Effects of Parental Acceptance on Socio-Emotional Development for Children and Adolescents : A Review of American Literature*

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Socialization, as the agency of modeling, is the process by which children and adolescents acquire values and standards of behavior which are expected from their social group. Although adolescents are more dependent than children on peer relationships, the family is still considered a more potent influence on the youth in most societies. Parental acceptance, as one of the major dimensions of parental behavior, has consistent effects on the social and emotional development of children and adolescents including self-esteem, helping behavior, interpersonal relations,antisocial behavior, and world-view Parental acceptance is also associated with psychosocial adjustment of children and adolescents. Without some effective coping skills and/or a warm alternative caretaker being available, rejected children and adolescents are likely to grow up into adults who will tend to reject their own children.

Socialization, as the agency of modeling, is the process by which children acquire values, beliefs, and standards of behavior which are expected from their social group. Although adolescents are more dependent than children on peer relationships, the family is still considered a more potent influence on the youth in most societies. For youth, the home continues to be an important place of security and their future performance as parents tend to reflect their own experience in the family (Harrington, 1987; Rogers, 1982). Socialization occurs through parents' serving as models of behavior, expressing acceptance and warmth, providing restrictions or freedom, punishing unacceptable behavior, and in a host of different ways.

The general area of parental behavior has been studied in considerable detail since Symonds' work in 1939. One of the dimensions of parental behavior emerging from several studies is Parental Warmth or Acceptance (Goldin, 1969; Mussen, Conger, Kagan & Houston, 1984; Rohner, 1980; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Warmth occupies a central role in socialization studies in its

relationship to other measures of child-rearing. Warmth is important because it provides a background for parents' effort to raise their children and teach them certain values. It is a factor in children's willing directives and inclinations. A positive, warm relationship is more effective for almost any kind of learning. Clausen (1980) argues that parental warmth, coupled with control, seems to be an essential ingredient in the production of competent children. Thus, efforts to discipline children are most effective when the child and the parents have a warm, supportive relationship. Several studies (Conger & Petersen, 1984; Maccoby, 1980; Martin, 1975; Oden, 1982; Rollins & Thomas, 1979) made it clear that without strong and unambiguous manifestations of parental love, the adolescent has far more difficulty in developing self-esteem, constructive and rewarding relationships with others, and a confident sense of his or her own identity. Also, parental warmth and acceptance is one of the important factors contributing to the process of identification.

Drawing from intra-cultural and cross-cultural data, Rohner (1980, 1984, 1986) formulated a theory of socialization which attempts to explain and predict major consequences of parental acceptance and rejection for cognitive, emotional, and behavioral development of children. Among other things, his theory postulates that parental rejection has consistent effects on the personality and behavioral disposition of children.

Parental acceptance/rejection may be viewed from two perspectives: (a) that subjectively experienced by the child -- or reported by the parent, and (b) that externally measured by an observer (Rohner, 1980). The extent to which self-perceived versus objectively determined acceptance/rejection are correlated is problematic in any given case. Subject factors such as level of cognitive development, cognitive style, and defensive repertory may produce a discrepancy between objectively described and subjectively perceived parental behavior (Jacob & Tennenbaum, 1988). In some cases, parents tend to skew their answers in the direction of social desirability (Ausubel, et al., 1954 ; Harrington, 1987; McCrae & Costa, 1988; Robbins, 1963; Yarrow, 1963), and some may not be aware of certain aspects of their own behavior, such as the withdrawal of parental affection following a child's misbehavior (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). However, some researchers (Siegelman, 1965; Thomas, et al., 1974) noted the general agreement between the parents' descriptions of their socializing practices and the children's description of the same. A considerable number of empirical studies of the child's report of parental behaviors (Goldin, 1969; Kroger, 1983; McCrae & Costa, 1988a; Schaefer, 1965; Siegelman, 1965) proved that a child's behavior is fair v obviously related both to the objectiv stimulating conditions and to the stimulus as experienced. In a sense, the children's reports may be more valid than those of the parents. Thus, what the child feels, rather than what the parent feels, may be more important in determining how the child acts.

Rohner's (1980, 1984, 1986) theory takes as axiomatic that parental rejection has its most consistent and predictable effects on the child, primarily insofar as the child perceives the parent's behavior as being

rejecting. Siegelman (1965) says that "parent behavior effects the child's ego development only to the extent and in the form in which he perceives it" (p. 163). Ausubel and others (1954) agree with this position. Barnett and others (1980) also argue that in studying social-emotional development of children, their own perceptions of parents' characteristics and socialization practices are important information which cannot be replaced by the perceptions of others. Children's perception of their parents' behavior may be more related to their adjustment than is the actual behavior of their parents. Perhaps this hypothesis has motivated the volumes of research on parental behavior as well as children's perception of that behavior as shown by the survey of Stodgill (1937) and that of Rohner and Nielsen (1978), and by a list of instruments to measure these behaviors and perceptions (Straus & Brown, 1978; Touliatos, et al., 1990).

In this context, the present study attempts to review the effects of parental acceptance on the social and emotional development of children and adolescents, basically based on Rohner's (1984, 1986) theory and American literature, and to highlight the importance of parental modeling in the development of the adolescent and of parental warmth and acceptance in child-rearing practices.

Dimensions of Parental Behavior

The ideas of warmth, acceptance and control have been of concern to humankind for thousands of years. The dimensions of love and power as well as the ideals of

justice and mercy have connotations clearly tied to acceptance and control.

Much of the research work in this century on child-rearing and its effects has sought to identify characteristics whereby parents differ notably from one another. A number of early studies of parenting used interviews, questionnaires, or attitude scales to gather information from parents on their disciplinary techniques, typical reactions to specified child behaviors, and values concerning the child-rearing process. Several factor analyses were done of parents' scores on these batteries of items.

The utility of such concepts as warmth and control in the context of parent-child interaction has been recognized and advocated in empirical studies since Symonds' (1939) work. He noted that Acceptance/Rejection and Dominance/Submission could be considered as two basic axes along which parental behavior could be ordered. Since Symonds' original work, there has developed over the years a rather remarkable agreement among various theorists about ordering parent behavior according to two basic axes (Thomas, et al., 1974).

Schaefer (1959) analyzed the intercorrelations of variables from a number of studies, showing two orthogonal variables: Warmth/Hostility, and Control/Autonomy. Becker (1964) proposed two very similar variables: Warmth versus Hostility, and Restrictive versus Permissive. Analysis of parental variables in Baldwin's (1955) studies also revealed a major Warmth/Coldness dimension, but two other dimensions emerged, neither of which clearly corresponded to the Restrictive/Permissive dimension: Democratic

versus Autocratic, and Emotional Involvement versus Detachment. Democratic parenting reflected the degree to which the parents merely communicated information regarding the requirements of the real world in which the child operates.

Since the early work, concepts concerning the salient dimensions of parenting have undergone considerable change. The use of children's reports and observations of parent-child interaction has provided a more differentiated dimensional picture. Parker, Tupling and Brown (1979) identify two dimensions: (a) Caring and Empathic versus Rejecting or Indifferent, and (b) an Overprotection dimension that involves encouraging dependency and controlling. The influential work of Ainsworth and colleagues (1972) has emphasized Responsiveness, a dimension that is related to the Warmth/Hostility dimension.

Following the early factor-analytic studies, the Control/Autonomy dimension also began to break down and be redefined. Studies based on children's reports of their parents' child-rearing attitudes and behavior differentiated two dimensions: (a) Psychological Autonomy-Giving versus Psychological Control, and (b) Firm versus Lax Control (Burger & Armentrout, 1971). Baumrind and Black (1967) identified four dimensions that were surprisingly orthogonal: Consistent Discipline, Maturity Demands, Restrictiveness, and Encouragement of Independent Contacts. Recently, Maccoby and Martin (1983) differentiated the four patterns of parental behavior that result from the cross-classification of a more expanded and differently defined dual-dimensional system than the one employed by Becker (1964): (a)

the Authoritarian-Autocratic pattern, (b) the Indulgent-Permissive pattern, (c) the Authoritative-Reciprocal pattern, and (d) the Indifferent-Uninvolved pattern. From small group of research, factor analytic studies and cross-cultural evidence, Straus (1964) proposed that the two basic dimensions, which he labels as Support and Power (Control), could possibly be considered as universals of social structure, or at least the two most powerful empirical variables to emerge in family research.

From the foregoing, it is concluded that any attempt at studying the impact of parental behavior upon children in the socialization process could profitably begin with attempts at describing and analyzing these two dimensions that have repeatedly come up in past research, and then endeavoring to relate them to consequential child behavior. Factor analytic research on child-rearing provides an empirical basis for describing more valid patterns of child-rearing. In a recent review of eleven factor analytic studies, Rothbaum (1986) found that nine of them contained a factor on which Warmth loaded highly. In many cases, the Warmth factor accounted for the largest portion of the variance in parental behavior. As Thomas, Weigert and Winston (1984) emphasize, the major finding to date is that, of the two dimensions, Parental Acceptance is the better predictor of various children and adolescent characteristics.

Definition of Parental Acceptance

The variable Acceptance has been given a large number of labels in the literature, for

example, Support, Nurturance, Love, Warmth, etc. But the connotations and denotations attached to the different labels have been relatively similar. Rollins and Thomas (1979) defined Support as "ehavior manifest by a parent toward a child that makes the child feel comfortable in the presence of the parent and confirms in the child's mind that he is basically accepted and approved as a person by the parent" (p. 320). Thomas and others (1974) defined Support as "eferring to that quality of the interaction which is perceived by the self as the significant others establishing a positive affective relationship with him" (p. 10). They said, it has connotations similar to the notion of unconditional love with a reduction of the emphasis upon the justice dimension in interpersonal behavior.

In Siegelman's (1965) study, Loving refers to parental support, participation, praise, and affection for the child. Krishnamurti (1981) argues that love can bring about the nderstanding of another and an integrated understanding of life. He says:

> A parent who really desires to understand his child does not look at him through the screen of an ideal. If he loves the child, he observes him, he studies his tendencies, his moods and peculiarities. It is only when one feels no love for the child that one imposes upon him an ideal, for then one's ambitions are trying to fulfill themselves in him, wanting him to become this or that. If one loves not the ideal, but the child, then there is a possibility of helping him to understand himself as he is. When one has no love, no

> understanding, then one forces the child into a pattern of action which we call an ideal. Without love no human problem can be solved. In the love of the child, right education is implied. (p. 26)

Warmth is closely bound up with several of the aspects of parenting. Maccoby (1980) said that "warm parent is deeply commited to the child's welfare, responsive to the child's needs, sensitive to the child's emotional states" (p. 392), and emphasized that noncontingent acceptance of the child is the characteristic shared by all these aspects of warmth. Becker (1964) defined Warmth dimension by variables of the following sort: "ccepting, affectionate, approving, understanding, child-centered, frequent use of explanations, positive response to dependency behavior, high use of reasons and praise in discipline, and low use of physical punishment" (p. 174). He found the nature of the affectional relations between parent and child was correlated with the use of certain kinds of discipline. In particular, the use of praise and reasons was repeatedly found associated with warmth variables. Raush and Bordin (1957) explored the concept of warmth as a significant factor in effective psychotherapy and personality development. They considered that warmth has three aspects: commitment, understanding, and spontaneity and examined these three components in detail:

> The therapist demonstrates some degree of willingness to be assistance to the patient, such as offering help in various forms, the therapist shows his effort to understand by his interest in

understanding the patient's view, and the therapist is not guarded, either consciously or unconsciously not masking all of his feelings. (p. 352)

The term Nurturance is used to refer to the caretaking functions of the parent. As Baumrind (1967) says, it refers to "those parental acts and attitudes that express love and are directed at guaranteeing the child's physical and emotional well-being" (p. 57). She regards warmth as the parents' personal love and compassion for the child expressed by means of sensory stimulation, verbal approval, and tenderness of expression and touch. Thus, nurturance is expressed by warmth and involvement. Finney's (1961) definition is quite similar to Baumrind's. He said, "nurturance is the willingness and desire to respond helpfully and to fulfill the child's needs" (p. 203). In other words, it is a tendency to respond to a child by taking care of him and meeting his needs.

According to Rohner's (1980, 1984, 1986) theory, conceptually, parental acceptance and rejection together form the Warmth dimension of parenting. Parental warmth is construed as a bipolar dimension where rejection, or the absence of parental warmth and affection, stands at one pole of the scale in opposition to acceptance at the other pole. Accepting parents are defined as those who show their love or affection toward children either physically or verbally. Rejecting parents are those who dislike, disapprove of, or resent their children. In many cases, they view the child as a burden, and tend to compare him unfavorably with other children. Rejection is manifested in two ways, namely, in the form of parental hostility and agg-

ression on the one hand, and in the form of parental indifference and neglect on the other. Schaefer (1965) indicated acceptance meant sharing, expression of affection, support, and positive evaluation. Rothbaum (1986) emphasized that parents who have high level of acceptance take helping approach. Such parents seek to provide a warm, supportive context for the child, to develop tools tailored to the child's individual needs. They demonstrate a desire to be with the child and express enjoyment of the child. Although they are generous with explanations, the focus is on the child's understanding rather than the explanation per se. They are able to communicate their point of view and explain what is and is not acceptable without criticizing the child. They show awareness and acceptance of the child's needs for independence and control. They can meet these needs rather than inhibit them or give them too much latitude. Warmth is expressed through closeness with the child, especially in response to the child's desires and needs. They believe that if you give affection and demonstrate confidence in the child, the child will grow from the support and learn to give in return, thereby making it easier for them to give.

In sum, parental acceptance as one end of the warmth dimension is broadly defined as a positive, affective relationship with a child, with considerable emphasis on helping approach. Parental acceptance, as a unidimensional construct, can be a continuous quantitative variable. Operationally, this variable is a summation of the frequencies of such parental behavior toward a child as encouraging and helping.

Importance of Acceptance

In an effort to assist parents in becoming more effective in a rapidly changing society, a number of professionals have developed strategies of parent education. Four most popular, recent parenting strategies appear to be Parent Effectiveness Approach by Gordon (1970, 1989), Systematic Training Approach by Dinkmeyer and McKay (1989), Transactional Analysis Approach by Berne (1964), and Humanistic Approach by Ginott (1965). After comparing these strategies, Bigner (1989), Hamner and Turner (1985) found these four strategies share several similarities. Two of them are that parenting behaviors are manifested in a context of reducing parental power and accentuating nurturance in caregiving. That is, most strategies attempt to lessen the degree of power of the parent in controlling children's behavior. These strategies can be considered child-oriented methods of child-rearing that recognize the children's needs in relation to those of the parent. "Power-assertive" or domineering methods of controlling child behavior have been found to produce a variety of reactions in children that range from high anxiety levels to inhibition of creative abilities. Also, these strategies encourage parents to adopt a counselor role by listening to children's problems in an understanding and helpful manner. Certain interactions with children call for a parent to respond to feelings and emotions expressed by children in a manner that is both appropriate and encouraging of their emotional growth. Caregiving is generated through empathic undersatnding of a child's problem. Parents are taught to counsel their children but not to preach to them or attempt to solve their problems for children themselves.

The core effect of acceptance in parent-child interaction patterns is seen as having two emphases: (a) the informational content that the self has worth, and (b) a motivational component (Thomas, et al., 1974). If parents who are supportive of their children communicate to the child something of his inherent worth, this should be related to a number of different dimensions of the self system, as well as different types of conforming and nonconforming behavior. Supportive parents generally approve of the child's efforts to produce an effect upon the environment, and simultaneously let the child know that they are there if he or she needs them. Parental warmth and acceptance are likely to make children regard themselves better, make them more confident of their actions and less concerned about the potential negative consequencies of what they might do (Staub, 1978).

It is this supportive aspect of human behavior which is seen as having a profound effect upon the recipient. The teachers in Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) research are seen as typifying this type of relationship where they believe in the capability and general worth of the individual, and communicate this to him as well as letting him know they are there, if needed. Rogers (1983) regards acceptance as one of the attitudes that stand out in teachers who are successful in facilitating learning.

To be effective, the disciplinary technique must enlist already existing emotional and motivational tendencies within the child. This factor depends on the general affective state

of the parent-child relationship. Parental warmth and acceptance create an atmosphere in the home in which children are more likely to learn whatever parents teach them, verbally or through their example. Children's compliance and happiness are shown to be associated with parental acceptance, emotional bonding and the fostering of trust (Egeland, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rathunde & Csikszentmihalyi,1991). A warm parent induces in the child responsiveness to his directions by providing an atmosphere in which the child has continuous expectations that good things will happen to him if he stays near his parent and responds to his parent's wishes. In the highly supportive socialization environment, the child learns to be an effective agent vis-a-vis the environment, and thus, even after frustrating experiences, he will continue his own efforts toward solution of the task at hand. The frequent use by warm parents of reasoning and explanation permits the child to internalize social rules and to identify and discriminate situations in which a given behavior is appropriate (Hetherington & Parke, 1986).

As suggested by Moore and Eisenberg (1984), acceptance acts as a background or contextual variable that functions to orient the child positively toward the parent and makes the child receptive to parental influence, including parental inductions and moral standards. That is, parental acceptance binds children to their parents in a positive way so that it makes children responsive and more willing to accept guidance. If the parent-child relationship is close and affec- tionate, parents can exercise what control is needed without having to apply heavy disciplinary pressure (Maccoby, 1980). In other words, warm, loving parents tend to create a secure, stressless environment in which the child can be more readily socialized and thus learn more appropriate behaviors. They promote the healthy exploration of the world because they provide a secure base to which the child can return if stressors are encountered. Santrock (1990) argues that a continuing secure attachment in adolescence likely promotes the healthy exploration of the environment. However, Parish (1987) said, if parents are hostile or uncaring, or if the family is generally perceived to be unhappy, the longer these circumstances persist, the more chronically troubled the youth may become.

Acceptance is also important because it may make the child more likely to emulate the parent. An affectionate, warm relation- ship with a parent is likely to make children want to be like their parents and adopt parents' values and behaviors to a great degree. It is likely to lead children to identify with the parents and adopt or internalize their values. What is decisive for whether or not a child is likely to develop in disciplined ways is the psychological and emotional atmosphere which reigns in the home. Bettelheim (1987) said that "the parents who were most successful in raising disciplined children were themselves respon- sible, self-disciplined persons, living exam- ples of the values they embraced" (p. 103). Spock (1988) agrees with Bettelheim, when he says:

When children have been well loved by their parents, this engenders a responding love in them that makes

them want to become grown-ups like their parents and makes them want to please their parents. This is really the main leverage parents have in controlling or motivating their children. (p. 133)

Recently, Spock (1990) offers his advice for the 21st century family, saying that family ties are the most rewarding values and parents should teach spiritual values such as love to their children, avoiding talking down to them.

High acceptance is known to generally lead to greatest similarity between adolescents and parents. Using middle class high school students in five nations (U.S., Spain, Mexico, Gemany, and Puerto Rico), Thomas and others (1984) have shown that the greater the warmth and acceptance, the greater the child's identification with the parent.

Acceptance of the other, as he is, is an important factor in fostering a relationship in which the other person can grow, develop, make constructive changes, learn to solve problems, move in direction of psychological health, become more productive and creative, and actualize his fullest potential (Gordon, 1970; Harter, 1993; Hattie,1992). It is one of those simple but beautiful paradoxes of life: When a person feels that he is truly accepted by another, as he is, then he is freed to move from there and to begin to think about how he wants to change, how he wants to grow, how he can become different, how he might become more of what he is capable of being. Gordon (1974, p. 58) describes, "to accept another as he is is truly an act of love; to feel accepted is to

feel loved". He goes on saying that:

> People tend to seek the company of people who are accepting and avoid those who are very critical and judgemental. Constant evaluation produces discomfort and anxiety, and inhibit rather than promote change. (p. 28)

That is, lack of acceptance closes people up, makes them feel defensive and afraid to talk or to take a look at themselves. The main result of such parental rejection and indifference is the creation within the child of an attitude of basic hostility. Horney (1937) emphasized that a coldly indifferent, rejecting attitude of the parents toward the child lies at the source of later neurosis, saying that:

> The basic evil is invariably a lack of genuine warmth and affection. A child can stand a great deal of what is often regarded as traumatic -- such as sudden weaning, occasional beating, sex experiences --- as long as inwardly he feels wanted and loved. (p. 80)

Acceptance is one of the most important elements contributing to the growth and change that take place in people through counseling and therapy. Warmth or acceptance is one of the important personal characteristics of the therapist (Brammer, Shostrom & Abrego, 1989; Corey, 1986; Fiedler, 1950; Patterson, 1984; Rogers, 1957) and healthy people (Maslow, 1987). Helper warmth is important in relationship terms because it appears to beget reciprocal warmth from the client (Goldstein & Meyers,

1986). Without it, specific helping procedures can be technically correct but therapeutically impotent. Raush and Bordin (1957) have even gone to the extent of emphasizing that psychotherapy will never start unless the therapist from the beginning has a surplus of warmth.

The need for basic feelings of trust, and for loving and caring parents is well documented, in clinical literature and also in several systematic investigations of normal, neurotic, and delinquent children and adolescents, which are discussed in the subsequent section.

Outcomes of Parental Acceptance or Rejection

It is generally agreed that parental behavior has a crucial effect on the social and emotional development of offspring, and it is often recognized that this process between parents and children is reciprocal or interactive (Rohner, 1980). This study, however, ocuses noninteractively on the relation between adolescents' perceptions of parental acceptance and their effect on the behavior of adolescents.

According to Rohner's (1984, 1986) theory, acceptance and rejection have consistent effects on the behavioral and personality dispositions of children everywhere, as well as on the personality functioning of adults who recall being rejected as children. Approximately 800 studies have been completed since the 1930s on parental acceptance/rejection and their consequences. Many of these studies were reviewed by

Rohner (1975) and by Rohner and Nielsen (1978). In that literature it seems quite clear that the effects of rejection often have serious consequences for socio-emotional development, such as poor self-concept, aggression, delinquency, negative world-view, and interpersonal-relation problems.

Self-Esteem

Since William James (1890/1981) identified self as a central concern of psychology, there has been a steady stream of research on the topic, nicely summarized by Gecas (1982), Markus and Wurf (1987), and Wylie (1979). Among the thousand self-concept studies cited by Wylie (1979) over 90% focused on the evaluation dimension, so that her volumes could as accurately have been retitled more narrowly as "Self-Esteem". Although the constructs self-concept and self-esteem are generally used interchangeably, they refer to somewhat different phenomena. The self-concept represents a totality of one's perceptions, whereas self-esteem is one dimension of this totalit Branden (1969) stated that the self-esteem refers to the individual's view of himself or herself, which has two interrelated aspects of self--confidence and self-rspect. Batt (1989) said that self-esteem refers to the perception of the individual processes of his or her own worth.

Self-esteem is a global, emotional evaluation of oneself, in terms of worth (Rohner, Rohner & Roll, 1980). Positive feelings of self-esteem imply that individuals like or approve of themselves, accept themselves, perceive themselves as being persons of

worth. Negative self-esteem, on the other hand, implies that one dislikes or disapproves of oneself, devaluates oneself and sometimes feels inferior to others, perceives oneself to be a worthless person or fit for condemnation. All of us can place ourselves somewhere along this continuum.

Symbolic interaction posits that adolescent self-esteem is a function of the parent's reflected appraisal of the adolescent's inherent worth, which occurs during the course of parent-adolescent interaction. Researchers and theorists (Bain, 1983; Mead, 1934; Oppenshaw, Thomas & Rollins, 1983, 1984) working from symbolic interaction theory, assumed that parental acceptance transmits to adolescents information pertaining to their inherent worth. The main effect, of the information transmitted to adolescents, is the confirmation in the adolescents' mind that their parents accept them as worthwhile individuals. It logically follows that, as parents interact with adolescents in supportive ways,adolescents will feel as though they are worthwhile individuals with the capability of effectively acting upon and reacting to their immediate environment. Thus, parental acceptance should be positively related to adolescent self-esteem. Hayes (1989) says:

> We decide what we are worth by evaluating the reactions of those we are about. Other people are the mirrors to our understanding of self. f we look into the face of the person we are interacting with and see cceptance and love, we assume we are good. (p. 108)

As Sullivan (1947) stated, the self-system has its origins in interpersonal relationships, especially with significant others, and . is influenced profoundly by reflected appraisals. Sullivan's comments indicate that, if significant others communicate to the child the feeling that he or she is approved of, respected, and liked, he or she will develop a sense of self-acceptance and respect for himself or herself and others as well.

In contrast, social learning theory emphasizes vicarious or observational learning and suggests that adolescent self-esteem is positively related to the parent's self-esteem. Bandura and Houston (1961) contend that children who have experienced acceptance and support from the model are more apt to imitate the model, thereby facilitating vicarious learning of those parental attributes characteristic of self-esteem. Thus, the extent to which the adolescent models parental self-esteem will be mediated by parental acceptance and support. If we assume, as social learning theory posits, that parental acceptance facilitates the vicarious learning process, then it follows that as the perceived acceptance of the parents increases, the probability of adolescents identifying with the parents is greatly enhanced. Thus, adolescent self-esteem is positively related to the product of the interaction between parental acceptance and self-esteem.

Coopersmith's (1967) studies of the antecedents of children's self-esteem indicated that parents' child-rearing styles is a key variable affecting the development of self-esteem in children. His findings were that high self-esteem in children is related to parental acceptance and less drastic forms of punishment (that is, less use of corporal

punishment and less use of withdrawal of love for misbehaviors). In Coopersmith's results, we find some confirmation for the ideas of "the looking-glass self": Parents are a child's social mirror, and if children see that parents regard them with affection and respect, then they come to think of themselves as worthy of affection and respect. Graybill (1978) and Sears (1970) likewise found that parental acceptance and warmth correlated positively with children's self-esteem. In a sample of 208 Puerto Rican adolescent males, Saavedra (1980) found that adolescents' perceptions of self-esteem varied directly with their perceptions of both maternal ($r = .43$, $p<.001$) and paternal warmth ($r = .42$, $p<.001$). In a similar study, Rohner, Hahn and Rohner (1980) found parallel results among 25 children aged 7 through 12 in working-class Korean immigrant families in the U.S. In an assessment of verbal response patterns and self-esteem among 208 eighth-grade students and their mothers, significant relationships were found between maternal empathy and positive regard for the child, and the child's self-esteem (Rohner & Nielsen, 1978). Medinnus (1965a) studied 44 college freshmen utilizing a series of measures of self-acceptance and personal adjustment, perceived acceptance by the parent, and other measures of parent-child relations. Adolescents who measured high in self-esteem on those scales perceived their parents as warm and loving. Kawash, Kerr and Clewes (1985) found that, in a sample of 126 fifth- and sixth-grade children in Ontario, children who perceived parents as high in acceptance had significantly higher self-esteem than those who perceived both parents as low in acceptance

(For boys, $r = .48$ for mothers and .55 for fathers; for girls, $r = .32$ and .22, respectively). Nunn and Parish (1987) indicated from data of 632 fifth-to tenth-grade students that evaluations of self were significantly correlated with both ratings of the students' mother ($r = .28$, $p<.001$) and father ($r = .31$, $p<.001$). Self-esteem was also found to be positively related to parental nurturance of 125 undergraduates (Buri, 1989), to parental unconditional love of one-hundred and ninty-four 16- to 18-year-olds (Cramer, 1989), to maternal support of 76 Israeli 14- to 16-year-olds (Hoffman, Ushpiz & Levy--Shiff, 1988), and to parental acceptance of two-hundred 8- to 12-year-olds (Kapur & Gill, 1986). Felson and Zielinski (1989) found that, in a longitudinal data of 338 fifth to eighth graders, the parent support variables explain 12.2% of the variance in change in self-esteem for girls and 3.6% of the variance for boys.

According to Rohner's (1986) theory, if parents, as the most significant of others, reject their children, then it follows that they are apt to view themselves as unlovable and therefore unworthy and inadequate human beings. These self-attributions are the essence of negative self-esteem. Children who think of themselves as worthless, no good, and worthy of condemnation easily generalize these feelings to beliefs about personal incompetence and inability. These children feel they have little control over important events in their lives. They become caught in a self-fulfilling prophecy: Insofar as they feel less competent and less masterful, they may, in fact, behave that way. Others then evaluate them more negatively, and this negative evaluation feeds

back onto their impaired feelings of self-esteem.

Using a pancultural sample of 101 societies, Rohner (1975) found that rejected children throughout the world tend to evaluate themselves more negatively than accepted children. This result has been supported in two different samples between the ages of 8 and 12 in the U.S., one in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area and the other in a suburban Connecticut community. Starkey (1980), using a sample of 220 fourth- and fifth-grade boys and girls in the Washington, D.C. area, found that children who perceive themselves to be rejected report having more feelings of negative self--esteem. Rohner (1980), using a sample of 316 children in Grades 3 through 6 in a Connecticut school district, also found that the same result as Starkey's. Moreover, in a sample of 1,684 high school juniors and seniors, Rosenberg (1963) found that low self-esteem was associated strongly with extreme parental indifference, thus implicating the Warmth dimension of parenting in the etiology of negative self-esteem. Recently, Rohner (1986) reported additional supportive evidence showing a significant tendency for parental rejection to correlate positively with children's negative self-esteem ($r = .38$, $p<.001$) in a sample of 764 American children 7 through 11 years old. Robertson and Simons (1989) also found that perceived parental rejection was associated with lower self-esteem ($r = -.37$) in a sample of 300 adolescents. And Kitahara (1987) found that parental rejection in childhood was significantly related with negative self-concept of 71 Swedish university students.

Helping Behavior

Parental acceptance or affection has been found to contribute to prosocial behavior such as helping because when the child's signals of needs are met responsively, the child feels secure, self-concern is minimized, and the child identifies with and imitates the prosocial parent.

A positive affective orientation should result from parental acceptance. The child who receives affection and is allowed considerable impulse expression is less likely to be driven by unfulfilled emotional needs and by pent-up hostility, which might either blind him to the needs of others or sensitize him to others only for his own instrumental purposes. It is essential for emotional security which may in return contribute to altruism by lessening the child's preoccupation with his own emotional needs, thus opening him up to the needs of others. This is suggested by the findings (Hoffman, 1975b) (a) that helping another child in distress relates positively to emotional security, (b) that helping another child in distress is increased by an experimentally induced experience of success and by prior interaction with a friendly adult, and (c) that charitable behavior correlates negatively with a need for social approval.

Acceptance is also likely to create positive feelings for the parent which may be generalized to others, makes the child more receptive to victim--centered discipline, and increases the likelihood of his emulating an altruistic parental model (Eisenberg, 1992; Grusec, 1991; Hoffman, 1963, 1975a, 1981; Santrock, 1990; Zahn-Waxler & Smith, 1992; Zahn-Waxler et al, 1992).

Parental warmth or affection is a variable that may have a direct impact on children's moral development and an indirect influence by moderating the effectiveness of any particular disciplinary strategy. Parental affection was consistently associated with 11- to 13-year-old children's altruistic inclinations (Hoffman, 1975b) and seven graders' consideration for others (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977). Seventh-grade pupils' reputations for consideration of others were assessed by nominations from classmates. Their views of their parents' treatment of them were evaluated by means of report forms administered to lower- and middle-class children. Among middle-class boys and girls consideration for others was found to be directly related to the mother's affection but not to the father's. Among lower class, both maternal and paternal affection were related to boys' but not to girls' consideration of others. There is some evidence to suggest that perhaps any type of discipline may be more effective when administered in a warm, affectionate context, and that parental affection is associated with moral values and with other children's perceptions of the child as considerate.

Parental acceptance often serves to reinforce and intensify the positive effects of direct modeling and identification, resulting in increased helpfulness and generosity. Parental acceptance may be viewed as the modeling of prosocial behavior. By being nurturant, parents act as models of consideration, kindness, and sympathy. Mussen (1980) suggested that acceptance appears to be most effective in producing or strengthening propensities to prosocial behavior when it is part of a pattern of child--rearing and training that includes modeling of prosocial acts. Moore and Eisenberg (1984) found that maternal reports of affection are associated with prosocial behavior for sixth graders, and for peer-report of fifth graders' consideration for others. Maccoby (1980) found that children whose parents are above average in acceptance and affection tend to be more considerate of peers and more altruistic. According to Youth Survey (Search Institute, 1984), young adolescents who help other people tend to come from families which are affectionate and nurturant. The contribution of acceptance or affection to altruism is indicated by several other correlational studies (Hoffman, 1977; Mussen, Harris, Rutherford & Keasey, 1970; Rutherford & Mussen, 1968). In general, then, these findings are consistent with the hypothesis that parental acceptance fosters the development of prosocial behavior.

Moreover, the willingness of children to imitate altruistic adults is increased if the model has previously established a warm relationship with them (Shaffer & Brody 1981; Yarrow, Scott & Waxler, 1973). Bryan (1975) found that helpfulness by a warm model is imitated more than such behavior by one who is indifferent or cold toward the child. It is likely that warm adults are likely to be helpful ones as well and thus both providefrequent examples of helping acts and help the children directly.

Parental affection, by satisfying the child's own emotional needs, may be particularly important in the development of empathy by enabling the child to be receptive to the emotional needs of others. Congruent with

this notion, Barnett and others (1980) found that mothers of highly empathic adolescent sons were reported as being more affectionate than were mothers of less empathic sons. The failure to find a similar relationship for adolescent daughters was suggested to be due to a ceiling effect on the daughters' empathy scores. Jensen and others (1981) found that there was a positive relationship between parental support and empathy scores of children. For college students, the accepting parent variable was also positively correlated with their empathy (Hower & Edwards, 1979).

Antisocial Behavior

One important aid to moral learning is a warm, accepting relationship of mutual trust and esteem between parent and child (Rice, 1987). In a warm, emotional context, respected parents are likely to be admired and imitated by youths, resulting in similar positive traits in the adolescents. Youths learn consideration for others by being cared for, loved, and trusted by their parents. Parental acceptance or affection has repeatedly emerged as a key dimension related positively to the development of heightened levels of conscience control (Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957) and moral internalization (Hoffman, 1963, 1981).

Conversely, in an atmosphere of rejection and hostility, youths tend to identify with the aggressor, taking on the antisocial traits of a feared parent (Rice, 1987). Parental values and behaviors which emphasize the punishing aspects of discipline appear to present a model of hostility for the child

which tends to become translated into a heightened level of hostile behavior. Such parents may be expected to interrupt or frustrate the children's satisfaction, an action which produces an instigation or drive for aggression (Finney, 1961). Bettelheim (1987) and Hetherington (1993) argued that emotionally cold and indifferent parents are likely to produce either emotionally frozen or violently angry children. Carson, Butcher and Coleman (1988) indicated that parental rejection has been associated with a more or less specific pattern of development in child victims. They go on saying that these children tend to be overly aggressive and prone to impulsive behavior, lack the capacity to form meaningful relationships. While Chorost (1962) found that parental warmth is negatively related to overt hostility of 79 emotionally disturbed adolescents, Kagan (1958) found that an atmosphere of rejection is positively associated with maladaptive development. Rejected children are also apt to become resentful of or angry at their parents. They may act out their anger directly or they may keep it bottled up, creating problems with its management. According to Rohner (1986), rejected children are especially likely to become hostile and aggressive if parental rejection takes the form of hostility and aggression. Under these conditions children are provided a hostile model to emulate and in this way their aggressive dispositions may intensify. The link between parental rejection and childhood aggression has been recognized for several decades. Symonds (1939), for instance, compared a group of rejected children with a control group of accepted children. He found that the rejected

children were significantly more rebellious than the accepted group. McCord and others (1961) discovered three major familial correlates of aggression among 174 boys, including the lack of warmth in the relationship between the boys and their parents. Bigner (1989) argued, when mothers are warm and affectionate consistently, children tend to develop a strong sense of responsibility for their behavior and to have feelings of guilt and sorrow when they have done something wrong. However, when mothers show rejection (usually involving punishment) consistently, increased aggression toward other children, resistance to cooperation with authority figures, and hostile acting-out behaviors are specific reactions by children. In the long run, the continuous use of rejection may result in children who withdraw from social interaction with others, quarrel extensively among each other, and openly express aggression when provoked. Rohner (1986) found in a world-wide sample of 101 societies that parental rejection is associated with hostility and aggression both in children and in adults. In a sample of 764 elementary school children in U.S., he reported parental rejection is positively correlated with children's hostility and aggression (r = .41, p<.001). Roberts (1988) said that bullies usually originate in a family that neglects, rejects, or abuses children.

Insofar as rejected children tend to be aggressive, and emotionally unstable, one of rejection's malignant by-products is the creation of children who are less easy to be with than accepted children (Harrington, 1993; Perry, Perry & Kennedy, 1992; Rohner, 1986). This in turn can trigger a response in

a susceptible parent of even further rejection, and a vicious interactive spiral is created that becomes even harder to interrupt. In effect, rejected children often become unwittingly provokers of their own subsequent rejection or abuse (Erchak, 1981). The personality constellation associated with rejection also reduces the likelihood that rejected children will develop fully satisfying peer relations or satisfying relations with teachers or other nonfamily members. And so the rejected children's already damaged sense of self-esteem is further diminished.

The importance of parent-child relations as a highly significant variable in presumed causes of juvenile delinquency is well documented in the literature. Theoretically, inadequacies in the parent-child relationship predispose some children toward delinquent behavior by making them less likely to abide by socially sanctioned behavior and strategies designed to meet their individual needs. Empirically, a brief review of the literature (Bahr & Wang, 1992; Kroupa, 1988) dealing with parent-child relations and juvenile delinquency reveals fairly consistent findings: Delinquents tend to be associated with more negative parental and family interactions and perceptions than do nondelinquents.

Nye (1958) found that both boys and girls from the most delinquent group tended to perceive their parents as more rejecting than did adolescents from the least delinquent group. On the basis of the literature review on the long-term consequences of childhood abuse, Malinosky-Rummell and Hansen(1993) reported that abused youths engaged in more externalizing and criminal behaviors than did nonabused groups. Young (1964) argued from the analysis of 300 case records that in

cases of behavior disorders, as well as child abuse, parents were frequently so involved with their own demanding and unfulfilled emotional needs that they were incapable of providing warmth and affection for their children. In addition, the constellation of personality characteristics associated with rejection including hostility were generally conducive to difficulties with interpersonal relationships. Conduct problems and difficulties in overall adjustment are frequently found in children and adolescents who have experienced parental rejection. Parents of problem children, according to Santrock (1990) and Schulman, Shoemaker and Moelis (1962), are generally more rejecting and openly hostile toward their children. Glueck and Glueck (1950) found that delinquent children had parents who were more severe in their punishment, more indifferent and less affectionate. Goldin (1969) analyzed 60 studies on children's reports of parent behaviors in terms of acceptance and punishment factors and found that delinquents perceived parents as rejecting. Several longitudinal studies (Snyder & Patterson, 1987) demonstrated that parental coldness and rejection, a lack of affection for the child are predictive of delinquent behavior. Himes-Chapman and Hansen (1983) found that the delinquents in the Youth Home viewed their parents as less loving and more rejecting than did a normal group of adolescents. Steinberg (1987) found that parental neglect is associated with preadolescent onset delinquency. Using data from the follow-up of 847 families, Kolvin, Miller, Fleeting and Kolvin (1988) reported that children who grew up in deprived were more at risk for delinquecy during later childhood and beyond. Also, Simons, Robertson and Downs (1989) found that, in a sample of about 300 adolescents aged 13 to 17, parental rejection is positively correlated with delinquency (r = .38).

This relationship between love deprivation and juvenile delinquency appears to be more pronounced in the case of violent delinquency, as Montagu (1978) summarized:

> Take almost any violent individual and inquire into his history as a child, and it can be predicted with confidence that he will be discovered to have had a lacklove childhood, to have suffered a failure of tender, loving care. (p. 178)

Walsh and Beyer (1987) found that, in a sample of 131 male delinquents, love deprivation was correlated with violent crime (R = .49, p<.001) and drug abuse (r = .19, p<.05). Again, Walsh, Beyer and Petee (1987) confirmed these findings from data of 256 male delinquents.

There is a close relationship between delinquency and self-concept. Rice (1987) said that delinquent youths tend to show lower self-esteem, so they adopt deviant patterns of behavior to reduce self-rejecting feelings. In other words, if their behavior begins to match their low opinions of themselves, they decrease their own self-derogation and rejection. They seek to restore their self-respect by aligning themselves with deviant groups that accord them the approval. According to Wells (1989), extremely low self-esteem predisposes people to participate in delinquency, because they have little to lose by deviating and something to gain in terms of self-

-esteem. Delinquent events may sometimes involve daring, normatively ambiguous acts, particularly among adolescents. In a sample of 1,886 adolescent boys, Rosenberg, Schooler and Schoenbach (1989) found that low self-esteem fostered delinquency (r = -.19, p<.05) and that delinquency enhanced self-esteem (r = .08), especially for low socioeconomic status groups (r = .14, p<.05). Simons and Robertson (1989) insist that parental rejection affects negatively children's self-esteem, which is a precursor to deviance, including substance use. They found that, in a sample of 343 adolescents, parental rejection was correlated with self-esteem (r = -.33, p<.01), aggressiveness (r = .28, p<.01), and substance use (r = .36, p<.01).·

Adolescents' relationships with their fathers are particularly important in delinquency. Youths' perceptions of their fathers are related to delinquent behavior. In a comparison of 30 delinquent boys and 30 non-delinquent boys, Medinnus (1965b) found that delinquent boys perceived their fathers as more rejecting. Also, Rice (1987) found that fathers of male and female delinquents were more cold and rejecting them than those of nondelinquents, Johnson (1987) found that, in a sample of 734 high school sophomores, distance from father is more predictive of theft, vandalism, and assault than is distance from mother. Based on the recent review of research on paternal effects on child and adolescent psychopathology, Phares and Compas (1992) showed a link between paternal factors and delinquency. Father serves as the prime teaching and deterrent force in the family through his roles of value transmitter and disciplinarian.

Presumably, a more distant father would be less effective in fulfilling these functions.

Rutter (1982) emphasizes that warmth is a vital element in all kinds of family relationships, and that where warmth in the family is lacking, the child is more likely to develop deviant behavior, particularly of an antisocial type. Carson, Butcher and Coleman (1988) also argue that severe parental rejection and lack of parental affection are the primary causes of antisocial personality. Families of antisocial children are characterized by harsh discipline and little positive parental involvement with the child. For several-hundred grade school boys, the parenting practices and family interaction accounted for 30-40% of the variance in general antisocial behavior (Patterson, De Baryshe & Ramsey, 1989).

Besides, rejection has been implicated directly and indirectly in the etiology of acting-out and vandalism (Schulman, et al., 1962) and found repeatedly in the family background of drug and alcohol abusers (Rohner, 1986). Barnes (1984) found parental nurturance and the ability of parents to function as a support system for the adolescent to be important factors in preventing heavy drinking by adolescents. Brook and Brook (1988) interviewed 510 teenagers and their mothers and found that a lack of maternal and paternal affection was associated with greater alcohol use. Lee and Goddard (1989) found lack of parental affection, concern, involvement and modeling to be central factors in the family's influence on drug abuse. The likelihood of drug abuse increases when parental control is not accompanied by warmth or when parents show indifferences and rejection

(Halebsky, 1987; Rice, 1987). Drugs become a means of finding security, comfort, or relief. Jurich and others (1985) argue that drug abusers are not as close to their parents and are more likely to have negative adolescent-parental relationships.

Most initial experiences with alcohol, illicit drugs stealing, and vandalism take place during the middle grades. For example, according to the Youth Survey (Search Institute, 1984), though 90% of young adolescents judged stealing to be wrong, 20% of them reported stealing during the last 12 months, 27% committing vandalism, 60% cheating on a test, 13% using marij- uana, and 22% of fifth graders and 53% of ninth graders drinking alcohol. Retrospective reports of graduating seniors in 1986 (Jackson & Hornbeck, 1989) indicated that the initial use of cigarettes was begun by 53% prior to 10th grade, for alcohol 55%, and for marijuana 26%. For illicit drugs, about 50% of the eventual users (those who had used drugs by the end of 12th grade) initiated use prior to 10th grade. Gonzalez (1989) reported that, among 4,202 university students, 14% started drinking in elementary school and 34% started in middle school.

These facts are alarming because of the compelling evidence that drug use in early adolescence is a critical factor in substance abuse during late adolescence and adulthood. The younger the age of initiation, the more likely an individual is to develop a serious substance abuse problem (Jackson & Horn- beck, 1989; Moffitt, 1993). Also, substance abuse during adolescence is strongly associated with other problem behaviors such as delinquency and deviant attitudes (Newcomb & Bentler, 1989).

As far as antisocial behavior is concerned, several categories are converging that alert us to early adolescence as an increasingly troubled time. According to Lipsitz (1980), school violence reaches its highest during the junior high school years, and juvenile delinquency appears to blossom around age 14. In 1985, smoking and drinking were the most prevalent activities in the early adolescent age group (Newcomb & Bentler, 1989).The proportion of high school students who reported being drunk at least once is 49% (Elkind, 1984), somewhere between 20% and 30% of eighth graders drink excessively (Lipsitz, 1980), and 4.3% of 13--year-olds and 9.7% of 14-year olds are already heavy drinkers defined as drinking at least once a week in large amounts (Conger & Petersen, 1984). Drug abuse soars in the junior high years. 64% of American young people have tried illegal drugs before they finish high school (Elkind, 1984). The proportion of all arrests under 18 years of age in U.S. in 1980 was 49% for vandalism and 38% for theft (Conger & Petersen, 1984). The estimates of school vandalism in the U.S. run from about $50 million to $600 million, with most estimates in the $100-200 million range (Zwier & Vaughan, 1984).

All of these antisocial behaviors reflect adolescents' reaction to the stress, peer pressure, emotional disturbance, rebellion against parents, and so on. Conger and Petersen (1984) pointed out that "the most single predictive indicator of actual adole- scent delinquency was the adolescent's relationships with their parents: The better the adolescent reports getting along with his or her parents, the less delinquency" (p. 626). Parent-child relationships of delinquents

are far more likely than those of nondelinquents to be characterized by a lack of intimate communication, mutual understanding, and affectional identification between parent and child. They are also far more likely to be characterized by mutual hostility, parental rejection, and indifference. Parents need to remember that they are role models, and that children take their cues from what parents do, as well as what they say. If parents present models of responsible, nurturant, helping behavior, and show love and respect for children, their young ones are likely to do the same.

Interpersonal Relations

Parental acceptance and affection have also an important effect on their children's emotional responsiveness. According to Staub (1978), having the experience of a benevolent environment, one that treats them well, children are more likely to be benevolently oriented toward their environment and people in it, to assume that other people are kind rather than unkind, to desire contact with others rather than to avoid them.

However, as Rohner (1980, 1986) argues, seriously rejected children have not learned how to give love because they have not known loving parents after whom they may model their own behavior, and even though they crave affection they have difficulty giving or accepting it. In order to protect themselves from further emotional hurt, rejected children tend to withdraw emotionally, to make fewer bids for positive response, to enclose their emotions. Ultimately, they may stop trying to get positive responses from the people who are most important to them, but through it all they maintain an often unrecognized and sometimes vehemently denied with or yearning for love. In this way, rejected children may become emotionally insulated, unable to form warm, intimate relations with others freely and openly. Their attachments tend to be troubled by emotional constriction or defensiveness, and in extreme cases they may become apathetic or emotionally flat. Even though rejected or emotionally abused children may want to reach out to others, they are often unable to form fully satisfying social relations with their peers, and so their already damaged sense of self-esteem is reinforced, and they may withdraw even further into themselves. Rice (1987) said that low self-esteem has been found to be a factor in poor social adjustment. Adolescents with low self-esteem more often develop feelings of isolation. They desperately want others to like them, but because they are less likely to feel they have likable qualities, they are less likely to consider themselves well liked and respected and so isolate themselves socially. Carson, Butcher and Coleman (1988) argue that when parents are cold and distant toward the child and allow no warm or close relationship to develop, the child who imitates this parental model becomes cold and distant in later relationships.

The relationship between parental warmth and emotional responsiveness is clearly demonstrated in the literature. Emotional responsiveness refers to the ability of a person to form warm and intimate relationships with others (Rohner & Nielsen, 1978). People who are emotionally unresponsive are

restricted in their ability to become involved in lasting and affectionate relationships. They often have strong needs for affection but are unable to return it, thus their relationships with others are likely to be distant and impersonal. Institutionalized children, as well as severely emotionally deprived children, are often reluctant or unable to become involved with other people (Rohner, 1975). Rohner (1986) said that rejected children and adults tend to be less emotionally responsive than persons who were accepted in childhood. In a sample of 764 American children, 7 through 11 years old, Rohner (1986) found that parental rejection was positively correlated with children's emotional unresponsiveness (r = .47, p<.001). Search Institute (1984) found that about 15% of young aloescents experience social alienation or estrangement from others. They tend to have low self-esteem (r = .45), experience a high degree of peer pressure toward deviance (r = .31), and are prone to antisocial behavior (r = .21) and thoughts of suicide (r = .29). There may be no greater risk for a young adolescent than to be without a meaningful social network, for it is partly through this network that he or she begins to acquire life-affirming values. Search Institute (1984) also found that social alienation is related low parental nurturance, low family close-ness, high authoritarian control, and high coercive punishment. These family patterns may fail to equip a child with the confidence and skills necessary for connecting with others outside the family unit. Using retrospective data from 207 elderly women, Andersson, Mullins and Johnson (1987) found that too much control or parental neglect in childhood could lead to social isolation later in life. Also, Calabrese (1987) argued that the alienated adolescent is prone to suicide, abuses drugs and alcohol, and rejects the norms established by family, school, and society in general.

World-View

World-view is a person's often unver-balized, global, or overall evaluation of life and the universe as being basically good, secure, pleasant and happy, or as being bad, insecure, unpleasant or threatening (Rohner & Nielsen, 1978). Therefore, world-view does not refer to an empirically derived knowledge of the economic, political, social, or natural environment in which one lives.

According to Rohner's (1986) theory, one's psychological construction of reality or image of life and of the world seems to be shaped to a large extent through childhood experi-ences in the home, especially experiences of acceptance and rejection. Rejected children who experience great psychological hurt at the hands of their parents are likely to be insecure, angry, emotionally unresponsive, and to devaluate their feelings of self-esteem. They are likely to generalize these feelings onto the nature of the world. It is a small step for them to attribute these painful family experiences and internal feelings to the very essence of life and the universe. In the view of many rejected children, the world is, in its essential nature, an unfriendly, hostile, unpleasant place in which to live. They often expect little more from life itself. The very nature of life for them is apt to be threatening, dangerous and unhappy. They develop a negative world-

view that, once established, often bullies them throughout life. This view seems to derive from the fact that the interpretations children make about the world are based on their own experiences with it, both experiences they have had as individuals and experiences they know or believe others to have had. An individual's world-view extends this interpretation about the empiri-cal world, including interpretation of the experiences he has had at the hands of the people who are most important to him, to an interpretation of the very nature of the world.

Little research has been directed to the relation between parental acceptance or warmth and world-view. Rohner's (1975) study showed that adults who were rejected as children tend to have a more negative world--view than adults who had been accepted as children. In a sample of 764 American children, Rohner (1986, p. 96) found that parental rejection was positively correlated with children's negative world-view (r = .44, p<.001). Finney (1961) found that mothers who were not nurturant produce pessimistic children. He argued that the child's repeated lack of reinforcement of his drives may generalize to a widespread expectation of lack of reward in life. This is consistent with the findings of Erikson (1963) and Symonds (1938).

Adult Personality

According to Rohner's (1986) theory, in the absence of positive, counteracting expe-riences over time (such as rewarding peer relations), rejected children are likely to mature into adults who are hostile and insecure, who have feelings of negative self-esteem, who have a negative world-view, and who are emotionally unstable.

Although less work has been done with adults' retrospective recollections of paren-ting than with children's reports, Rohner (1986) found in an American sample of 147 adults that parental hostility, one of the principal expressions of overall rejection, is related significantly to the same cluster of personality dispositions in adults as overall rejection is for children. That is, of adult personality dispositions, parental hostility has been positively correlated with emotional unresponsiveness (r = .33, p<.001), with ho-stility and aggression (r = .44, p<.001), with negative self-esteem (r = .46, p<.001), and with negative world-view (r = .24, p<.01). Moreover, these adults are likely to have strong needs for affection, but are often impaired in their ability to accept affection or to return it because many of them have become more or less emotionally insulated or unresponsive to potentially close interper-sonal relations. Any of these rejected adults who become parents are therefore expected to reject their own children significantly more often than parents who were accepted as children. In this way the rejection cycle is apt to be perpetuated.

Therefore, the source of this derailed parent-child interaction lies in the parents' own earliest childhood experiences. It is commonly assumed that most, if not all, molding of behavior and outlooks occurs in the first decade of life. Consequently, parental behavior is seen as reflecting early life experience and is expected to remain fairly stable throughout the adult years. The unconscious memories of what it was like as

a child and how one was cared for become the most powerful determinants of later parenting behavior.

Parents who abuse their children tend to have had a seriously disturbed upbringing themselves, often associated with neglect and rejection. As Kempe and Kempe (1978) said, "exactly like their children, abusive parents were brought up with images of themselves as bad, worthless, and unlovable" (p. 15). They were brought up to distrust an uncertain, unforgiving world where joy, approval, and affection either did not exist or deteriorated into anger and punishment. We have rarely seen an abusive caretaker who does not give a history of abuse or neglect during the earliest years of his life. The most consistent feature of the histories of abusive families is the repetition, from one generation to the next, of a pattern of abuse and neglect (Kempe & Kempe, 1978). Indeed, it is commonly argued that there is an intergenerational transmission of family violence -- that it runs in families (Hagestad, 1984). The same phenomena have often been found empirically among child abusers in the U.S. (Parke & Collmer, 1975). That is, a large proportion of parents who reject or abuse their children are themselves abused, neglected, or deprived of warmth and affection in childhood. At least half of abusive parents are known to be themselves maltreated as children (Carson, Butcher & Coleman, 1988; Rutter, 1982; Starr, 1988). The deprivation is essentially a lack of empathic care, an emotional deprivation. Kempe and Kempe (1978) emphasize that emtional abuse plays some role in all abuse and neglect. It is out of the great pool of neglected and abused children that the next generation of maltreating caretakers develops, although not all children subjected to maltreatment become abusive parents. Hayes (1989) argues that parent neglect is the primary force promoting the evolution of today's disturbed child, and goes on saying that:

> Those children who have not experienced a nurturing relationship with a parent often do not have the capacity to nurture. The result is a destructive domino effect that can wreak havoc for generations. (p. 142)

It is refreshing to find in Lamb's (1982) paper that "...the best adjusted adults are those who, in childhood, had warm relationships with effective mothers and fathers" (p. 24).

Coping with Parental Rejection

It seems clear that parental acceptance or warmth is a potent force shaping human behavior. Nonetheless, some children are less affected by parental rejection than are other children. In fact, some children seem to be able to avoid or overcome to some degree the most deleterious effects of parental rejection and emotional abuse. Perhaps 20% of rejected children manage to cope more effectively with perceived rejection than do most children (Rohner, 1986). However, these children are not invulnerable. All rejected children hurt, but some manage to deal more effectively with the hurt than others. Three personal factors are known to help rejected children cope: sense of self, self-deter-

mination, and the capacity to depersonalize (Rohner, 1986).

Sense of self refers to children's relative awareness of their own individual personhood (Rohner, 1986). Because a sense of self is probably one of the factors allowing children to rely on themselves as a primary referent in psychological functioning, children with a more clearly differentiated sense of self are less affected by negative messages from a rejecting parent than are those with a less clearly differentiated sense of self. In other words, the differentiated child seems able to function psychologically with greater degrees of separation from others. Steele (1982) described them as having constitutionally "stronger egos". On the other hand, children who have trouble maintaining their own sense of individuality and who have difficulty recognizing the individuality of other family members are probably those who experience great difficulty coping with parental rejection.

One important element in the development of children's sense of self is the development of a sense of having personal control over important life events (Maccoby, 1980). Children vary in the degree to which they believe they have control over their lives or over significant events that happen to them. Some believe they have at least some control over what happens to them through their own behavior. Others feel they have no control over their lives. The psychological world of children who believe they can do nothing to alter their parents' attitudes and behavior is very different from the psychological world of those who think they can at least sometimes change things. The former are likely to experience a greater sense of hopelessness, and they may be more likely to give up.

The ability to depersonalize is dependent on the ability of perspective--taking, decentering, or role-taking -- the ability to see things as others see them (Rohner, 1986). People who are unable to depersonalize tend to interpret interpersonal encounters, and even accidental events, as having special and direct reference to themselves, usually in a negative sense. The capacity to depersonalize allows children to process hurtful family interaction psychologically in a more benign way. If children can understand why their parents feel or act the way they do, they may be better able to cope with rejection.

Situational factors also seem to be implicated in the process of coping. One of them is that the likelihood of children being able to cope effectively with rejection is enhanced if a warm, alternative caretaker is available to the rejected child (Rohner, 1986; Steele, 1982). The presence of an accepting caregiver in a child's life seems to be an important factor moderating the outcome of rejection. Garmezy (1981) suggested that "adaptive stressed children seem to have enjoyed compensatory positive experiences outside the family, and a bond with some supportive surrogate figure(s)" (p. 248). In a similar vein, Rutter (1982) reported that even in highly discordant and unhappy homes, a relationship with one of the parents marked by a high level of warmth appears to protect the child to a large degree.

All of these personal and situational factors seem to help provide psychological shields against the more corrosive effects of parental rejection. A full understanding of

the coping process is probably to be achieved within the multivariate framework of a person-in-context.

Conclusions

A favorable conception of oneself is essential to personal happiness and effective functioning. The most important single cause of a person's success or failure has to do with the question of what a person believes of himself (Jensen & Kingston, 1986). Children and adults as well define themselves in the light of others' reactions to them. Parents can influence the self-concept of their children by exhibiting or modeling the self--confidence and self-reliance they expect in their children. Another way is to be consistently encouraging and supportive of their children. Parents should strive to be as accepting as possible and show children that they care. When children are accepted, they are free to grow and develop; when they are not accepted, they become defensive, impeding growth and development.

Children, who experience being loved and accepted as they are, have a priceless advantage in the formation of healthy self-esteem. Their parents tend to enjoy a high level of self-esteem (Branden, 1985). Since the way we treat others generally reflects the way we treat ourselves. As Branden (1985) indicated, to a child who had little or no experience of being treated with respect, self-disrespect feels natural. We tend to go on giving ourselves the messages that our parents once gave us.The effects of identification and imitation on the socialization process are well known and can be influenced by perceived similarity and other qualities of the model such as acceptance, warmth, love, or nurturance. According to Bain (1983), all of us tend to view ourselves as we imagine "ignificant others" view us. If our parents rejected us as children, we are likely to define ourselves as unworthy of love and inadequate persons. These rejected children are likely to grow up into parents who will tend to reject their own children. In this way, the vicious circle tends to perpetuate itself. Actually, many abusive parents are known to have themselves been abused, deprived of warmth in childhood (Rohner, 1984), and apt to regard punishment as remedy for family problems (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). For the most part, they have not been exposed to models of successful parenting and they have scanty knowledge about child development (Conger & Petersen, 1984). The findings, therefore, can be substantially helpful for abusing parents. They would possibly be of use even to ordinary parents, adolescent parents, and single parents who may feel inadequate in their role for child rearing to know how they should bring up their children. Many single adolescent mothers, for example, are ill prepared to cope with the responsibilities of parenthood and their children are at high risk for child abuse (Conger & Petersen, 1984). Keshet and Rosenthal (1980) interviewed separated or divorced fathers and found that 44% reported receiving help from others in dealing with children's feelings, and that they expressed difficulty in relating to their children's emotional needs. Also, Kempe and Kempe (1978) argued that some 20 to 30% of parents, including those with potential difficulty in parenting, have some

difficulty in caring for their children adequately.

This study did not attempt to identify the relations of parental acceptance with child and adolescent cognitive development, suicide, sex role development, and parental socio-economic status. The higher the socio-economic status of the parents, the less the parental rejection and the less the difference in parental acceptance perceived by children may be. Roberts (1987) found that parental socio-economic status was related to parental warmth ($r = .42$, $p<.05$ for mothers; $r = .32$, $p<.10$ for fathers).

There is evidence suggesting that parent-child relationships marked by substantial warmth is associated with cognitive performance. Estrada and others (1987) found that parental warmth or acceptance was significantly correlated with school achievement at age 12. Both the achievement test scores and grade point averages of children, especially of boys, are known to vary directly with perceived parental acceptance (Rohner, 1986). Lamb (1981) and Radin and Russell (1983) argued that both parents, especially fathers, emphasize achievement and competition in boys more than in girls.

Suicide is one of the three primary causes of mortality during adolescence. According to Millstein (1989), between early (ages 10-14) and late adolescence (ages 15-19), suicide rates increase by 600%. Especially, male adolescents have shown steady increases. Edwards and Lowe (1988) said that the number of teenage suicide has tripled in the last 30 years and each year, 500,000 teenagers in America attempt suicide. Among them, 5,000 are found to succeed (Neiger & Hopkins, 1988). Adolescent suicide frequently reflects a lack of parental acceptance. Such a lack may cause a child in the family to be devoid of a deeply felt sense of being a lovable and valuable person, leaving him or her vulnerable to intense suicidal compulsion (Brown, 1985). In fact, 47% of the parasuicidal patients (n = 43) reported a pattern of exposure to neglectful parenting in childhood (Silove, George & Bhavani-Sankaram, 1987). And when parental attributes were studied, parents of adolescents who attempted suicide were found to be more hostile and indifferent toward their children, and displayed overt rejection (Neiger & Hopkins, 1988). In studies of suicidal adolescents, researchers (Bauneister, 1990; Dukes & Lorch, 1989) found that feelings of personal worthlessness, rejection, inadequate love and support provided by family members are central factors. To feel one's self a lovable person in the minds of others, a person must have experienced a genuine mutuality of emotion in one's life. This is established through ongoing empathic interactions between parents and children.

The parent role calls for a very demanding admixture of childlike and adult perceptions. Clearly, parent-child interaction goes more smoothly when parents adopt the child's momentary goals as their own. To do so calls for considerable empathy with children's emotional states and ways of thinking. However, as Maccoby(1992) argues, socialization researchers have devoted little attention to what is required for successful role taking with much less mature partners. More important, little is known about the process whereby parents maintain multiple perspectives at the same time, taking the

child's perspective affectively and cognitively which at the same time maintaining their own adult orientations. Darling and Steinberg (1993) proposed that parenting style could be best conceptualized as a context that moderates the influence of specific parenting practices on the child.

Also, Radin and Russell (1983) found that assertive, independent behavior in daughters is negatively associated with high acceptance by parents, that is, too much warmth and support are associated with passivity in girls.

Another interesting question to be explored for future research is the effects on children of different forms of rejection (for example, hostility versus negligence) and the effects of intermittent or inconsistent rejection versus chronic, continuous rejection.

Finally, how children affect their parents, what kinds of children most affect their parents, and what characteristics in parents make them especially vulnerable to child effect are questions which should be explored. Many people perceive parents as the prime, and often only, influnce on their children. Even more specifically, researchers have focused on the background and characteristics of parents of problem child. As well, comparisons have been made between parents of well adjusted children and those of problem children in order to see what parental lack of skills produce such different children. As Ambert (1992) argues, this perspective has often resulted in a narrow and unidirectional interpretation of family dynamics with an emphasis on the effect that parents have on their children. Interactive effects have consequently been neglected, and so has the matter of child

effect. Cicirelli (1994) emphasizes the necessity of metamodels, metatheories that can explain and predict both individual and family development and how they influence one another's development over the life cycle to fully understand individuals in the family. As Rohner (1980) put it, there seems to be little doubt in the study of parental acceptance and rejection that one should take into account the personal and behavioral characteristics of the child as an instigator of parental action, just as one takes into account the personal and behavioral characteristics of the parents, or of the salient characteristics of the situation where parent and children interact.

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부모의 수용이 아동 및 청소년의 사회·정서적 발달에 미치는 영향 : 미국 문헌 고찰

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　사회화는 아동과 청소년들이 그들의 사회적 집단에서 기대되는 가치관과 행동규준을 획득하는 과정이다. 청소년들은 아동들에 비하여 동료관계에 더 의존하는 경향이 있지만　대부분의 사회에서 가정은 여전히 청소년들에게 큰 영향력을 행사하고 있다. Symonds(1939) 이래 부모의 행동은 온정과 통제의 두 차원으로 구분되어 왔으며, 그 중 온정의 차원이 청소년의 제반 특성을 보다 잘 예언해 주는 것으로 알려져 있다. 수용은 온정의 차원에 속하며, 수용적인 부모는 자녀에게 언어적 및 신체적으로 애정을 표시한다. 부모의 수용은 자녀에게 자신이 가치있다는 정보를 제공함으로써 자녀가 스스로를 존중하게 만들고 자신의 행동에 자신을 갖게 한다. 수용은 부모가 언행을 통해서 자녀에게 가르치는 것을 자녀가 더 잘 배우게 하는 분위기를 제공함으로써 동기유발의 효과도 있다. 수용은 인간의 성장과 발달을 촉진시키는데 비하여 수용의 결핍 또는 거부는 인간을 폐쇄적이고 방어적으로 만든다. Rohner(1980,1984,1986)의 이론에 의하면, 부모의 수용이나 거부는 자녀의 성격과 행동 경향 뿐만 아니라 성인의 성격 기능에도 지속적인 영향을 미친다. 부모의 수용은 자녀의 내면적 가치에 대한 긍정적 평가를 반영함으로써 자존심을 높히는 반면에, 거부는 부정적 자아개념을 형성한다. 또한 부모의 수용은 자녀의 도덕 발달에 긍정적 영향을 미쳐 이타심과 친사회적 행동을 조장하지만, 거부는 부모의 반사회적 특징을 모방케하여 자녀의 분노와 공격·반항·비행 등을 유발하며 정서적 무반응으로 인한 대인관계의 장애와 소외감·부정적 세계관을 초래한다. 부모의 거부와 무관심 또는 적대감은 자녀가 성장한 후에도 부정적 영향을 미치게 되어 애정을 주고 받을 수 있는 능력의 손상으로 그들의 자녀를 다시 거부하게 되는 악순환을 겪는다. 그러나 자녀가 자주성과 비개인화 능력이 있거나 부모의 거부를 중화시킬 수 있는 온정적인 대리인이 있는 경우에는 이와 같은 부정적 경향을 극복할 수도 있다. 부모와 자녀와의 문제는 흔히 초기의 문제가 확대 또는 연장된 것이다. 이를 예방하기 위해서는 부모가 자녀에 대한 이해와 수용을 우선 보여야 한다.