perceived to have greater responsibility and influence within their families (Valenzuela, 1999). The sample focused on immigrant Mexican families, and because women are traditionally viewed in Mexican culture as having less independence and freedom than men, the explanation for the results was that girls are more likely to take on additional caregiving roles to gain credibility, responsibility, and independence similar to that of their brothers or male family members. Likewise, Athamneh and Benjamin (2019) proposed that parentification serves as an alternative to education for girls, helping them build self-worth through these extra roles and responsibilities. Additionally, a gendered division of labour was observed, with girls

spending about 1.2 more hours on housework each week than boys, indicating a link between domestic chores and gender-role socialization (Hu, 2018).

Furthermore, the prevalence, quality, and types of sibling caregiving behaviours in adolescents were examined, revealing that adolescent girls were 42% more likely than boys to engage in sibling care, particularly physical and emotional support (Wikle et al., 2018). Interestingly, the authors also discovered that teenage girls were more inclined to provide care when parents were absent than adolescent boys, although boys did more chores when parents were present (Wikle et al., 2018). The authors suggest this difference may stem from parents being less likely to ask teenage boys to babysit when they are not home, yet still expecting them to assist with caregiving tasks when they are there (Wikle et al., 2018). This can also be seen as a reflection of a patriarchal society; since girls are perceived as more trustworthy and capable of caregiving due to gender roles, parents are more likely to rely on them when supervision is lacking. In a prevalence study examining parentification in adolescents—specifically instrumental and emotional parentification towards parents and siblings—researchers found that adolescent girls scored higher on emotional parentification towards both groups (Borchet et al., 2022). Conversely, teenage boys scored higher on instrumental parentification towards parents and siblings (Borchet et al., 2022). These findings contrast with those of Hetherington (1999), which indicated that high levels of parentification—both instrumental and emotional—were more common in girls than boys and were linked to increased internalizing behaviour problems.

Since more studies are needed on the impact of parentification on males, Matthews and Heidorn (1998) examined how brothers-only sibling groups fulfill their parents' needs through caregiving roles traditionally assigned to daughters. While males did carry out caregiving duties

for their parents, the authors observed that their wives stepped in to provide gender-appropriate services to their in-laws (Matthews & Heidorn, 1998).

Overall, the literature indicates a gendered experience of parentification, with women being more likely than men to be parentified during childhood. Furthermore, studies have shown that women are more prone to assume emotional caregiving roles. Given the higher prevalence of women experiencing parentification in childhood, examining whether these early experiences influence women as they become caregivers—through the intergenerational transmission of parentification—is an important area of research and is discussed in the next section.

Intergenerational Transmission of Parentification

Many circumstances increase the risk of, or lead to, parentification, most of which involve the child stepping into a gap or role that parents cannot meet, whether due to physical, mental, environmental, or emotional challenges. Additionally, parentification can also happen through intergenerational transmission, although this process is less well understood and more variable. Some researchers have found evidence for the transmission of boundary violations across generations and the resulting parentification of children (Barnett & Parker, 1998; Garber, 2011), while others have observed the opposite effect in parents with a history of parentification (Burchinal et al., 2010). The conflicting findings in the literature are discussed below.

An explanation for the transmission of parentification is known as *steeling* (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973). Accordingly, parents may compel their children to undergo the same parentified experiences they once faced to prepare them for the world or to 'steel' them against life's hardships. In this way, parents justify the role reversal as a rite of passage they experienced themselves (Kerig, 2005). Alternatively, a parent who grew up emotionally deprived and took on the role of caring for their own caregiver may feel entitled to this role reversal once

they have children. Such parents might resent providing care and support to their child when they did not receive it themselves and, therefore, believe their children owe them this (Kerig, 2005). Another perspective is that parents who fail to perceive their own parents as adequately nurturing may be especially prone to turning to their children to satisfy these dependence needs (Garber, 2011; Wells et al., 1999). Miller (1981, 1984) first identified this pattern, describing these parents as raised in shame-based families where their own dependence needs were unmet during childhood. In shame-based families, children feel shame, defective, and intrinsically inadequate when they fail to meet an internalized ego ideal, which is typically projected onto them by a parental figure during childhood (Goldberg, 1988; Whitfield, 1987). Shame often arises when the ego ideal is unrealistic or developmentally inappropriate for the child, as is frequently the case with parentification (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Goldberg, 1988). A hallmark of shame-based families is the development of a "false self" and co-dependency. To maintain a connection with the parent, the child adapts to the parent's needs, sacrificing their "true self" to uphold the ego ideal, which results in an adapted, co-dependent, "false" self (Whitfield, 1987). Similarly, co-dependency reflects a shame-based organization of the self (Wells et al., 1999). As this parentified child matures, they may become needy and attempt to meet their needs by enlisting their children to care for them (Miller, 1981, 1984). Wells and colleagues (1999) demonstrated this in their study, showing that people were more likely to identify needy parents as co-dependent and as coming from families where they had experienced parentification. Moreover, the study revealed that parents displayed a shame-based personality organization characterized by low self-esteem, which researchers linked to co-dependency and childhood parentification. These parents continued to exhibit parentified behaviours in their current relationships, reinforcing the cycle (Wells et al., 1999).

Amy Nuttall conducted recent studies on the intergenerational transmission of parentification (2015, 2019, 2021). While the study did not examine how mothers parentify their children, Nuttall examined maternal behaviours and thoughts that can negatively affect their children because of the mothers' own history of parentification.

One study examined the maternal history of parentification and warm responsiveness through observational coding of interactions between mothers and their 18-month-old infants (Nuttall et al., 2015). Using maternal knowledge of infant development as a mediator, Nuttall et al. (2015) found that greater parentification in childhood predicted poorer knowledge during the transition to parenthood, which in turn reduced mothers' warm responsiveness toward their children. Nuttall and colleagues (2019) also employed a longitudinal design to explore how the maternal history of parentification correlates with externalising behaviours in their children. The researchers investigated parentification and infantilisation in maternal history and discovered that instrumental caregiving increases the risk of children's externalising symptoms (Nuttall et al., 2019). Finally, to address the gap regarding the relationship between parentification and parents' self-cognitions, Nuttall et al. (2021) investigated how maternal parentification history affects evaluative cognitions related to the self, parenting, and the child. The results revealed that role unfairness—assessed via parentification history—significantly predicted maternal evaluative cognitions about the self and perceptions of the child's temperament as complex and dysfunctional (Nuttall et al., 2021).

Black (2013) analyzed the future parenting beliefs of adults who were parentified as children but were not yet parents themselves. The study measured instrumental and emotional parentification and perceived fairness retrospectively in participants using the Parentification Questionnaire (Black, 2013). The author measured parenting behaviours and beliefs by asking

participants to rate their level of agreement with statements such as “Children should not be questioned by their parents” and “I try to protect my child from growing up too fast” (Black, 2013). While results supported the researcher's hypothesis that participants who experienced parentification would perceive their own parents in a poor light and report a desire to raise their children differently, these findings are limited. Research has shown that individual parenting beliefs are not always congruent with one’s behaviours (Burchinal et al., 2010).

Compared to the extensive research on parentification and its effects on the parentified child or adult in the literature, this section reveals a lack of studies. There is a need to explore how experienced parentification might influence parenting behaviours once the parentified child becomes a parent. Whether a parentified parent will pass this role reversal to their child remains uncertain. Additionally, the literature on this topic requires further development, as few studies have examined the transmission of parentification within culturally diverse family systems.

Summary

The reviewed literature clearly shows that researchers have made significant advances in the family systems field regarding parentification. How parentification impacts an individual across childhood, adolescence, and later adulthood is shaped by factors such as context, age, gender, socioeconomic status, migration status, cultural background and identity, intergenerational transmission of parentification, and personal traits like resilience and perception of the experience. Although this list is not exhaustive, existing research highlights a notable gap in exploring cultural orientation and parentification. Few studies examine how, or if, these factors influence the parenting behaviours of a parentified individual once they become parents. Specifically, there is a scarcity of research on the intergenerational transmission of

parentification and cultural backgrounds as moderators of the relationship between past parentification and present parenting practices.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

The following section will describe the method and procedure to examine the following questions: To what extent are there differences in the level of perceived parentification based on individualistic or collectivist cultural orientations? To what extent are there differences in the level of perceived parentification in childhood concerning current parenting behaviours in female primary caregivers? To what extent does cultural orientation moderate the relationship between the level of perceived parentification and parenting behaviour? How do female primary caregivers perceive their childhood experiences, and how does this shape their parenting behaviours? Using a cross-structural design, the research answered the first three research questions by collecting numerical data through an online survey. Open-ended questions included in the survey provided qualitative data that complemented the quantitative data of the study. The following sections further describe the methodology of this study: (1) participants, (2) instruments and materials, (3) procedure, and (4) methods of analysis.

Participants

Based on the gendered experience of parentification and the significance of the fourth and fifth stages of Erikson's psychosocial development model on the outcomes of parentified children, female primary caregivers with children aged 6 to 17 were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling. As this study intended to capture the experiences of female primary caregivers, convenience sampling was a suitable method to efficiently and cost-effectively target these participants via online ads. To circumvent the limitation of online convenience sampling, participants were encouraged to share this study with their networks to

allow opportunity for participants who may not have access to the internet or social media platforms to participate in the study. The researcher shared the survey online through social media platforms (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Reddit), and provided a link for participants to access and complete the survey.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Participants included were women who identified as cisgender, i.e., individuals who were assigned female at birth and identify as a woman, residing in Canada and the United States, who are primary female caregivers of children between the ages of 6 and 17. This thesis follows the Government of Canada's (2018) definition of primary caregiver which is the person primarily responsible for the care and upbringing of a child. The children's age was chosen based on Erikson's stages of development during school age (fourth stage) and adolescence (fifth stage): industry vs. inferiority (6-12 years) and identity vs. identity confusion (12-18 years). Parentification may occur at any point in a child's life, though overly controlled duties or activities by parents during the play age can result in children developing sustained guilt and significantly impact the remainder of their development into adulthood (Erikson, 1968). Participants of all ages, ethnicities, cultural orientations, and socioeconomic statuses were welcome to participate. Cisgender men, transgender men, and transgender women were excluded, as well as cisgender women who were not the primary caregivers of any children or whose children's age did not fall within the age range of 6-17 (i.e., only had children younger than 6 years old or older than 17 years old).

Instruments and Materials

Demographic Survey

A demographic survey was created for this thesis, asking for information regarding age, sex at birth, gender identification, ethnicity, family structure in childhood, the highest level of education completed, relationship status, annual income, and the number and age of children. All questions were optional, and "prefer not to answer" were included as response options. See Appendix A for the demographic survey.

Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale (MAPS)

The 34-item MAPS is a self-report measure assessing parenting practices within seven dimensions of positive and negative parenting practices: proactive parenting, positive reinforcement, warmth, supportiveness, hostility, lax control, and physical control (Parent & Forehand, 2017). Each item corresponds to one of the subscales clustered within broadband positive or negative parenting practices. Items are presented on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *always*), and parents indicated how often the described interaction has occurred in their relationship with their child in the past two months. Refer to Appendix B for a full version of the scale. Though recently developed, the MAPS demonstrates strong psychometric properties and high reliability for both subscales (positive and negative parenting), and Cronbach's alphas for each subscale were 0.90 and 0.88, respectively (Loiselle et al., 2021; Parent & Forehand, 2017). The use of MAPS was also examined with countries outside of the United States to examine cross-cultural applicability and was found to have strong reliability and validity (Ahemaitijiang et al., 2021). Beyond its high validity and reliability as a measure, the MAPS was chosen for its measurement invariance across youth developmental stages from young childhood to adolescence (Parent & Forehand, 2017), allowing this researcher to identify differences or patterns in parenting practices based on children's ages and stages of development. Additionally,

the positive and negative parenting practices identified by Parent and Forehand (2017) mimic the characteristics of parentification identified throughout the literature review (e.g., control vs. supportiveness). Permission to use this questionnaire was granted to the research by Dr. Justin Parent (personal communication, June 25, 2024).

Parentification Questionnaire (PQ)

The PQ is a widely used 42-item self-report instrument that retrospectively measures three dimensions of perceived parentification: instrumental parentification, emotional parentification, and perceived fairness of the parentification process (Jurkovic & Thirkield, 1998). The items are answered as "true" or "false", and the higher the total score, the greater the degree of parentification. The PQ is a valid and reliable instrument, and Cronbach's alphas for the subscale scores range from 0.82–0.92 (Hooper & Wallace, 2010; Jurkovic et al., 2001). Appendix C includes the 42-question version of the questionnaire used for this study, which was available for open use (Sessions & Jurkovic, 1986). While other measures have been developed to assess for levels of parentification, such as the Parentification Inventory (PI) (Hooper et al., 2011) and the Parentification Scale (PS) (Mika et al., 1987), a study conducted by Hooper and Doehler (2012) assessed the psychometric properties of three parentification measures and found the PQ to have greater validity and reliability scores compared to the PS or PI. Given its strong psychometric properties, the PQ was chosen for this study.

Individualism and Collectivism Scale (IND-COL)

As discussed previously, the impact of parentification on a parentified child is greatly influenced by cultural norms and practices. Determining an individual's cultural orientation is important in grounding the researcher to the individual's lived experiences and their constructed subjective meaning of their experiences. Therefore, the individualism and collectivism scale,

developed by Triandis and Gelfand (1998), was chosen to assess participants' cultural orientation. The 16-item scale is a self-report measure that assesses individualism and collectivism through vertical and horizontal dimensions, yielding four constructs: horizontal individualism (HI), vertical individualism (VI), horizontal collectivism (HC), and vertical collectivism (VC) (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). *Horizontal individualism* refers to seeing the self as fully autonomous, and believing that equality between individuals is the ideal, while *vertical individualism* sees the self as fully autonomous, but recognizes that inequality will exist among individuals and accepting this inequality (Singelis et al., 1995). *Horizontal collectivism* is defined as seeing the self as a part of a collective but perceiving all the members of that collective as equal (Singelis et al., 1995). Finally, *vertical collectivism* sees the self as a part of a collective and being willing to accept hierarchy and inequality within that collective (Singelis et al., 1995). Items are presented on a 9-point Likert scale, where 1 = *never* or *definitely no* and 9 = *always* or *definitely yes*. Refer to Appendix D for the full scale. The scale shows high convergent and divergent validity, as well as high reliability of the multidimensional constructs. Cronbach's alpha for the subscales has been reported to be between 0.73 and 0.82, and factor loadings are between 0.40 and 0.68 (Cozma, 2011). Dr. Michele Gelfand granted permission to use this scale to the researcher (personal communications, June 25, 2024).

Lived Experiences Questions

Five open-ended questions were included at the end of the surveys, which encouraged participants to provide detailed, personalized responses to their childhood experiences. These questions included a note for participants that there is no minimum or maximum character length and would not be evaluated for spelling or grammar. The note mentioned that the purpose of these questions was to give the participants the space to share their personal experience with

parentification and describe the meaning they have constructed of this experience in whatever way they see fit (e.g., essay style, bullet point, short sentences). The questions were:

1. *Are there specific behaviours or parenting styles you consciously avoid or embrace because of your upbringing?*
2. *As a child, were you responsible for tasks or duties in your family/household that other children your age may not have been? If so, can you describe your experiences as a child in terms of the responsibilities you took on within your family?*
3. *How do you think your racial, ethnic, and/or cultural background shaped your childhood or upbringing?*
4. *Are there cultural values or practices you've chosen to continue or change in raising your own children? Why?*
5. *Would you change any part of your childhood or upbringing? If so, what aspects and why?*

The first question explored how participants' perceptions of their childhood influence their parenting practices, while the second question allowed participants to consider their role in the family compared to other children their age. Questions 3 and 4 asked participants to reflect on how their cultural backgrounds impacted their upbringing and their current parenting. Finally, question 5 indirectly investigated whether participants perceive value in their upbringing and, by association, if these aspects were likely to be transmitted when parenting their own children.

Procedures

The survey was created and administered via the online survey tool Qualtrics. Qualtrics was chosen because it is a secure platform that uses Transport Layer Security (TLS) encryption for all data and is hosted by trusted data centers. A pilot test of the questionnaire was conducted

to test the efficacy of the survey using a small sample of willing volunteers. Based on the feedback gathered from those who participated in the pilot survey, revisions were made to increase the quality and clarity of the questions. For example, the options under the demographic question asking participants how they self-identify in terms of gender were changed from “female” and “male” to “woman” and “man” to represent better terms used for gender identity rather than sex. Moreover, examples were added to the options under the race/ethnicity question to increase clarity.

The survey was administered after being reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Board (Pro00143241) at the University of Alberta (Appendix E). The survey was shared through online platforms such as Facebook, Reddit, and Twitter. A recruitment flyer was also posted in the waiting room at the Calgary Family Therapy Centre, which included a QR code with a link to the survey. The flyer and social media posts outlined voluntary participation, anonymity, estimated time of survey completion, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and a link to the study. Refer to Appendix F for the social media advertisement. When participants clicked on the Qualtrics link (via posts on social media or through the QR code), they were prompted with a cover letter requiring participants to read and consent before proceeding (see Appendix G) to the demographic questions, the MAPS, the PQ, the IND-COL, and the subjective experiences questions. Once participants completed the survey, a debriefing form appeared, thanking them for their participation, reviewing the purpose of the study, and including mental health resources for both Canada and the United States (refer to Appendix H). The survey remained active for seven months, from February 2025 until September 2025. Once a sufficient sample was collected, the study link was deactivated, and the data were exported to IBM SPSS Statistics for quantitative analysis and to NVivo for qualitative analysis.

Methods of Analysis

Descriptive Statistics

The dataset was cleaned to consolidate variables, ensure consistent coding, check for completeness, and recode items as needed. Variables were adjusted to align with operational definitions and to be suitable for analysis. Descriptive statistics were then conducted to summarize the sample characteristics, with frequencies and proportions for categorical variables and means and standard deviations for continuous variables.

Reliability Analysis

Due to the small sample size ($n = 70$), a reliability analysis was conducted, and all records were available for analysis for each of the scales (e.g., parentification, parenting behaviours, and cultural orientation). The Parentification Questionnaire provides subscales for emotional parentification (PQ_EP), instrumental parentification (PQ_IP), and perceived unfairness (PQ_PUF). Using the MAPS questionnaire for parenting behaviours, seven subscales were measured: proactive parenting (MAPS_PP), positive reinforcement (MAPS_PR), warmth (MAPS_WM), supportiveness (MAPS_SP), hostility (MAPS_HS), lax control (MAPS_LC), and physical control (MAPS_PC). Subscales for cultural orientation included horizontal individualism (IC_HI), vertical individualism (IC_VI), horizontal collectivism (IC_HC), and vertical collectivism (IC_VC). In total, a reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha was conducted for 14 variables. Results indicated acceptable to excellent reliability across all scales, with alpha values ranging from 0.70 to 0.93, with the exception of two scales, which showed poor reliability: MAPS_PP ($\alpha = 0.57$) and MAPS_SP ($\alpha = 0.67$). Due to the smaller sample size, results should be interpreted with caution. See Table 1 for Cronbach's α for each subscale.

Table 1

Cronbach's Alpha for Questionnaire Subscales

Subscale	N	Items	Cronbach's α	Internal consistency
MAPS_PP	70	6	0.57	Poor
MAPS_PR	70	4	0.72	Acceptable
MAPS_WM	70	3	0.85	Good
MAPS_SP	70	3	0.67	Questionable
MAPS_HS	70	7	0.82	Good
MAPS_LC	70	7	0.87	Good
MAPS_PC	70	4	0.91	Excellent
MAPS_POS	70	16	0.85	Good
MAPS_NEG	70	18	0.84	Good
PQ_EP	70	14	0.82	Good
PQ_IP	70	8	0.70	Acceptable
PQ_PUF	70	15	0.80	Good
HI	70	4	0.77	Acceptable
VI	70	4	0.84	Good
HC	70	4	0.70	Acceptable
VC	70	4	0.77	Acceptable

Non-Parametric Independent Samples t-test

To address the first research question, a non-parametric independent samples t-test was used to examine differences in parentification between participants with individualistic and collectivist orientations. Before proceeding with this test, four conditions must first be met: (1) the data is numeric, (2) observations are independent of one another, (3) the sample mean is normally distributed, and (4) equal variance between groups (Osbourne & Waters, 2002). The

first assumption was met, given that parentification scores were continuous and numeric. Additionally, cultural orientation as the independent variable is categorical, with participants being categorized as either individualists or collectivists. Next, since the study design involved participants responding individually to the survey and their responses being recorded separately, the second assumption was satisfied. To satisfy the third and fourth assumptions, Shapiro-Wilk and descriptive tests were conducted to test for normality, and Levene's test was done to test for homogeneity of variances.

Results indicated that most subscales deviated from normality ($p < 0.05$). Specifically, variables that showed non-normal distributions were: IC_HC ($p = 0.004$), IC_VC ($p = 0.009$), PQ_EP ($p = 0.008$), PQ_IP ($p = 0.001$), PQ_PUF ($p < 0.001$), MAPS_PR ($p = 0.002$), MAPS_WM ($p < 0.001$), MAPS_SP ($p < 0.001$), MAPS_HS ($p = 0.020$), MAPS_LC ($p = 0.019$), MAPS_PC ($p < 0.001$). IC_HI ($p = 0.051$), IC_VI ($p = 0.323$), and MAPS_PP ($p = 0.198$) had normal distributions. Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated that most subscales deviated from normality ($p < 0.05$), except for three subscales: HI, VI and MAPS_PP. Additionally, Levene's test indicated unequal variances. Results from the Shapiro-Wilk analyses showed the majority of subscales deviated from normality; as such, the decision was made to use the non-parametric equivalent of the independent sample t-test. Specifically, Mann-Whitney U tests were used to compare whether levels of parentification differed between individualist and collectivist participants on emotional parenting (PQ_EP), instrumental parentification (PQ_IP), perceived unfairness (PQ_PUF), and total parentification (PQ_TOT). To confirm reliability of the results, an independent samples t-tests was run as a robustness check given the modest deviations from normality with samples greater than 30.

Spearman's rho and Pearson correlations

Pearson and Spearman correlations were conducted to examine associations between parentification and parenting behaviours, in response to the second research question.

Hierarchical Linear Regression

Although several subscales deviated from normality, hierarchical linear regression analyses are considered robust with sample sizes greater than 30 (n = 70 in this study). Because of the large number of possible combinations to test for interactions between parentification x cultural orientation x parenting behaviour - 84 possible combinations when accounting for all the subscales, which would have inflated the risk of Type 1 error - I chose analyses focused on theoretically relevant pairings informed by previous literature. See Table 2 for the combinations analyzed and their rationale.

Table 2

Combinations Analyzed and Their Rationale

Combination	Rationale
Emotional parentification (IV)[a] Vertical collectivism (moderator) Warmth (DV)[b]	In vertical collectivist cultures emotional parentification may be seen as fulfilling filial duty. This could foster warmth in future parenting due to internalized family loyalty and emotional closeness (Jurkovic, 1997; Hooper et al., 2011).
Emotional parentification (IV)[a] Horizontal Individualism (moderator) Supportiveness (DV)[b]	Horizontal individualism values autonomy and emotional openness. Emotional parentification may foster supportiveness if the individual learned empathy and emotional attunement (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004).
Emotional parentification (IV)[a] Vertical individualism (moderator)	In vertical individualist cultures, emotional parentification may lead to positive reinforcement to gain

Positive reinforcement (DV)[b]	approval or maintain control through rewards. Parentified children may learn to use praise strategically (Hooper et al., 2008).
Instrumental parentification (IV)[a] Vertical collectivism (moderator) Physical control (DV)[b]	In hierarchical collectivist cultures, instrumental parentification may normalize strict discipline, leading to physical control in parenting. Cultural norms around obedience and authority can influence disciplinary practices (Chao, 1994).
Instrumental parentification (IV)[a] Horizontal individualism (moderator) Supportiveness (DV)[b]	Instrumental parentification may foster a sense of responsibility, and in a culture that values autonomy, this could translate into supportive parenting, which could emerge from learned caregiving roles (Kuperminc et al., 2009).
Instrumental parentification (IV)[a] Horizontal collectivism (moderator) Proactive parenting (DV)[b]	Horizontal collectivism emphasizes equality and shared responsibility. Instrumental parentification may translate into proactive parenting, where the parent is actively involved and responsible. Instrumental roles may foster competence and responsibility (Chase, 1999).
Perceived unfairness (IV)[a] Horizontal individualism (moderator) Warmth (DV)[b]	Individuals in horizontal individualist cultures may strive to be emotionally warm to avoid repeating their own negative experiences. Some parentified individuals develop compensatory parenting styles (Wells & Jones, 2000).
Perceived unfairness (IV)[a] Horizontal collectivism (moderator) Lax control (DV)[b]	In egalitarian collectivist cultures, perceived unfairness may lead to lax control as a reaction against rigid or demanding parenting experienced in childhood. Some individuals may overcorrect by avoiding control (Jurkovic & Thirkield, 1998)
Perceived unfairness (IV)[a] Vertical individualism (moderator) Hostility (DV)[b]	Vertical individualism (VI) stresses competition, hierarchy, and achievement. If a caregiver felt unfairly burdened as a child, resentment may emerge as hostility

	in parenting. Unfair parentification is linked to maladaptive outcomes, especially when autonomy is valued (Hooper, 2007).

Note. IV[a] = independent variable. DV[b] = dependent variable.

To examine whether cultural orientation moderated the association between parentification and parenting behaviours, a series of hierarchical linear regressions were conducted. In each model, a parentification subscale (emotional, instrumental, or perceived unfairness) was entered as the independent variable (centred), a cultural orientation dimension (horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism, horizontal individualism, or vertical individualism) was entered as the moderator, and a parenting subscale was entered as the dependent variable. Interaction terms (IV × moderator) were computed and entered in the final step to test moderation effects.

Thematic Analysis

For the open-ended questions, thematic analysis was used to examine participants' responses. The short answer questions explored how female primary caregivers view their childhood experiences and how these impact their parenting behaviours. I hold the view that childhood upbringings and parental practices can be considered "absent but implicit", a concept introduced by Michael White (2011). Absent but implicit practices refer to guiding ideas that are not typically visible or discussed, but upon reflection, one can see the influence these ideas have on people's lives (St. George & Wulff, 2014). From this perspective, parentification can be seen as a socio-cultural interpersonal pattern. Socio-cultural interpersonal patterns are defined as behavioural performances that occur when families act in accordance with their ideas or interpretations of the societal discourses around them (St. George & Wulff, 2014). Recognizing that one participant's societal discourse or the meaning they attach to their upbringing will differ

from another's makes thematic analysis a flexible qualitative method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting such patterns in data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Specifically, a hybrid inductive and deductive semantic approach was used. This form of thematic analysis was appropriate because parentification is a layered and complex phenomenon that requires both an open and inductive approach to theme generation, while also benefiting from the theoretical rigour offered by the deductive application of themes derived from an existing framework (Proudfoot, 2022). Because the open-ended questions were developed based on the influence of parentification on caregivers and intended to relay how participants experienced their upbringing, this approach allows for the application of existing theoretical frameworks in a theory-generative way – rather than confirmatory (Proudfoot, 2022). As a result, a combined inductive and deductive approach helps to ensure that the voices of the participants are valued, while simultaneously allowing for more theory-led analysis; essentially, harnessing the advantages of each (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

The open-ended questions were developed with an understanding of parentification, informed by previous research on the phenomenon and literature reviews: its characteristics, outcomes, and effects on development based on attachment and psychosocial development frameworks. This reflects the deductive or 'top-down' approach described by Braun and Clarke, which is more explicitly analysis-driven (2006). Once responses were collected, a grounding in contextualism was employed to code the responses from the open-ended questions. As Braun and Clarke (2006) state, contextualist thematic analysis "acknowledges the ways individuals interpret their experiences, and consequently, how the broader social context influences those interpretations, while maintaining focus on the material and other limits of 'reality'" (p. 85). Therefore, thematic analysis was used to code the responses from the open-ended questions at

the end of the survey, which aimed to explore women's overall experiences of their childhood and current mothering role. Thematic analysis organizes participants' experiences into themes, highlighting their voices and perspectives. It uses an inductive approach to develop themes based on the data and narratives provided by participants (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

The use of thematic analysis and a hybrid approach involves specifically tailored open-ended questions to explore participants' experiences of parentification, acknowledge the participants' stories as they are, and prompt interpretation based on these subjective experiences rather than on preconceived hypotheses.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the process of thematic analysis occurs through six phases: (1) familiarization with the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) generating themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming the themes, (6) producing the report (p. 87). As is the nature of thematic analysis, these phases are not rigid in their order, nor are they final. Instead, analysis was a recursive process involving several back-and-forth movements through the six stages. A combination of manually reading through the data and using the qualitative analysis software NVivo was used throughout the analysis.

For the first step of familiarizing myself with the data, I read over the data several times, searched for patterns, and made notes of my initial thoughts. I also highlighted and underlined words and phrases which carried emotional weight (e.g., "I never", "I avoid", or "I wish"). Next, I imported the data into the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo, where I continued to read and look for patterns.

The second step, generating initial codes, was done by systematically reading through each participant's responses to the questions and identifying basic units of meaning of repeated patterns (themes) in the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this step, I identified semantic

content that reflected both positive and negative emotions, as well as words or phrases that several participants repeated. For example, doing a word frequency query through NVivo identified that words such as “avoid”, “discipline”, “care”, and “responsible” were used by multiple participants. Moreover, the research question was split into two parts at this stage, as I noticed codes naturally clustered into two domains: perceptions of childhood experiences and current parenting behaviours. Splitting the research question into two parts allowed me first to analyze each domain independently. Through NVivo, these domains were created as “anchor codes” under the Codes tab, which served as starting points to link and organize subsequent codes and patterns. Next, participant responses or phrases that related to perceptions of childhood and/or current parenting behaviours were highlighted, dragged under the appropriate anchor code, and then named as a code. The codes were named during this step by using the same language as participants’ responses. For instance, the code *avoid yelling,* labelled under the parenting behaviours folder, included responses from participants such as: “(avoid) yelling”, “I consciously avoid yelling”, “I am working on my emotional regulation to stop the yelling”, and “100% I avoid yelling”.

When going through the third phase, generating initial themes, Clarke and Braun (2018) stress that themes do not emerge and that active theme development can “unite data that at first sight might appear disparate, and often capture implicit meaning beneath the data surface” (p. 108). Braun and Clarke (2006) essentially describe an inductive approach to generating initial themes, which involves a bottom-up method where the data drive the analysis. During this step, I began sorting the data by exporting the codes created in NVivo to an Excel spreadsheet to more easily view all the codes I organized under each research question and the reference count for each code. The reference count is a feature of coding through NVivo that allows researchers to

aggregate coding from child codes clustered with similar codes, thereby summing the number of references in each code. The codes under each anchor were sorted in ascending order based on the reference count. For example, “caring for others” under the perceptions of childhood anchor was a highly prevalent code with eleven references, whereas “open communication” under parenting behaviour had eight references. Next, I created a Word document and inserted a table for each anchor code with four to five columns, in which I would begin grouping codes into clusters based on shared relationships. In my earlier versions, “caring for parents”, “chores”, “parent with a disability”, and “looking after siblings” were grouped based on a shared relationship of responsibility or duty, to form one cluster under the perceptions of childhood experiences anchor. These clusters formed the foundation of the themes in this analysis, and, as such, the codes listed previously fell under a theme named *Household Responsibilities*.

When reviewing themes (the fourth step), I reflected on the themes generated from the cluster during the third step. Some themes were split because the initial theme was too broad. For example, *Parenting Practices* was an initial theme that was later split to differentiate between *Positive Parenting Practices* and *Negative Parenting Practices.* Additionally, reviewing themes during this step involved ensuring the themes aligned with the parts of the research question (e.g., perceptions of childhood and parenting behaviours). To do this, I would ask myself, “Does this theme answer my research question, or is it only addressing the open-ended question(s)?”. For example, the fifth open-ended question asked “would you change any part of your childhood or upbringing? If so, what aspect and why?” and some participants said they wished their parents’ disabilities or psychological disorders didn’t exist (e.g., “I would change the fact that my mom was disabled”, “both my parents were alcoholics”, “narcissistic mom”). These responses were coded and grouped under a theme of *I Wish My Parent Was Healthy.* While the

intention is by no means to minimize participants' experiences, I later reflected that this theme speaks to something beyond the participants' control and, therefore, would not be something they could actively embrace or reject in their current parenting behaviours. Finally, the validity of each theme was checked against the data extracts and the data as a whole to improve the quality and depth of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). This was done by manually checking participants' open-ended responses with that of their scores on the quantitative surveys. For example, when participants spoke to how they discipline their children, their scores on the physical control and lax control dimensions of the Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale were checked for consistency. Doing so involved matching the participant IDs from the qualitative data to that of the quantitative data. Ultimately, of the eight themes identified initially, one was split into two themes (*Parenting Practices* became *Positive Parenting Practices* and *Negative Parenting Practices*). Another was demoted to a code (*I Wish My Parent Was Healthy* became the code titled "having parents with disability or conditions" and grouped under the theme for *Household Responsibilities*). Overall, nine total themes were identified. NVivo was only used when renaming or converging codes; the rest of this stage was done manually in the Word document created in step three.

During the fifth step, defining and naming themes, I further refined and named them to describe participants' experiences better. To guide the naming process, I followed Braun & Clarke's (2006) suggestions: creating concise, representative names that give the reader an idea of the theme. For example, while *Negative Parenting Practices* was an initial theme, it was later renamed to *Redefining Discipline and Boundaries.* Furthermore, *Household Responsibilities* was renamed to *Burden of Responsibility in Childhood.*

Finally, the sixth step is the production of the report, where a concise, coherent, logical, and non-repetitive account of the story the data tells is presented (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The final themes gathered through this thematic analysis are discussed in the Results section, which includes a table of the frequency of the themes along with direct quotes. The connections of these themes with existing literature, as well as their connection to the quantitative data, are discussed in the Discussion section.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The findings associated with each research question are reported. The results of independent samples t-tests, Pearson correlations, Spearman's rho, and hierarchical multiple regression are presented. The reflective thematic analysis results are also provided.

Data Cleaning and Removal of Participants

Due to the time constraints of this graduate work, recruitment was active for several months, concluding in September of 2025. In total, 78 participants were recruited through the survey link. Participants were excluded if they identified as male, transgender, or self-identified as genders other than female ($n = 2$), if they indicated they had no children they were primary caregivers for ($n = 3$), and if they lived somewhere besides Canada or the United States of America ($n = 3$). The final sample consisted of 70 participants.

Sample Description

Table 3

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Female Primary Caregivers

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]	Collectivists[b]	Full sample[c]

	n	%	n	%	n	%
Age						
18-24	1	4.8			1	1.4
25-34	4	19.0	13	26.5	17	24.3
35-44	10	47.6	27	55.1	37	52.6
45-54	6	28.60	9	18.4	15	21.4

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Ethnicity/Race						
White (Caucasian)	18	85.7	24	49.0	42	60.0
Black/African American/African Canadian			2	4.1	2	2.86
Latin, Central, and South American origins	1	4.8	5	10.2	6	8.6
West Central Asian and Middle Eastern origins (e.g., Turkish, Iranian)			11	22.4	11	15.7
South Asian origins (e.g., Indian, Sri Lankan)	1	4.8	1	2.0	2	2.9
East and Southeast Asian origins			1	2.0	1	1.4

(e.g., Chinese, Filipino)						
Multi-racial	1	4.8	5	10.2	6	8.6

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Number of siblings						
0	1	4.8	2	4.1	3	4.3
1	11	52.4	15	30.6	26	37.1
2	6	28.6	18	36.7	24	34.3
3	3	14.3	12	24.5	15	21.4
4+			2	4.1	2	2.9

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Birth order						
Oldest child	10	47.6	15	30.6	25	35.7
Middle child	2	9.5	14	28.6	16	22.9
Youngest child	8	38.1	18	36.7	26	37.1
Only child	1	4.8	2	4.1	3	4.3

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%

Highest educational level						
Highschool	2	9.5	2	4.1	4	5.7
Some college, no degree	1	4.8	8	16.3	9	12.9
Associate degree	1	4.8	11	22.4	12	17.1
Bachelor's degree	12	57.1	14	28.6	26	37.1
Master's degree	1	4.8	8	16.3	9	12.9
Doctoral degree	3	14.3	2	4.1	5	7.1
Professional degree	1	4.8	4	8.2	5	7.1

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Marital status						
Single/dating	8	38.1	11	22.4	19	27.1
Married	9	42.9	27	55.1	36	51.4
Separated	1	4.8	1	2.0	2	2.9
Divorced	1	4.8	4	8.2	5	7.1
Common-law	1	4.8	4	8.2	5	7.1
Committed relationship	1	4.8	1	2.0	2	2.9
Other			1	2.0	1	1.4

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]	Collectivists[b]	Full sample[c]

	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Household income in childhood						
Struggling to meet basic needs			3	6.1	3	4.3
Just meeting basic needs	4	19.0	8	16.3	12	17.1
Comfortable meeting basic needs	9	42.9	19	38.8	28	40.0
Able to meet needs and save/spend without difficulty	7	33.3	14	28.6	21	30.0
Financially well-off			5	10.2	5	7.1
Other	1	4.8			1	1.4

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Caregiver(s) living with in childhood						
Both mother and father	14	66.7	39	79.6	53	75.7
Only mother	6	28.6	9	18.4	15	21.4
Other	1	4.8	1	2.0	2	2.9

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Current household income						
Struggling to meet basic needs	1	4.8	3	6.1	4	5.7
Just meeting basic needs			2	4.1	2	2.9
Comfortable meeting basic needs	5	23.8	21	42.9	26	37.1
Able to meet needs and save/spend without difficulty	10	47.6	19	38.8	29	41.4
Financially well-off	5	23.8	4	8.2	9	12.9

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Country of residence						
Canada	11	52.4	30	61.2	41	58.6
USA	10	47.6	19	38.8	29	41.4

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Sociodemographic characteristics	Individualists[a]		Collectivists[b]		Full sample[c]	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Number of children						
1	4	19.0	19	38.8	23	32.9
2	17	81.0	15	30.6	32	45.7
3			11	22.4	11	15.8
4+			4	8.2	4	5.7

Note. [a]n = 21. [b]n = 49. [c]n = 70.

Table 3 contains a description of sociodemographic and other characteristics of the sample participants. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 54 years. The majority of respondents were between 35 and 44 years old (52.9%), followed by 25 to 34 years old (24.3%), 45 to 54 years old (21.4%), and 18 to 24 years old (1.4%). Participants mostly identified their race/ethnicity as White (Caucasian) (n = 42, 60.0%), eleven identified as Central Asian and Middle Eastern origins (15.71%), and six were of Latin, Central, and South American origins (8.57%). Participants identified as growing up with one sibling (n = 26, 37.1%), two siblings (n = 24, 34.3%), three siblings (n = 15, 21.4%), more than four siblings (n = 2, 2.9%), and no siblings (n = 3, 4.3%). Similarly, 37.1% of participants identified their birth order as the youngest child (n = 26), 35.7% as the oldest child (n = 25), 22.9% as middle children (n = 16), and 4.3% as only children (n = 3). The typical respondent, based on survey results, had a bachelor's degree (n = 26, 37.1%), were married (n = 36, 51,4%), identified their household financial situation growing up as "comfortable, meeting basic needs, with some extra for savings or occasional non-essentials" (n = 28, 40.0%), and were raised by both their mother and father as caregivers (n = 53, 75.7%). 41.4% (n = 29) identified their current household financial situation as "able to meet

needs and save or spend on non-essentials without difficulty". Participants mainly resided in Canada (n = 41, 58.6%), and 29 participants lived in the United States of America (41.4%). Participants stated being primary caregivers for one child (n = 23, 32.9%), two children (n = 32, 45.7%), three children (n = 11, 15.8%), and four or more children (n = 4, 5.7%). The typical age range of these children was middle childhood, i.e., between the ages of 6 and 12.

t-Tests Results: Mean Differences between Collectivists and Individualists in Perceived Parentification

A Mann–Whitney U test was conducted to examine differences in parentification subscale scores between participants with individualistic and collectivistic cultural orientations. The analysis revealed a statistically significant difference in instrumental parentification scores between the two groups, with individualist participants (Mean Rank = 43.14) scoring higher than collectivist participants (Mean Rank = 32.22), $U = 354.00$, $Z = -2.09$, $p = 0.037$, $r = 0.25$, indicating a medium effect size.

No significant differences were found for emotional parentification ($U = 503.50$, $Z = -0.14$, $p = 0.887$, $r = 0.2$)**,** perceived unfairness ($U = 480.00$, $Z = -0.45$, $p = 0.653$, $r = 0.05$), or total parentification ($U = 485.50$, $Z = -0.37$, $p = 0.710$, $r = 0.04$). Effect sizes for these comparisons were negligible. Taken together, these results indicated that beyond instrumental parentification scores, parentification does not vary significantly by cultural orientation across individualist and collectivist participants. These results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Mann-Whitney U Test for Parentification Subscale Scores by Cultural Orientation

Subscale	Individualist		Collectivist		*U*	*Z*	*p*	*r*
	n	Median Score	*n*	Median Score				
Emotional Parentification	21	36.02	49	35.28	503.50	-0.14	0.887	0.02
Instrumental Parentification	21	43.14	49	32.22	354.00	-2.09	0.037	0.25
Perceived Unfairness	21	37.14	49	34.80	480.00	-0.45	0.653	0.05
Total Parentification	21	36.88	49	34.91	485.50	-0.37	0.710	0.04

Note. $r = Z/\sqrt{n}$, where n = 70.

As a robustness check, independent samples t-tests were conducted. Consistent with the Mann–Whitney U results, instrumental parentification scores were significantly higher for individualistic participants (*M* = 3.14, *SD* = 1.82) than collectivistic participants (*M* = 2.08, *SD* = 1.53), *t*(68) = 2.51, *p* = .014, Cohen's *d* = 0.66. No significant differences were found for emotional parentification (*t*(68) = 0.31, *p* = .757, *d* = 0.08), perceived unfairness (*t*(68) = 0.53, *p* = .598, *d* = 0.14), or total parentification (*t*(68) = 0.80, *p* = .426, *d* = 0.21). Table 5 presents these results.

Table 5

Independent Samples t-Test Results for Parentification Subscales Scores by Cultural Orientation (Robustness Check)

Subscale	Individualist			Collectivist			*t*(df)	*p*	Cohen's *d*
	n	M	*SD*	*n*	M	*SD*			
Emotional Parentification	21	9.90	5.36	49	9.55	3.89	0.31(68)	0.757	0.08
Instrumental Parentification	21	3.14	1.82	49	2.08	1.53	2.51(68)	0.014	0.66
Perceived Unfairness	21	2.62	1.86	49	2.39	1.59	0.53(68)	0.598	0.14
Total Parentification	21	24.38	12.13	49	22.29	9.03	0.80(68)	0.426	0.21

Note. Cohen's *d* calculated using pooled standard deviation.

The Relationship Between Perceived Parentification and Parenting Behaviours

Spearman's rho

Spearman's analysis indicated that parentification subscales were strongly interrelated, confirming coherence of the Parentification Questionnaire ($r = 0.64\text{-}0.93$, $p < 0.001$). Positive parenting subscales (PP, PR, WM, SP) were strongly intercorrelated ($r = 0.35\text{-}0.75$, $p < 0.01$), validating their purpose. Similarly, negative parenting subscales (HS, LC, PC) were strongly

intercorrelated ($r = 0.32$-0.51, $p < 0.01$). The parenting behaviour scales behaved as expected, with apparent positive-negative clustering.

However, parentification was not consistently associated with parenting behaviours. Two modest negative associations were found: higher instrumental parentification was associated with lower positive parenting ($r = -0.291$, $p = 0.015$), and higher perceived unfairness was associated with lower positive parenting ($r = -0.244$, $p = 0.042$). No significant associations were found for negative parenting behaviours. Parenting subscales showed expected clustering: positive parenting dimensions correlated strongly with one another and with broadband positive parenting behaviours (MAPS_POS), while negative parenting dimensions clustered together and with broadband negative parenting behaviours (MAPS_NEG). Positive and negative parenting totals were not significantly correlated, suggesting they are relatively independent constructs. Table 6 displays these results.

Table 6

Spearman's Correlations Among Parentification and MAPS Subscales

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
1. PQ_EP	—												
2. PQ_IP	.68**	—											
3. PQ_PUF	.80**	.64**	—										
4. PQ_TOT	.93**	.79**	.88**	—									
5. MAPS_PP	-.11	-.14	-.17	-.16	—								
6. MAPS_PR	-.04	-.16	-.21	-.12	.41**	—							
7. MAPS_WM	-.08	-.23	-.19	-.13	.35**	.45**	—						
8. MAPS_SP	.12	-.07	.02	.09	.40**	.51**	.56**	—					
9. MAPS_HS	-.02	.11	-.08	.02	-.37**	-.24*	.00	-.22	—				
10. MAPS_LC	-.04	.02	-.21	-.08	-.18	.10	.02	-.03	.32**	—			
11. MAPS_PC	.08	.01	-.05	.06	.11	-.15	.07	-.09	.32**	.00	—		
12. MAPS_POS	-.11	-.29*	-.24*	-.18	.66**	.75**	.81**	.75**	-.21	-.03	-.00	—	
13. MAPS_NEG	.01	.09	-.11	.02	-.20	-.15	.09	-.09	.77**	.70**	.51**	-.08	—

Note. N = 70. *p* < .05*, **p** < .01.

Pearson Correlations

To check for robustness, Pearson's correlation was conducted as a secondary analysis and displayed similar results. Parentification subscales, positive parenting subscales, and negative parenting subscales each showed strong intercorrelations. An association between instrumental parentification and warmth showed a small negative correlation ($r = -0.27$, $p = 0.025$). Instrumental parentification was also negatively correlated with positive parenting ($r = -0.18$, $p = 0.13$), though not significantly. Similarly, perceived unfairness was negatively correlated with positive parenting ($r = -0.18$, $p = 0.13$). Beyond the associations of instrumental parentification and perceived unfairness, Pearson's showed that parentification was not strongly related to parenting behaviours in this sample. See Table 7 for these associations.

Table 7

Pearson's Correlations Among Parentification and MAPS Subscales (Robustness Check)

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
1. PQ_EP	—												
2. PQ_IP	.73**	—											
3. PQ_PUF	.81**	.66**	—										
4. PQ_TOT	.95**	.82**	.90**	—									
5. MAPS_PP	-.07	-.10	-.12	-.09	—								
6. MAPS_PR	-.04	-.11	-.20	-.08	.54**	—							
7. MAPS_WM	-.13	-.27*	-.19	-.14	.29*	.44**	—						
8. MAPS_SP	.06	-.04	-.01	.07	.46**	.64**	.46**	—					
9. MAPS_HS	.05	.13	-.00	.08	-.37**	-.27*	.07	-.27*	—				
10. MAPS_LC	-.07	.03	-.19	-.05	-.13	.11	.08	.07	.32**	—			
11. MAPS_PC	.10	.05	.09	.12	.11	-.13	.14	.04	.27*	-.06	—		
12. MAPS_POS	-.07	-.18	-.18	-.09	.68**	.83**	.77**	.81**	-.23	.06	.05	—	
13. MAPS_NEG	.03	.11	-.07	.06	-.21	-.13	.14	-.08	.79**	.69**	.53**	-.06	—

Hierarchical Linear Regression: Effect of Cultural Orientation on the Relationship Between Perceived Parentification and Parenting Behaviours

Initial hierarchical regression analyses were conducted using individual subscales for parentification (emotional, instrumental, perceived unfairness), cultural orientation (horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical collectivism), and seven parenting behaviour subscales. However, these models exhibited substantial multicollinearity, with variance inflation factor (VIF) values exceeding recommended thresholds (VIF > 10), indicating that predictors were highly correlated. To address this issue and improve

interpretability, composite scores were created for parentification (total score), cultural orientation (individualism and collectivism), and parenting behaviours (positive and negative composites). These composite scores were used in the final moderation analyses reported below. Given the previous discussion of normality violations in the data, these results should be interpreted with caution.

Hierarchical linear regression analyses were conducted to examine whether cultural orientation, specifically individualism and collectivism, moderated the relationship between parentification and parenting behaviours as measured by broadband positive and negative parenting behaviours. All predictor variables were mean-centred, and interaction terms were computed by multiplying centred parentification scores with centred cultural orientation scores. For each outcome variable, two models were test: Model 1 included the main effects of parentification and cultural orientation, while Model 2 added the interaction term.

Individualism, Positive Parenting and Parentification

A hierarchical linear regression was conducted to examine whether parentification predicts positive parenting behaviour, and whether this relationship is moderated by individualist cultural orientation. Results are displayed in Table 8. Model 1 included parentification and individualism as predictors and was not statistically significant, $R^2 = .055$, $F(2, 67) = 1.958$, $p = .149$. Model 2 added the interaction term (Parentification × Individualism), resulting in a 0.1% increase in explained variance ($R^2 = .056$), but the model remained non-significant, $F(1, 66) = 0.022$, $p =$ .0.882. The interaction term was not significant, suggesting that individualism did not moderate the relationship between parentification and positive parenting.

Table 8

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Positive Parenting (MAPS_POS) in Individualists

Predictors	ΔR²	B	SE	Standardized β	*t* value
Step 1	0.055				
Intercept		4.236	0.051	-	83.667
Parentification		-0.006	0.005	-.142	-1.162
Individualism[a] (centred)		0.009	0.005	.223	1.828
Step 2	0.000				
Intercept		4.237	0.053	-	80.478
Parentification		-0.006	0.006	-.135	-1.033
Individualism[a] (centred)		0.009	0.005	.216	1.647
Parentification × Individualism		-0.00008	0.001	-.020	-0.149

Note. $F(1,66) = 0.0022$, $p = 0.882$, $R^2 = 0.056$

[a]Individualism = 21.

Individualism, Negative Parenting and Parentification

A hierarchical linear regression was conducted to examine if parentification predicts negative parenting behaviour, and whether this relationship is moderated by individualist cultural orientation, as demonstrated in Table 9. In Model 1, parentification and individualism were entered as predictors. This model was not statistically significant, $R^2 = .017$, $F(2, 67) = 0.595$, p

= .555. In Model 2, the interaction term (Parentification × Individualism) was added. The model remained non-significant, and the interaction term accounted for no variance in negative parenting behaviours (R^2 = .017, F(1, 66) = 0.001, p = .970). Therefore, the results indicate that individualism did not moderate the relationship between parentification and negative parenting.

Table 9

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Negative Parenting Behaviours (MAPS_NEG) in Individualists

Predictors	ΔR^2	B	SE	Standardized β	t value
Step 1	0.017				
Intercept		2.04	0.052	-	39.50
Parentification		0.001	0.005	0.030	0.242
Individualism[a] (centred)		0.009	0.005	0.122	0.978
Step 2	0.000				
Intercept		2.04	0.054	-	37.983
Parentification		0.001	0.006	0.032	0.239
Individualism (centred)		0.009	0.006	0.120	0.896
Parentification × Individualism		-0.00002	0.001	-0.005	-0.038

Note. F(1, 66) = 0.001, p = .970, R^2 = .017

[a]Individualism = 21.

Collectivism, Positive Parenting and Parentification

A hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to examine whether collectivism moderated the relationship between parentification and positive parenting (MAPS_POS). Model 1 included parentification and collectivism as predictors and was not statistically significant, R^2 = .011, $F(2, 67) = 0.373$, $p = .690$. Model 2 added the interaction term (Parentification × Collectivism), resulting in a negligible increase in explained variance of 0.1% (R^2 = .012), but the model remained non-significant, $F(1, 66) = 0.036$, $p = .851$. The interaction term was not significant, indicating that collectivism did not moderate the relationship between parentification and positive parenting. These results are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Positive Parenting Behaviours (MAPS_POS) in Collectivists

Predictors	ΔR^2	B	SE	Standardized β	*t* value
Step 1	0.011				
Intercept		4.24	0.052	-	81.73
Parentification		-0.004	0.005	-0.089	-0.729
Collectivism[a] (centred)		0.003	0.005	0.054	0.444
Step 2	0.001				
Intercept		4.24	0.052	-	81.13
Parentification		-0.004	0.005	-0.086	-0.70
Collectivism (centred)		0.002	0.006	0.061	0.478

Parentification × Collectivism	0.000	0.001	0.024	0.189

Note. $F(1, 66) = 0.036$, $p = .851$, $R^2 = .0112$

[a]Collectivism = 49

Interestingly, when accounting for current household income, only

Collectivism, Negative Parenting and Parentification

A hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to test whether collectivism moderated the relationship between parentification and negative parenting (MAPS_NEG). Model 1 included parentification and collectivism as predictors and was not statistically significant, $R^2 = .029$, $F(2, 67) = 1.002$, $p = .373$. Model 2 added the interaction term (Parentification × Collectivism), resulting in a modest 0.9% increase in explained variance ($R^2 = .038$), but the model remained non-significant, $F(1, 66) = 0.638$, $p = .427$. The interaction term was not significant, suggesting that collectivism did not moderate the relationship between parentification and negative parenting. Table 11 contains the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis.

Table 11

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Negative Parenting Behaviours (MAPS_NEG) in Collectivists

Predictors	ΔR²	B	SE	Standardized β	*t* value
Step 1	0.029				
Intercept		2.04	0.051	-	39.760
Parentification		0.002	0.005	0.054	0.450

Collectivism[a] (centred)		-0.008	0.006	-0.160	-1.330
Step 2	0.038				
Intercept		2.04	0.051	-	39.660
Parentification		0.003	0.005	0.064	0.531
Collectivism (centred)		-0.006	0.006	-0.130	-1.027
Parentification × Collectivism		0.000	0.001	0.101	0.799

Note. $F(1, 66) = 0.638$, $p = .427$, $R^2 = .038$

[a]Collectivism = 49

Taken together, these results suggest that cultural orientation did not significantly moderate the link between parentification and parenting behaviours. Out of the four models analyzed, the one that demonstrated the highest variance was that of collectivism moderating the relationship between parentification and negative parenting behaviours, which explained an additional 0.9% of the variation in negative parenting behaviours. However, these models were non-significant.

Thematic Analysis Results

Thematic analysis was used to analyze the responses to the short-answer questions. Nine themes were identified after following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of reflexive thematic analysis. As mentioned previously, the survey included five open-ended questions:

1. Are there specific behaviours or parenting styles you consciously avoid or embrace because of your upbringing?

2. As a child, were you responsible for tasks or duties in your family/household that other children your age may not have been? If so, can you describe your experiences as a child in terms of the responsibilities you took on within your family?
3. How do you think your racial, ethnic, and/or cultural background shaped your childhood or upbringing?
4. Are there cultural values or practices you've chosen to continue or change in raising your own children? Why?
5. Would you change any part of your childhood or upbringing? If so, what aspects and why?

Table 12 contains the theme frequencies and illustrative quotes to support each theme. As part of the thematic analysis, the researcher split the research question into two parts to see patterns within each domain – participants' perceptions of their childhood, and their current parenting behaviours – before drawing links across them. Therefore, the following themes section will be twofold:

1. Perceptions of childhood
2. Parenting behaviours

Table 12

Frequencies and Quotes for Themes of Female Primary Caregivers' Perceptions of Their Childhood Experiences and How This Shapes Parenting Behaviours

Theme (Frequency)	Example Quotes
RQ1A: How do female primary caregivers perceive their childhood experiences?	

Burden of Responsibility (28)	"Ended up with a lot of child-care responsibilities for my younger sibling" "Being responsible for purchasing my own clothing from age 13" "[…] I was never allowed to be a child in the first place" "Being emotionally there for my parents" "[…] I would have wanted more balance between responsibilities and play"
Reflections and Meaning-Making (20)	"All that made me who I am today" "I'm seeing more and more how my close family members' relationships shaped me as a person in a negative way" "Hindsight is always 20/20 and I probably wouldn't be where I am today if it wasn't for my upbringing. So, no regrets" "It wasn't always easy, but it taught me to take pride in my work and to manage my time well" "I wish I was taught how to regulate my emotions" "There isn't a part of my life that hasn't been harmed by the way I was raised"
Emotional Climate and Relational Support (18)	"I had no self-identity" "Showing affection and saying I love you […] wasn't a part of my childhood" "I had a very rocky relationship with my mom"

	"My siblings and I were taught to value one another and to be loving and affectionate" "I would have also liked more emotional support during difficult times"
Discipline, Control, and Safety (17)	"Feeling of being scared and needing to protect my sisters" "Father was 'well-trained' in a lot of shame, manipulation, coercion, scapegoating, gaslighting" "I was worked to the point of so much anxiety that I was breathing in a paper bag in high school" "Being so strict was not necessary" "I would have loved a little more freedom" "Discipline, especially when it came to being bent over my parent's knee, often felt impulsive and unpredictable. […] it felt more like an emotional reaction than a structured, intentional form of discipline"
Socio-Cultural Contexts of Upbringing (13)	"I lived in a neighbourhood where I was the same ethnicity as majority of people, so I always felt I fit in" "Being mixed, there's a feeling of never really belonging on either side of the family" "[…] very individualistic – everyone is responsible for their own stuff and pretty independent"

	"Culturally, we care what others think about and it was important to make good choices so that people didn't gossip. This shaped a lot of my parents' decisions" "My mom brought with her a strong work ethic and a sense of tradition that emphasized family loyalty and respect. Children had to function and contribute to the household"

Theme (Frequency)	Example Quotes
RQ1B: (how has perceptions of childhood experiences shaped) female primary caregivers' parenting behaviours?	
Redefining Discipline and Boundaries (33)	"I avoid physical discipline like hitting or spanking" "I hope to raise my own child to choose their own path and be there for them through their journey versus forcing them to feel pressure and like they will disappoint me if they don't meet certain expectations" "I am working on my emotional regulation to stop the yelling" "We embrace positive reinforcement" "I avoid excessive permissiveness or letting misbehavior slide, as I believe consistency is key" "I try not to give the silent treatment"
Emotional Nurturance and Respect (21)	"I try to be more understanding to my children's feelings" "I try to tell my children I love them at least twice a day. Hugging and kisses or simply being close to one another is hugely important to me"

	“I consciously avoid any discouraging or judgemental parenting. I embrace trying to be more understanding and patient.” “We encourage conversation and all feelings and questions.” “I want my daughters to feel heard and understood, rather than just corrected”
Intergenerational Values and Adaptation (14)	“I am now married to someone with a cultural difference, and we embrace his family practices and values […] I enjoy the addition to these cultural values to mine and my child's life” “I want my children to know who they are, their strengths, and what intrinsically motivates them. I also have chosen different values to prioritize, but without judgement.” “I don't raise my children with any significant cultural values or practices” “Going to church is being continued for social and moral growth” “Keeping family close is something that is culturally important and talking about our ancestors” “I think one of the most important cultural values I've adopted is teaching them to take responsibility for their actions”
Preserving Childhood and Encouraging Growth (8)	“I do my best not to over burden them with chores.”

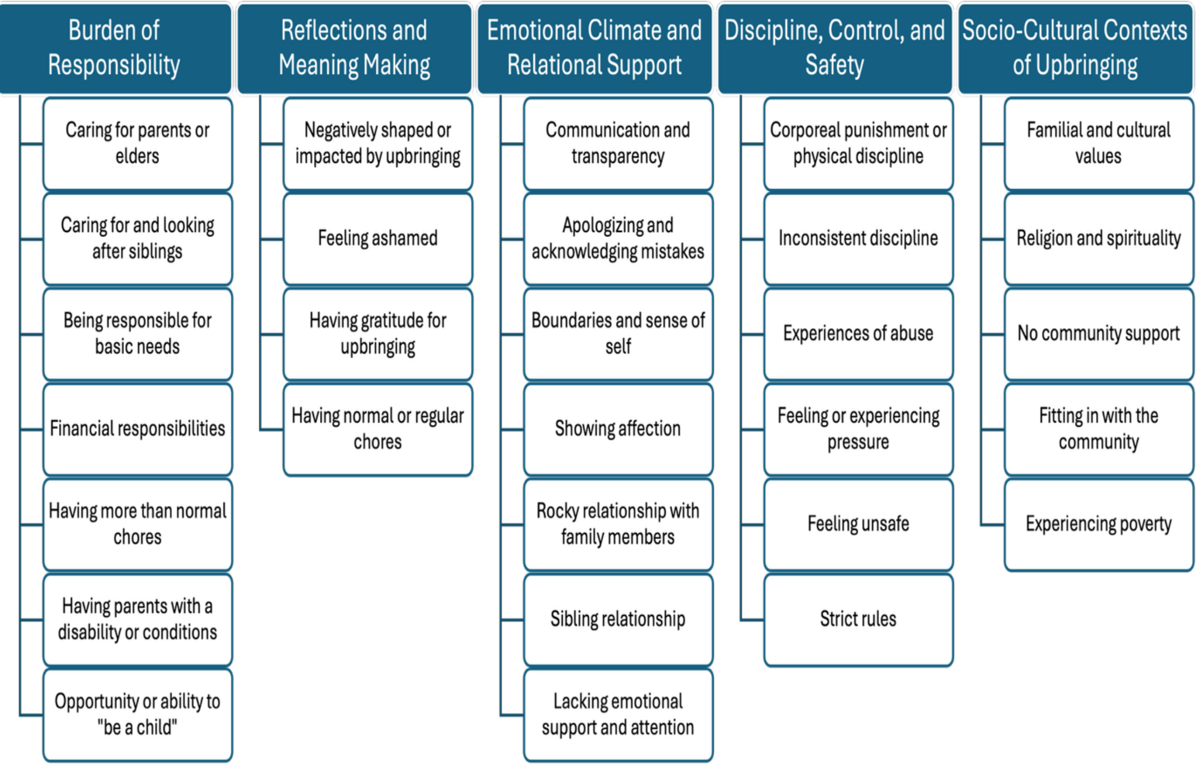
	"I make sure my children have a wonderful mix of out of school activities, time with friends and time with family […] I want my children to enjoy life." "I try not to make the oldest child responsible for the younger children." "I […] encourage them to have more free time to enjoy childhood." "I want to give my daughters guidance and reassurance to help them navigate challenges" "I love going out with them and being a big kid too."

Note. The themes are not mutually exclusive. The frequencies represent the number of participants that mentioned the theme. Most participants were counted towards the frequencies of several themes.

Research Question 1A: How do female primary caregivers perceive their childhood experiences?

Figure 1

Codes and Themes Generated in Answer to RQ1A



Theme 1: Burden of Responsibility in Childhood. The most prominent theme was the *Burden of Responsibility in Childhood*. This theme captures the numerous remarks that demonstrated participants' sense of prematurely carrying adult responsibilities throughout their youth. Specifically, participants described caring for parents or elders, looking after siblings, being responsible for basic needs, and having financial responsibilities. A visual representation of the codes that were used to generate each theme is shown in Figure 1.

Additionally, growing up with parents with a disability or conditions (e.g., deafness and substance use disorder) and having more than normal chores were initial codes generated for this theme. For those who mentioned caring for their parents, tasks ranged from making appointments and interpreting during appointments for parents, providing financial assistance, and caring for medically ill parents. Interestingly, four participants mentioned a lack of opportunity or ability to 'be a child'.

Theme 2: Reflections and Meaning Making. *Reflections and Meaning Making* encompassed how participants look back and interpret their childhood, which included both positive and negative sentiments. For example, while some participants remarked on being negatively shaped or impacted by their upbringing, others showed gratitude. Moreover, participants grew up having what they considered 'normal' or 'regular' chores compared to other children their age, while others spoke of feeling shame.

Theme 3: Emotional Climate and Relational Support. As was the nature of the open-ended questions, participants reflected on their emotional environment during childhood. Participants reflected whether they felt supported, neglected, or conflicted in their relationships – specifically, their relationships with parents, siblings, and other family members. Codes labelled as 'positive', referring to feelings of support, included communication and transparency, apologizing and acknowledging mistakes, and sibling relationships. Feelings of neglect or conflict were evident in themes such as boundaries and sense of self, a rocky relationship with family members, and a lack of emotional support and attention.

Theme 4: Discipline, Control, and Safety. Another prominent theme, *Discipline, Control, and Safety,* was generated with codes that spoke to power, control, and fear-based

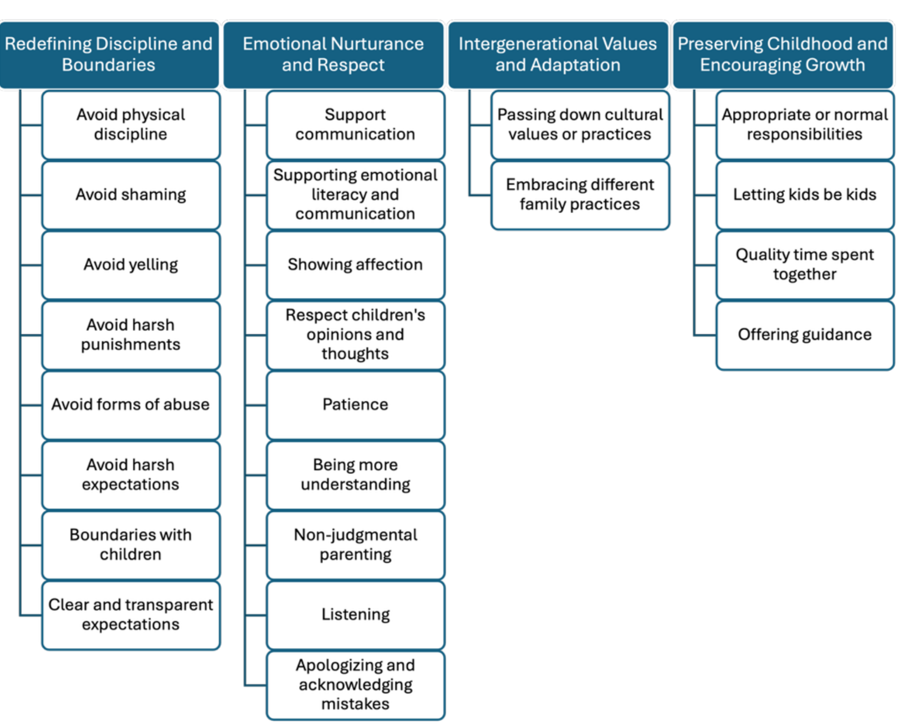
elements of upbringing for many participants. These codes included: corporeal punishment or physical discipline, inconsistent discipline, experiences of abuse, feeling or experiencing pressure, feeling unsafe, and strict rules.

Theme 5: Socio-Cultural Contexts of Upbringing. Initial codes that generated this theme included: familial and cultural values, religion and spirituality, lack of community support, fitting in with the community, and experiencing poverty. As with the second theme, *Socio-Cultural Contexts of Upbringing* demonstrated a range of positive and negative sentiments. This theme highlights the external, cultural, and material conditions shaping participants' childhood experiences.

Research Question 1B: (How Has the Perception of Childhood Experiences Shaped) Female Primary Caregivers' Parenting Behaviours?

Figure 2

Codes and Themes Generated in Answer to RQ1B



Theme 1: Redefining Discipline and Boundaries. The most prominent theme generated was *Redefining Discipline and Boundaries*. By running a word-frequency test, "avoid" was the dominant word analyzed in participants' responses. Of what participants mentioned they aim to avoid in parenting their children, the list included: forms of abuse, harsh expectations, harsh punishments, physical discipline, shaming and yelling. This theme highlights participants' deliberate rejection of negative or harmful practices they may have experienced, while emphasizing healthy structure and clarity in parenting, such as boundaries with children and having clear and transparent expectations.

Theme 2: Emotional Nurturance and Respect. The second most common theme was *Emotional Nurturance and Respect*, which encompasses building a safe, validating emotional environment where children's feelings are respected and communication is reciprocal. This theme demonstrated a conscious shift from emotional neglect or invalidation that participants may have perceived in childhood.

Theme 3: Intergenerational Values and Adaptation. Initial codes that generated this theme each represented two ends of a spectrum: passing down cultural values or practices and embracing different family practices and values. These codes illustrated participants' navigation between upholding meaningful (to them) cultural or familial traditions and adapting to new, healthier approaches in parenting.

Theme 4: Preserving Childhood and Encouraging Growth. The final theme developed to explain the data was *Preserving Childhood and Encouraging Growth*. This theme represented participants' drive to protect children's right to play, learn and be cared for. The

codes that clustered together to form this theme were: appropriate or normal responsibilities for kids, letting kids be kids, quality time spent together, and offering guidance.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between childhood parentification, cultural orientation, and parenting behaviours in female primary caregivers. There were four specific aims of this study: (1) to determine if there are differences in the level of perceived parentification based on individualist or collectivist cultural orientations, (2) to determine if there are differences in the level of perceived parentification in childhood concerning current parenting behaviours, (3) to determine if cultural orientation moderates the relationship between the level of perceived parentification and parenting behaviour, and (4) to explore how female primary caregivers perceive their childhood experiences and how this shapes their parenting behaviours. This section presents the interpretation and synthesis of the major findings from this study, along with its strengths, limitations, and future directions.

Interpretation and Synthesis of Results

The findings for each research question were interpreted and synthesized with previous literature. The nine themes developed from the thematic analysis were also analyzed to determine how they inform each other and how they compare to existing scholarship.

Research Question One: Do Perceived Parentification Levels Differ by Cultural Orientation?

To examine differences in perceived parentification between participants with individualistic and collectivistic orientations, nonparametric independent samples *t*-tests were conducted for

emotional parentification (PQ_EP), instrumental parentification (PQ_IP), perceived unfairness (PQ_PUF), and total parentification (PQ_TOT). Because normality assumptions were partly violated, independent sample t-tests were also run as a robustness check. Across parentification dimensions, only instrumental parentification differed by cultural orientation, with individualists reporting higher levels. Emotional parentification, perceived unfairness, and total parentification did not significantly differ between groups. Interestingly, when the data was split by household financial situation in childhood, a significantly positive correlation was found for emotional parentification, and high positive correlation for perceived unfairness, instrumental parentification, and total parentification for participants identifying as individualists and who marked struggling to meet basic needs (e.g., food, housing, utilities). A significantly negative correlation was found for participants who identified as collectivists and who grew up just meeting basic needs, with little or no extra for savings or non-essentials, regarding perceived unfairness and total parentification. Relatedly, less strong but evident negative relationships were found for emotional and instrumental parentification. A significant positive correlation was found with individualists who were comfortable meeting basic needs with some extra for savings or occasional non-essentials, and instrumental parentification was also observed. Lastly, emotional parentification and total parentification were positively correlated in individualists who were financially well-off in childhood. Therefore, when controlling for household financial situation in childhood, significant relationships were found between parentification levels and cultural orientation. For participants who identified as individualists, greater levels of emotional parentification were found for those struggling financially and those who were financially well-off. Additionally, individualists who were comfortable meeting basic needs had a positive correlation with instrumental parentification. On the other hand, collectivists showed negative

correlations with perceived unfairness and total parentification scores, and who were struggling to meet basic needs. This data can be interpreted in multiple ways.

Individualists. For one, individualists generally had a highly positive relationship with parentification, particularly regarding emotional parentification. For families struggling to meet basic needs, greater emotional parentification could be explained by participants having to be caretakers to their caregivers, potentially due to caregivers having less capacity to do so: either due to working multiple jobs or being incapacitated in some way, for example, some participants identified growing up with a caregiver with a disability or condition through the open-ended questions. This aligns with Chee and colleagues' (2014) study, which found that children from low-income families report greater levels of parentification, particularly emotional parentification. These findings are explained by the fact that children are not oblivious to issues such as the family's financial needs and their caregivers being overburdened, particularly as children are embedded in the context of family relationships (Chee et al., 2014). Low socioeconomic status was also found to be a risk factor for parentification, as participants described witnessing their caregivers' increased stress when finances were limited, which impaired their ability to parent appropriately (Ferguson, 2022).

Parentification in higher-income households is less understood, as there are limited studies investigating this interaction. However, a study by Carroll and Robinson (2000) examined the impact of parental *workaholism*, defined as an obsessive-compulsive disorder that manifests itself through self-imposed demands, an inability to regulate work habits, and an overindulgence in work to the exclusion of most other life activities (Robinson, 1998), on parentification. Their results showed that children of workaholics scored significantly higher on parentification

(Carroll & Robinson, 2000). Though Carroll and Robinson's (2000) paper did not correlate workaholism with household income, Hamermesh and Slemrod's (2005) work found evidence that workaholism correlates with higher income. However, other studies did not find similar results. For example, using data from the 2005 General Social Survey on time use, Statistics Canada released a report which found that workaholics are no more likely than non-workaholics to be high-income earners (Keown, 2008). Therefore, assumptions are made to explain the findings that participants who grew up in financially well-off households experienced greater emotional parentification scores. As workaholism was not a variable measured in this study, it is assumed that significant time and effort by the caregivers were needed to reach the level of financial stability indicated by participants. Consequently, it is possible that caregivers had less time or capacity to support their children emotionally. Again, these are speculative assumptions due to the dearth of studies examining parentification in higher-income households.

As to why individualists experienced greater parentification, specifically emotional parentification, when controlling for household income, this can be explained using the characteristics of individualist cultures. Firstly, individuals high in individualism tend to emphasize autonomy, self-reliance, and personal agency (Kotlaja, 2020; Lansford et al., 2021; Lansford, 2024). When such individuals experience emotional parentification, it may feel more salient as it encroaches on their preferred boundary between self and other. As such, these role reversals are "visible" to the individual and felt more strongly.

Collectivists. Conversely, collectivists showed negative relationships with parentification. Specifically, perceived unfairness was negatively correlated for collectivists who grew up just meeting basic needs. These findings align with other studies examining parentification in

collectivist cultures. Chee and colleagues (2014) indicated that children raised in a collectivist culture displayed feelings of perceived fairness when parentified, and Anderson (1999) highlighted that parentification is seen as a culturally legitimate practice among African American families. A perception of injustice reflects unmet needs for a secure attachment and a need for developmentally appropriate balancing of autonomy and togetherness in one's relationship with caregivers, while also emotionally and instrumentally caretaking for caregivers (Jankowski et al., 2013). Accordingly, for the collectivist participants in this study, while they may have experienced parentification, their needs were still met and responsibilities assigned honoured their autonomy and relationship with family members. Moreover, Harrison and colleagues (1990) found that collectivist orientations emphasize family interdependence, role flexibility and responsibility, highlighting the normalization of parentification and, thereby, its justification. When families experience adversity, particularly low-income households or those just meeting basic needs, collectivists' values of sharing responsibility among family members and role-sharing norms are seen as expected and fair (Chee et al., 2014; Khafi et al., 2014). Furthermore, role reversal for these children was considered normal and honourable to support one's family (Valenzuela, 1999), which again explains why collectivist participants in this study demonstrated a negative correlation with perceived unfairness of parentification.

It is important to note that while perceived unfairness was measured quantitatively using the Parentification Questionnaire, fairness - especially *perceived* fairness – is based upon an individual's personal recollection and understanding of what is fair or unfair according to their narrative. As such, unfairness or fairness of parentification may be more accurately explained through the qualitative open-ended questions of this study. When examining the open-ended questions, collectivist participants spoke of strong work ethics and family values that they

internalized during their childhoods and passed down to their own families. Additionally, participants spoke of having “no regrets” when asked if they would change anything about their childhoods. Together, these imply that collectivist participants viewed their childhood experiences as fair and synchronous with their personal narratives.

As indicated previously, families with lower family income are more often susceptible to economic difficulties, which can influence parenting styles and lead to parentification (Abrea & Vargas, 2025). In their sample of Filipino college students, a collectivist country, Abrea and Vargas (2025) investigated the demographic variations in Filipino students who had experienced parentification. The authors measured students’ willingness to contribute to familial obligation and found that students from lower-income families scored higher than those from upper-income families (Abrea & Vargas, 2025). In line with other findings, these results were explained as being due to lower-income families having a stronger sense of familial duty (Abrea & Vargas, 2025; Burton, 2007; McMahon & Luthar, 2007).

Research Question Two: Are Perceived Parentification Levels Associated with Parenting Behaviours?

To test associations between perceived parentification and parenting behaviours, Spearman’s rho was computed, with Pearson’s correlations conducted for robustness due to partial non-normality. Parentification generally showed no strong or consistent relationships with parenting behaviours. However, exploratory subscale findings suggest that instrumental parentification may be weakly linked to reduced warmth, and perceived unfairness may relate to fewer positive parenting behaviours. Interestingly, when splitting the data file based on cultural orientation, a negative correlation was identified with perceived unfairness and proactive parenting,

instrumental parentification and proactive parenting, instrumental parentification and overall positive parenting, and total parentification score and proactive parenting for individualists using Spearman's rho. These findings indicate that greater parentification among participants who identified as individualists resulted in lower scores in proactive parenting and overall positive parenting for those who experienced instrumental parentification in their youth. According to Justin and Parent (2017), proactive parenting measures child-centred appropriate responding to anticipated difficulties (e.g., "I give reasons for my requests", "I warn my child before a change of activity is required", and "I tell my child my expectations regarding behaviour before my child engages in an activity"). While individualist caregivers who experienced parentification showed lower scores on proactive parenting, there was no significant relationship for other measures of positive parenting (i.e., positive reinforcement, warmth, or supportiveness).

Additionally, when controlling for relationship status, these correlations were seen for individualists who were single or dating. Therefore, these findings can be interpreted as indicating that individualists have less support, whether familial or social, to assist with their parenting, which could lead to lower scores on specific aspects of parenting practices (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). It is also important to note that individualist caregivers in this sample made up 21 participants, while there were 49 collectivist caregivers. The small sample size of individualists may have skewed the results and should be interpreted with caution.

Research Question Three: Does Cultural Orientation Moderate the Relationship Between Perceived Parentification and Parenting Behaviours?

To test moderation, hierarchical multiple regression models were conducted. Centred total parentification scores were entered as predictors, cultural orientation (individualism and

collectivism) as moderators, and interaction terms (e.g., parentification x individualism, and parentification x collectivism) were included. Positive and negative parenting broadband behaviours served as dependent variables. Cultural orientation did not moderate the relationship between parentification and parenting behaviours. Cultural orientation showed some moderating effects, specifically for collectivists and negative parenting behaviours, but interaction terms were uniformly nonsignificant. While still non-significant, an interesting pattern emerged when controlling for current income in the regression; specifically, income was a positive predictor of positive parenting behaviours in collectivist participants and explained a 7.3% total variance. These results indicated that higher household income was associated with higher levels of positive parenting behaviours, though parentification, collectivism, and their interaction remained non-significant. This finding may be explained by reduced economic stress and increased emotional capacity in caregivers. Consistent with the Family Stress Model, higher income can ease financial strain, supporting warming and more responsive parenting practices (Conger & Donnellan, 2007; Emmen et al., 2013). This may explain why higher income was linked to elevated positive parenting behaviours. Though a pattern emerged, the findings from this analysis were non-significant and could be an area for future research, as will be discussed further in the Future Directions section.

The absence of significant interaction terms indicates that cultural orientation does not reliably moderate the relationship between parentification and parenting behaviours in this sample. These results could be due to the small sample sizes, especially when the data is split by cultural orientation – individualists (n = 21) and collectivists (n = 49). Other studies that found moderation effects of cultural orientation between childhood experience and later parenting behaviours were present only in specific subgroups or only under particular conditions. For

example, a systematic review on the effects of parentification found that its outcomes are highly variable (Dariotis et al., 2023). Of the 95 articles Dariotis and colleagues (2023) reviewed, the authors' results indicated that parentification is a complex process where linear explanations may not suffice, and different mediators and moderators should be considered. They recommended that non-linear explanations and descriptions of parentification be considered, as a linear explanation of the relationship between parentification and outcome does not capture the nuances of the phenomenon (Dariotis et al., 2023).

Importantly, other studies have found moderation effects when examining cultural differences in parentification and its outcomes. In their 2014 longitudinal study, Khafi and colleagues found that ethnicity moderated the effects of emotional and instrumental parentification. Specifically, among European American youth, higher parentification predicted poorer parent-child relationships, while better parent-child relationships were associated with emotional parentification for African American youth (Khafi et al., 2014). There were considerable differences between Khafi and colleagues' design study and this study; however, their results point to the plausibility of moderation impacts depending on cultural or ethnic contexts.

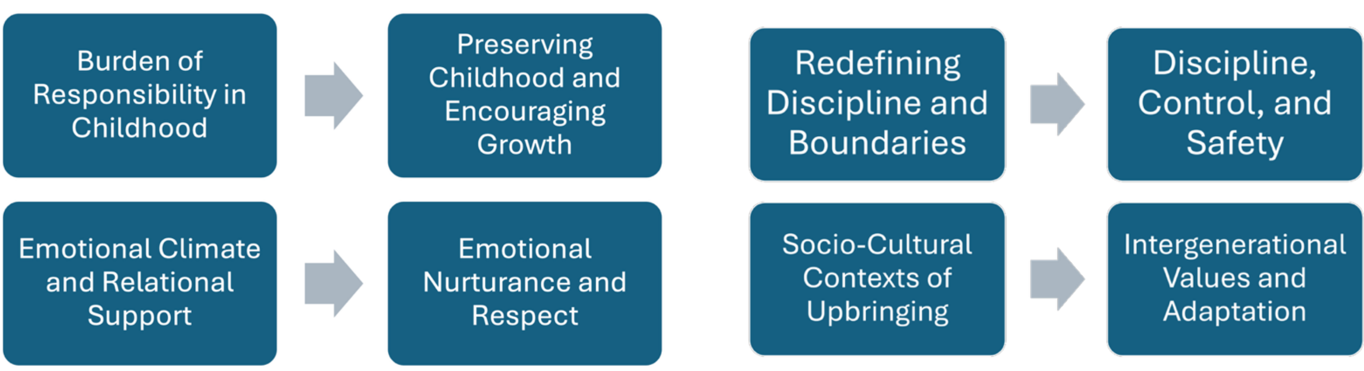
Research Question Four: How do Female Primary Caregivers Perceive Their Childhood Experiences and How do These Shape Their Parenting Behaviours?

To address this research question, a thematic analysis was conducted on participants' open-ended responses. The analysis was organized in two stages: (1) perceptions of childhood, and (2) current parenting behaviours. Links were then drawn across both domains to illustrate

how caregivers' early experiences informed their parenting. Figure 3 displays a diagram that illustrates the connections drawn across themes.

Figure 3

Connections Across Themes



Connections Across Themes. The following section highlights how the themes for the two-part research question inform one another. The first theme from perceptions of childhood, *Burden of Responsibility in Childhood* links to *Preserving Childhood and Encouraging Growth*, demonstrating how those who have experienced parentification aim to avoid doing so with their own children. Past literature held the belief that experiencing parentification in childhood adversely affects early parenting practices and child behaviour in the next generation; importantly, it was believed that childhood roles are internalized and may be recreated during parenthood (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973). Essentially, the experience of parentification in childhood was thought to lead to inappropriate expectations for offspring to fulfill parents' unmet needs (Barnett & Parker, 1998). Modern findings, however, acknowledge that the intergenerational transmission of parentification is less understood and may be moderated by

several factors, namely perceived fairness of parentification (Burchinal et al., 2010; Nuttal et al., 2021). Themes generated from this thematic analysis offer a unique perspective, as participants specifically highlighted the responsibilities they felt overburdened by and expressed a desire not to pass such an upbringing onto their own children, thereby contradicting Borszormenyi-Nagy and Spark's statements (1973). Notably, each participant who spoke to codes within the *Preserving Childhood and Encouraging Growth* theme also had responses coded under the *Burden of Responsibility in Childhood* theme (n = 5). What's more, each of the five participants scored high on the perceived unfairness subscale of parentification, and scores of total parentification fell within the high or medium range. These findings align with those of Burchinal and colleagues (2010), but not with those of Nuttal and colleagues (2021). While Burchinal and colleagues 2010 study postulated that participants who were parentified in childhood stated they would not transmit this experience to their hypothetical children, Nuttal and colleagues (2021) found that mothers who were parentified and perceived their experience to be unfair were likely to engage in parenting behaviours that were in line with dimensions of parentification (e.g., blurring boundaries, lax control, harshness/neglect).

Emotional Climate and Relational Support, relates to *Emotional Nurturance and Respect*. This demonstrates how a lack of emotional support during childhood leads participants to prioritize listening, showing affection, and exhibiting patience with their children. When analyzing the participants who were included in these two themes (n = 6), a pattern of high scores on positive parenting behaviours, particularly subscales for positive reinforcement, warmth and supportiveness, was highlighted. The connection between the *Emotional Nurturance and Respect* theme and their scores on the Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale speaks to the reliability of participants' quantitative and qualitative results. The connection

between lacking emotional support during childhood and *compensatory parenting*, where caregivers prioritize showing affection, has been highlighted by other studies (Herbell & Bloom, 2020; Woods-Jaeger et al., 2018). Specifically, studies investigating mothers who have histories of adverse childhood experiences emphasized warmth, protection, and sensitive responding to their own children in an effort to intentionally "break the cycle" they had experienced. In Woods-Jaeger and colleagues' (2018) study, a theme that emerged was "aspiring to make children's lives better", in which participants referred to their hopes, goals, and motivations to do what was necessary for their children to be safer, happier, and more successful than they were. Relatedly, participants in my study displayed considerable self-awareness of their childhood experiences, emotional intelligence to recognize the adverse effects of emotional neglect, and strength and resilience to parent their children differently from how they were parented.

Similarly*, Redefining Discipline and Boundaries* responds to the fourth theme of the first part of the research question: *Discipline, Control, and Safety*. When participants mentioned feeling unsafe, abused, or experiencing inconsistent discipline as children, they mentioned avoiding physical discipline, shaming, and harsh punishments with their own children. Additionally, boundaries with children and having clear and transparent expectations were prioritized. Participants within these themes scored significantly lower on the negative parenting subscales of the Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale, specifically those measuring physical control, lax control, and hostility. It appears the concept of compensatory parenting was prevalent for minimizing parenting behaviours characterized by negative parenting styles (e.g., neglect, psychological control, punishment) (Guo et al., 2024). These findings are important because there is evidence that parental harshness in one generation leads to similar child-rearing behaviours in the next (Caspi & Elder, 1998; Neppl et al., 2009). In their study examining the

importance of a nurturing relationship with a romantic partner in disrupting intergenerational continuing in harsh and parenting behaviours, Conger and colleagues (2013) found that one parent who has experienced a history of harsh parenting will be less likely to repeat these behaviours with their own children if they have a partner who treats them with respect, care, concern and affection. The authors hypothesized that this would be because the parent who experienced harsh parenting would be exposed to a more nurturing relationship than they experienced with their own parents when growing up, which was supported by their findings (Conger et al., 2013). While a causation effect cannot be stated here, as the quality of participants' relationships was not analyzed, it is noteworthy that 71.4% of participants who spoke about avoiding harmful or harsh parenting stated they were either married or in a committed relationship. Again, this is not a statistical finding from my study; instead, it highlights a potential protective factor for caregivers who have experienced harsh parenting in their youth and could guide future research.

Furthermore, as Sabatier and Lannegrand-Willems (2005) state, the broad social context may facilitate the transmission of values when the values of society and the values of families are congruent. Given this study's inclusion criteria, participants of this sample were female primary caregivers living in Canada or the United States; two countries which showed lower levels of control and disciplinary practices that were characterized as more punitive and coercive when compared to countries such as Mexico and France (Claes et al., 2018). Therefore, in addition to compensatory parenting, the trend of redefining discipline and boundaries in current parenting practices could be a result of the incongruency of harsh and hostile parenting in Canadian and American societies.

Finally, a connection is present between the *Socio-Cultural Contexts of Upbringing* theme and the *Intergenerational Values and Adaptation* theme. How participants interacted with the macro systems during their childhood influences whether these values were transmitted or rejected in favour of new ones. In my study, values or norms that were cherished and meaningful to participants from their family of origin were passed along. Moreover, participants mentioned transmitting these values by either adding values or traditions from their partners or by modifying them based on their own childhood experiences. As Hyjer Dyk (2014) states, the family is just one component of a complex social system; numerous socialization agents influence the values one may adopt as they grow and create their own families (Hyjer Dyk, 2014). Broader social contexts, according to Bronfenbrenner's Social Ecological Model (1977), include: (1) family, (2) community, (3) political/religious, (4) society, and (5) global. As family makes up a fifth of the social systems, it is understandable that caregivers will embrace values or practices that align with their micro, meso, and macro environments. For example, some participants indicated that they did not feel supported or accepted by their communities growing up and, as such, embraced their partner's community. Additionally, other participants spoke to the benefit of attending mass for their social and moral growth. They continued this practice with their children, demonstrating again the transmission of values when the values of society and the values of families are congruent (Sabatier & Lannegrand-Willems, 2005).

The literature on the transmission of values highlights differences in values practiced across various cultures, specifically whether they are collectivists or individualists (Oyserman et al., 2002). Cultural orientation was also emphasized in participants' open-ended responses. The focus of participants' responses, when reflecting on cultural values or practices they have chosen to continue or change in raising their children, revolved around their hopes for their children to

practice these values; many of these values aligned with their cultural orientation. For example, a participant labelled as individualist spoke of wanting their children to take responsibility for their actions, and another wished for their children to know their strengths and what intrinsically motivates them. On the other hand, participants who are collectivists mentioned keeping family close and being less focused on the individual.

Overall, the qualitative findings indicate that female primary caregivers' perceptions of their childhood experiences strongly influence their parenting behaviours. The results suggest a pattern of deliberate contrast, where caregivers actively avoid replicating negative aspects of their upbringing (e.g., harsh discipline, emotional neglect, premature responsibility) and instead seek to foster warmth, respect, and protection of childhood for their own children. When combined with the quantitative analysis, these findings provide a richer understanding of the relationship between childhood parentification, parenting behaviour, and cultural orientation. The integration suggests that parentification's impact on later parenting is better understood through the meanings caregivers assign to their experiences rather than through linear statistical correlations. Caregivers in this study did not consistently display higher or lower levels of positive or negative parenting based on their parentification scores. Instead, they reflected on, reinterpreted, and often rejected harmful elements of their upbringing, using these reflections as guiding principles in their parenting. In other words, the influence of parentification appears to be mediated through meaning-making and intentional strategies rather than direct measurable effects. Cultural orientation further influenced these processes in ways not entirely captured by the quantitative data but clearly evident in the qualitative narratives.

Given these findings, it is important to return to Mika and colleagues 1987 definition of when parentification becomes pathological and detrimental to the child's development. At the

time, the definition was stated as such: (a) the parent becomes dependent on the child and assumes the role or behaviours of the child; (b) the role becomes a burden for the child and inhibits the child's personal development; (c) the role goes beyond what the child is capable of doing; (d) the child is exploited in the role and is prevented or discouraged from acting in age-appropriate behaviours and activities; and (e) children are punished for acting out the role as the parent, even when expected to do so (Mika et al., 1987). In keeping with the significance of meaning-making and how participants in this study perceived their childhood parentification experiences, I would recommend the following amendments to this definition: perceived parentification can become pathological and detrimental to the child's development when it is *incongruent with the child and/or family's cultural, personal, or social norms and values, as determined by the parentified individual*. These changes acknowledge the subjective experience of parentification, how it is perceived by an individual within the context of their systems, and gives voice to individuals to define their lived experience.

Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions

Strengths

A notable strength of this study was the mixed-methods design, as its goal is to provide a better and deeper understanding of the research questions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Considering the limited significant findings gathered from the quantitative analyses, the qualitative data served to enrich and deepen the overall findings, providing stronger inference than if either approach had been used on its own (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Moreover, choosing thematic analysis to generate codes and themes of participants' lived experiences was intended to acknowledge the subjective and cultural perception of experiencing parentification and how this construction of meaning impacts current parenting behaviours. This was achieved

and offers a unique perspective on the nature and the individualized experiences of parentification. In accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2006) paper, a notable strength of thematic analysis, as demonstrated in this study, is its ability to highlight similarities and differences across the data set. In this study, the theme of *Reflections and Meaning-Making* illustrates how female primary caregivers differ in their experiences of parentification in childhood, particularly in their contrasting feelings of gratitude and regret for these experiences. By applying thematic analysis, this study identified these contrasts while also situating them within broader sociocultural influences – e.g., collectivist versus individualist cultural orientations – that shape perceptions of family roles and obligations. Thematic analysis strengthened this study by allowing for rich, layered interpretations that connected personal narratives to cultural meaning systems.

Another strength of this study was including detailed demographic factors within the survey, which enabled a more comprehensive understanding of the participants and the contextual influences shaping their experiences. Collecting nuanced demographic data not only enhanced the descriptive richness of the sample but also allowed for exploratory analyses that revealed interactions and moderating effects that might otherwise have been overlooked. By examining variables such as household income during childhood and current relationship status, this study was able to situate the phenomenon of parentification within its broader sociocultural and socioeconomic context. Most notably, testing for household income during childhood provided important insights into how female primary caregivers perceived their experiences of parentification. The findings suggested that participants who grew up in lower-income households often perceived their parentification experiences differently, sometimes viewing them as necessary contributions to family survival rather than as unfair burdens. This enriches

the interpretation of the data beyond cultural orientation alone. Given the complex and diverse nature of parentification, this layer of analysis highlighted that the meanings attached to parentification are not uniform but rather shaped by intersecting structural and cultural factors. Moreover, while cultural orientation was the primary moderating factor initially hypothesized, the demographic questionnaire broadened the scope of inquiry by enabling exploration of other sociocultural dimensions that may influence parenting behaviours. For example, controlling for participants' current relationship status offered an opportunity to assess both positive and negative parenting behaviours. Together, household income during childhood and current relationship status underscored how both past and present relational and socioeconomic contexts contribute to female primary caregivers' perceptions and current parenting practices. This level of contextual analysis aligns with ecological and systemic perspectives in family research, which state that individual behaviours and perceptions are best understood within the broader social, cultural, and economic environments in which they occur (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Paat, 2013).

Limitations

On the other hand, like all research designs, this study has limitations. Firstly, the specific inclusion criteria restricted the number of participants in the survey. Although the inclusion and exclusion criteria were carefully developed to identify gaps in the literature and ensure conceptual clarity in exploring the intersection of parentification, cultural orientation, and parenting behaviours, they inevitably decreased the sample size and the range of perspectives represented. A larger or more diverse sample might have increased statistical power and enabled broader generalization of the findings across cultural groups or family structures.

Additionally, while the qualitative analysis provided rich, meaningful insights into participants' lived experiences of parentification and their parenting behaviours, the use of written open-ended survey responses limited opportunities for deeper exploration and clarification of participants' narratives. Using semi-structured interviews or focus groups could have allowed for greater depth, enabling the researcher to probe for elaboration, clarify ambiguities, and capture emotional nuances that written responses may not convey. Furthermore, the cross-sectional nature of the design restricts the ability to draw causal inferences about the long-term impact of childhood parentification on current parenting behaviours. Longitudinal studies could strengthen the understanding of how these experiences develop and manifest over time, as further discussed in the Future Directions and Conclusion section.

Finally, the data collection method is another limitation of this study. While using self-report surveys made it easier to gather data from a broader geographic range of participants, provided accessibility, and ensured anonymity, it also introduced certain methodological weaknesses. Self-reported measures are inherently prone to participant responses, including *social desirability bias*, where negative parenting behaviours may have been under-reported in an attempt to choose responses that are more socially acceptable and viewed favourably rather than reflecting their true behaviour (Nederhof, 1985). Furthermore, since the survey relied on participants' retrospective accounts of their childhood experiences, the accuracy of these recollections may have been affected by *recall bias*. Recall bias occurs when participants do not accurately remember a past event and is more likely when the event occurred a long time ago (National Cancer Institute, n.d.). Additionally, recall bias can be influenced by current beliefs or emotions, which may have affected how participants rated and described their experiences of parentification.

Future Directions and Conclusion

While parentification is a phenomenon that many individuals experience, whether directly or indirectly, research on the subject remains relatively understudied. The findings of this study highlight the importance of continuing to explore parentification through both quantitative and qualitative approaches, as its impact on family dynamics, emotional growth, and intergenerational caregiving patterns is intricate and deeply embedded in context. I believe there is significant potential for future research to examine this phenomenon qualitatively, especially in ways that capture participants' interpretations of their experiences and give prominence to their voices. Using methods such as semi-structured interviews or narrative inquiries, including focus groups with caregivers who identify as having experienced parentification, could provide richer and more detailed insights into how these experiences influence adult relationships and parenting behaviours. This approach would enable researchers to delve deeper than surface-level descriptions, capturing tone, emotional cues, and contextual details that survey data alone cannot reveal. Such qualitative methods could also explore how individuals distinguish between adaptive and maladaptive aspects of parentification, offering a more comprehensive understanding that recognizes both resilience and vulnerability.

Furthermore, future research could replicate this study with a larger and more diverse group of participants to improve the generalisability and cross-cultural relevance of the findings. While the review of the literature on parentification highlighted that women are more likely to be parentified and to parentify their children in turn (Jacobvitz et al., 2004; Peris & Emery, 2005), men and boys can also experience parentification. Therefore, broader sampling could include participants of different genders and family structures to capture the full range of parentification

experiences and their outcomes. Additionally, experiencing parentification does not only occur during childhood. Caregivers may continue or start to experience parentification when caring for elderly or incapacitated parents. Expanding the inclusion criteria in future studies could reveal how different contextual factors influence the adult experiencing parentification. Similarly, including international samples could shed light on cultural differences in how parentification is understood, normalised, or viewed negatively across societies. A cross-cultural comparison would offer valuable insights into how collectivist versus individualist norms influence caregiving expectations, perceptions of fairness, and emotional impacts of early responsibility.

As highlighted in this study, another area for future research could focus on exploring the role of language and meaning-making. The findings showed that participants often used different language to describe similar experiences; some expressed gratitude and growth, while others mentioned regret or loss. Further examining these linguistic differences could reveal how cultural scripts, emotional vocabulary, and relational norms influence how individuals internalise childhood experiences. Qualitative linguistic analyses could help clarify how people's narratives of parentification are formed and how they change over time.

Additionally, investigating protective factors such as supportive romantic relationships or positive adult attachments could enhance understanding of how people who experienced harsh or emotionally distant parenting develop adaptive parenting strategies later in life. Identifying these moderating factors could be especially relevant for family systems therapy, where practitioners seek to understand the transmission of relational patterns across generations. Findings from studies like this could inform therapeutic interventions aimed at fostering self-awareness, emotional regulation, and boundary-setting among parents who were once parentified. Family

therapists could integrate insights from such research into psychoeducational modules or systemic intervention frameworks, helping parents differentiate between caring and over-functioning roles within their family systems. There are also implications for parenting education programs and preventive community initiatives, especially considering the impact of household income on parentification scores and on parenting behaviours. Incorporating knowledge about parentification into educational curricula for parents, caregivers, and teachers could promote greater awareness of how early family dynamics influence adult caregiving tendencies. By integrating these insights into early childhood education, social work, or teacher training programs, professionals can be better equipped to identify signs of role reversal in children and support families in fostering more balanced, developmentally appropriate caregiving environments.

Overall, future research building upon this study could not only advance theoretical and empirical understanding of parentification but also contribute to applied practice across mental health, education, and family support systems. As researchers and practitioners continue to bridge personal narratives with systemic understanding, the field moves close to recognizing parentification not merely as an individual experience, but as a relational and cultural phenomenon with profound implications for intergenerational wellbeing.

The overarching aim of the study to further explore the concept of perceived parentification in childhood, parenting behaviours, and cultural orientation among female primary caregivers in Canada and the United States was achieved. Experienced parentification was found to differ between individualist and collectivist participants. A relationship was identified between instrumental parentification and perceived unfairness of parentification,

which was associated with fewer positive parenting behaviours, specifically warmth and proactive parenting. Formal moderation tests did not confirm the effects of cultural orientation on parentification in childhood and parenting behaviours. Finally, female caregivers' current parenting behaviours were highly influenced by their perceptions of childhood experiences, with caregivers displaying compensatory parenting practices. This study contributes to the limited research on this topic and highlights numerous directions for future research. These findings should be used to inform mental health professionals working with families, helping to illuminate the intergenerational transmission of parentification and parenting behaviours.

References

Abrea, L., & Vargas, M. A. (2025). Demographic variations in the domains of Filipino parentification scale for college students. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families,* 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1177/10664807251343901

Acevedo, I. D. (2003). *Understanding ethnicity: The relation among ethnic identity, collectivism, and individualism in African Americans and European Americans* [Master's thesis, the University of Kentucky]. UKnowledge. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/gradschool_theses/387

Adaki, A. Y. (2023). The role of westernization in the changing African family structures: A systematic Literature review. *Humanities, Society, and Community*, *1*, 61-75. http://dx.doi.org/10.31098/hsc.v1i1.XXXX

Ahemaitijiang, N., Han, Z. R., Dale, C., DiMarzio, K., & Parent, J. (2021). Psychometric properties of the Chinese version of the Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale. *Psychological Assessment, 33*(3), E1–E12. https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0000981

Ai, A. L., Aisenberg, E., Weiss, S. I., & Salazar, D. (2014). Racial/ethnic identity and subjective physical and mental health of latino americans: An asset within? *American Journal of Community Psychology, 53*(1), 173–184. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9635-5

Anderson, L. P. (1999). Parentification in the context of the African American family. In N. D. Chase (Ed.), *Burdened children: Theory, research, and treatment of parentification* (pp. 154–170). Sage Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452220604.n9

Athamneh, S., & Benjamin, O. (2019). Education as weapon: Poverty and school for Palestinian adolescent girls living in Israel. *Gender and Education, 33*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2019.1685655

Bandura, A., & Walters, R. H. (1963). *Social learning and personality development.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Barnett, B., & Parker, G. (1998). The parentified child: Early competence or childhood deprivation? *Child and Adolescent Mental Health, 3*(4), 146–155. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-3588.00234

Bohlander J. R. (1995). Differentiation of self: an examination of the concept. *Issues in mental health nursing*, *16*(2), 165–184. https://doi.org/10.3109/01612849509006932

Borchet, J. (2018, May 24-25). *Family socioeconomic status and overwhelming children with family duties* [Conference session]. The Polish Association of Organizational Psychology, Katowice, Poland.

Borchet, J., Hooper, L. M., Tomek, S., Schneider, W. S., & Dębski, M. (2022). Parentification in Polish adolescents: A prevalence study. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma, 15*(3), 567–583. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-021-00411-8

Boszormenyi-Nagy, I., & Spark, G. M. (1973). *Invisible loyalties: Reciprocity in intergenerational family therapy.* Harper & Row.

Boumans, N. P. G., & Dorant, E. (2018). A cross-sectional study on experiences of young adult carers compared to young adult noncarers: Parentification, coping and resilience. *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences, 32*(4), 1409–1417. https://doi.org/10.1111/scs.12586

Bowen, M. (1966). The use of family theory in clinical practice. *Comprehensive Psychiatry, 7*(5), 345-374. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0010-440X(66)80065-2

Bowen, M. (1978). *Family therapy in clinical practice.* Jason Aronson.

Bowlby, J. (1977). The making and breaking of affectional bonds: II. Some principles of psychotherapy: The fiftieth Maudsley Lecture (expanded version). *The British Journal of Psychiatry, 130*(5), 421–431. Cambridge Core. https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.130.5.421

Bowlby, J. (1982). Attachment and loss: Retrospect and prospect. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 52*(4), 664–678. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1982.tb01456.x

Boyd-Franklin, N. (1989). *Black families in therapy: A multisystems approach*. Guilford Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). Conceptual and design thinking for thematic analysis. *Qualitative Psychology, 9*(1), 3–26. https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000196

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist, 32*(7), 513–531. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.32.7.513

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives. *Developmental Psychology, 22*(6), 723-742. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.22.6.723

Bronfenbrenner, U. (2000). Ecological systems theory. *Encyclopedia of Psychology, 3*, 129–133. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1037/10518-046

Burchinal, M., Skinner, D., & Reznick, J. (2010). European American and African American mothers' beliefs about parenting and disciplining infants: A mixed-method analysis. *Parenting, 10,* 79–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/15295190903212604

Burton, L. (2007). Childhood adultification in economically disadvantaged families: A conceptual model. F*amily Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies, 56*(4), 329–345. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2007.00463.x

Burton, M., & Topham, D. (1997). Early loss experiences in psychotherapists, Church of England clergy, patients assessed for psychotherapy, and scientists and engineers. *Psychotherapy Research, 7*(3), 275–300. https://doi.org/10.1080/10503309712331332023

Byng-Hall, J. (2002). Relieving parentified children's burdens in families with insecure attachment patterns. *Family Process, 41*(3), 375–388. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2002.41307.x

Byng-Hall, J. (2008). The significance of children fulfilling parental roles: Implications for family therapy. *Journal of Family Therapy, 30*(2), 147–162. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6427.2008.00423.x

Callaghan, J. E. M., Alexander, J. H., Sixsmith, J., & Fellin, L. C. (2016). Children's experiences of domestic violence and abuse: Siblings' accounts of relational coping. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 21*(4), 649–668. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359104515620250

Carroll, J. J., & Robinson, B. E. (2000). Depression and parentification among adults as related to parental workaholism and alcoholism. *The Family Journal, 8*(4), 360-367. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480700084005

Carver, C. S. (1998). Resilience and thriving: Issues, models, and linkages. *Journal of Social Issues, 54*(2), 245–266. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1998.tb01217.x

Caspi, A., & Elder, G. H. (1988). Emergent family patterns: The intergenerational construction of problem behavior and relationships. *Relationships within families: Mutual influences*, 218-240.

Castro, F. G., Berkel, C., & Epstein, D. R. (2023). Cultural adaptations and cultural factors in EBI implementation with Latinx communities. *Frontiers in public health*, *11*, 1007328. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2023.1007328

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development, 65*(4), 1111-1119. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131308

Chase, N. (1999). *Burdened children: Theory, research, and treatment of parentification*. Sage Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452220604

Chase, N. D., Deming, M. P., & Wells, M. C. (1998). Parentification, parental alcoholism, and academic status among young adults. *The American Journal of Family Therapy, 26*(2), 105–114. https://doi.org/10.1080/01926189808251091

Checkley, D. (2021). *Refugee students' needs in high school: Relationships, pedagogy, and care* [Doctor's thesis, University of Lethbridge]. Retrieved from https://login.uleth.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/refugee-students-needs-high-school-relationships/docview/2504816000/se-2

Chee, L. P., Goh, E. C. L., & Kuczynski, L. (2014). Oversized loads: Child parentification in low-income families and underlying Parent–Child dynamics. *Families in Society, 95*(3), 204-212. https://doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.2014.95.26

Chen, F., Bao, L., Lin, Z., Zimmer, Z., Gultiano, S., & Borja, J. B. (2018). Double burden for women in mid- and later life: Evidence from time-use profiles in Cebu, the Philippines. *Ageing and Society, 38*(11), 2325–2355. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X17000599

Chen, C. Y. C., & Panebianco, A. (2019). Physical and psychological conditions of parental chronic illness, parentification and adolescent psychological adjustment. *Psychology & Health*, *35*(9), 1075–1094. https://doi.org/10.1080/08870446.2019.1699091

Cho, A., & Lee, S. (2019). Exploring effects of childhood parentification on adult-depressive symptoms in Korean college students. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 75*(4), 801–813. https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.22737

Claes, M., Lacourse, É., Pagé, M., Paquin, S., Lannegrand-Willems, L., Sabatier, C., Perchec, C., Palos, P. A., Vieno, A., & Ramirez Garcia, J. I. (2018). Parental control and conflicts in adolescence: A cross-national comparison of the United States, Canada, Mexico, France, and Italy. *Journal of Family Issues, 39*(16), 3857-3879. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X18800123

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2018). Using thematic analysis in counselling and psychotherapy research: A critical reflection. *Counselling & Psychotherapy Research, 18*(2), 107–110. https://doi.org/10.1002/capr.12165

Collins, S., & Arthur, N. (2010). Culture-infused counselling: A model for developing multicultural competence. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 23*(2), 217–233. https://doi.org/10.1080/09515071003798212

Conger, R. D., & Donnellan, M. B. (2007). An Interactionist Perspective on the Socioeconomic Context of Human Development. *Annual Review of Psychology, 58*, 175–199. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.58.110405.085551

Conger, R. D., Schofield, T. J., Neppl, T. K., & Merrick, M. T. (2013). Disrupting intergenerational continuity in harsh and abusive parenting: The importance of a nurturing relationship with a romantic partner. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 53*(4), S11-S17. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2013.03.014

Cozma, I. (2011). How are individualism and collectivism measured? *Romanian Journal of Applied Psychology, 13*(1), 11–17.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (Fifth ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Cuéllar, I., Arnold, B., & González, G. (1995). Cognitive referents of acculturation: Assessment of cultural constructs in Mexican americans. *Journal of Community Psychology, 23*(4), 339-356. https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6629(199510)23:4<339::AID-JCOP2290230406>3.0.CO;2-7

Dariotis, J. K., Chen, F. R., Park, Y. R., Nowak, M. K., French, K. M., & Codamon, A. M. (2023). Parentification vulnerability, reactivity, resilience, and thriving: A mixed methods systematic literature review. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *20*(13), 6197. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20136197

Delgado, V. (2020). Children of immigrants as "brokers" in an era of exclusion. *Sociology Compass, 14*(10), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12832

DiCaccavo, A. (2003). Investigating individuals' motivations to become counselling psychologists: The influence of early caretaking roles within the family. *Psychology and Psychotherapy, 75*, 463–472. https://doi.org/10.1348/147608302321151943

Doane, J. A., & Diamond, D. (1994). *Affect and attachment in the family: A family-based treatment of major psychiatric disorder*. Basic Books.

Earley, L., & Cushway, D. (2002). The parentified child. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 7*(2), 163-178. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359104502007002005

Emmen, R. A. G., Malda, M., Mesman, J., van IJzendoorn, M. H., Prevoo, M. J. L., & Yeniad, N. (2013). Socioeconomic status and parenting in ethnic minority families: Testing a minority family stress model. *Journal of Family Psychology, 27*(6), 896-904. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034693

Erdem, G., & Safi, O. A. (2018). The cultural lens approach to Bowen family systems theory: Contributions of family change theory. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 10*(2), 469–483. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12258

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: youth and crisis*. Norton & Co.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(1), 80-92. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107

Ferguson, T. (2022). Contributing factors of childhood parentification: An examination of familial characteristics. California State University. https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd/1410/

Franklin, J. H. (2007). *Black Families.* Safe Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452226026

Freud, A., Nagera, H., & Freud, W. E. (1965). Metapsychological assessment of the adult personality: The adult profile. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 20*(1), 9–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/00797308.1965.11823225

Fullinwider-Bush, N., & Jacobvitz, D. B. (1993). The transition to young adulthood: Generational boundary dissolution and female identity development. *Family Process, 32*(1), 87–103. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.1993.00087.x

Fussell, F. W., & Bonney, W. C. (1990). A comparative study of childhood experiences of psychotherapists and physicists: Implications for clinical practice. *Psychotherapy (Chicago, Ill.), 27*(4), 505–512. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-3204.27.4.505

Gaines, S. O., Marelich, W. D., Bledsoe, K. L., Steers, W. N., Henderson, M. C., Granrose, C. S., Barájas, L., Hicks, D., Lyde, M., Takahashi, Y., Yum, N., Ríos, D. I., García, B. F., Farris, K. R., & Page, M. S. (1997). Links between race/ethnicity and cultural values as mediated by racial/ethnic identity and moderated by gender. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72*(6), 1460–1476. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.72.6.1460

Garber, B. D. (2011). Parental alienation and the dynamics of the enmeshed parent–child dyad: Adultification, parentification, and infantilization. *Family Court Review, 49*(2), 322–335. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-1617.2011.01374.x

Gilford, T. T., & Reynolds, A. (2011). "My mother's keeper": The effects of parentification on Black female college students. *Journal of Black Psychology, 37(*1), 55–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798410372624

Godsall, R. E., Jurkovic, G. J., Emshoff, J., Anderson, L., & Stanwyck, D. (2004). Why some kids do well in bad situations: relation of parental alcohol misuse and parentification to children's self-concept. *Substance Use & Misuse, 39*(5), 789–809. https://doi.org/10.1081/JA-120034016

Goldner, L., Jakobi, C. D., Schorr, S., Dakak, S., & Shawahne, N. (2022). Keep it quiet: Mother–daughter parentification and difficulties in separation–individuation shaping daughters' authentic/true self and self-silencing: A mediation model. *Psychoanalytic Psychology, 39*(2), 165–174. https://doi.org/10.1037/pap0000352

Guo, X., Hao, C., Wang, W., & Li, Y. (2024). Parental burnout, negative parenting style, and adolescents' development. *Behavioral Sciences, 14*(3), 161. https://doi.org/10.3390/bs14030161

Hall, J. C. (2013). Resilience despite risk: Understanding African-American ACOAS' kin and fictive kin relationships. *In Handbook of Family Resilience* (pp. 481–494). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-3917-2_27

Hamermesh, D. S., & Slemrod, J. (2005). The economics of workaholism: We should not have worked on this paper. *Contributions in Economic Analysis & Policy, 8*(1), 1-29. https://doi.org/10.2202/1935-1682.1793

Harrison, A. O., Wilson, M. N., Pine, C. J., Chan, S. Q., & Buriel, R. (1990). Family ecologies of ethnic minority children. *Child Development, 61*(2), 347–362. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131097

Haxhe, S. (2016). Parentification and related processes: Distinction and implications for clinical practice. *Journal of Family Psychotherapy, 27*(3), 185–199. https://doi.org/10.1080/08975353.2016.1199768

Heinrichs, N., Rapee, R. M., Alden, L. A., Bögels, S., Hofmann, S. G., Ja Oh, K., & Sakano, Y. (2006). Cultural differences in perceived social norms and social anxiety. *Behaviour Research and Therapy, 44*(8), 1187–1197. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2005.09.006

Herbell, K., & Bloom, T. (2020). A qualitative metasynthesis of mothers' adverse childhood experiences and parenting practices. *Journal of Pediatric Health Care, 34*(5), 409-417. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pedhc.2020.03.003

Hesse, E., & Main, M. (1999). Second-generation effects of unresolved trauma in nonmaltreating parents: Dissociated, frightened, and threatening parental behavior. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry, 19*(4), 481–540. https://doi.org/10.1080/07351699909534265

Hetherington, E. M. (1999). Should we stay together for the sake of the children? I*n Coping with divorce, single parenting, and remarriage: A risk and resiliency perspective.* (pp. 93–116). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Hetherington, E. M., & Stanley-Hagan, M. (1999). The adjustment of children with divorced parents: A risk and resiliency perspective. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 40*(1), 129–140. https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-7610.00427

Hooper, L. (2007). Expanding the discussion regarding parentification and its varied outcomes: Implications for mental health research and practice. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 29*. https://doi.org/10.17744/mehc.29.4.48511m0tk22054j5

Hooper, L., Marotta-Walters, S., & Lanthier, R. (2008). Predictors of growth and distress following childhood parentification: A retrospective exploratory study. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 17*, 693–705. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-007-9184-8

Hooper, L. M., & Wallace, S. A. (2010). Evaluating the parentification questionnaire: Psychometric properties and psychopathology correlates. *Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal, 32*(1), 52–68. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10591-009-9103-9

Hooper, L. M., Doehler, K., Wallace, S. A., & Hannah, N. J. (2011). The parentification inventory: Development, validation, and cross-validation. The American Journal of Family Therapy, 39(3), 226-241. https://doi.org/10.1080/01926187.2010.531652

Hooper, L. M., & Doehler, K. (2012). Assessing family caregiving: A comparison of three retrospective parentification measures. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 38*(4), 653-666. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1752-0606.2011.00258.x

Hooper, L. M. (2014). Assessing parentification in South American college students: A factor analytic study of a Spanish version of the Parentification Inventory. *Journal of*

*Multicultural Counseling and Development, 42(*2), 93–106. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2014.00047.x

Hooper, L. M., Tomek, S., Bond, J. M., & Reif, M. S. (2015). Race/ethnicity, gender, parentification, and psychological functioning: Comparisons among a nationwide university sample. *The Family Journal, 23*(1), 33–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480714547187

Horne, R., Johnson, M., Galambos, N., & Krahn, H. (2018). Time, money, or gender? Predictors of the division of household labour across life stages. *Sex Roles, 78,* 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0832-1

Hu, Y. (2018). Patriarchal hierarchy? Gender, children's housework time, and family structure in post-reform China. *Chinese Sociological Review, 50*(3), 310–338. https://doi.org/10.1080/21620555.2018.1430508

Hyjer Dyk, P. (2014). The challenges of transmitting family values in multi-cultural contexts. Wychowanie w Rodzinie, IX(1/2014), 149-158. https://open.icm.edu.pl/handle/123456789/23878

Jacobvitz, D., Riggs, S., & Johnson, E. (1999). Cross-sex and same-sex family alliances: Immediate and long-term effects on sons and daughters. *In Burdened children: Theory, research, and treatment of parentification.* (pp. 34–55). Sage Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452220604.n2

Jacobvitz, D., Hazen, N., Curran, M., & Hitchens, K. (2004). Observations of early triadic family interactions: Boundary disturbances in the family predict symptoms of depression, anxiety, and attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder in middle childhood. *Development and Psychopathology, 16,* 577–592. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579404004675

Jankowski, P. J., Hooper, L. M., Sandage, S. J., & Hannah, N. J. (2013). Parentification and mental health symptoms: mediator effects of perceived unfairness and differentiation of self. *Journal of Family Therapy*, *35*(1), 43-65. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6427.2011.00574.x

Jones, C. J., & Trickett, E. J. (2005). Immigrant adolescents behaving as culture brokers: a study of families from the former Soviet Union. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 145*(4), 405–427. https://doi.org/10.3200/SOCP.145.4.405-428

Jones, R. A., & Wells, M. (1996). An empirical study of parentification and personality. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 24*(2), 145–152. https://doi.org/10.1080/01926189608251027

Johnson, B. E., & Ray, W. A. (2016). Family Systems Theory. In S. Smith (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Family Studies* (Issue Vol.2, pp. 782–787). Wiley-Blackwell Publishing. https://doi-org.uleth.idm.oclc.org/10.1002/9781119085621.wbefs130.

Judd, P. H., & McGlashan, T. H. (2003). *A developmental model of borderline personality disorder: Understanding variations in course and outcome*. American Psychiatric Publishing, Inc.

Jurkovic, G. J., Jessee, E. H., & Goglia, L. R. (1991). Treatment of parental children and their families: Conceptual and technical issues. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 19*, 302–314.

Jurkovic, G. J. (1997). *Lost childhoods: The plight of the parentified child.* Brunner/Mazel.

Jurkovic, G. J., & Thirkield, A. (1998). *Parentification Questionnaire*. (Available from Dr. Gregory Jurkovic, Department of Psychology, Georgia State University).

Jurkovic, G. J., Thirkield, A., & Morrell, R. (2001). Parentification of adult children of divorce: A multidimensional analysis. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 30*(2), 245–257. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010349925974

Keefe, S. E., Padilla, A. M., & Carlos, M., L. (1978). The Mexican American extended family as an emotional support system. *Human Organization, 38*(2), 144-152. https://doi.org/10.17730/humo.38.2.575482483n134553

Kelley, M. L., French, A., Bountress, K., Keefe, H. A., Schroeder, V., Steer, K., Fals-Stewart, W., & Gumienny, L. (2007). Parentification and family responsibility in the family of origin of adult children of alcoholics. *Addictive Behaviors, 32*(4), 675–685. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2006.06.010

Keown, L.A. (2008). Time escapes me: Workaholics and time perception. Canadian Social Trends, 11, 28-32. Statistics Canada https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-008-x/2007001/pdf/9629-eng.pdf

Kerig, P. K. (2005). Revisiting the construct of boundary dissolution. *Journal of Emotional Abuse, 5*(2–3), 5–42. https://doi.org/10.1300/J135v05n02_02

Khafi, T. Y., Yates, T. M., & Luthar, S. S. (2014). Ethnic differences in the developmental significance of parentification. *Family Process, 53*(2), 267–287. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12072

Kim, S. Y., Song, J., Wen, W., Yan, J., Tse, H. W., Chen, S., López, B. G., Shen, Y., & Hou, Y. (2024). Language brokering profiles of Mexican-origin adolescents in immigrant communities: Social-cultural contributors and developmental outcomes. *Child Development, 95*(4), 1237-1253. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.14078

Kosner, A., Roer-Strier, D., & Kurman, J. (2014). Changing familial roles for immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union to Israel. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 29*(3), 356–379. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558413508202

Kotlaja, M. M. (2020). Cultural contexts of individualism vs. collectivism: Exploring the relationships between family bonding, supervision and deviance. *European Journal of Criminology, 17*(3), 288-305. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370818792482

Koydemir, S., & Essau, C. A. (2018). Anxiety and anxiety disorders in young people. *In Understanding Uniqueness and Diversity in Child and Adolescent Mental Health* (pp. 115–134). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-815310-9.00005-8

Kuperminc, G. P., Jurkovic, G. J., & Casey, S. (2009). Relation of filial responsibility to the personal and social adjustment of Latino adolescents from immigrant families. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(1), 14–22. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014064

Lansford, J., Zietz, S., Al-Hassan, S., Bacchini, D., Bornstein, M., Chang, L., Deater-Deckard, K., Di Giunta, L., Dodge, K., Gurdal, S., Liu, Q., Long, Q., Oburu, P., Pastorelli, C., Skinner, A., Sorbring, E., Tapanya, S., Steinberg, L., Uribe Tirado, L., Yotanyamaneewong, S., Peña Alampay, L. (2021). Culture and social change in mothers' and fathers' individualism, collectivism and parenting attitudes. *Social Sciences, 10*(12), 459. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10120459

Lansford, J. E. (2024). Cultural values, parenting and child adjustment: Introduction to the special issue. *International Journal of Psychology, 59*(4), 505-511. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.13121

Lazarevic, V. (2017). Effects of cultural brokering on individual wellbeing and family dynamics among immigrant youth. *Journal of Adolescence, 55*, 77–87. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2016.12.010

Loiselle, R., Parent, J., Georgeson, A. R., Thissen, D., Jones, D. J., & Forehand, R. (2021). Validation of the Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting: An Application of item response theory. *Psychological Assessment, 33*(9), 803–815. https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0001019

Madden, A. R., & Shaffer, A. (2016). The relation between parentification and dating communication: The role of romantic attachment-related cognitions. *The Family Journal, 24*(3), 313–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480716648682

Mahler, M. S., & Rabinovitch, R. (1956). The effects of marital conflict on child development. I*n Neurotic interaction in marriage* (pp. 44–56). Basic Books.

Masiran, R., Ibrahim, N., Awang, H., & Lim, P. Y. (2023). The positive and negative aspects of parentification: An integrated review. *Children and Youth Services Review, 144*, 106709. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2022.106709

Matthews, S. H., & Heidorn, J. (1998). Meeting filial responsibilities in brothers-only sibling groups. *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 53B*(5), S278–S286. https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/53B.5.S278

McGauran, A., Brooks, M., & Khan, R. (2019). The role of emotional resilience, childhood parentification, and attachment style on antisocial behavior in adulthood: A comparison of an offender and normative population. *Journal of Criminal Psychology*, *9*. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCP-08-2018-0035

McMahon, T. J., & Luthar, S. S. (2007). Defining characteristics and potential consequences of caretaking burden among children living in urban poverty. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 77*(2), 267–281. https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.77.2.267

Mika, P., Bergner, R. M., & Baum, M. C. (1987). The development of a scale for the assessment of parentification. *Family Therapy, 14*(3), 229–235.

Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families & family therapy.* Harvard U. Press.

Morris, B. A., Shakespeare-Finch, J., Rieck, M., & Newbery, J. (2005). Multidimensional nature of posttraumatic growth in an australian population. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 18*(5), 575-585. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20067

National Cancer Institute. (n.d.). *Recall bias*. In *NCI dictionary of cancer terms*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Institutes of Health. Retrieved from https://www.cancer.gov/publications/dictionaries/cancer-terms/def/recall-bias

Nederhof, A. J. (1985). Methods of coping with social desirability bias: A review. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 15*(3), 263-280. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420150303

Neppl, T. K., Conger, R. D., Scaramella, L. V., & Ontai, L. L. (2009). Intergenerational continuity in parenting behavior: Mediating pathways and child effects. *Developmental Psychology, 45*(5), 1241-1256. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014850

Nuttall, A. K., Valentino, K., Wang, L., Lefever, J. B., & Borkowski, J. G. (2015). Maternal history of parentification and warm responsiveness: The mediating role of knowledge of infant development. *Journal of Family Psychology, 29*(6), 863–872. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000112

Nuttall, A. K., Zhang, Q., Valentino, K., & Borkowski, J. G. (2019). Intergenerational risk of parentification and infantilization to externalizing moderated by child temperament. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 81*(3), 648–661. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12562

Nuttall, A. K., Ballinger, A. L., Levendosky, A. A., & Borkowski, J. G. (2021). Maternal parentification history impacts evaluative cognitions about self, parenting, and child. *Infant Mental Health Journal, 42*(3), 315–330. https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.21912

Osbourne, J. W., & Waters, E. (2002). Four assumptions of multiple regression that researchers should always test. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation, 8*(2), 1-5. https://doi.org/10.7275/r222-hv23

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*(1), 3-72. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.128.1.3

Oznobishin, O., & Kurman, J. (2009). Parent–child role reversal and psychological adjustment among immigrant youth in Israel. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(3), 405–415. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015811

Oznobishin, O., & Kurman, J. (2018). Parenting immigrant parents: Role reversal, language brokering, and psychological adjustment among immigrant adolescents in Israel. In S. S. Chuang, & C. L. Costigan (Eds.), *Parental roles and relationships in immigrant families* (pp. 233-251). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71399-1_13

Paat, Y. (2013). Working with immigrant children and their families: An application of bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 23*(8), 954-966. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2013.800007

Parent, J., & Forehand, R. (2017). The Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale (MAPS): Development and psychometric properties. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 26*(8), 2136–2151. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0741-5

Peek, C. J., & Trezona, P. (1984). *The caretaker syndrome: A matter of status and eligibility.* In Sixth Annual Conference of the Society of Descriptive Psychology, Boulder, CO.

Pembrey, M., Saffery, R., Bygren, L. O., & Network in Epigenetic Epidemiology. (2014). Human transgenerational responses to early-life experience: Potential impact on development, health and biomedical research. *Journal of Medical Genetics, 51*(9), 563. https://doi.org/10.1136/jmedgenet-2014-102577

Peris, T. S., & Emery, R. E. (2005). Redefining the parent-child relationship following divorce: Examining the risk for boundary dissolution. *Journal of Emotional Abuse, 5(*4), 169–189. https://doi.org/10.1300/J135v05n04_01

Proudfoot, K. (2023). Inductive/Deductive hybrid thematic analysis in mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 17*(3), 308-326. https://doi.org/10.1177/15586898221126816

Ragelienė, T. (2016). Links of adolescents identity development and relationship with peers: a systematic literature review. *Journal of the Canadian Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 25*(2), 97–105.

Robinson, B. E. (1998). *Chained to the desk: A guidebook for workaholics, their partners and children, and the clinicians who treat them.* NewYork: New York University Press.

Rudy, D., & Halgunseth, L. (2005). Psychological control, maternal emotion and cognition, and child outcomes in individualist and collectivist groups. *Journal of Emotional Abuse, 5,* 237–264. https://doi.org/10.1300/J135v05n04_04

Sabatier, C., & Lannegrand-Willems, L. (2005). Transmission of family values and attachment: A french three-generation study. *Applied Psychology, 54*(3), 378-395. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2005.00216.x

Schier, K., Herke, M., Nickel, R., Egle, U. T., & Hardt, J. (2015). Long-term sequelae of emotional parentification: A cross-validation study using sequences of regressions. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *24*(5), 1307-1321. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-014-9938-z

Schmideberg, M. (1948). Parents as children. *Psychiatric Quaterly Supplement*, 207–218.

Sessions, M. W., & Jurkovic, G. J. (1986). *The Parentification Questionnaire*. Available from Dr. Gregory Jurkovic, Department of Psychology, Georgia State University.

Singelis, T. M., Triandis, H. C., Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Gelfand, M. J. (1995). Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research, 29*(3), 240-275. https://doi.org/10.1177/106939719502900302

Siskowski, C. (2006). Young caregivers: Effect of family health situations on school performance. *The Journal of School Nursing: The Official Publicaiton of the National Association of School Nurses, 22*(3), 163-169. https://doi-org.uleth.idm.oclc.org/10.1177/10598405060220030701.

Stephenson, T. C. (2007). *Towards a theory of subjective meaning*

Tedeschi, R. G., & Calhoun, L. G. (2004). Posttraumatic growth: Conceptual foundations and empirical evidence. *Psychological Inquiry, 15*(1), 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327965pli1501_01

Tedgård, E., Råstam, M., & Wirtberg, I. (2019). An upbringing with substance-abusing parents: Experiences of parentification and dysfunctional communication. *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs, 36(*3), 223–247. https://doi.org/10.1177/1455072518814308

Telzer, E. H., & Fuligni, A. J. (2009). Daily family assistance and the psychological well-being of adolescents from latin american, asian, and european backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology, 45*(4), 1177-1189. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014728

Teng, J. C. C., Hilario, A. D. F., Sauler, L. M. A., & Arcinas, M. M. (2021). Parentification experiences of Filipino young professional daughters during the COVID- 19 pandemic. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Studies, 3*(4), 19-32. https://doi.org/10.32996/jhsss.2021.3.4.3

Titzmann, P. F. (2012). Growing up too soon? Parentification among immigrant and native adolescents in Germany. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 41*(7), 880–893. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-011-9711-1

Toller, P. W., Suter, E. A., & Trautman, T. C. (2004). Gender role identity and attitudes toward feminism. *Sex Roles, 51*(1), 85–90. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000032316.71165.45

Tompkins, T. L. (2007). Parentification and maternal HIV infection: Beneficial role or pathological burden? *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 16*(1), 108–118. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-006-9072-7

Triandis, H. C., Malpass, R. S., & Davidson, A. R. (1973). Psychology and culture. *Annual Review of Psychology, 24*(1), 355-378. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.24.020173.002035

Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., & Hui, C. H. (1990). Multimethod probes of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(5), 1006–1020. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.59.5.1006

Triandis, H. C. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. A*merican Psychologist, 51*, 407–415. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.51.4.407

Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(1), 118–128. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.1.118

Ullah, S., Gul, D. A., & Naz, D. A. (2021). The implication of patriarchy and gender roles socialization on the socioeconomic status of women, in district dir upper. *Pakistan Journal of Society, Education and Language (PJSEL), 7*(1), 395–405.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). Gender roles and settlement activities among children and their immigrant families. *The American Behavioral Scientist (Beverly Hills), 42(*4), 720–742. https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642990042004009

Van Parys, H., Bonnewyn, A., Hooghe, A., De Mol, J., & Rober, P. (2015). Toward understanding the child's experience in the process of parentification: Young adults' reflections on growing up with a depressed parent. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 41*(4), 522–536. https://doi.org/10.1111/jmft.12087

Weisskirch, R. S. (2005). The relationship of language brokering to ethnic identity for Latino early adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27*(3), 286–299. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986305277931

Wells, M., Glickauf-Hughes, C., & Jones, R. (1999). Codependency: A grass roots construct's relationship to shame-proneness, low self-esteem, and childhood parentification. *The*

American journal of family therapy, *27*(1), 63-71. https://doi.org/10.1080/019261899262104

Wikle, J. S., Jensen, A. C., & Hoagland, A. M. (2018). Adolescent caretaking of younger siblings. *Social Science Research, 71*, 72–84. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2017.12.007

Witte, T. H., & Sherman, M. F. (2002). Silencing the self and feminist identity development. *Psychological Reports, 90*(3_suppl), 1075–1083. https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.2002.90.3c.1075

Woods-Jaeger, B. A., Cho, B., Sexton, C. C., Slagel, L., & Goggin, K. (2018). Promoting resilience: Breaking the intergenerational cycle of adverse childhood experiences. *Health Education & Behavior, 45*(5), 772-780. https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198117752785

Yew, W. P., Siau, C. S., & Kwong, S. F. (2017). Parentification and resilience among students with clinical and nonclinical aspirations: A cross-sectional quantitative study. J*ournal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 45*(1), 66–75. https://doi.org/10.1002/jmcd.12063

Yohani, S., Brosinsky, L., & Kirova, A. (2019). Syrian refugee families with young children: An examination of strengths and challenges during early resettlement. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education, 1*4(1). https://doi.org/10.20355/jcie29356

Zelizer, V. A. R. (1985). *Pricing the priceless child: The changing social value of children*. Basic Books.

Appendix A

Demographic Survey

Please answer each question as accurately as possible.

1. What is your age?
    - o Prefer not to answer
    - o 18-24 years old
    - o 25-34 years old
    - o 35-44 years old
    - o 45-54 years old
    - o 55-64 years old
    - o 65-74 years old
    - o 75 or older
2. What biological sex were you assigned at birth, on your original birth certificate?
    - o Male
    - o Female
    - o Intersex
    - o Prefer not to answer
3. How do you self-identify in terms of gender?
    - o Man
    - o Woman
    - o Non-binary / third gender
    - o Two-spirit
    - o Transgender
    - o If other, please indicate self-identification term
    - o Prefer not to answer
4. How do you identify your race/ethnicity? Please select all that apply.
    - o Alaskan Native
    - o Inuit
    - o Métis
    - o Other Aboriginal or Indigenous
    - o White (Caucasian)
    - o Other European origins
    - o Black/African American/African Canadian
    - o Caribbean origins (e.g., Jamaican, St-Lucian)
    - o Latin, Central and South American origins
    - o African origins (e.g., Nigerian, Ethiopian)
    - o West Central Asian and Middle Eastern origins (e.g., Turkish, Iranian)
    - o South Asian origins (e.g., Indian, Sri Lankan)
    - o East and Southeast Asian origins (e.g., Chinese, Filipino) Other Asian origins
    - o Oceania origins (e.g., Hawaiian, Samoan)

- Other
- Prefer not to answer

5. In which city and country were you born?
6. In which city and country do you currently live?
7. What is/was the race/ethnicity of your primary caregiver(s)? Please select all that apply.
    - Alaskan Native
    - Inuit
    - Métis
    - Other Aboriginal or Indigenous
    - White (Caucasian)
    - Other European origins
    - Black/African American/African Canadian
    - Caribbean origins (e.g., Jamaican, St-Lucian)
    - Latin, Central and South American origins
    - African origins (e.g., Nigerian, Ethiopian)
    - West Central Asian and Middle Eastern origins (e.g., Turkish, Iranian)
    - South Asian origins (e.g., Indian, Sri Lankan)
    - East and Southeast Asian origins (e.g., Chinese, Filipino) Other Asian origins
    - Oceania origins (e.g., Hawaiian, Samoan)
    - Other
    - Prefer not to answer
8. Which primary caregiver(s) did you live with growing up?
    - Both parents/primary caregivers
    - Only mother/female primary caregiver
    - Only father/male primary caregiver
    - Neither (please specify)
    - Other (please specify)
    - Prefer not to answer
9. How many siblings did you grow up with (not including yourself)?
    - 1
    - 2
    - 3
    - 4
    - More than 4
    - Prefer not to answer
10. What is your birth order?
    - Oldest child
    - Middle child
    - Youngest child
    - Only child
    - Prefer not to answer
11. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
    - Less than high school degree
    - High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)
    - Some college but no degree

- Associate degree in college (2-year)
- Bachelor's degree in college (4-year)
- Master's degree
- Doctoral degree
- Professional degree (JD, MD)
- Prefer not to answer

12. How would you describe your current relationship status?
    - Single and/or dating
    - Married
    - Separated
    - Divorced
    - Committed relationship
    - Common-law
    - My relationship status is not listed here
    - Prefer not to answer
13. Which of the following best describes your household financial situation when you were growing up?
    - Struggling to meet basic needs (e.g., food, housing, utilities).
    - Just meeting basic needs, with little or no extra for savings or non-essentials.
    - Comfortable meeting basic needs, with some extra for savings or occasional non-essentials.
    - Able to meet needs and save or spend on non-essentials without difficulty.
    - Financially well-off, with significant savings and discretionary income.
    - Other:
    - Prefer not to answer
14. Which of the following best describes your current household financial situation?
    - Struggling to meet basic needs (e.g., food, housing, utilities).
    - Just meeting basic needs, with little or no extra for savings or non-essentials.
    - Comfortable meeting basic needs, with some extra for savings or occasional non-essentials.
    - Able to meet needs and save or spend on non-essentials without difficulty.
    - Financially well-off, with significant savings and discretionary income.
    - Other:
    - Prefer not to answer
15. How many children are you a primary caregiver for?
    - None
    - 1
    - 2
    - 3
    - 4
    - More than 4
    - Prefer not to answer
16. Please indicate the age range of all the children you are a primary caregiver for.

Appendix B

Multidimensional Assessment of Parenting Scale (MAPS)

Instructions:

Parents have different ways of trying to raise their children. Please read each statement and rate how much each one best describes your parenting during the **past two months**.	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
1. I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding my child.	1	2	3	4	5
2. If my child whines or complains when I take away a privilege, I will give it back.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am afraid that disciplining my child for misbehavior will cause her/him to not like me.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I argue with my child.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I use threats as punishment with little or no justification.	1	2	3	4	5
6. The punishment I give my child depends on my mood.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I have warm and intimate times together with my child.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I yell or shout when my child misbehaves.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My child talks me out of punishing him/her after he/she has done something wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I show respect for my child's opinions by encouraging him/her to express them.	1	2	3	4	5
11. If my child does his/her chores, I will recognize his/her behavior in some manner.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I let my child out of a punishment early (like lift restrictions earlier than I originally said).	1	2	3	4	5
13. I explode in anger toward my child.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I spank my child with my hand when he/she has done something wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I give reasons for my requests (such as "We must leave in five minutes, so it's time to clean up.").	1	2	3	4	5
	Never	**Almost Never**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Always**

16. I lose my temper when my child doesn't do something I ask him/her to do.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I encourage my child to talk about her/his troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
18. If I give my child a request and she/he carries out the request, I praise her/him for listening and complying.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I warn my child before a change of activity is required (such as a five-minute warning before leaving the house in the morning).	1	2	3	4	5
20. If my child gets upset when I say "No," I back down and give in to her/him.	1	2	3	4	5
21. My child and I hug and/or kiss each other.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I listen to my child's ideas and opinions.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I feel that getting my child to obey is more trouble than it's worth.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I spank my child when I am extremely angry.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I use physical punishment as a way of disciplining my child.	1	2	3	4	5
26. If my child cleans his room, I will tell him/her how proud I am.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I give in to my child when she/he causes a commotion about something.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I tell my child my expectations regarding behavior before my child engages in an activity.	1	2	3	4	5
29. When I am upset or under stress, I am picky and on my child's back.	1	2	3	4	5
30. I tell my child that I like it when he/she helps out around the house.	1	2	3	4	5
31. I use physical punishment (for example, spanking) to discipline my child because other things I have tried have not worked.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I provide my child with a brief explanation when I discipline his/her misbehavior.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I avoid struggles with my child by giving clear choices.	1	2	3	4	5
34. When my child misbehaves, I let him know what will happen if she/he doesn't behave.	1	2	3	4	5

(Parent & Forehand, 2017)

Appendix C

Parentification Questionnaire (PQ)

The following statements are possible descriptions of experiences you may have had while growing up. If a statement accurately describes some portion of your childhood experience, that is, the time during which you lived at home with your family (including your teenage years), mark the statement true on your answer sheet. If the statement does not accurately describe your experience, mark it false. (Sessions & Jurkovic, 1986).

1. I rarely found it necessary to do other family members5 chores.
2. At times I felt I was the only one my mother/father could turn to.
3. Members of my family hardly ever looked to me for advice.
4. In my family I often felt called upon to do more than my share.
5. I often felt like an outsider in my family.
6. I felt most valuable in my family when someone confided m me.
7. It seemed as though there were enough problems at home without my causing more.
8. In my family I thought it best to let people work out their problems on their own.
9. I often silently resented being asked to do certain kinds of jobs.
10. In my family it seemed that I was usually the one who ended up being responsible for most of what happened.
11. In my mind, the welfare of my family was my first priority.
12. If someone in my family had a problem, I was rarely the one they could turn to for help.
13. I was frequently responsible for the physical care of some member of my family, i.e., washing, feeding, dressing, etc.
14. My family was not the kind in which people took sides.
15. It often seemed that my feelings weren't taken into account in my family.
16. I often found myself feeling down for no particular reason that I could think of.
17. In my family there were certain family members I could handle better than anyone else.
18. I often preferred the company of people older than me.
19. I hardly ever felt let down by members of my family.
20. I hardly ever got involved in conflicts between my parents.
21. I usually felt comfortable telling family members how I felt.
22. I rarely worried about people in my family.
23. As a child I was often described as mature for my age.
24. In my family I often felt like a referee.
25. In my family I initiated most recreational activities.
26. It seemed as though family members were always bringing me their problems.
27. My parents had enough to do without worrying about housework as well.
28. In my family I often made sacrifices that went unnoticed by other family members.
29. My parents were very helpful when I had a problem.
30. If a member of my family was upset, I would almost always become involved in some way.

31. I could usually manage to avoid doing housework.
32. I believe that most people understood me pretty well, particularly members of my family.
33. As a child, I wanted to make everyone in my family happy.
34. My parents rarely disagreed on anything important.
35. I often felt more like an adult than a child in my family.
36. I was more likely to spend time with friends than with family members.
37. Members of my family rarely needed me to take care of them.
38. I was very uncomfortable when things weren't going well at home.
39. All things considered, responsibilities were shared equally in my family.
40. In my house I hardly ever did the cooking.
41. I was very active in the management of my family's financial affairs.
42. I was at my best in times of crisis

Appendix D

Individualism and Collectivism Scale

This 16-item questionnaire is designed to measure the dimensions of collectivism and individualism. All items are listed on a 9-point scale, ranging from 1 = *never or definitely no* to 9 = *always or definitely yes*. Please answer as accurately as possible.

1. I'd rather depend on myself than others.
2. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others.
3. I often do "my own thing."
4. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.
5. It is important that I do my job better than others.
6. Winning is everything.
7. Competition is the law of nature.
8. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused
9. If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud.
10. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.
11. To me, pleasure is spending time with others.
12. I feel good when I cooperate with others.
13. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible.
14. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want.
15. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required.
16. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups.

(Triandis & Gelfand, 1998)

Appendix E

Research Ethics Board Letter of Approval

Notification of Approval

Date:	January 14, 2025
Study ID:	Pro00143241
Principal Investigator:	Mirele Koumary
Study Supervisor:	Lisa Starr
Study Title:	Examining the Relationship Between Childhood Parentification, Cultural Orientation, and Parenting Behaviours in Female Primary Caregivers
Approval Expiry Date:	January 13, 2026

Thank you for submitting the above study to the Research Ethics Board 2. Your application has been reviewed and approved on behalf of the committee.

Approved Documents:

Recruitment Materials

Recruitment Poster .docx

Consent Forms

Letter of Implied Consent.docx

Questionnaires, Cover Letters, Surveys, Tests, Interview Scripts, etc.

Lived-Experiences Questions

Demographic Survey

Shortened Individualism and Collectivism Scale

Multidimensional Assessment Parenting Scale (MAPS)

Parentification Questionnaire

Other Documents

Debriefing Form

Any proposed changes to the study must be submitted to the REB for approval prior to implementation. A renewal report must be submitted next year prior to the expiry of this approval if your study still requires ethics approval. If you do not renew on or before the renewal expiry date, you will have to re-submit an ethics application.

Approval by the REB does not constitute authorization to initiate the conduct of this research. The Principal Investigator is responsible for ensuring required approvals from other involved organizations (e.g., University of Lethbridge, community organizations, school boards) are obtained, before the research begins.

Sincerely,

Carol Boliek, PhD
Associate Chair, Research Ethics Board 2

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system).

Appendix F

Social Media and Flyer Advertisement

Hello!
As part of my master's Thesis in Counselling Psychology, I am looking for volunteers to participate in a research study investigating childhood parentification, cultural orientation, and current parenting behaviours in female primary caregivers. Participating in this study includes completing an anonymous online survey that will take approximately 30 minutes. I am looking for cis-gendered women who are caregivers to children aged 6-17 years old, living in Canada or the United States. All ages, ethnicities, socioeconomic and relationship statuses, are welcome.

If you or anyone you know might be interested in completing the survey, please feel free to share this post with the link to the survey attached. Participating in this study is voluntary; all data will remain anonymous with no identifying information.

To participate in the study and complete the survey, please click here.

Thank you!

Ethics ID: Pro00143241

As part of my master's Thesis in Counselling Psychology, I am looking for volunteers to participate in a research study investigating childhood parentification, cultural orientation, and current parenting behaviours in female primary caregivers. Participating in this study includes completing an anonymous online survey that will take approximately 30-45 minutes. I am looking for cis-gendered women who are primary caregivers to children aged 6-17 years old, living in Canada or the United States. All ethnicities, socioeconomic and relationship statuses, are welcome.
If you or anyone you know might be interested in completing the survey, please feel free to share this post with the link to the survey attached. Participating in this study is voluntary; all data will remain anonymous with no identifying information.

TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY AND COMPLETE THE SURVEY, PLEASE SCAN THE QR CODE

Appendix G

Letter of Implied Consent

Title of the Study: Examining the Relationship Between Childhood Parentification, Cultural Orientation, and Parenting Behaviours in Female Primary Caregivers (Ethics ID: Pro00143241)

Principal Investigator: Mirele J. Koumary
Graduate Student
Faculty of Education, Counselling Psychology
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB
m.koumary@uleth.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Lisa Starr
Dean and Professor
Faculty of Education
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB
lisa.starr@uleth.ca

Invitation to Participate: You are invited to participate in this research study about the influence of childhood parentification and cultural orientation on current parenting behaviours in female primary caregivers. Parentification occurs when children take on roles and responsibilities within their family that are typically reserved for adults, such as providing emotional or physical care.

Purpose of the Study: From this research, we wish to learn how female primary caregivers' history of parentification in childhood and their cultural orientation may impact their parenting behaviours now. Additionally, we are seeking to have a greater understanding of the subjective experiences by providing the opportunity to share your perspectives using your own words.

Participation: If you wish to participate in this study, please complete the attached survey. The survey should take you approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Once you have completed the survey, please click on the "submit" button to submit the survey.

Benefits: The benefits of the current study include the potential to provide critical information that is needed to better understand intergenerational transmission of parentification, how it impacts individuals once they become parents, and whether these outcomes are moderated by one's cultural orientation. You will also be given the opportunity to share your perspective and personal experiences through open-ended questions in your own words. This research may provide an opportunity for greater awareness and understanding into these aspects of your lives.

Risks: The study is interested in investigating female primary caregivers' level of parentification in childhood, cultural orientation, and current parenting behaviour, therefore, it is possible that

you experience may experience mild psychological distress or discomfort. You will be provided a list of available resources to access mental health support in the event that you experience emotional distress and wish to access these resources following the completion of the survey.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: The information that you will share will remain strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purposes of this research. The data can only be accessed, viewed, and analyzed in private or in secure locations by the principal investigator (Mirele Koumary) or the principal investigator's supervisor (Dr. Lisa Starr). Your answers to open-ended questions may be used verbatim in presentations and publications but neither you (nor your organization) will be identified. As this survey is completed online, in order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure your confidentiality we recommend that you use standard safety measures such as signing out of your account, closing your browser and locking your screen or device when you are no longer using them and/or when you have completed the study. Results will be published in pooled aggregate format and anonymity is guaranteed since you are not being asked to provide your name or any identifying information.

Data Storage: Electronic copies of the survey data will be stored in a password-protected, secure and encrypted folder on the computer of the principal investigator (Mirele Koumary). Once data is no longer needed for the purposes of this research, the folder housing the data will be erased and deleted from the computer of the principal investigator.

Compensation/Reimbursement: There will be no compensation or reimbursement for this study.

Voluntary Participation: You are under no obligation to participate and if you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions that you do not want to answer. Should you choose to withdraw midway through the electronic survey simply close the link and no responses will be included. Given the anonymous nature of the survey once you have submitted your responses it will no longer be possible to withdraw them from the study.

Information about the Study Results: If you are interested in obtaining information about the study's results, you may contact me via email (m.koumary@uleth.ca)

Contact Information: If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you may contact the researcher (m.koumary@uleth.ca) or the supervisor (lisa.starr@uleth.ca)

The plan for this study has been reviewed by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant or how the research is being conducted, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615.

Please print, or download, a copy of this for your own records.

Completion and submission of the survey means your consent to participate. Ethics ID: Pro00143241.

Appendix H

Debriefing Form

Thank you for your participation in our study! Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Purpose of the Study:

We previously informed you that the study aimed to investigate the intergenerational transmission of parentification. Our research aims to discover if cultural orientations influence the level of childhood parentification if parentification influences current parenting behaviours, and if cultural orientation mediates the relationship between the history of parentification in female primary caregivers and their parenting behaviours. For this study, it was important that the potential relationship between childhood parentification and parenting behaviours be withheld so as not to bias your responses. Now that your participation is completed, and you know the full purpose of the study, you will have the opportunity to decide whether you would like to have your data included in this study or removed from it.

Your Right to Withdraw Data:

Now that you know the true purpose of this research study, you may decide whether you want to have your data removed from this study or not. If you choose to have your data removed, please select "Withdraw Data" from the bottom of this form. You will have no penalties or negative consequences if you withdraw from this study.

We realize that some questions may have provoked strong emotional reactions. As researchers, we do not provide mental health services and will not follow up with you after the study. However, we want to provide every participant in this study with a comprehensive and accurate list of available clinical resources should you decide you need assistance at any time. Please see information on local resources at the end of this form.

Confidentiality:

Please do not disclose research procedures and/or hypotheses to anyone who might participate in this study in the future, as this could affect the study results.

Final Report:

If you would like to receive a copy of the final report of this study (or a summary of the findings) when it is completed, please feel free to contact us.

Useful Contact Information:

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, its purpose or procedures, or if you have a research-related problem, please feel free to contact the researcher, Mirele Koumary at m.koumary@uleth.ca

If you feel upset after completing the study or find that some questions or aspects of the study triggered distress, talking with a qualified clinician may help. Please see below for mental health resources in both Canada and the United States:

Canada

- Suicide Crisis Helpline: call or text 9-8-8, available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
- Canadian Crisis Hotline: call 1-888-353-2273.
- Wellness Together Canada: call 1-866-585-0445 or text "WELLNESS" to 741741.

The United States

- Mental Health Emergency Hotline: call or text 9-8-8, available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
- National Suicide Prevention Lifeline: call 1-800-273-TALK (8255).
- Mental Health America: call 1-800-985-5990 or text "TalkWithUs" to 66746

Please keep a copy of this form for your future reference. Once again, thank you for your participation in this study!

Ethics ID: Pro00143241