

어머니의 감독과 부모가 정한 규칙에 대한 준수의무감에 따른 청소년의 음주 및 타인 소유물 파손 행동

Differential Relationship between Maternal Monitoring and Adolescent Drinking and
Vandalism as a Function of Adolescents' Parental Rule Obedience

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine whether adolescents' parental rule obedience moderates the relationship between maternal monitoring and problem behavior (drinking and vandalism). Participants were 398 adolescents attending a middle school (6th through 8th grades) in a semi-rural mid-Atlantic community in the USA. Data were collected by questionnaires including items regarding relationships with parents, problem behavior, and peer relationships. Hierarchical multiple regression was used to analyze the data. Results indicate that maternal monitoring is negatively related with adolescent drinking and vandalism. However, the negative relationship varies as a function of adolescents' parental rule obedience. The relationship was stronger among adolescents with lower level of parental rule obedience than among adolescents with higher level of parental rule obedience. Findings from this study suggest that research on maternal monitoring during adolescence needs to take adolescents' personal characteristics into account to better understand the process. They also suggest that parents could lower the possibility that their children's will be involved in drinking and vandalism by maintaining quality relationships with their children because children are more likely to internalize their parents' rules and standards when they have

※ 접수 2003년 2월 28일, 채택 2003년 5월 2일

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positive relationships with parents.

Key Words : 어머니의 감독(maternal monitoring), 청소년 음주(adolescent drinking), 청소년의 타인 소유물 파손 행동(adolescent vandalism), 부모 규칙 준수의무감(adolescents' parental rule obedience)

I. INTRODUCTION

Parental monitoring, which is generally defined as parents' knowledge of adolescents' whereabouts, friends, and activities, has been found to be a strong predictor of adolescent adjustment, especially of adolescent problem behavior. It has been found that parental monitoring reduces the likelihood that adolescents will become involved in problem behaviors such as drug use and other delinquent behaviors (e.g., Chamberlain, & Patterson, 1995; Fletcher, Darling, & Steinberg, 1995; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984; Steinberg, 1986). Research findings on the relationship between parental monitoring and adolescent adjustment suggest that parents retain their influence over their children throughout adolescence.

There is considerable evidence that parental monitoring is an important predictor of adolescent substance use and other problem behaviors ranging from staying out past curfew to criminal acts (e.g., Barnes, Farrell, & Banerjee, 1994; Fletcher, Darling, & Steinberg, 1995; Forgatch & Stoolmiller, 1994; Laub & Sampson, 1988; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984; Patterson & Dishion, 1985; Steinberg, 1986). For example, Patterson and Stouthamer-Loeber (1984) found that parental monitoring had the highest correla-

tion with delinquency among all variables related to socialization of children (i.e., parental monitoring, discipline, problem solving, and reinforcement). Furthermore, parental monitoring was the only variable, in this study, that could differentiate more serious delinquents from less serious delinquents or from non-delinquents.

A longitudinal study on the effects of parental monitoring (Fletcher et al., 1995) examined its effect on adolescent substance use. Results of this study revealed that adolescents with low monitoring parents were more likely to use substances than those with high monitoring parents. The study also examined whether parental monitoring contributes to changes in the extent of substance use over time. Among the adolescents who did not use substances at Time 1, those with low monitoring parents were more likely to become substance users by Time 2 than those with high monitoring parents. Among the heavy users at Time 1, those with high monitoring parents were more likely to decrease their use than those with low monitoring parents. These findings indicate that parental monitoring may play a role in changing the extent of substance use among adolescents.

Barnes and Farrell (1992) compared different types of parental control and found that parental monitoring was the best predictor, among parenting practices, of adolescent problem behavior. In this study, problem behaviors including drinking, substance use, and other deviant acts, were all predicted best by parental monitoring assessed by both adolescents' and mothers' reports. This study suggested that parental monitoring is what makes a difference in the extent of problem behavior among adolescents. Other characteristics of parents *per se*, such as socioeconomic status, family history of alcohol abuse, and family structure, were found to be less critical predictors of problem behavior.

The literature on the association between parental monitoring and adolescent problem behavior contributes to our understanding of adolescent delinquency and supports the idea that the influence of parenting remains important during adolescence. However, the available literature on the relationship between parental monitoring and adolescent problem behavior has primarily focused on what parents do to influence adolescent problem behavior without much attention to the process through which adolescents are influenced by parental monitoring. One approach to use to address this issue is Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological perspective, which maintains that human development depends on the interrelations between the individuals' characteristics and their contexts. As the ecological perspective points out, parental monitoring may have differential effects on adolescents with different personal characteristics. One personal characteristic of adolescents that

may be related to the parental monitoring process is adolescents' parental rule obedience.

Parental rule obedience, which is operationally defined, in this study, as individuals' beliefs about whether they are obliged to obey rules that their parents set (Damon, 1977; Laupa, Turiel, & Cowan, 1995), becomes more important during adolescence. Because adolescents spend more time outside the home without their parents' direct supervision (Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck, & Duckett, 1996), it becomes important that adolescents have internalized parental rules and standards of behavior and use them in situations where they have to make decisions on their own about their every day activities. Therefore, the process of parental monitoring may differ depending on adolescents' parental rule obedience because their strong rule obedience may function as a self-monitoring system when they are not directly supervised by parents.

On the basis of the possibility that adolescents' rule obedience may be a moderating factor of the relationship between parental monitoring and adolescent problem behavior, the present study examined whether adolescents' rule obedience can make a difference in the relationship between parental monitoring and adolescent problem behavior. It was expected that importance of parental monitoring in relation to adolescent problem behavior may vary depending on adolescent rule obedience. Because only the level of mother's monitoring was assessed in the questionnaire used for this study, maternal monitoring was examined as a Kind of parental monitoring in the present study. As for problem behavior variables, drinking

and vandalism (damaging others' property for fun) were examined in this study. Problem behaviors during adolescence are usually classified into three categories: substance use, externalizing behavior, and internalizing behavior (Steinberg, 2002). This study focused only on substance use and externalizing behavior. Drinking was examined as one of the substance use behaviors because alcohol, which is not illegal, is more accessible to adolescents than other illegal substances. Vandalism was examined as one of the externalizing behaviors because adolescents may be involved in this type of behavior just for fun without giving it much serious thought.

Specifically, this study addressed the following research questions.

Question 1 : Does the likelihood of adolescent

drinking decrease as the level of maternal monitoring increases?

Question 2 : Does the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent drinking vary as a function of adolescent rule obedience? That is, does the importance of maternal monitoring in adolescent drinking vary depending on the level of adolescent rule obedience?

Question 3 : Does the likelihood of adolescent vandalism decrease as the level of maternal monitoring increases?

Question 4 : Does the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent vandalism vary as a function of adolescent rule obedience? That is, does the importance of maternal monitoring in adolescent vandalism vary depending on the level of adolescent rule obedience?

II. METHODS

1. Participants

Parents of all students attending a middle school in a semi-rural mid-Atlantic town were sent letters explaining the study and asking their consent for their children's participation. After the initial mail recruitment, 65% of parents granted permission for their children to participate in the study (124 sixth graders, 130 seventh graders, and 144 eighth graders; 46.7 % were boys), 6% (33) of parents refused permission, and 29% (171) did not respond. Available demographic characteristics of the participants are presented in Table 1.

2. Procedure

Participating students completed the questionnaires at school during non-academic periods. The questionnaires took approximately 35 minutes to complete and covered issues on parent-adolescent relationships, school-related issues, problem behaviors, and peer relationships. Students who were absent on the day of questionnaire administration or received parental permission afterwards were mailed the questionnaires to complete at home and return. It took about 2 weeks, from the 7th to the 20th of February in 1999, to collect the

data. Out of the 398 questionnaires that were returned, about 20, depending on the variables included in the analyses, were excluded from the analysis due to incomplete responses.

3. Measures

Measures used in this study were maternal monitoring, rule obedience, and adolescent drinking and vandalism.

1) Maternal Monitoring

Maternal monitoring was assessed using a five-item scale (Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984). Items asked adolescents how much the participants' mothers really knew about who their friends were, where they went at night, how they spent their money, what they did with their free time, and where they were most afternoons after school. Responses were 1 = "doesn't know," 2 = "knows a little," and 3 = "knows a lot." Items were averaged to create a single scale score ($\alpha = .80$ $M = 2.44$ $SD = .50$).

2) Rule Obedience

Adolescents' rule obedience was measured using a modified version of 26-item scale that was originally developed by Smetana (1988) for studies of adolescents' and parents' reasoning about everyday issues. This scale was modified by three researchers in child development to fit the purpose of the present study. Adolescents were asked whether "they have to obey" parental rules about issues such as "the type of TV show or videos you watch," "where you go with your

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Participants.

Variable	Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	boy	186	46.7%
	girl	212	53.3%
	Total	398	100.0%
Grade	6th	124	31.2%
	7th	130	32.7%
	8th	144	36.2%
	Total	398	100.0%
Race	White	364	91.5%
	African-American	11	2.8%
	Asian-American	11	2.8%
	Multi-racial	5	1.3%
	No response	5	1.3%
	Hispanic	1	0.3%
	Native American	1	0.3%
	Total	398	100.0%
Parents' Marital Status	Married	281	70.6%
	Divorced or separated	103	25.9%
	Never married	8	2.0%
	Father dead	3	0.8%
	Mother dead	1	0.3%
	Both parents dead	1	0.3%
	No response	1	0.3%
	Total	398	100.0%
Living Arrangement	With both biological parents	279	70.1%
	With mother only	40	10.1%
	With mother and stepfather	35	8.8%
	Sometimes with mother, sometimes with father	15	3.8%
	Other arrangements	14	3.5%
	With father and stepmother	8	2.0%
	With father only	7	1.8%
Total	398	100.0%	

friends," "what you do after school," and "drinking alcohol." For each of the issues, responses indicating that they should obey the rule were assigned a score of one, and responses indicating that they did not have to were assigned a score of zero. The rule obedience scores were obtained by calculating the mean of the 26 responses ($\alpha = .94$; $M = .57$; $SD = .29$).

3) Drinking

Drinking was measured using two items, frequency of drinking and frequency of binge drinking (having five or more drinks in a row) for the past 6 months. Responses were 0 = "never" 1 = "once," 2 = "twice," and 3 = "3 times or more." Items were averaged to create a single scale score ($\alpha = .78$ $M = 1.51$; $SD = .81$). Frequencies of the responses to the two drinking items are presented in Table 2.

4) Vandalism¹⁾

Vandalism was measured using a single item asking about frequency of damaging property for fun (graffiti, breaking windows, scratching cars, etc.) for the past 6 months. Responses were 0 = "never" 1 = "once," 2 = "twice," and 3 = "3 times or more" ($M = 1.4$; $SD = .84$). Frequencies of the responses to the vandalism question are presented in Table 2.

4. Data Analysis

In order to examine if the likelihood of adoles-

1) Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient could not be calculated for vandalism because it was measured with a single item.

Table 2. Frequencies of Adolescent Drinking, Binge Drinking, and Vandalism.

Variable	Response	Frequency	Percent
Drinking	Never	227	57.0%
	Once	63	15.8%
	Twice	35	8.8%
	Three or more times	59	14.8%
	No Response	14	3.5%
Total		398	100.0%
Binge Drinking	Never	344	86.4%
	Once	15	3.8%
	Twice	5	1.3%
	Three or more times	19	4.8%
	No Response	15	3.8%
Total		398	100.0%
Vandalism	Never	299	75.1%
	Once	41	10.3%
	Twice	21	5.3%
	Three or more times	23	5.8%
	No Response	14	3.5%
Total		398	100.0%

cent drinking decreases as the level of maternal monitoring increases (Question 1), and if adolescents' rule obedience moderates the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent drinking (Question 2), hierarchical multiple regression was used. Two sets of regression analyses were performed. In the first regression model, maternal monitoring, and rule obedience were entered as predictors of adolescent drinking. In the second model, an interaction term of maternal monitoring and rule obedience were added. Gender and grade were entered as control variables because adolescent drinking varied systematically by these two variables.

In order to examine if the likelihood of adolescent vandalism decreases as the level of maternal monitoring increases (Question 3), and if adoles-

cents' rule obedience moderates the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent vandalism(Question 4), hierarchical multiple regression was used. As with the analysis for adolescent drinking, two sets of regression analyses were performed. In the first regression model, maternal monitoring, rule obedience were entered as predictors of adolescent vandalism. In the second

model, an interaction term of maternal monitoring and rule obedience were added. Gender was controlled because adolescent vandalism varied by these variables. The predictors were centered before they were entered into the regression equation to minimize problems due to collinearity and to facilitate interpretation of interaction terms (Aiken & West, 1991).

III. RESULTS

1. Maternal Monitoring and Adolescent Drinking (Question 1)

As shown in Table 3, results from the first set of regression analysis (Model 1) indicated that gender, grade, maternal monitoring, and rule obedience were significant predictors of adolescent drinking. As expected, the likelihood of adolescent drinking decreased as the level of their mothers' monitoring increased and as the level of adolescent rule obedience increased. Also, boys and older adolescents tended to drink more than girls and younger adolescents did.

2. Moderating Effect of Adolescent Rule Obedience on the Relationship between Maternal Monitoring and Drinking (Question 2)

As presented in Table 3, the significant interaction between maternal monitoring and rule obedience from the second set of analysis (Model 2) indicated that the negative relationship between

maternal monitoring and adolescent drinking is moderated by adolescent rule obedience.

To further examine the moderating effect of rule obedience on the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent drinking, two line graphs depicting the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent drinking were drawn

Table 3. Hierarchical Regression Summary for Adolescent Drinking.

Variable	B	SE _B	β	t
Model 1($R^2 = .54$)				
Gender	-.15	.07	-.09	-2.08*
Grade	.16	.05	.15	3.38**
Maternal Monitoring	-.42	.08	-.25	-5.00***
Rule Obedience	-.78	.15	-.28	-5.23***
Model 2($R^2 = .56$)				
Gender	-.15	.07	-.09	-2.05*
Grade	.16	.05	.16	3.45**
Maternal Monitoring	-.32	.09	-.20	-3.59***
Rule Obedience	-.77	.15	-.27	-5.25***
Maternal Monitoring× Rule Obedience	.71	.25	.14	2.88**

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

at one standard deviation above and below the mean of adolescents' rule obedience, as recommended by Aiken & West (1991). In Figure 1, the line graph drawn at one standard deviation above the mean of adolescents' rule obedience represents the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent drinking among adolescents who have relatively higher level of rule obedience, another line drawn at one standard deviation below the mean of adolescents' rule obedience represents the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent drinking among adolescents who have relatively lower level of rule obedience. As shown in Figure 1, whereas the level of drinking was not different depending on the level of maternal monitoring among adolescents with higher rule obedience, parenting was an effective preventive factor against adolescent drinking among adolescents with relatively lower rule obedience.

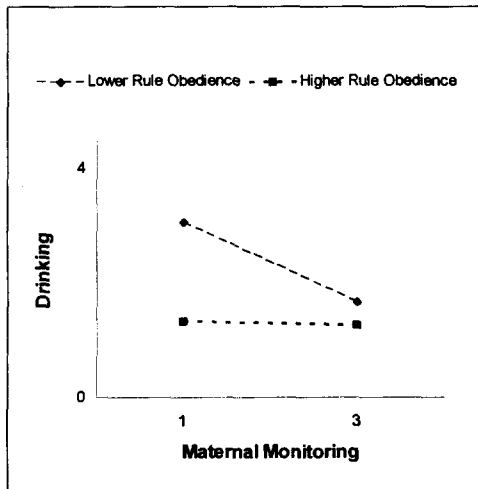


Figure 1. The Relationship between Maternal Monitoring and Adolescent Drinking as a Function of Adolescent Rule Obedience.

3. Maternal Monitoring and Adolescent Vandalism (Question 3)

Results for vandalism were same as those for drinking. As shown in Table 4, results from the first set of regression analysis (Model 1) indicated that gender, maternal monitoring, and rule obedience were significant predictors of adolescent vandalism. That is, the likelihood of adolescent vandalism decreased as the level of maternal monitoring increased and as the level of adolescent rule obedience increased. Also, the significant regression coefficient of gender indicated that boys tend to vandalize more than girls do.

4. Moderating Effect of Adolescent Rule Obedience on the Relationship between Maternal Monitoring and Vandalism (Question 4)

The significant interaction between maternal monitoring and rule obedience from the second

Table 4. Hierarchical Regression Summary for Adolescent Vandalism.

Variable	B	SE _B	β	t
Model 1 (R ² = .61)				
Gender	-.45	.07	-.27	-6.43***
Maternal Monitoring	-.58	.08	-.34	-7.12***
Rule Obedience	-.66	.15	-.23	-4.53***
Model 2 (R ² = .64)				
Gender	-.45	.07	-.26	-6.55***
Maternal Monitoring	-.42	.09	-.25	-4.96***
Rule Obedience	-.65	.14	-.22	-8.66***
Maternal Monitoring × Rule Obedience	1.15	.24	.22	4.86***

***p<.001 **p<.001 *p<.05

set of analysis (Model 2) indicated that the effect of maternal monitoring on adolescent vandalism is moderated by rule obedience.

As with the analysis for drinking, to further examine the nature of the interaction effect, two line graphs depicting the relationship between maternal monitoring and vandalism were generated separately for adolescents with higher rule obedience (represented by the line graph drawn at one standard deviation above the mean of adolescent rule obedience), and for those with lower rule obedience (represented by the line graph drawn at one standard deviation below the mean of adolescent rule obedience). As presented in Figure 2, maternal monitoring was more influential in preventing adolescent vandalism among adolescents who reported lower rule obedience.

To summarize, results revealed that the levels of adolescent drinking and vandalism varied

depending on the level of maternal monitoring. Adolescents were less likely to drink and vandalize when their mothers monitor them at higher levels. However, the extent to which maternal monitoring affects adolescent drinking and vandalism varied as a function of adolescent rule obedience.

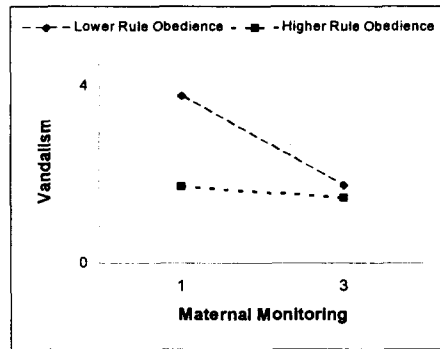


Figure 2. The Relationship between Maternal Monitoring and Adolescent Vandalism as a Function of Adolescent Rule Obedience.

IV. DISCUSSION

The results of the regression analyses indicate that maternal monitoring can lower the likelihood that adolescents drink and vandalize. Adolescents who reported that their mothers monitor them at relatively higher levels and know much about their everyday lives were less likely to drink and vandalize than were adolescents who reported lower levels of maternal monitoring. These findings are in line with previous research that has found preventive effects of parental monitoring against adolescent problem behavior (e.g., Brown, Mounts, Lamborn, & Steinberg, 1993 :

Fletcher, et al., 1995).

The present study not only confirms the previous research findings showing that adolescents' problem behavior is affected by parental monitoring, but it also expands the parental monitoring literature by examining a moderating factor that can make a difference on the magnitude of the relationship between parental monitoring and adolescent problem behavior. Results of the present study suggest that adolescent rule obedience, which is belief that they should obey parental rules, may be one individual characteristic of

adolescents that affects the process of parental monitoring. Adolescents whose mothers monitor them closely and know a lot about what their everyday lives are like reported lower levels of drinking and vandalism. However, the preventive effects of maternal monitoring against adolescent drinking and vandalism differed depending on the level of adolescent rule obedience. Whereas maternal monitoring was an effective preventing factor against adolescent problem behavior among adolescents who had weaker beliefs that they should obey parental rules, maternal monitoring did not affect much on the levels of problem behavior among adolescents with stronger beliefs in rule obedience. In fact, adolescents with stronger beliefs that they have to obey parental rules drink or vandalize less regardless of the level of parental monitoring. These findings suggest that adolescents' rule obedience may be an effective deterrent against problem behavior, which functions as an adolescents' self-monitoring system. In other words, the findings suggest that maternal monitoring is more important for adolescents with weaker beliefs in parental rule obedience than for those with stronger beliefs. These findings provide additional support for Bronfenbrenner's (1979) notion that human development research should pay attention to factors that can interact with developing individuals' contexts.

Findings from the present study also have implications for parenting. Although adolescents have increasing opportunities to make decisions about their behaviors on their own, they are not yet able to be completely autonomous (Nucci,

Killen, & Smetana, 1996; Smetana, 1995). Therefore, it is important that they have some internalized standards of behavior to turn to when they have to make decisions on their own. Because adolescents' rule obedience may be one such standard, parenting style that can strengthen adolescents' rule obedience would be beneficial to them for their healthy development. Because adolescents' rule obedience seems to be higher among adolescents who have authoritative parents (Darling & Steinberg, 1993), who are able to maintain balance between behavioral control and support, it can be reasoned that this style of parenting would protect adolescents in situations where they have to make decisions on problem behavior involvement.

Although the present study expands the current literature on the effects of parental monitoring on adolescent problem behavior, and contributes to the understanding on parental monitoring process, it is not without limitations. First, because the data used in the present study was cross-sectional, causal relationships cannot be determined. Even though it was conceptualized, in this study, that maternal monitoring affects the levels of adolescent drinking and vandalism, it is also possible that adolescents who drink and vandalize have poor relationships with their mothers, and in turn it is difficult for the mothers to know details of their children's everyday lives. Long-term longitudinal studies are needed to determine the causality of the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent problem behavior.

Second, adolescents' rule obedience was not measured separately for mothers' and fathers'

rules because the data were collected at the family level while monitoring was measured on only mothers. Due to the inconsistency in the measurement target, analyses could not be conducted separately for mothers and fathers. Because there have been findings indicating that there are gender differences in parent-child relationships (Youniss & Smollar, 1985), adolescents' beliefs about their obligation to obey parental rules may be different depending on which parent set a particular rule. Different findings may have been yielded depending on the gender of parents.

Third, because all participants are from one school in a small semi-rural town, results may not generalize to adolescents with other backgrounds.

Fourth, although the sample of the present study consisted of participants with diverse demographic backgrounds, possible differences among the adolescents across different demographic groups could not be examined because minority groups were underrepresented in the sample and this issue was beyond the scope of the present study. Studies with samples that are more representative of minority groups are needed to address this issue.

Fifth, because adolescent vandalism was measured with a single item, the reliability of the

measure could not be checked. Similarly, adolescent drinking was measured with a two-item scale. Scales composed of multiple items regarding these constructs need to be used in future research to ensure higher reliability of the measurement.

Finally, there is possibility that adolescents who participated in the present study are those who drink or vandalize at lower levels. 35% of the adolescents who were initially contacted for data collection did not participate, and they may be in more problematic situation than those who participated, as found in previous research (e.g., Weinberger, Tublin, Ford, & Feldman, 1990).

To summarize, the present study contributes to the understanding of the process of parental monitoring in relation to adolescent problem behavior by examining a moderating factor of the relationship between maternal monitoring and adolescent problem behavior, particularly drinking and vandalism. The findings of the present study suggest that adolescents who are better monitored by parents are less likely to be involved in problem behavior but individual characteristics such as rule obedience can make a difference in the importance of parental monitoring as a preventive factor of adolescent drinking and vandalism.

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요 약

본 연구의 목적은 부모가 정한 규칙에 대한 청소년의 준수 의무감에 따라 어머니의 감독이 청소년의 음주와 타인 소유물 파손 행동에 영향을 주는 정도에 차이가 있는지 알아보는 것이었다. 우선, 어머니의 감독 정도에 따라 청소년의 음주 및 타인 소유물 파손 행동 가능성이 높아지는지 살펴보았다. 다음으로, 어머니의 감독과 청소년 음주 및 타인 소유물 파손 행동 간의 관계가 부모가 정한 규칙을 지켜야 한다고 믿는 정도에 따라 다른지 살펴보았다. 연구 대상은 미국 동부 지역 소도시 소재 중학교에 재학 중인 남녀 중학생(6학년~8학년) 398명이었다. 자료는 참여 학생들이 부모 자녀 관계, 문제 행동, 친구 관계 등에 관한 항목으로 구성된 질문지에 응답하게 하여 수집하였다. 위계적 회귀분석을 사용한 자료분석 결과, 어머니의 감독 정도가 높을수록, 부모가 정한 규칙에 대한 준수 의무감이 강할수록 청소년의 문제행동 정도가 낮은 것으로 나타났다. 그러나, 어머니의 감독과 청소년의 문제행동 사이의 부적 관계는 청소년이 부모가 정한 규칙을 준수해야 한다는 의무감이 약할수록 강한 것으로 나타났다. 이 연구의 결과는 청소년 문제행동 가능성을 낮추는 데 있어서 부모 감독의 중요성이 청소년의 부모 규칙 준수 의무감에 따라 다르다는 것을 지적한다. 또한, 청소년이 부모가 정한 규칙을 지켜야 한다는 의무감을 갖도록 부모가 자녀와 원만한 관계를 유지하는 것이 청소년이 문제 행동을 할 가능성을 감소시키고 보다 건 강한 발달을 도모하는 데 도움이 된다는 점도 시사한다.