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Adolescent Delinquent Behavior and Well-Being: Family-Peer Linkages

Recent acts of aggressive and delinquent behavior have initiated a search for the predictors of adolescent delinquent behavior. Poor psychological well-being could lead to depression, suicide, and apathy which may be related to delinquency. Research indicates that parent influences on well-being influence the quality of peer relationships which then influences delinquent behavior. This review examines direct and interactional influences of aspects of the parent-adolescent and peer relationships on different aspects of adolescent well-being and delinquent behavior. Theories/models regarding the linkages between family and peer groups are related to research studies in an attempt to find the most appropriate model. Most studies support the view that the parent-adolescent relationship remains very important in adolescence although the peer relationship does gain importance.

There has been interest in the developmental processes of adolescence for quite some time now. Theorists like Erikson, Sullivan, and Piaget devoted much time to studying children and adolescents in different contexts. A particularly engaging question is who influences adolescents more: the family or the peer group? The increasing concern with violence and delinquent behavior among American youth in the last couple of years bestows new importance to this question and an urgency to find an answer (Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1997). Knowing the answer to this question might help determine the causes of adolescent delinquent behavior. This knowledge could also hold implications for prevention and intervention programs at the home, school, and correctional facility.

Researchers have discussed the possibility that adolescent delinquent behavior is related to their well-being (Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994; Bugental and Martorell, 1999; Nada Raja, McGee, & Stanton, 1992; Paterson, Field, & Pryor, 1994; van Beest & Baerveldt, 1999). As previous literature does indicate that adolescent well-being is strongly influenced by the family and the peer group (Steinberg, 1999), it seems relevant to study well-being and delinquent behavior concurrently in order to unearth direct as well as indirect influences on delinquent behavior by family and peers.

Although Sullivan (1953) argued that peer relationships are more important for adolescent development than parent-child relationships, many researchers have found that parent-child relationships are more impor-

tant than previously thought (Greenberg, Siegel, & Leitch, 1984; Nada Raja et al., 1992; O'Donnell, 1976). The presence of numerous models and theories, propounding different views of family-peer linkages, further muddies the picture. Thus there is a need to study how current research fits in with these theories and to determine which models may be more applicable than others.

Theories

Early Models of Family-Peer Linkages

Compensatory (psychoanalytic) model.

Freud (as cited in Cooper & Cooper, 1992), in his theory of psychosexual development, suggested that children are motivated to sever ties with parents during adolescence in an effort to achieve autonomy and find an appropriate sexual partner. He said that the peer relationship replaces the parent-child relationship in a compensatory manner. This model says that with the onset of puberty, the adolescent is forced into peer relationships because of renewed Oedipal feelings which make the parent-child relationship extremely intense (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Bbs (1979) refers to this period as the second individuation process, as the first time this is thought to happen is in toddlerhood (as cited in Cooper & Cooper). According to this model, peers are necessary for adolescent development only because they provide a substitute (neutral) arena for the development of adolescents who are trying to escape from the erotic, defensive and aggressive feelings that they feel towards their parents (Cooper & Cooper; Youniss & Smollar).

Competitive (socialization) model.

According to Cooper and Cooper (1992), this model sees the peer and parental environment as separate worlds where both camps have a different set of values and attitudes. The model suggests that parents are the primary sources of influence on adolescents' socialization and that the world of peers is set at cross purposes with them. Proponents of this model argue that lack of proper monitoring of adolescents' activities, an important facet of the parent-child relationship, results in their being drawn into the world of peers (Cooper & Cooper, 1992). Thus, if the adolescent were to get involved in the peer "culture," it would be in rebellion against parental values.

Complementary (cognitive) model.

Cognitive behavioral models view peer relationships as uniquely different from the parent-child relationship in that they provide a different environment for development: one in which the relationship is based on mutual authority rather than unilateral authority (a quality of parent-child relationships). In a peer or a parent-child relationship, a disagreement gives rise to a sense of disequilibrium because of the perceived differences in thinking. In the parent-child relationship, differences are resolved arbitrarily by the parent and the child has no part in it. However, in the peer relationship the involved individuals must reach an agreement by negotiation thereby overcoming the disequilibrium and resulting in further growth. Thus it can be seen that this model views the peer relationship in a complementary light; it is not considered compensatory to the parent-child relationship and certainly not competitive (Cooper & Cooper, 1992).

Theories of Psychosocial Development

Sullivan (1953) and Erikson (Steinberg, 1999) agreed that different social needs surface during different stages of an individual's development. Sullivan suggested that during adolescence the peer context serves to satisfy a need for intimacy that cannot be satisfied by the parent-child relationship (Steinberg). Erikson, who modified Freud's theory of psychosexual development and developed an eight-stage life-span theory of social development, also said that at this stage, parents are no longer effective role models for adolescents in the search for an identity (Muuss, 1996).

Sullivan and Piaget (as cited in Cooper & Cooper, 1992) concluded that peer relationships are necessary for adolescents to develop identity. Erikson too stressed the role of peers in the development of identity (Steinberg). Thus, consistent with the compensatory (Psychoanalytic) model, these theories regard peer influence not only as beneficial to adolescent development, but also as a necessary factor to fill the void left by the parent-child relationship.

Parent-Child Models

Steinberg (1999) describes Family Systems Theorists as saying that the family works as a social system where each member's relationship with another member changes in

response to the changing needs of the other. The theory, just like the complementary model discussed previously, suggests that in order for the family members to be comfortable, they must reach a sort of equilibrium based on authority and support. This equilibrium is said to be unbalanced whenever a member of the family goes through some kind of psychological or emotional change (e.g. puberty) (Atwater, 1996). The family as a whole must make the necessary changes in order to regain the lost sense of equilibrium.

According to the Family Systems Theory, during adolescence individuals are in the greatest need for guidance and parental support (Steinberg, 1999). Parental authority and emotional closeness with the adolescent have also been found to have a positive effect on adolescent development (Atwater, 1996). Steinberg discusses the work of Baumrind which explores the hypothesis that different parenting styles are also a critical factor in adolescent development. The different styles identified by Baumrind are: authoritarian, authoritative, indulgent, and indifferent. These parenting styles and their effects on adolescent development are discussed in greater detail in a later section of this review.

Other Models

According to Cooper and Cooper (1992), newer models of family-peer linkages move away from the preoccupation with compensation and competition and focus more on patterns of continuity and mutual influence. These models claim that although peers influence adolescents, parent-child relationships are still key to their development. They suggest that the quality of peer relationships are reflective of the quality of parent-child relationships and that gender and culture are other moderating factors in the influence of adolescents' family and peer relationships. These models also emphasize the indirect influence that the parent-child relationship might have on the peer relationship (Cooper & Cooper). An illustration of this idea is that parenting behaviors are reported to influence adolescents' social competence and self-worth which, in turn, are found to influence peer selection and rejection by peers (Brown, Mounts, Lamborn, & Steinberg, 1993; Bugental & Martorell, 1999; Carson & Parke, 1996; Dishion, Patterson,

Stoolmiller, & Skinner, 1991; Gauze, Bukowski, Aquan-Assee, & Sippola, 1996).

Objectives

Each of these models proposes a relationship between the parent-child relationship and the peer relationship. The interrelation between adolescent well-being and delinquent behavior is thought to be affected by the parent-child relationship and the peer relationship separately. The importance of the theories discussed above, however, is due to the fact that their relation to each other can have different bearings on adolescent delinquent behavior.

An objective of the current review is to compare and contrast the results from current research studies about family-peer linkages regarding (a) adolescent delinquent behavior including substance use, smoking, risky sexual behavior, antisocial behavior, and poor academic performance, as well as (b) adolescent well-being which is composed of self esteem, self concept, personality development and social competence. The relevance of gender, age, and culture, if any, will also be discussed for each of the above constructs.

The final aim of this review is to present the various models and theories regarding family-peer linkages and determine which models may be the most appropriate for understanding adolescent well-being and delinquent behavior in the present social context.

General Effects of Parenting on Adolescent Development

How do parents or other involved adults affect adolescent development? Answering this question is an essential first step when studying the links between adolescents' family and peer relationships.

Changing Needs of Children and Adolescents

Steinberg (1999) says that during infancy, parents' primary responsibilities are to nurture and protect the child. During childhood, the parents' concern is with the child's socialization; at this time, parents are the primary role-models (Steinberg). According to attachment theory, children and adolescents internalize the interactional behavior with their caregivers and then base their behavior in other relationships on this internalized model (MacKinnon-Lewis, Starnes, Volling, & Johnson,

1997). By the time an individual reaches adolescence, several factors influence development.

The increase in assertiveness of the adolescent himself requires different handling by parents (Steinberg, 1999). In 1999, Leiberman, Doyle, and Markiewicz examined developmental changes in attachment over the transition from late childhood (ages 9-11) to early adolescence (ages 12-14) in a predominantly white sample of 258 boys and 283 girls. Using the Kerns Security Scale (KSS) to measure attachment security for each parent, the researchers found that emotional dependence on parents tends to decrease over time. Dependence was measured in terms of whether the subjects sought or valued parental help. These results would indeed bear out the need for parents to modify their dealings with their adolescent who reports a reduced need for parental help.

Adolescence is traditionally seen as a transitional period between childhood and adulthood during which time adolescents and their parents have their own expectations of behavior and development (Dekovic, Noom, & Meeus, 1997). The complementary model of the link between parents and peers mentions the idea of cognitive disequilibrium that arises when the parent and the adolescent think differently. According to Steinberg (1999), Family Systems theorists say that in response to changes in individual needs, family relationships must change. This happens when individuals change their beliefs and behavior. Parents may have to recognize their children's need for independence and allow them more freedom while still maintaining authority and closeness (Brown et al., 1993; Gauze et al., 1996). These changes then work to adjust to or overcome the sense of disequilibrium that results from a transitional period (Steinberg).

Components of Parenting Styles

According to some of the literature, the defining characteristics of parenting are warmth, structure, and autonomy support; structure refers to the expectations parents have of their children, and autonomy support is the extent to which parents promote their child's individuality (Buysse, 1997; Steinberg, 1999). Barber et al. (1994) found that parental warmth is strongly associated with adolescent

competence, and Steinberg reported that the presence of structure and autonomy support is associated with less delinquent behavior and psychological problems respectively.

Different levels of responsiveness and demandingness characterize Baumrind's four parenting styles. Responsiveness refers to the degree to which a parent attends to the child's needs in a supportive manner whereas demandingness (similar to the concept of structure mentioned previously) refers to the kinds of standards a parent holds for the child; parents may or may not expect their children to behave maturely and responsibly. In Steinberg's (1999) discussion of parenting styles, authoritative parents are high on responsiveness as well as demandingness and hence are warm but firm in their dealings with their children who are usually more socially competent than children of any other type of parent. These children tend to be more responsible, more confident, more adaptive, and more successful in school. These qualities are expected to be advantageous when making friends. Parents who are not very demanding but are extremely responsive are labeled indulgent. They are usually accepting but lax when it comes to maintaining discipline. Children of indulgent parents are more likely to be irresponsible, and are also more likely to conform to peers. Highly demanding parents who are not very responsive are authoritarian and are the most forceful and punitive in their dealings with their children. Children of authoritarian parents are less confident, more dependent, timid, passive, and less socially competent. Lastly, parents who are neither demanding nor responsive are indifferent; they spend little time with or on their children and may even be neglectful. Children of indifferent parents show similar, but more extreme, characteristics as do children of indulgent parents. They tend to be much more likely to experiment with sex, drugs, and alcohol (Steinberg).

Factors Affecting Adolescent Development

Barone, Iscoe, Trickett, and Schmid (1998) studied a model that identifies family, peers, and non-family adults as important network reference groups for adolescents. They found that previous research on "social network orientation," which refers to the

individual's feelings about getting help from a member of a reference group, did not differentiate adequately between parents, peers, and other adults; rather, all three groups were studied as one group. Barone et al. felt that it would be worthwhile to study the three reference groups separately to detect group differences. Their approach was slightly different from Baumrind (as discussed in Steinberg, 1999) and Barber et al. (1994), but comparable as they considered support, sociability, availability of help, and the perceived costs of disclosing intimate, even embarrassing, personal details as the defining factors in the closeness of a relationship. Barone et al. studied an ethnically diverse sample (50% Black, 38% White, 5% Asian American, 4% Hispanic, and 3% other race) of students (age range 12.5 – 20, mean age 15.9) and found that there were significant relationships between emotional support and availability of help from all three reference groups and the orientation to each of the groups respectively.

Parents

Much research indicates that parents are a major influence in adolescent development (Barone et al., 1998; Baumrind, 1978; Bugental & Martorell, 1999; Greenberg et al., 1984). In present society, however, divorce and single parenting are very common. The traditional view has been that a family with one parent is not as ideal for healthy adolescent development as a family with two parents. Now the consensus, as reported by Steinberg (1999), seems to be that "quality" is more important than "quantity." Specifically, the quality of the relationship that the adolescent has with the involved adult is much more important to the adolescent's development than how many adults are actually involved in the adolescent's life. For instance, adolescents living apart from their fathers have been found to have higher self-esteem than adolescents who live with both parents but feel that their parents are not interested in them (Clark & Barber, 1994). Regardless of whether adolescents live in one or two parent families, unsupervised contact with peers is considered a factor contributing to the increase in problem behavior as adolescents in such an environment tend to be more susceptible to peer pressure (Dishion et al., 1991). This finding is consistent

with the principles of the competitive model which views the peer relationship as a phenomenon that takes place only when there is inadequate parental monitoring of children's activities.

Bugental and Martorell (1999) discuss the relation between parents' perceptions of social power and their parenting behaviors. They say that some parents feel a lack of power in their dealings with their children and thus they switch to an overcompensating mode where they try to restore control through behaviors like verbal derogation. Bugental and Martorell also say that children's perception of their own part in the parent-child relationship predicts their response to other unrelated adults and could predict the quality of the peer relationship as well. This seems comparable to the continuity model. It is also reported that adolescents who have warm and close relationships with their parents, tend to hold the same values, beliefs, and attitudes as their parents (Bogenschneider, Wu, Raffaelli, & Tsay, 1998).

Parental encouragement and support for adolescent individuality help in the development of reasoning, coping, and role taking skills which then contributes to adolescents' high self-esteem (Steinberg, 1999; Stocker, & Youngblade, 1999). It seems reasonable that parent-child relationships involving the components discussed previously, warmth, and support, would help adolescents develop good interpersonal and social skills (Gavin & Furman, 1996). As long as parents remain approachable, warm, and caring towards their offspring, it is likely that they will maintain a fair amount of positive influence over the choices that their children make with regard to peer selection (Steinberg).

Other parental factors that are important in adolescent development are economic status, and employment (Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996; Steinberg, 1999). According to Steinberg, there are gender differences in the effects of maternal employment during adolescence. Having a working mother seems to have beneficial effects on girls who have higher career aspirations, but not on boys who show lowered school performance. Steinberg warns that we must keep in mind that studies on maternal employment usually include families in which

both parents work as opposed to families in which only the father works to support the family. It seems reasonable to say that lowered economic status may contribute to a strained family environment as a result of strained marital and parent-child interactions. Repercussions of this might include a decrease in supervision especially if a previously home-based mother is forced to leave the home in order to earn more money.

Cultural values and beliefs often define parenting styles and expectations of development in adolescence (Steinberg, 1999). For instance, Paterson et al. (1994) found that Pacific Island adolescents depend less on their mothers for emotional support than do European adolescents. In the U.S. itself, different cultures have different approaches to parenting (Steinberg). Researchers (Steinberg et al., 1991; Yau & Smetana, 1996) have found that authoritative parenting is less common among African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American families than among white families (as reported in Steinberg). Steinberg also says that the adverse effects of authoritarian parenting may be greater among white adolescents than among adolescents of ethnic minority groups because in other cultures the relative degrees of warmth and responsiveness provided by parents might not fit Baumrind's explicit categories.

Peers

The second reference group identified by Barone et al. (1998) was the peer group. Research in this area of adolescent development either studies peer group influences or friend (usually best friend) influences (Brendgen, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1998; Lucas & Lloyd, 1999). One study included, friend, romantic partner, as well as peer group when referring to adolescents' "peers" (Buysse, 1997). For the purpose of the current review, these two dimensions are examined together as most of the research studied for this review reported comparable results for peer group and friend involvement. Peer groups are most often found in school where students are grouped by age (Steinberg, 1999). As discussed before, during adolescence, individuals seek independence from parents and in the process they come more into contact with their peers (Bogenschneider et al., 1998). This is consis-

tent with the compensatory model. Along the lines of the continuity model, Steinberg says that friendship selection determines the kind of friends or peer group to which the adolescent is attracted. Some researchers say that this is based on similarities between adolescents and their friends (Brendgen et al., 1998). Rejection by one peer group may lead to a gravitation towards another (Steinberg). The peer group is seen as a reference group from which the adolescent learns norms about appropriate behavior (Barone et al.; Steinberg). This reiterates the principles of the competitive model. A negative outcome of this is that adolescent delinquent behavior may be influenced by their friends or their peer group. Many of the qualities that characterize parent-child relationships are also important in friendships and peer groups, for example, support, power, attachment, and intimacy (Barone et al.; Bugental & Martorell, 1999; Buysse, 1997; Field, Lang, Yando, & Bendell, 1995; Gavin & Furman, 1996; O'Donnell, 1976; Paterson et al., 1994).

Other Adults

The third reference group identified by Barone et al. (1998) was that of adults other than family members. There was not a lot of research found on this topic. Further research on this topic, such as examining the influence of teachers, may broaden the scope of a review such as this.

Delinquent Behavior

Of the studies examined for this review one discrepancy noted was the usage of the terms "delinquency," "delinquent behavior," and "problem behavior." Research studies used any one of these three terms when referring to behaviors like antisocial behavior, aggressive behavior, risky sexual behavior, poor academic performance, smoking, and drug use. Vazsonyi and Flannery (1997) discuss the differences between these three terms. "Delinquency", they say, is the term used by criminologists to define norm-violating conduct and connotes a judgement made by the juvenile court system. The researchers say that psychologists, most often, use the term "problem behavior" or even "conduct problems." Finally, "delinquent behavior" is used to represent conduct problems, and delinquency. For simplicity's sake, this review follows Vazsonyi and Flannery's

strategy and uses the term "delinquent behavior" except when discussing specific studies, in which case, the term used by the respective researcher(s) is reported.

Peer Influences

Several studies (Bogenschneider, et al., 1998; Brendgen et al., 1998; Engels, Knibbe, de Vries, Drop, and van Breukelen, 1999) found peer and friend factors to be significantly related to adolescent delinquent behaviors.

In 1998, Farrell and White studied drug use among adolescents. They found that peer pressure and peer drug use were significantly related to adolescents' reports of drug use. The researchers also found sex differences in the relationship between peer pressure and the participant's drug use; the relationship was stronger among girls. All the adolescents in this study were tenth graders so there was no way of detecting changes in the influence of peer pressure. Engels et al. (1999), in their study on adolescent smoking and drinking, used a longitudinal (five-year) design and so were able to detect age differences in the influence of peer variables on cigarette and alcohol use. These researchers found that only in early adolescence did friends' drinking have a significant influence on participants' alcohol use.

Field et al. (1995) studied the importance of intimate relationships with parents and peers during adolescence. Their purpose was to determine how these relationships varied as a function of certain variables, one of which was problem behaviors that the researchers defined as drug use and risk-taking. The drugs that the participants answered questions about were alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, and tobacco. This reflects another inherent difficulty when comparing studies of adolescent drug use; they either combine several substances under "drug use" or they comprise just one or two substances in particular, an example of this being the Engels et al. (1999) study. Interestingly, unlike the Farrell and White (1998) and Engels et al. studies, Field et al. did not find a significant relationship between intimacy with friends and drug use. A factor that may have contributed to this inconsistency is that Field et al. included a larger number of substances in their examination of drug use. Whereas Engels et al. studied smoking and alcohol use, Field et al. also

included the use of marijuana and cocaine. These two added substances might be a source of added variance that reduced the possibility of finding significant results. Another point to consider is that Farrell et al. used a predominantly African American sample; ergo cultural differences may have played a part in the differing results.

In a longitudinal study on cigarette smoking among adolescents, Brook, Whiteman, Czeisler, Shapiro, and Cohen (1997) attempted to isolate adolescent risk factors for tobacco use by young adults. Pearson's correlations indicated that peer smoking, peer marijuana/other drug use, and peer deviancy were all positively related to tobacco use in young adults ($r = .42, p < .001$; $r = .161.11, p < .0011.05$; $r = .20, p < .001$ respectively) and to smoking in young adults (age of young adults not specified). However, it is difficult to judge the validity of the results regarding the effects of peer deviancy as the researchers used different deviancy measures for the participants and their friends. Engels et al. (1999) on the other hand did not find a significant effect of friends' smoking on adolescent smoking. These contradictory results could reflect differences in the ages of the participants studied and the measures used.

Another quality of adolescent relationships discussed by researchers is support. Hodgetts-Barber and Levitt (2000) measured support using a pictorial representation (Children's Convoy Mapping Procedure) of levels of available support and had students arrange parents and friends in these levels. The sum of functions provided for each parent and friend made up the support score. The researchers studied support in relationships during late childhood (4th and 6th grade children) as a predictor of delinquent behavior after the transition from elementary to middle school. Buysse (1997) also studied the relationship between peer support and behavior problems, and their results indicated that lack of social support in the peer group may be a risk factor for adolescent behavior problems. The relationships between these two factors was found to be indirect. A direct relationship however, was found between conflict with peers and antisocial peers. Hodgetts-Barber and Levitt also found a relationship between

conflict in the peer relationship and behavior problems.

Parent Influences

Studies have found that indices of parent-adolescent relationships like intimacy and attachment are negatively related to risk-taking and other delinquent behaviors (Field et al., 1995; Nada Raja et al., 1992). Parental control (Barber et al., 1994), involvement (Stein, Jaquess, & Ratcliff, 2000), support (Hodgetts-Barber & Levitt, 2000), monitoring and responsiveness (Bogenschneider et al., 1998) were other factors of the parent-adolescent relationship that were found to be negatively associated with adolescent delinquent behavior. These results give support to the competitive model of parent-peer linkages.

An interesting finding in some of the research (Bogenschneider et al., 1998; Brook et al., 1997) was that parental behaviors and values regarding substance use had an impact on adolescent substance use. Bogenschneider et al. found a relationship between parental monitoring and disapproval of adolescent alcohol use in different situations ($r = .18, p < .01$ for younger adolescents; $r = .24, p < .01$ for older adolescents). In other words, parents who reported less monitoring also reported less disapproval of adolescent alcohol use. For older adolescents, these researchers also found a significant positive correlation ($r = .23, p < .01$) between parental responsiveness and disapproval of adolescent alcohol use. Brook et al., when studying predictors of smoking among young adults, found a significant positive correlation between maternal smoking and smoking among older (grade) adolescents ($r = 0.17, p < .001$) as well as one between paternal smoking and smoking among younger adolescents ($r = 0.20, p < .001$). Similarly, Engels et al. (1999) found that parental use of alcohol had a significant impact on adolescent alcohol consumption.

Pilgrim, Lua, Urberg, and Fang (1999) developed a measure assessing authoritative parenting based on measures of parental monitoring and parental involvement so that parents high on involvement and monitoring were high in authoritativeness. These researchers found that authoritative parenting was negatively related ($r = -.20, p < .05$) to adolescent drug use at that time which in turn pre-

dicted drug use one year later ($r = .65, p < .05$). This result was found for a sample comprising European American as well as African American adolescents. They obtained a similar result for a sample including European American and Chinese adolescents (T1: $r = -.26, p < .05$; T2: $r = .65, p < .05$). This seems to be inconsistent with the findings presented by Steinberg (1999) that are reported in a previous section of this review. This inconsistency might be explained by the fact that of the subjects that dropped out from the Pilgrim et al. study, those from the European American and African American samples had higher rates of substance use. This did not happen with the subjects in the Chinese sample which might have artificially inflated their drug use relative to that of the European and African American subjects.

Interaction of Parent and Peer Influences

Two research studies (Ary, Duncan, Biglan et al., 1999; Ary, Duncan, Duncan, & Hops, 1999) found that associating with deviant peers is a stronger predictor of delinquent behavior than poor parental monitoring is. In Ary, Duncan, Biglan et al., 608 adolescents ranging in age from 14 to 17 years were assessed. These researchers found that parental monitoring mediated the effect of family conflict on association with deviant peers. Bogenschneider et al. (1998) found a similar relationship between parenting influences and adolescents' peer orientation, which they then found influenced adolescent substance use. Dishion et al. (1991) also found that parenting behaviors predicted involvement with deviant peers. Farrell and White (1998) obtained results on peer influences on adolescent drug use that indicated a moderating effect of mother-adolescent distress on the relationship between peer pressure and adolescent drug use.

Relationship Between Well-Being and Delinquent Behavior

Because several studies (Barber et al., 1994; Bugental and Martorell, 1999; Nada Raja et al., 1992; Paterson et al., 1994; van Beest & Baerveldt, 1999) have shown a relation between well-being and delinquent behavior during adolescence it is important to study family and peer effects on delinquent behavior in the context of adolescent well-being. These

relationships are direct as well as indirect (Barber et al., 1994; Bogenschneider et al., 1998; Buysse, 1997). Some studies propose models where adolescents' psychosocial qualities such as self-esteem have a direct influence on adolescent problem behavior whereas others conceive of self-esteem as having a moderating or modifying effect on the relation between either parent/child relationships and adolescent problem behavior, or between peer relationships and problem behavior (Bodin, Bolland, & Lian, 2000; Buysse).

Those researchers that conceived of well-being as a moderator variable in the prevalence of adolescent delinquency all showed a similar underlying relationship; their models proposed that parenting behaviors, adolescent well-being, and peer relationships are all either predictor variables or moderator variables in the incidence of adolescent problem behavior (Bodin et al., 2000; Bogenschneider et al., 1998; Brook et al., 1997; Dekovic & Meeus, 1997). Typically, parenting behaviors and the parent-adolescent relationship are thought to have an impact on the well-being and social skills of the adolescent, which affect the kind of peer group that the adolescent is drawn to and the kind of relationship that the adolescent has with peers (Bodin et al., 2000; Bugental and Martorell, 1999; Dishion et al., 1991; Greenberg et al., 1984). The peer relationship is then thought to influence the manifestation of problem behaviors (Dishion et al.).

Well-Being

Components of Well-being and Methodological Differences

Several researchers have studied the association between parent/child relationships and well-being as well as peer relations and well-being (Dekovic & Meeus, 1997; Field et al., 1995; Greenberg et al., 1984; Nada Raja et al., 1991). However, nearly all of these studies examined different psychosocial qualities, like adjustment (Conger, Conger, & Scaramella, 1997) self esteem (Field et al.; Greenberg et al.; O'Donnell, 1976) and self-concept (Bodin et al., 2000; Dekovic & Meeus; Greenberg et al.), while still placing them under the general umbrella of well-being.

Conger et al. (1997) conducted a longitudinal (3 year) study of the relationships

between parents' psychological control and adolescent adjustment (composed of self esteem and problem behavior). The researchers wanted to expand on the research conducted by Barber et al. in 1994, on the relationship between psychological control and problem behavior (externalized and internalized behaviors) by including the effect of sibling control. Their findings regarding parental control were similar to those of Barber et al. Analyses of the data revealed that parental control was related significantly (positively) to adolescents' problem behavior.

Some research, like that conducted by Gavin and Furman (1996), views adolescent relationships as dyadic. In other words, rather than study adolescents' relationships with the family or the peer group, these researchers seem to find it more meaningful to study the adolescent's relationship with the mother, father, and best friend separately. Using this approach allows researchers to compare qualities of adolescents' relationships with friends to their relationships fathers or mothers rather than assuming that there is no difference. Paterson et al. (1994) studied adolescents' perceptions of their relationships with their mothers, fathers, and friends rather than study mothers and fathers together as "parents." *Parent Effects*

Although Sullivan (1953) maintained that peer relationships are more important than parent-child relationships during adolescence, the research I have reviewed for this article has not supported that view. Research has found that peer relationships become more important as the individual progresses through adolescence but the parent-child relationship remains more important throughout (Field et al., 1995; Gauze et al., 1996).

One older study (Greenberg et al., 1984) also examined the impact of adolescent parent and peer attachments on well-being. These researchers, measured self-concept and life satisfaction as components of well-being. They used the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS), a five-point Likert type scale which would make it more sensitive than the two-point Likert type scale used to measure mental health in the Nada Raj a et al. (1991) study. In the Greenberg et al. study, attachment to either parents or peers was measured along

four indices: quality of affect toward parents, family utilization, quality of affect toward peers, and peer utilization. There are strong parallels between the basis of the quality of affect subscale in this study and the components of attachment in the Nada Raja et al. study. The quality of affect subscales could be seen to be based on trust ("although I trust my parents, I have my doubts"), and communication ("my parents/friends understand me"). Utilization referred to the degree to which adolescents sought out the physical companionship of their parents or peers. The analysis of the data in this study revealed that quality of affect toward parents accounted for the largest portion of the variance (11%) in adolescent self-esteem.

More recently, Bodin et al. (2000) used a series of multiple regression analyses and found that self-esteem, measured by Harter's Self-Perception Profile for Children predicted the coping style adopted by the adolescent which in turn predicted delinquency (detailed results unavailable) defined as fighting, substance use, number of previous arrests, expulsions and suspensions, gang involvement, weapons carrying, and weapon use. The researchers also found that parental discipline techniques predicted the adolescents' style of anger coping. Thus self-esteem (used interchangeably with self-concept here) in this study is seen as having a moderating effect on the relationship between parenting practices and adolescent delinquent behavior. One limitation of this study is that the adolescents that participated were mostly African American from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Most other studies tend to have samples with Caucasian adolescents in majority so although this research is unique, it is not easily comparable.

Bugental and Martorell (1999) used a sample of adolescents from diverse ethnic backgrounds and based their study on the sense of powerlessness that children feel as a result of negative interactions with parents. These researchers were interested in finding out whether this sense of powerlessness with adults would generalize to the child's interactions with its peers and what implications this might have for aggressive behavior. Although the study sampled children and not adolescents, these data suggest that the perception

of power is an important component of an individual's relationships and thus it might be meaningful to include this as an index of well-being.

Interactions Between Parent and Peer Effects

Dekovic and Meeus (1997), who used Harter's Perceived Competence Scale along with Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale to measure self-concept, found that the quality of parenting is related to the quality of adolescents' peer relations. These findings support the validity of the newer models of links between parents and peers discussed in the first section.

Nada Raja et al. (1991) conducted a study of the relationship between parent and peer attachments to well-being in adolescence. The study equated the terms "well-being" and "mental health." The mental health dimension consisted of subscales that measured anxiety, depression, inattention, and conduct problems. The researchers found that adolescents who had a low degree of attachment to their parents along with a high degree of attachment to their peers had the highest scores for depression. This group of participants was one of four separated according to degree of attachment to parents and peers. The other three groups were: (a) low parent/low peer, (b) high parent/high peer, and (c) high parent/low peer. Attachment was assessed using a measure based on the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) developed by Armsden and Greenberg in 1987 (Nada Raja et al.). The qualities assessed as part of the attachment score were communication, trust and alienation.

Paterson et al. (1994) measured attachment relationships along two dimensions: quality of affect, and proximity seeking. Support seeking was defined as "the seeking of support in situations where it is necessary to interact verbally with mothers, fathers or friends" (p. 583) and could be compared to the communication dimension of the Nada Raja et al. (1991) study. Paterson et al. also measured another dimension of attachment: proximity seeking, which was defined as the seeking out of physical companionship of the significant other when in a vulnerable state.

The Paterson et al. (1994) study also has implications for the relative influence of

parents and friends on the adolescent. Paired t-tests showed that adolescents (ages 13-19) seek the physical company of their mothers ($t(493) = 12.80, p < .0001$) and friends ($t(493) = 10.07, p < .0001$), significantly more than they seek out their father. One of the questions asked was "Imagine you are feeling a bit scared and want someone with you. Who would you be most likely to want with you?" (Pater-son et al., p. 585). The tests also revealed that adolescents rated quality of affect for mothers ($M=85.58$) higher than for fathers ($M=77.24$; $t(491) = 9.38, p < .0001$), but rated quality of affect for fathers higher than for friends ($M=74.14$; $t(489) = 3.46, p < .005$). This means that adolescents feel closer to their parents than to friends, but in times of vulnerability, they tend to prefer the company of their mothers and their friends to their fathers. Further analyses revealed certain age differences. It was found that 17 and 19 year old adolescents sought the company of their friends more than their fathers. Also, 19 year old females showed increased proximity seeking from mothers that 13, 15, or 17 year old females, whereas males showed decreased proximity seeking from mothers and fathers as age increased.

In 1996, Gauze et al. studied adolescents' (fourth, fifth, and sixth graders) perceptions of general self-worth and social competence as components of adjustment. They used Harter's Perceived Competence Scale for Children, a measure similar to the one used by Bodin et al. (2000) in their study. The predictor variables were friendship quality (the measure included questions about companionship and closeness), mutuality of friendship (whether or not the target adolescent identified another as a best friend who nominated the target adolescent as his best friend), family adaptability and family cohesion (measure included questions about support). This was a longitudinal study (9 months), thus changes over the period of adolescence could be detected. The multiple regression analyses revealed that adolescents' relationships with their friends had a compensatory effect on low self-worth due to familial factors. Results showed that when family adaptability or cohesion decreased over time, self-worth was more strongly correlated with friendship quality and mutuality than when

family adaptability and/or cohesion increased or remained unchanging over time.

However, the results of these studies are similar in that they all find the parent-child relationship to have a stronger effect than peer relationships on the various components of well being: self-esteem, competence, and self-concept to name a few.

CONCLUSION

Implications For Intervention Programs

Most of the research reviewed for this article suggests that interventions may be well aimed at the levels of the parent, the adolescent, and the peer group (Bogenschneider et al., 1998; Brook et al., 1997; Bugental & Martorell, 1999; Dishion et al., 1991). Lucas and Lloyd (1999) found that intervention programs providing information about smoking that is offered to girls have been effective in preventing at least some girls from smoking.

Bogenschneider et al. (1998) discussed the possibility that their results implied a difference in the functions that mothers and fathers serve in parent-adolescent relationship. If this is so, different agendas might have to be developed when planning intervention programs for parents. Bodin et al. (2000), on the other hand, said that targeting parenting may not be the most effective approach to intervention. They suggest that psychological variables, like self-esteem, need to be addressed more urgently in order to reduce delinquent behaviors.

Limitations of Research Reviewed

One of the limitations encountered when reviewing research was that studies use different definitions of well-being and delinquency. For the most part, different measures were used to measure similar factors like self-esteem and delinquency. Most of these studies used measures that required self-reported data with the exception of Ary, Duncan, Biglan et al. (1999) study on cigarette smoking that conducted a carbon dioxide analysis and cotinine analysis on air and saliva samples provided by participants in order to provide a physiological component to their scores.

Interestingly, none of the studies on peer relationships looked for influences by an opposite-sex friend. There does not seem to be any literature on the effects of such a relation-

ship on well-being or delinquent behavior. Sullivan (1953) did not consider relationships with someone from the opposite-sex important unless they were romantic relationships. Although, none of the studies reviewed for this article made this distinction, it might be interesting to see if adolescents do have friendships with members of the opposite-sex and whether the impact of such friendships differs from that of same-sex friendships.

Due to the nature of this research, only correlational designs can be used. This poses a problem when attempting to determine the direction of effects. Does parenting influence adolescent behavior or vice versa? Although, correlational research cannot give us the answer to this question when combined with a longitudinal design, results became more meaningful.

Limitations of This Review

This review article studied extensive research on family-peer linkages pertaining to adolescent delinquency and well-being. More focus on aggression might have been appropriate as aggression plays a part in adolescent delinquent behaviors. Another limitation of this review is that it looked primarily at research based on adolescents in the United States. A review of a more culturally diverse range of research studies may reveal interesting cultural differences that are beyond the scope of this article. It might also be worthwhile to study the effects of sibling relationships on well-being and delinquency. Some researchers have indicated the need for this as siblings are a source of support and control besides the parents and peers (Clark and Barber, 1994; Conger et al., 1997).

Models

Different studies have provided support for many of the models discussed in the first section of this review. The kind of linkage between parent and peer relationships that showed up most often involved an increase in importance of the peer relationship during adolescence; at the same time, the parent-child relationship retains its importance even though its dimensions change based on the changing needs of the adolescent (complementary or cognitive model). The influence of dimensions of parent-child relationships (e.g. parental monitoring) on peer relationships is in

accordance with the competitive or socialization model.

The results of the studies reviewed for this article lead me to the conclusion that no one model is the most appropriate for describing family-peer linkages when examining adolescent delinquency. As shown above, the research shows elements of all the models as being important. In light of the results discussed I would say that the model that focuses on patterns of continuity and mutual influence is the most appropriate.

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