CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

From Plato to Piaget philosophers and social scientists have debated about the status of the child, child rearing practices and the role of parents. Various theories such as Psychoanalytic theory (Erikson, 1950; Miller, 1969; Sears, Ran, and Alpert, 1965), Social learning theory (Gullaume, 1971; Lepper and Green, 1978; Ross, 1966), Etiological theory (Bowlby, 1969; Hinde, 1976), Attribution theory (Lepper, 1982; Lewis, 1981), Interaction theory (Cairns, 1979) and General System models (Bell and Harper, 1977; Samaroff, 1982) and others have been used to explain the nature of socialization process and the role of parents, environment and nature. One of the most debated issues in child development literature pertains to the factors that facilitate or hinder intellectual, emotional and social development of children. How do we identify the conditions, which are conducive to the development of social competence, self-esteem and achievement motivation in children? As self-esteem has an important influence on social competence, studies relevant to self-esteem and parental behaviour are presented in the following sections.

Parental Behaviour and Children's Self-esteem

Definitions and Theoretical Perspectives. Self-esteem may be defined as individual's own evaluation of self-worth, or "the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy"
(Coopersmith, 1967). In other words, self-esteem is an individual's personal judgement of worthiness and a subjective experience, which he conveys to others through overt expressions or behaviours.

One of the earliest studies in the field of self-esteem is that of Coopersmith (1967) who sought to clarify the antecedents and consequences of self-esteem among pre-adolescents from 8 to 10 years of age. The study clearly showed that "parental warmth", "clearly defined limits" and "respectful treatment" influenced children's successes, ideals, aspirations and defences. Coopersmith defined self-esteem in terms of evaluative attitudes toward the self and measured it in its various subjective and behavioural expressions. With knowledge of both the subjective state and its behavioural expression, he was able to validate the indices of self-esteem against a network of variables that are theoretically related to self-esteem. The study identified three most important antecedent conditions of self-esteem: total or nearly total acceptance of the children by their parents, clearly defined and enforced limits, and the respect and latitude for individual action that exists within the defined limits. The conclusion was that the parents of children with high self-esteem are concerned and attentive towards their children, that they structure the worlds of their children along lines they believe to be proper and appropriate, and that they permit relatively great freedom within the structures they have established. Coopersmith summarized his findings as follows: "Persons with high self-esteem, reared under conditions of acceptance, clear definition of rules, and respect, appear to be personally effective, poised, and competent individuals who are capable of independent and creative actions. Their prevailing level of anxiety appears to be low, and their ability to deal with
anxiety appears to be better than that of other persons. They are socially skilled and are able to deal with external situations and demands in a direct and incisive manner. Their social relationships are generally good and, being relatively unaffected or distracted by personal difficulties, they gravitate to positions of influence and authority. Persons with medium self-esteem appear to be relatively similar to those high in esteem - with a few major exceptions. They are relatively well accepted, possessed of good defences, and reared under conditions of considerable definition of rules and respect; they also possess the strongest value orientation and are most likely to become dependent upon others. From the context of other evidences, it appears that they are uncertain of their worth and inclined to be unsure of their performance relative to others. Persons with low self-esteem, reared under conditions of rejection, uncertainty, and disrespect, have come to believe that they are powerless and without resource or recourse. They feel isolated, unlovable, incapable of expressing and defending themselves, and too weak to confront and overcome their deficiencies. Too immobilized to take action, they tend to withdraw and become overtly passive and compliant while suffering the pangs of anxiety and the symptoms that accompany its chronic occurrence" (1967). It has been clearly demonstrated that children with high self-esteem tend to manifest independence, outspokenness, exploratory behaviours, and assertion of their rights while those with low self-esteem are likely to be obedient, conforming, helpful, accommodating, and relatively passive.

In short, Coopersmith identified four adult skills that most influence self-esteem in children. First, the child must be accepted by adults, parents, and
teachers as a unique individual. Second, there must be clearly defined and enforced limits in order for the child to develop high self-esteem. Third, adults must respect the child as an adult and take the child's needs and wishes seriously. Fourth, the level of self-esteem of the adults themselves is related to their ability to accomplish the first three skills. This means parents and teachers who have high self-esteem will accept the uniqueness of children, set and enforce limits and extend respect to children.

Clemens and Beans (1981) singled out four major determinants of high self-esteem: a sense of connectiveness, a sense of uniqueness, a sense of power and a sense of models. Based on an elaborate review of theory and review of literature, they proposed that there are four skill areas, which help develop and maintain a high self-esteem. They are: (1) ability to make a meaningful contact with your inner self and with others; (2) the ability to accept differences in yourself and others, (3) the ability to exercise influence over your life span, and (4) the ability to maintain a rather constant sense of identity. Maslow (1970) enumerated three key factors that influence self-esteem: "respect and approval from other people", "actual capacity, achievement and success", and "acceptance of and acting upon our own inner nature". Weinhold and Hilferty (1983) sought to present systematic methods of identifying or remedying self-esteem problems, which elementary school teachers and counsellors can use. They proposed a self-esteem matrix and a set of specific activities by means of which practitioners can make systematic and planned interventions in various counselling settings.
It is generally believed that self-esteem is associated with personal satisfaction and effective functioning. Most personality theorists including Rogers, Murphy, Homey and Acller highlight the significance of a favourable attitude toward oneself. Indeed, clinicians and laymen alike applaud the significance of self-esteem as an integral part of healthy personality. Clinicians have often observed that persons who seek psychological help often suffer from feelings of inadequacy and unworthiness. Studies have also confirmed that persons whose performance does not match their personal aspirations often perceive themselves as inferior. They also confirm the significance of self-esteem in personal experience and interpersonal behaviour. Motivational research, for example, suggests that those striving after social status and social approval are motivated by the desire to maintain a favourable self-esteem and those with high self-esteem maintain a fairly constant image of their capabilities. Persons with low self-esteem, on the other hand, are more likely to conform to group pressures and less able to perceive threatening stimuli.

William James (1979), George Herbert Mead (1934) and Charles Cooley (1962) provided major insights into the conceptualisation of self-esteem. James believed that human aspirations and values play a major role in determining whether we regard ourselves favourably. He concluded that our achievements are measured against our aspirations for any given area of behaviour. Another source of self-esteem is the value placed upon extensions of the self. James introduced the concept of "social self, which is the recognition he gets from his peers. ... A man has as many social selves as there are people who recognize
Mead elaborated James' concept of social self and traced its evolution through social processes and activities. According to Mead, the self-concept of an individual is the mirror image of the criteria employed by significant others and thus largely derived from the reflected appraisal of others.

Morris Rosenberg (1979) undertook a major empirical study of the antecedents of self-esteem and identified social conditions, which enhance or diminish self-esteem. Findings of the study based on an attitude survey administered to over 5000 high school students support the general assumption that the amount of parental attention and concern is significantly related to self-esteem. Within the family, the order of birth is also related to self-esteem: only children and particularly only male children are higher in self-esteem. Indeed, Rosenberg's study demonstrates clearly that parental attitudes have far more influence on children's social esteem than broader social forces such as class or religion. Using a battery of tests, Arenson-Kemp (1996) evaluated the role of parenting behaviour and its consequences upon the personality development of children, particularly their self-esteem. Parental acceptance emerged as a key factor in the positive development of children, significantly affecting personality in general and self-esteem in particular.

Parental authoritarian behaviour refers to "behaviour of the parent in a contest of wills, which results in a considerable external pressure on the child to behave according to the parents' desires" (Rollins and Thomas, 1979, p.321).
Examples of power assertion are: physical punishment, deprivation of material objects or privileges, the direct application of force, or the threat of any of these.

According to Thomas and Chess (1977) "temperament may be best viewed as a general term referring to the how of behaviour. It differs from ability, which is concerned with what and how well of behaving, and from motivation, which accounts for why a person does what he or she is doing. Temperament, by contrast, concerns the way in which an individual behaves".

Thomas and Chess identified nine categories of temperament or behaviour styles: activity, rhythmicity, approach-withdrawal, adaptability, threshold of responsiveness, intensity of reaction, quality of mood, distractibility, and attention span. By factor analysis and qualitative analysis of these nine behaviours, Thomas and Chess sorted out three temperamental constellations: easy, difficult, and slow-to-warm up children. Easy children are characterized by regularity, positive approach responses to new stimuli, high adaptability to change, and mild or moderately intense mood, which is generally positive. Irregularity, low adaptability, intense mood expressions that are often negative, and withdrawal from new stimuli characterize difficult children. Slow-to-warm-up children, on the other hand, display mild intensity of reactions and fewer tendencies to show regularity. They often combine negative responses of mild intensity to new stimuli with slow adaptability after repeated contact. Thomas and Chess viewed "difficult temperament" as a one-dimensional concept, with a range from easy to difficult.
Money (1996) examined the relationship between parenting style and adolescent academic achievement. His data supported earlier findings that adolescents who characterize their parents as authoritative have a more positive orientation to school than those who characterize their parents as non-authoritative or somewhat non-authoritative. Sigward (1996) studied parenting styles and their relationships with young adults' self-esteem and adjustment. Results indicated that for males and females, social, personal and general components of self-esteem were positively influenced by paternal acceptance and negatively influenced by maternal authoritarian control. Also, for young adult males personal self-esteem was negatively related to the development of symptoms of maladjustment. The development of symptoms of maladjustment in females was positively influenced by maternal authoritarian control and negatively influenced by personal self-esteem.

Fell-Dewalt (1996) examined the relation between perceived parenting styles, the psychoanalytic construct of internalisation, and self-esteem. She reached the conclusion that internalisation may be a two-dimensional construct, including cognitive and affective dimensions. The cognitive maturity dimension may develop independent of parenting behaviour and self-esteem, while the more effective dimension, including evidence of lack of libidinal object constancy, is related to parenting behaviour and self-esteem. Stormshak (1996) focused on the relationship between frustration, history of parental punishment, and parental authoritarianism on aggression in 7-10 year old children. The study did not support the hypotheses that frustration and more punitive discipline history would
increase children's aggressive responding and that children in high punishment history and with authoritarian parents would be rated as more aggressive. However, Bierman (1996) found that hyperactive and aggressive behaviours were related to more specific parenting practices, including punitiveness and physical aggression, respectively. Leve’s (1996) investigation of children's positive peer relations and the nature of child-parent interactions revealed that parent's positive behaviour was a significant predictor of the child-peer interaction.

Crockett (1996) explored the relationships of parenting styles, attitudes, and child-rearing environments with children’s curiosity, the relationships of parenting styles and attitudes with child-rearing environments, and the indirect relationships of parenting styles and attitudes with children’s curiosity through child-rearing environments. Parenting styles were characterized as authoritative versus authoritarian, and attitudes were represented by parental affect and enjoyment of the parental role. The findings suggest that parenting styles and child-rearing environments make important contributions to children's curiosity. The somewhat authoritative parenting style, as opposed to the strongly authoritative parenting style, was associated with higher curiosity in children. The strongly authoritative parenting style was associated with child-rearing environments, which included high stimulation of learning, encouragement of maturity and autonomy. Similarly, Jordan (1996) found that cognitive developmental scores were influenced by level of education. Women in lower educational and lower socioeconomic levels had higher frequencies of low
cognitive reasoning scores than did women from higher educational and socioeconomic levels.

Kremen (1996) examined stability and change in ego-control in a longitudinal sample, using growth curve methodology; the data were analysed using hierarchical linear modelling. The study highlighted the role of positive identification for developing internal structures for impulse regulation. Mothers’ and fathers’ parenting scales predicted both lifetime ego-control and linear change in ego control for children of both sexes. Parents’ affectionate, supportive and emotionally expressive orientations were related to lifetime under control in girls. For boys, affectionate and supportive parenting by both parents was related to lifetime over control, while conflicted relationships with fathers were related to lifetime under control.

Haltiwanger (1996) sought to determine whether presented self-esteem in young children could be predicted from traditional or new dimensions of parenting. Child gender, conditionality and too-narrow-restrictive form of boundaries were identified as better predictors than the traditional dimensions. Parenting styles, which were highly controlling and dictatorial, had negative effects on self-esteem. Cho (1996) also found that when mothers had high scores on the affective components of authoritative parenting and low scores on authoritarian attitudes, their children were more likely to have high attachment and self-reliance scores and low avoidance scores. Marital adjustment and mothers’ psychological well-being were also related to children’s developmental outcomes.
Herfache (1996) examined whether particular parenting styles affected the development of the types of social goals children pursued when faced with peer conflict. Findings suggested that rejected students (based on measures of parental acceptance/rejection) endorsed aggressive social behaviour to a greater extent than accepted students. Significantly more boys than girls perceived their parents as rejecting, and rejected boys endorsed aggressive goals more than any other group; rejected boys endorsed aggressive goals significantly more than rejected girls while rejected girls endorsed prosocial and avoidant goals significantly more than rejected boys.

Three Prototypes of Parenting Styles

The best-known model relating types of parental authority to levels of self-esteem in children is portrayed in Baumrind's study (1971), which is noted for its multidimensional character, typological clarity and empirical efficacy. In this complex and elaborate study, Baumrincl distinguished three prototypes of parental authority, namely, permissive, authoritarian and authoritative and developed extensive rating scales based on observations of interpersonal and social behaviour of children in the nursery school, interviews with children and their parents and observations of parents interacting with their children at home in the evenings. Parent-child relationships were examined for boys and girls separately. The most significant finding of the study was that "Authoritative parents are most likely to facilitate the development of competence via responsible and independent behaviour in young children" (1971).
The study suggested that permissive parents tend to make fewer demands on their children than do authoritarian or authoritative parents. They tend to be relatively warm toward their children, generally non-demanding and non-controlling and are less likely to employ punishment and more likely to permit children to regulate their own activities as much as possible. Authoritarian parents, on the other hand, demand implicit obedience as they attempt to control their children's behaviour, value punishment and tend to be highly directive with their children. Being detached and less warm than other parents, the authoritarian parents discourage verbal give-and-take and use punitive disciplinary measures to extract obedience. Authoritative parents, however, tend to fall somewhere between these extremes. They are characterized as firm, clear, and relatively demanding in their dealings with their children but disciplinary clarity is moderated by warmth, reason, flexibility, and verbal give-and-take. Baumrind concluded that authoritative parenting is more likely to result in self-reliant, independent, achievement-oriented, self-controlled children than is either permissive or authoritarian parenting.

Buri (1991) developed a Likert-type questionnaire designed to measure Baumrind's prototypes of permissive, authoritarian and authoritative parenting provided by both mothers and fathers. The Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) consisted of 30 items per parent and the scores for each type of parenting was derived from the phenomenological appraisal of the parents' authority by their son or daughter. Buri's experiment demonstrated reliability and validity of
the PAQ as a research tool in the investigation of individual correlates of parental permissiveness, authoritarianism, and authoritativeness.

Although earlier studies used Baumrind's framework primarily to examine the consequences of socialization during childhood, other studies have used the model to explain variations in patterns of adolescent development and academic achievement at different levels. For example, Buri et al. (1988) studied the effect of parental authority upon the self-esteem of 230 college students. Responses of college students were used to determine each participant's level of self-esteem and the degree to which their mothers and fathers employed permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative parenting practices. Instead of relying upon either parents' reports of the parental prototype or observations of parental authority exercised with their children, the authors of this study chose to rely upon the children's perceptions of their parental authority, an approach consistent with the symbolic interactionist perspective. This study, consistent with the findings of previous studies, also confirmed that parenting style is clearly related to self-esteem. Indeed, 84% of the participants who were parented by both an authoritarian mother and an authoritarian father were in the low self-esteem group, while 89% of those participants whose parents were both judged to be authoritative were in the high self-esteem group. "Authoritarian parenting, with its controlling, dictatorial, and punitive characteristics, restricts a child's sense of individual importance and potential for personal contribution within the family milieu. The resulting impression of limited input, circumscribed power, and restricted personal significance in the on-going activity of the family undermines his or her sense of esteem. Authoritative parenting, however, with its clear and
demanding parental direction moderated by an emphasis upon open lines of communication, allows children to discuss and participate in the planning, decisions, and policies of the family. In this way, recognition of the child's individuality and his or her potential as a contributing member of the family can be acknowledged, while at the same time maintaining a pattern of parental direction that offers clear definitions of behaviour. In such a context of authoritative parenting, an individual's sense of personal worth and respect is enhanced". In her study based on observations in a park setting of the relationship between parenting and the child's social behaviour Cassidy (1996) concluded that authoritative parenting promotes prosocial behaviour in children.

Wells (1996) found significant relationship between parenting behaviour and peer acceptance and rejection for fifth-and-sixth-graders. Finnegan (1996) examined mother-child interactions that might predict peer victimization for children during middle childhood. Results indicated that for boys, maternal overprotectiveness is associated with peer victimization for boys who use fearful or submissive coping during mother-child conflicts. Maternal overprotectiveness also predicts boys internalising problems with peers. For girls, maternal hostility is associated with peer victimization; for girls who are physically weak, and maternal hostility predicts internalising problems with peers. For both boys and girls, internalising problems with peers mediate the link between maternal hostility and victimization by peers. For both sexes, maternal hostility predicted externalising problems with peers.
Albanese (1996) explored the associations among perceived parenting behaviour in childhood, the internal working model of parental attachment, and identity style in adolescence. The study found that perceived parenting behaviours related to care and overprotection were associated with identity style. The nature of these associations, however, differed for each identity style and for maternal versus paternal parenting behaviours. Internal working models of parental attachment also related to identity style and these relationships differed for each identity style. These findings support Erikson's (1968) theory that parenting behaviours and internal parental models influence identity formation in adolescence.

Parenting Styles and Children's Behaviour

In a longitudinal study of the transition to parenthood, Boxer (1996) followed couples from late pregnancy to until their children entered elementary school. The study sought to investigate the relationship among parents' perceptions of infant temperament, parenting style and children's behaviour. Mothers who perceived their infant, to have a difficult temperament were observed to have a parenting style that was disengaged. These children were later described by their kindergarten teachers as having externalising behavioural difficulties. The fathers of these children had not identified these infants as having a difficult temperament; however, the fathers were observed to have a permissive parenting style. Children who were identified by their teachers as having internalising behavioural difficulties were not perceived by either parent as having a difficult temperament at six months of age. Parents of these children
had an authoritative parenting style that appears to have protected the children from developing externalising behavioural difficulties.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) modified and expanded Baumrind's three-system model into a four-fold typology of parenting based on joint and interactive effects of different dimensions of parental behaviour and combining index of parental warmth, acceptance or involvement with an index of parental control or strictness. Such a model takes into consideration variations in warmth among families characterized by low levels of control rather than grouping these families into a single category labelled "permissive". Lamborn et al. (1991) distinguish between "indulgent permissiveness" and "neglectful permissiveness". Families, in the former category, derive low level of control from an ideological orientation rooted in trust, democracy and indulgence. The latter group consists of families whose low level of control reflects disengagement from the responsibilities of child rearing. Lamborn et al. sought to examine the interactive effects of parental warmth and strictness on several aspects of adolescent development. They rated parenting styles and adolescent competence and adjustment via naturalistic and laboratory-based observations, psychological tests, and structured interviews. They classified families of 4,100 fourteen to eighteen-year olds into one of four groups (authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful) on the basis of the adolescents' ratings of their parents on two dimensions: acceptance/involvement and strictness/supervision. Then based on the assumption that most of the studies of the consequences of socialization are often limited to a single outcome-type and that conclusions vary with the nature of outcome studies, Lamborn et al. contrasted the youngsters along four sets of outcomes:
psychological development, school achievement, internalised distress, and problem behaviour. "Results indicate that adolescents who characterize their parents as authoritative score highest on measures of psychosocial competence and lowest on measures of psychological and behavioural dysfunctions; the reverse is true for adolescents who describe their parents as neglectful. Adolescents whose parents are characterized as authoritarian score reasonably well on measures indexing obedience and conformity to the standards of adults but have relatively poor self-conception than other youngsters. In contrast, adolescents from indulgent homes evidence a strong sense of self-confidence but report a higher frequency of substance abuse and school misconduct and are less engaged in school". The study confirms the findings of previous research that links authoritative parenting with the most positive levels of social competence, social adjustment and academic excellence.

Additional research (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1989) also suggests that adolescents who are raised in authoritative homes not only perform better in academic work but also develop stronger work orientation, greater engagement in classroom activities, higher educational aspirations, more positive feelings about school and homework, more positive academic self-conception and lower levels of school misconduct. Steinberg et al. ((1992) examined the relations between school performance and parental behaviours over time to determine whether authoritative parenting, parental involvement, and parental encouragement actually lead to improvements in school. The study involved an ethnically and socio-economically heterogeneous sample of approximately 6400 American 14-18-year olds. In 1987 adolescents reported on their parents'
general child-rearing practices and on their parents’ achievement-specific socialization behaviours. Then in 1987, and again in 1988, data were collected on several aspects of the adolescent’s school performance and school engagement. The findings of the study were summarized as follows: “authoritative parenting (high acceptance, supervision, and psychological autonomy granting) leads to better adolescent school performance and stronger school engagement. The positive impact of authoritative parenting on adolescent achievement, however, is mediated by the positive effect of authoritativeness on parental involvement in schooling. In addition, nonauthoritativeness attenuates the beneficial impact of parental involvement in schooling on adolescent achievement. Parental involvement is much more likely to promote adolescent school success when it occurs in the context of an authoritative home environment”.

Although there is a general agreement on the consequences of different parenting styles on the behaviour of children, research using domain-specificity model of social-cognitive development (Turiel, 1983, Turiel and Davidson, 1986) suggests that adolescents’ and parents’ conceptions of parental authority differ according to the conceptual domain of the issue under consideration. When researchers distinguished among moral issues, conventional issues and personal issues they found that there was general agreement among adolescents and parents that parents should retain authority to regulate moral and conventional issues. However, with increasing age, adolescents questioned parents’ legitimate authority to regulate personal and friendship issues. Smetana (1995) examined authoritarian, authoritative and permissive parents' conceptions of parental
authority regarding different types of issues and the effects of parenting styles and domain-differentiated conceptions (based on 24 hypothetical moral, conventional, personal, multifaceted, prudential and friendship issues) of parental authority on adolescent development among middle-class sixth, eighth and tenth graders. Smetana concluded: Adolescents viewed their parents as more permissive and more authoritarian than parents viewed themselves, whereas parents viewed themselves as more authoritative than did adolescents. Parents’ parenting styles differentiated their conceptions of parental authority, but adolescents’ perceptions did not. Differences were primarily over the boundaries of adolescents’ personal jurisdiction. Furthermore, conceptions of parental authority and parenting styles both contributed significantly to emotional autonomy and adolescent-parent conflict”.

Janssens (1994) examined the relationships among child rearing, parental locus of control about child rearing, and the child’s behaviour style. Persons who interpret events as the result of luck, chance or fate are supposed to have external locus of control. And those who believe that events are largely influenced by their own characteristics and behaviour are thought to have internal locus of control. Based on their behaviour patterns, children were categorized as “internalisers” and “externalisers”. Internalisers are characterized by an overcontrol of emotions, by shyness, inhibitions, and anxiousness (Smets, 1985). Externalisers are characterized by undercontrol of impulses, by aggressive and aversive behaviour. Janssens (1994) focused on the influence of parental locus of control (internal or external) on child's behaviour style. The study found that parents with a more external locus of control were more authoritarian when
controlling their child. This relationship between locus of control and child rearing was, however, moderated by the parental perception of the child's behaviour style. For parents with a relatively weak internal locus of control, their children's transgressions are difficult to handle and hence these parents are more likely to use authoritarian control techniques. "Also, the child's behaviour style was related to child rearing. Perceived externalising child behaviour was positively related to authoritarian parental behaviour, especially, for parents with a weak external locus of control. Parents of internalising children were less authoritarian, especially, when their locus of control was internal".

Parenting Style and Children's Adjustment

A child's growing autonomy or the ability and willingness to say "no" has been characterized by Spitz (1957) as "the most spectacular intellectual and semantic achievement during early childhood". Spitz viewed the acquisition of "no" as an indicator of a new level of autonomy that accompanies the child's increasing awareness of the "other" and "self". Vaughn, Kopp, and Krakow (1984) found that children who said "no" more often were more developmentally advanced than others. When studies have distinguished verbal refusals from more defiant forms of behaviour, researchers have found that children who said "no" more frequently engaged in more negotiations with their mothers and were more securely attached (Matas, Arend, and Sroufe, 1978). Several studies have also revealed that self-assertion is associated with competence in young children whereas more defiant behaviour is associated with abuse and insecure achievements (Londerville and Main, 1981). Most studies seem to suggest that
mothers' use of less power-assertive methods of control (such as suggestions, requests, and polite commands) is associated with frequency of their children's self-assertion. Crockenberg and Litman (1990) investigated the way in which the strategies parents use to control their children's behaviour and the degree of reciprocity in their relations contributes to the development of autonomy in their two-year-olds. They found that compliance and self-assertion were associated with mothers' use of less powerful methods of control. "Defiance was more likely to occur relative to either compliance or self-assertion following negative control than following control plus guidance or guidance alone; and compliance was more likely to occur relative to either defiance or self-assertion following control plus guidance than following any other control strategy—it was more effective than either guidance or control used alone". Power assertion in the form of negative control by way of threats, criticism, physical intervention and anger was associated with more defiance.

Ely (1996) studied the effects of parenting in children's adjustment to stressful life events. She concluded that higher levels of stressful life events predicted lower levels of academic and social competence. Higher levels of restrictiveness predicted higher levels of academic competence, whereas higher levels of acceptance predicted higher levels of social competence. Donenberg (1966) directly observed parent and child behaviour during face-to-face interactions and linked specific patterns of such behaviour to specific types of child psychopathology. The study found that parents of aggressive children showed more hostile coercion and withdrawn/uninvolved behaviour than parents
of depressed/anxious children, and parents of depressed/anxious children displayed more controlling behaviour than parents of aggressive children.

Parenting style and parents' psychological adjustment are thought to correlate with children's cognitive and social competence. Several studies have found that parental depression contributes to negative child behaviour and that depressed mothers perceive the behaviour of their children more negatively than those who are not depressed (Brody and Forehand, 1986; Sarnaroff, Seifer, and Zax, 1982). Findings also confirm that young children of depressed parents show insecure attachment (Radke-Yarrow, Cummings, Kuczynski, and Chapman, 1985) and general maladaptive functioning (Keller et al., 1986) and deficit social relations (Patterson, 1987). Miller et al. (1993) examined links among parents' adjustment, marital quality, parenting style and their children's externalizing behaviour in two different studies. They found no direct paths between parents' depression and their child's behaviour. Instead, parents' depression was mediated by the quality of their relationship as a couple or by their parenting style. In other words, parents' symptoms of depression affect the quality of couple's relationship. More positive affect in the couple relationship is related to warmth in parenting, and parental warmth is associated with less acting-out behaviour by the child.

Most personality theories emphasize the role of parents in their children's moral development. Both social learning theory, with its emphasis on shaped or learned moral behaviour, and psychoanalytic theory, with its focus on the creation of moral feelings of shame and guilt, recognizes the significance of
parents' socializing roles in their children's moral development. However, Kohlberg (1981), following Piaget's cognitive development theory that assigns children an active role in developing their own understanding of the world, proposes a moral development theory based on a child-centered agenda. Kohlberg traces children's movements through various stages from an egocentric concern with self-interest at Stage 1 to a principled concern with the relative balancing of human interests at Stage 5. According to this perspective parents and other agents of socialization may facilitate or hinder their children's progress through the moral stages but may not be primarily responsible for their children's moral development. Parents' influence on their children's moral development also depends on parent's own levels of moral reasoning, parenting styles and parent-child interaction patterns. For example, Speicher (1982, 1985) found that the relationship between parent and child levels of moral reasoning is strongest when the children reach adulthood. Berkowitz (1985) posited that rather than being directly linked to children's moral development, parents' level of moral reasoning is predictive of the sort of disciplinary procedures they employ in dealing with their children. Once again, parenting styles, family moral atmosphere and parents' level of moral reasoning are seen to impact on children's moral development. Boyes and Allen (1993:551) investigated the relationship between the sort of moral interpersonal atmosphere that children perceive their parents to create and maintain in the family context and the rate at which young people advance through the stages of Kohlberg's moral development model. The study confirmed the prediction that adolescents of authoritative parents exhibit a greater preference for post-conventional moral
reasoning than do adolescents of permissive or authoritarian parents. "Parenting style, defined by combinations of scores on the three parenting dimensions, was clearly related to the use of post-conventional reasoning, followed by adolescents of permissive parents and those of authoritarian parents, respectively". The authors argue that parenting style as operationalised within Baumrind's (1971, 1973) typology is a demonstrated, effective way of indexing the moral atmosphere in the context of the family.

**Factors Influencing Parental Behaviour**

Several studies have identified parents' gender, age, marital status, number of children, children's age, level of education and socio-economic background as the most significant independent variables, which influence patterns of parenting. For example, gender differences exist in patterns of socialization and parenting styles as well as their consequences for children. Robert (1986) found gender differences in parental support with mothers seeking support from extended family members and fathers seeking support outside this circle. According to Stolz (1967) mothers stressed nurturing more than any other parental role value. Others (Baumrind, 1966; Stafford and Bayer, 1993) rated women as more nurturing than men in child care studies. Eversoll (1979) posited that males placed less emphasis on father being nurturing and more on being authoritarian and breadwinner. But other studies (Bigner, 1979; Dail, 1986; Mackey and Day, 1979 and Bronstein, 1994) showed men just as nurturant as women. However, most studies have reported that men were more inclined to
exhibit authoritarian attitudes and less likely to reward independence while women encouraged children toward self-control.

The age of the parents also figures in the differences in parenting attitudes. Older women viewed children as less mature, placed less emphasis on autonomy and prescribed more specific rules. They also expressed more control and less nurturance than the younger group. However, DeLissovoy (1973) found young mothers to be more impatient and intolerant when dealing with their children. Older men generally emphasized authoritarian control over child behaviour.

Himelstein, Graham and Weiner (1991) postulated that the more children in a family, the less likely the parents were to value their own importance in the development of their children; they attributed greater influence to peers, schooling and genetics. Stolz (1967) stated that the parents of larger families favoured authoritarian control.

Martin et al. (1991) compared parents of younger children and parents of older children and concluded "Parenting young children was perceived more as an enjoyment, had more value and involved more nurturance and social adjustment goals". DeLissovoy (1973), on the other hand, found that the young parents of small children to be less nurturing, more strict and more aggravated in their parental role.

There is general agreement among contemporary scholars that warmth (nurturance, responsiveness, support, or acceptance), encouragement of
independence for adequate social functioning (less absolute control and strictness), developmental^ appropriate expectations and honest communication were desirable parental characteristics. Walker (1994) chose parents' gender, age, marital status, number of children and children's age as independent variables and sought to determine how they correlate with warmth, encouragement of independence, strictness and aggravation. "Results supported three generalizations: (1) female parents value warmth more than male parents; (2) female parents are more concerned with aggression than male parents; and (3) parents of children aged birth-5 years old value warmth more than parents with children aged 6-10 years old".

Just as cultural factors and traditional values influence socialization process, chronic financial problems and other stressors may also affect parenting behaviour. For example, McLoyd and Wilson (1991) found that long-term stress associated with poverty negatively impacted on the behaviour of parents and their children. Krishnan (1982) reported significant difference in the school achievement of pupils belonging to high, middle and low socio-economic status. A review of literature by Prakash and Sen (1986) also confirmed that children from higher socio-economic status are significantly superior to lower socio-economic group in memory, verbal expression and general achievement. Conger et al. (1984) found that parents affected by poverty and other stressors were less nurturing and less responsive to the social emotional needs of their children and more reliant on physical control and coercion to achieve compliance. Stress from poverty has also been associated with diminished expression of affection, lesser responsiveness to the socio-emotional needs of
children, and more punitive or power assertive discipline (Conger et al., 1984 & McLoyd, 1990). Poor mothers tend to make greater demands on their children emphasizing immediate obedience and socially appropriate behaviour but at the same time curtail warmth and responsiveness and engage in more critical behaviour (McLoyd, 1990; Zelkowitz, 1982). Similarly, Conger and others (1984) found that as family's economic circumstances worsen, parents exhibit less nurturance and more inconsistent discipline. It may be that for families struggling with scarce resources of time and energy, the primary concern is meeting the basic needs like food, clothing and shelter; they may have little time or personal resources to respond to children's other needs. However, depressed mothers tend to be more hostile, less accepting and generally indifferent to their children with little understanding of their developmental needs. With decreased positive interaction with the parent, the child has less opportunity to learn and master verbal and instrumental strategies that initiate and maintain positive peer interaction (Gerner, Jones, & Miner, 1994).

Other studies have documented the general effect of isolation upon persons belonging to low income groups, especially when they have to be away from their children for long periods of time. On the other hand, parents who have high self-esteem and a strong sense of mastery are more likely to be warm and accepting with low levels of disapproval when interacting with their children (Mociell & Tyler, 1981). Parenting style that includes warmth and acceptance has been found to foster social acceptance, peer popularity, leadership and communication skills (Siantz, 1990).
Richardson (1996) examined the relationship between parenting dimensions and aspects of social competence of kindergarten children from economically disadvantaged families. Results indicated that parenting dimensions alone did not account for the majority of variance in social competence. She concluded that the variables, which contribute to the best model for the prediction of social competence, depended on the setting in which social competence is rated (e.g., home versus school) and on the person who is asked to rate the child's social competence (e.g., parent versus teacher). The findings suggest that specific variables may be required for specific outcomes in a given situation. Campbell (1996) used self-esteem building exercises to determine if self-esteem can be enhanced in five-and six-year olds and came to the conclusion that self-esteem can be enhanced through classroom/group self-esteem building exercises.

Mothers’ Employment and Children’s Personality Development

Hamilton (1981) studied perceived parental caregiving behaviours of elementary school children from working and non-working mother families. The purpose of the study was to determine whether or not children's perceptions of their parent's caregiving behaviours, defined as loving, controlling, or punishing, were affected by the employment status of the mother, the sex of the child and the sex of the parent. The study found no evidence to indicate that children's perception of loving and punishing parental caregiving behaviours were significantly affected by the family work status, the sex of the child, and the sex of the parent. The data suggested that children from satisfied middle-class families
might not perceive mother's working absence as deprivation by either parent. Hamilton concluded that mother's employment might not be as influential a factor in child rearing as has been commonly assumed.

With regard to the consequences of mothers' working status for caregiving and child development, most of the research and literature in this area seem to fall in three time-specific perspectives. Much of the research before 1950 found negative effects as maternal employment was linked to juvenile delinquency, poor academic achievement, increased anxiety, withdrawal and unhealthy personality development. Investigators generally assumed that maternal employment and working absence were harmful to children and formulated hypotheses and phrased questions so that only ill effects could be demonstrated (Howell, 1973). The decades of 1950 and 1960 saw new theoretical perspectives and improved research methodology. The women's liberation movement and new sex role ideologies hypothesized positive effects of maternal employment on children because of expanded role possibilities available through both mothers and fathers providing different models and parents providing more quality time and better substitute care. A number of studies during this time (Hoffman et al., 1974 & Stolz, 1960) suggested that maternal employment had no effects on child development, and even questioned the relevance of the concept of maternal employment. Moore (1963, 1964, 1969) compared groups of children who were exclusively under maternal care and those who had received substitute care and found few differences between children cared for by their mothers and those receiving stable substitute care. Thus studies between 1950
and 1970 seem to conclude that maternal employment per se is not a very significant factor in children's development.

Research since the late 1960s has taken into consideration several intervening variables such as the age of the child, sex of the child, socio-economic status of the family, level of parental education, parental work satisfaction, child's perception of parent behaviours, and the quality of substitute care. Most of these studies have concluded that maternal employment per se is not the overwhelmingly influential factor in children's lives. Although employment was almost unrelated to childbearing patterns, satisfied working mothers tended to have more positive influence on their children than either dissatisfied working mothers or dissatisfied non-working mothers. Bimbaum (1971) compared professionally employed mothers with mothers who had graduated from college with distinction but had become full-time homemakers. The professional women were clearly higher on morale and responded positively to the growing independence of their children. Non-working mothers indicated more anxiety about their children as well as more ambivalence and regret. Most findings suggest the importance of looking at mother's satisfaction as well as motivation for working, rather than employment per se, as important factors in mother's effect on her children's adjustment.

With the advent of feminist ideology and the rise of women in the professions, there has been a perceptual change in the attitudes and behaviour patterns of mothers and to some extent their children. Gold and Andres (1978), for example, tested hypotheses specifying differential relations between maternal
employment and children's development. Employed mothers and their husbands reported more similar behaviour patterns within the home and attitudes that differed from those reported by non-employed mothers and their husbands. Parents reported being more content with the wife's role and having more feminist attitudes. Studies in the late 1970s even found that daughters of employed mothers were better adjusted than daughters of homemakers. Vogel et al., (1970) studied role perceptions of male and female college students and their relationship to their mother's employment. The findings suggest that the effect of maternal employment was to raise the estimation of one's own sex -- that is, each sex added positive traits usually associated with the opposite sex: daughters of working mothers saw women as competent and effective while sons of working mothers saw men as warm and expressive. With all these conflicting findings about the effects of maternal employment on children, Hoffman et al. (1974) suggested that maternal employment is a complicated issue and that it is too simplistic an approach to merely look at one child characteristic and relate it to mother's employment. Studying the interaction effects of several intervening variables such as sex of child, mother's feelings about work, father's feelings about her work, supervision, age of children when mother began working, birth order, number of children in the family, socio-economic status of the family, cultural background, and quality of substitute care may point up the real effects of maternal employment on child development.

Bohman (1996) examined cross sectional and longitudinal relationships between parents' work hours and the quality of parent child interaction, which was defined by proportions of positive synchrony, negative synchrony, non-
synchrony, positive non-synchrony and neutral synchrony. He concluded that there is no cross-sectional direct effect of mothers' work hours on parent-child interaction. Morris (1996) investigated the impact of maternal employment and mother/child involvement on children's adaptive functioning in school and found that mother's level of employment had no impact on the level of involvement in daily activities between mother and child. Rodriguez (1996) sought to determine whether there were differences between employed and unemployed mothers of young children in terms of their parenting behaviours, perceptions of child behaviour problems, and maternal self-descriptions. The study found that employed and unemployed mothers present a similar profile in parenting their young children. In fact, non-employed mother's self-descriptions were rated as more anxious than employed mothers. However, employed mothers and unemployed mothers did not differ in marital satisfaction, satisfaction with employment status, or quality of mother-child interaction.

Amen (1996) examined the relationship of three domains indexing employed women's personal functioning (i.e., objective employment experiences, attitudes toward work and parenting, and emotional functioning) to two domains indexing their child rearing attitudes (i.e., parenting beliefs/style of control, and maternal affect toward the child). According to the study, women's employment commitment showed no systematic relationship to indices of emotional functioning or to child rearing attitudes, either by itself or in interaction with parenting commitment. However, the findings suggest that women's emotional functioning during their child's toddler years is more likely to be related to their
attitudes regarding the parental role than to their attitudes regarding the intrinsic importance of the employment role.

Smith (1996) investigated the crossover effects of a mother's employment situation on her young child during the first, second and third year of the child's life. The results of several multivariate analyses suggested there was a positive, albeit minor, crossover onto child well being from several aspects of a mother's employment situation including her salary, job satisfaction and type of job. Type of childcare emerged as a critical intervening variable in determining how a child is affected by a mother's employment. Smith concluded that children of mothers with fewer skills are more vulnerable to negative effects in their cognitive development from ad hoc childcare arrangements. Moore (1996) explored the work satisfaction, financial satisfaction and parenting satisfaction of eighty-six couples who were raising their first child and working outside the home. Parents reported the same level of work satisfaction although mothers reported lower financial satisfaction and higher parenting satisfaction than the fathers. Parenting satisfaction was not associated with hours worked weekly, age of child, hours of paid childcare, or attendance at support groups.

Several studies clone in India have reached very similar conclusions. For example, Majumdar (1983) sought to find out how nursery school children perceived and interpreted their parents as well as home environment and their school situation in course of their social development phases. The major finding was that maladaptive children perceived poorly or were unable to perceive all the contents of the school situation with similar levels of parent-perceptions in the
home, whereas adaptives perceived richly or were able to perceive mostly all the contents of the school situation and of the nature of parent-perceptions. In other words, home perceptions and school perceptions of children were directly proportional, that is, those who perceived parents more "richly" perceived school at a similar level. However, Lalitha (1982) studied the relationship between children's perceived parental behaviour and their achievement motivation and found that achievement motive was not contingent upon family socialization practices. Yet majority of studies done in India have reported findings consistent with those in the United States and elsewhere. For example, Ojha (1973) explored the relationship between achievement motivation and parental behaviours. The study also included several socio-economic variables such as social class, father's occupation, family system, family size, birth order, mother's age, religion and caste. The main findings were: mother's love, father's permissiveness, and love were positively related with n-ach, whereas mother's rejection and protection, paternal restriction, rejection and protection were negatively related. Maternal restriction, permissiveness and neglect and paternal neglect were not related with n-ach. Also, encouragement for independence by parents was associated with high n-ach in children. Pandey (1983) sought to identify factors affecting sense of responsibility in relation to different socio-economic variables. The principal finding was that sense of responsibility was positively correlated with higher income, high academic achievement, intelligence and level of aspiration. Sense of responsibility had no significant relationship with caste, age, sex, family education and occupation and political affiliation of the family.
Sanclhu (1986) studied personality traits in relation to parental acceptance and rejection under different backgrounds such as family size, family pattern and birth order of child. The findings suggested a similarity in the personality traits of mothers and children under conditions where there was mutual acceptance. However, there existed dissimilarity in the personality traits of mothers and children under condition of mutual rejection and under condition of incongruent parent-child relations. Nuclear family pattern, small family size, male sex of the child and the last in birth order were other factors which positively influenced child's and mother's feeling of acceptance. Saraswathy (1978) studied the relationship between various maternal disciplinary practices, as reported by children, and the development of moral judgement. She concluded that there was a trend of negative correlations between maternal power assertion and moral maturity scores of children, and positive correlations between maternal induction and moral maturity scores of children. The correlations were, however, clearly significant only in the case of upper middle class girls and approached zero in the case of working class boys. The pattern of relationship between love withdrawal and moral maturity scores was neither clear nor consistent in terms of direction.

Cross Cultural Perspectives

It is understood that parenting patterns vary with time, place and culture. However, most of the studies have been done in the United States where socialization is often defined in terms of enculturation, acquisition of impulse control by the individual and role-training. However, in many Asian and Arab
societies socialization is thought of as a process by which children learn to appreciate and practice traditional values and attitudes. El-Feky (1991) sought to identify the prevailing patterns of parental socialization in Kuwaiti society and to determine how well these patterns fit Baumrind's model of parental control strategies. He developed a 50-item questionnaire that tapped child-rearing views and administered to 400 mother-father pairs, all of them university students. The study found that educated Kuwaiti parents regard the authoritative pattern to be most appropriate for parental control.

Agarwal (1985) studied the effect of parental encouragement upon educational development of secondary school students in India. As expected, the high achieving group was found to be receiving higher parental encouragement. The study also found that children in the urban areas received greater parental encouragement than those in the rural areas. Ara (1986) attempted an intercorrelational study of parents’ personality (aggression, authoritarianism, extroversion, neuroticism and anxiety). The main finding was that a father’s protective attitude generated aggression in boys while a mother’s neglecting attitude generated aggression in girls. A father’s restrictive attitude generated anxiety in sons and daughters while a father’s rejecting attitude-generated anxiety only in girls. In general the study found that aggressive and authoritarian parents had aggressive and authoritarian children and that the parents’ personality was very strongly associated with their children’s personality.

Garg (1983) studied the effect of parental disciplinary practices and social class on personality needs, moral adjustment and problem-solving ability of
children ten to fifteen years of age. The study found that moderate parental disciplinary practice significantly promoted a need for achievement, a need for affiliation and a need for change. The parental mode of controlling children did not affect need for order and ability to solve the children's own problems. On the other hand, a poor mode of parental control promoted, in greater magnitude, the moral adjustment of the children in comparison with strict and moderate modes of parental disciplinary practices. And, the maximum magnitude of problem-solving ability prevailed in moderate social class children receiving moderate disciplinary patterns from their parents whereas the minimum magnitude of problem solving ability prevailed in children of low social class receiving moderate disciplinary patterns from their parents. Bhagyavathy (1983) investigated different levels of self-actualisation among graduate students. The study found that persons who perceived themselves as having a high level of self-actualisation were directed more by internal than by external reinforcements in comparison with those who perceived themselves as having a low level of self-actualisation. The former were also more flexible and less rigid in their behaviour than the latter group. In a similar study, Bharathi (1984) sought to identify the correlation between achievement motivation and various self-concept measures in different age groups, sex groups and socio-economic status groups. The main findings of the study were: the strength of achievement motivation increased significantly from twelve years to sixteen years; at different age-levels, different self-concept measures were found to be related with n-achievement; no sex differences were found in achievement motivation or in the ability aspect of self-concept; however, low socio-economic status subjects perceived themselves
less adjusted and felt greater dissatisfaction with themselves. Bhatia (1984) surveyed junior and senior college students in Greater Bombay to identify emotional, personal and social problems faced by them in the context of Indian conditions and values of life. The study found that family atmosphere was more tense and unhappy for girls in the Indian environment. Both boys and girls longed for greater personal freedom, marriage by choice and social events involving both sexes.

Misra and Bachan (1980) have strongly argued that culture plays a crucial role in cognitive function. Chattopadhyay (1985) emphasized the role of warm and loving parents who take interest in children’s activities, participate in discussions and set the stage to make self-discoveries. Deepshikha (1982) and Sundaram (1985) saw parents as role models and found that children reared in permissive homes with confidence, frankness and respect for the individual are better in social development. Several other studies (Ramaiah, 1976; Parlhasarathy & Renganathan, 1983, and Kiran & Singh, 1982) also stress the role of the family and the nature of family relationships in the child's personality development. A study by Baruah (1991) found that over sixty percent of rural parents and almost 40 percent of urban parents are authoritarian in nature and resort to forceful and punitive methods in disciplining them. Seth, Saksena and Srivastava (1978) reported that rural mothers foster dependency in the upbringing of their children. However, Singh (1981) has revealed that rural mothers encouraged independence and free expression in their children, gave love and affection generously and supported children's efforts. Moolgaokar (1980) and Chowdhary (1990) also point out that by working with rural parents
and other adults, children in the rural areas are able to master adult skills early and learn to cope with their environment. Anandalakshmy (1991) also confirms that rural children grow up with many playmates, spend considerable amount of time working with their parents and thus learn several survival skills. Dutta and Das (1981) have demonstrated that if higher socio-economic status children found frequently in urban samples are eliminated, then, rural children are superior to urban children in several areas of personality development. For example, a study by Banerji and Jain (1982) showed that rural children performed significantly better on tasks involving conservations of number and mass than urban children.

Lorenzo (1996) investigated how Hispanic-American students and African-American students perceived themselves when compared to Anglo-American students. The study confirmed the findings of previous research that children's self-esteem is positively related to the loving and demanding dimensions of maternal behaviour and negatively related to the punishment dimension. That is, the greater the empathy and acceptance given by mothers to them, the higher the children's self-esteem. It was also confirmed that parental democratic procedures and parental appropriate expectations were significant predictors of children's positive self-esteem. The results also confirmed the positive effects of autonomy on self-esteem and the detrimental effects of harsh discipline and corporal punishment. The study identified empathy, democratic procedures, and children's attitude toward mother as strong predictors of children's self-esteem. However, the study also found that ethnicity moderated self-esteem.
Ayvazian (1996) did a quantitative study of 110 Armenian students aged 11-14 years to determine whether parenting style is related to a child's motivation, level of depression, problem behaviour, and self-esteem. Based on the assumed authoritarian parenting style in the Armenian family, it was hypothesized that their children would have lower self-esteem, lower motivation, higher levels of depression and slight to moderate levels of problem behaviour. The hypotheses were, however, not confirmed. In fact the subjects had relatively high levels of motivation and normal levels of self-esteem, suggesting that various aspects of the Armenian culture may counteract the effects of authoritarian parenting style.

Kim (1996) examined the effects of parenting styles, cultural conflict, peer influence, and the length of residency in the United States on academic achievement and psychosocial adjustment among Korean immigrant students. The independent variable did not affect the students' grade point average but did account for variance in subjects' psychosocial adjustment, represented in this study as self-esteem. Power et al. (1992) explored individual differences in child rearing among mothers from Japan and the United States and examined the degree to which the parenting styles identified are unique to one culture or the other. The study employed a multidimensional approach, comparing mothers from the two different cultures on a wide range of dimensions including parental warmth, consistency, and disciplinary practices. The study concluded: Mothers from the United States, consistent with the view that children need to begin socialization at an early age, set many more rules for their child to follow, but also
reported giving their children more input into the socialization process. This granting of input is consistent with the emphasis on early autonomy promotion among U.S parents. Also consistent with previous research, mothers from the United States were more likely to report responding to child misbehaviour with material/social consequences. Japanese mothers, in contrast, consistent with their view that young children should be tolerated and indulged, made many fewer demands at this early age. When their child misbehaved, they were more likely to report responding with reasoning and scolding their child. Japanese mothers also seemed particularly concerned about their children showing respect for authority. They were much more likely to reserve their most forceful disciplinary technique-physical punishment-for situations involving direct confrontation toward maternal authority. Finally, consistent with the literature on emotional expression in the two cultures, Japanese mothers reported being less overtly nurturant toward their children than did mothers from the United States.

Shin (1996) investigated parenting patterns among Korean immigrant mothers and children's social competence. Child rearing beliefs, types of control, training items and family-based parental control, and pre-school children's social competence were measured. Regression analyses showed that two parenting variables, less physical punishment and mothers' expectation that children should respect and care for the family, were significant predictors of children's social competence. The children's age, mother's age, father's educational level, and length of attendance in the preschool predicted social competence. There were no gender differences for parenting beliefs and social competence
variables, possibly because Korean immigrant mothers used the same parenting styles with boys and girls.

Judge (1996) explored the processes by which children develop social competence in two different cultural contexts in the United States, one middle-class and one working class. The study found that middle-class mothers valued self-direction in their children more than working-class mothers, but no differences were found for fathers. Middle-class mothers and fathers were more likely than working-class parents to believe in support-oriented parenting, which emphasizes an egalitarian parent-child relationship. Similarly, the relation between parents' perceptions of their children's social competence and children's self-directed behaviour differed for middle- and working-class parents; the relation was stronger, and generally positive, for middle-class parents. In another cultural context, Chung (1996) sought to discover how parenting behaviours are perceived by selected Korean adolescents within the evangelical community and how the factors of parents' marital relations, the type of family structure, parent's educational level, father's socio-economic status, and the self-esteem of adolescents relate to the experiencing of supportive, non-supportive and controlling behaviours. The findings revealed that Christian parents exercised more control over their children than unbelieving parents. Parent's marital relationship and Christian faith were positively correlated to the supportive and controlling behaviours. Also, the self-esteem of adolescent children was positively correlated with supportive and controlling behaviours, and negatively related to non-supportive behaviours.
Torres-Villa (1996) sought to determine the relationship between academic achievement and home environment variables and to determine what combination of these variables would most accurately predict academic achievement for Hispanic students after statistically controlling the effects of intelligence. The data indicate that the effects of parenting styles delineated by Baumrind are mediated by gender differences. For example, Baumrind's theory seems to be more applicable to male Hispanic students than to female students. For male students, fathers' authoritative parenting is positively related to academic achievement and the father's permissive parenting is negatively related. Salazar (1996) studied socialization, attribution, and academic achievement of Filipino adolescents in Canada and the United States. The study found that authoritarian socialization is associated with low grades while permissive socialization indirectly related to low grades. Student involvement, internal attribution and maternal firm control emerged as the three most significant predictors of academic achievement.

Lin et al. (1996) investigated the influence of parenting and teaching styles on the development of young children's prosocial and antisocial behaviour in Taiwan; children's sex and age as well as parents' and teachers' educational levels were also considered. Although the child's sex did not influence teaching styles, parents tended to show more nurturance and respect to their daughters than sons. Also, while paternal power assertion seemed to enhance the child's prosocial development, maternal power assertion, in contrast, enhanced the child's antisocial development.
Siantz and Smith (1994) examined parental correlates of developmental outcomes among Mexican American migrant farm worker children. They interviewed parents to assess psychological state (mastery, self-esteem, depression), family stress, social support, parenting behaviour, and the children's developmental outcomes. Teachers' reports reflected child behaviour problems and peer acceptance. "Regression analysis revealed that maternal parenting style accounted for a significant amount of the variance in child behaviour problems reported by the mothers, while maternal social support helped to explain the variance in peer acceptance reported by the children. The more rejecting the maternal parenting style, the more child behaviour problems were reported by the mother. Children of mothers who experienced social support reported more peer acceptance. Bronstein (1994) examined patterns of parent child interaction in Mexican families. In seeking to understand the relationship between child-rearing practices, culture, family, social environment and children's social and emotional development, Bronstein measured parent-child interaction as it occurs spontaneously in the home, observing both mothers and fathers with older children. "Warm, supportive parent behaviour was found to be positively related to both supportive and assertive, self-expressive child behaviour. Punitive, restrictive parent behaviour and parental attempts at "psychological control" were found to be positively related both to passively resistant and provocatively resistant child behaviour. In addition, sex differences were found in the dyadic patterns that emerged."
By and large, many studies done in India confirm these findings. Khan (1976) assessed the effect of parental deprivation on personality adjustment among deprived and undeprived children. The study confirmed significant differential effect of parental deprivation on the level of adjustment. Kafiluddin (1980) sought to examine the effect of certain antecedent factors such as parental power-assertive technique of discipline and ordinal position on the development of aggression. The major conclusions were that a person subjected to power-assertive discipline, reared in a nuclear family and being the only child or first-born would be more aggressive than a person who has been disciplined by indirect methods such as love-withdrawal and induction, reared in a joint family, and being the middle or last born. In a similar study, Kale (1982) examined the general development of self-concept at the pre-adolescent level as a function of age, sex and internal family factors like parent-parent and parent-child relationships. Parent-parent and parent-child relationship was significantly associated with self-concept. However, boys and girls did not differ significantly in self-concept development. Sudha (1982) also found positive relationship between intelligence and home adjustment. Khokhar (1983) sought to determine the characteristic roles of ‘fathering’ and ‘mothering’ independent of parental deviance and material facilities of the family, in their contribution to pleasurable and painful experiences of children's sociogenic needs. The main finding of the study was that procurement of satisfaction and painful experience of sociogenic needs of children remained really sensitive to parenting, parent's sex, and economic status of families. The non-deviant parenting set-up of families
promoted satisfaction of acceptance, cooperation, dominance and identification and dominated painful experiences of rejection in children.

Evaluation of the Literature and the Position of the Present Study

Most of the studies reviewed above explore the relationship between parenting patterns and children's social development, psychological adjustment, behaviour and peer acceptance. They also considered the influence of such intervening variables as mothers’ employment, socio-economic status of the family, age and education of the mother and gender and birth order of the child. Although parenting patterns vary with time, place and culture, most studies confirm that children’s self-esteem is positively related to the loving and demanding dimensions of maternal behaviour and negatively related to punishment dimension. Most research also links authoritative parenting with the most positive level of social competence, social adjustment and academic excellence. There is a general agreement among contemporary scholars that warmth (nurturance, responsiveness, support, or acceptance), encouragement of independence for adequate social functioning (less absolute control and strictness), developmental^ appropriate expectations and honest communication were desirable parental characteristics.

However, most of these studies were done in Western social and cultural context. There are very few studies done in India, which focus specifically on parenting styles of behaviour. Even the studies, which deal with parenting patterns usually, examine two types, authoritarian and permissive; the authoritative type of parenting behaviour, which strikes a balance between the
two, is seldom considered. Moreover, there are no Indian studies, which focus exclusively on the parenting style of mothers. Another difference is that most Indian studies deal with intellectual, social and emotional development of children in general, and no attempt is made to distinguish between different components of social development. For example, none of the studies deal specifically with social competence; nor do they involve any scale for measurement of social competence or other variables, which directly impact upon social competence.

The primary focus of the present study is the relationship between parenting styles of mothers and the social competence of their children with special reference to such variables as mothers’ age, level of education, family income, type of family, place of residence (rural or urban), maternal employment, kind of occupation and gender and birth order of the child. The present study involved a Parenting Style Inventory and a Social Competence Rating Scale in an attempt to determine specific relationship between mothers’ parenting patterns and children’s social competence.