

Examining the Reliability and Convergent Validity of IPARTheory Measures and Their Relation to Ethnic Attitudes in Guatemala

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ABSTRACT. According to interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory (IPARTheory), parental acceptance is fundamentally important to healthy development. IPARTheory has been validated around the world, but there has been relatively little IPARTheory research conducted in Latin America. The first purpose of our research was to extend the reliability and convergent validity of measures of IPARTheory (perceived acceptance and rejection from parental figures, psychological maladjustment) among a Guatemalan sample. Because of Guatemala's unique situation due to the relative fluidity of ethnic identity of the population and history of conflict between the two main ethnic groups of Ladinos and indigenous Maya people, we also examined how attitudes toward indigenous Maya people and Ladinos were related to participants' perceived acceptance-rejection from parental figures. Participants were 62 students (75.8% women) from a public university in Guatemala who each completed a paper-and-pencil survey. Correlations ranging from 0.56 to 0.91 ($p < .001$) among the subscales of the IPARTheory measures, via strong Cronbach's alphas ranging from 0.69 to 0.96, and correlations between IPARTheory measures and ethnic prejudice ranging from 0.26 to 0.34, provided support for the reliability and convergent validity of IPARTheory measures in Guatemala. The findings also established a relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and ethnic prejudice. Our study took an initial step in establishing IPARTheory in Guatemala and its connection to ethnic attitudes. Further research should establish IPARTheory measures in other Latin American countries, as well as explore connections between IPARTheory and other social psychological constructs.

The importance of parenting and how it affects the development of children has been well-documented through interpersonal acceptance-rejection theory (IPARTheory; formerly parental acceptance-rejection theory; Rohner, 1990). IPARTheory posits that perceived parental acceptance is fundamentally important for positive psychological adjustment (Rohner, 1990). However, there is cross-cultural similarity in the way children (either as adults remembering their childhood or

as children thinking about their current situation) respond when they do not perceive or remember their parents as being accepting and warm (Rohner & Khaleque, 2002). Perceived parental rejection (e.g., memories of feeling neglected by parents) predisposes people to a variety of consequences known as the acceptance-rejection syndrome: negative self-esteem, negative cognitive distortions, anxiety, insecurity, hostility and aggression, negative self-adequacy, a negative worldview, dependence on

parents, and emotional instability (Rohner, 1999).

IPARTheory has been validated among samples of participants in various countries, ethnicities, age groups, and gender identities (Alegre, 2012; Erkman & Ekmekci, 2011; Khaleque & Rohner, 2002; Lila, Garcia, & Garcia, 2007). Although IPARTheory has been studied in many countries around the world such as Turkey (Erkman & Ekmekci, 2011), Croatia (Glavak-Tkalic & Kukulja-Cicmanovic, 2014), and Colombia (Lila et al., 2007), relatively little IPARTheory research has been conducted in Latin America compared to other parts of the world. The purpose of our research was to extend the reliability and convergent validity of three IPARTheory measures to a Latin American sample in Guatemala to allow for further exploration of the theory. These measures included the short form of the Adult Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire for Mothers and for Fathers (PARQ-Mother and PARQ-Father; Rohner & Khaleque, 2005), and the Adult Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ; Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). Studies that involve child participants would utilize the Child PARQ measures about the participants' current situations. The Adult PARQ-Mother and PARQ-Father, however, are self-report questionnaires designed to assess adults' memories of their perceptions of their mother's and father's treatment of them when the participants were about 7 to 12 years. Rohner and Khaleque (2005) defined *treatment* as consisting of a combination of warmth/affection, hostility/aggression, indifference/neglect, and undifferentiated rejection. The PAQ is a self-report questionnaire designed to assess adults' perceptions of themselves with respect to seven personality dimensions that, together, define psychological maladjustment: hostility and aggression including physical aggression, verbal aggression, passive aggression, and problems with the management of hostility and aggression; dependency; negative self-esteem; negative self-adequacy; emotional unresponsiveness; emotional instability; and negative worldview (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005).

It would be noteworthy to explore these topics in Guatemala because it is a location where the relative ethnic fluidity of the population is easily observable and because of the history of conflict between the two main ethnic groups of Ladinos and indigenous Maya people (Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010; Little, 2004). For example, some vendors may present themselves as indigenous in order to improve sales of their handicrafts in the market,

but present themselves as Ladino in other situations. Conversely, some indigenous Maya people might avoid speaking their native Maya language in certain situations to avoid discrimination (Little, 2004). Because of this interesting setting, we also explored connections between IPARTheory and ethnic attitudes.

The Universality of IPARTheory

Past research has demonstrated that children everywhere react in the same manner when they do not perceive parental acceptance (Rohner & Khaleque, 2002). One study of Croatian adolescents revealed that perceived paternal and maternal acceptance were positively associated with Croatian youths' psychological well-being (Glavak-Tkalic & Kukulja-Cicmanovic, 2014). Similarly, in a study conducted in Colombia, perceived paternal and maternal rejection were positively associated with psychological maladjustment (Lila et al., 2007). These studies, along with many others, have provided evidence suggesting that IPARTheory is generalizable to a variety of populations.

Khaleque and Rohner (2002) further demonstrated the generalizability of IPARTheory in a large meta-analysis of 51 studies. Combined, the 51 studies included 6,898 respondents (about 50% children ages 6 to 19 years and 50% adults ages 23 to 54 years) representing most major ethnic groups in the United States, as well as samples from Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa. The results supported the reliability of the PARQ and PAQ measures across cultures. More notably, the results also showed that between 2,185 and 4,537 studies with insufficient alphas would be needed in order to offset the significant and robust alphas found for the PARQ measures. Overall, the implications of this meta-analysis reveal a universal tendency for people to react in similar manners to issues of parental acceptance-rejection despite differences in social class, race, gender identity, culture, and/or ethnicity.

Previous research has shown that recalling perceived parental acceptance-rejection that occurred during childhood, as measured by IPARTheory scales, has been related to various constructs in adulthood. For example, people who were diagnosed with borderline personality disorder were more likely to perceive paternal rejection (but not maternal rejection) and have greater psychological maladjustment in adulthood as measured by the PAQ (Rohner & Brothers, 1999). The effects of perceived parental acceptance-rejection in childhood

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also tend to extend to future relationships. Turkish adults who felt more accepted by their parents as children were more likely to feel accepted by their current romantic partner (Varan, 2005).

IPARTheory also has a lingering influence on ethnic attitudes. In Cyprus, xenophobia, or an intense and irrational dislike of people from other countries and groups, was correlated with greater perceived parental rejection (Demetriou, 2013). In other words, individuals who reported more perceived rejection from their parents when they were children were also more likely to display greater dislike of dissimilar others. Similarly, participants who had less tolerance for dissimilar others were more likely to have perceived less warmth and affection from their parents. Also, participants who had lower levels of tolerance for others and more resistance to a multicultural society tended to perceive more indifference and neglect from their parents.

Interestingly, negative parental relationships and attachment insecurity are important factors in predicting future aggressive behavior. Casselman and McKenzie (2015) found that perceived paternal and maternal rejection and insecure attachments were related to increases in aggression including physical aggression (hitting others), verbal aggression (arguing), anger, and hostility in young adults regardless of gender. In turn, it is possible that this aggressive behavior can be translated to how one perceives ethnic groups and out-groups (Duckitt, 2001), as discussed in the Cyprus sample above (Demetriou, 2013).

Ethnicity and Attitudes Toward In- and Out-Groups

Many theories have attempted to explain ethnic attitudes and attitudes toward in- and out-groups. One theory, social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), posits that individuals' group memberships influence their attitudes and opinions about others. To enhance self-identity, individuals often unconsciously treat their own group more favorably than out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For example, one study found that discrimination toward out-group members was unintentional and resulted from favoritism toward in-group members (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). In-group bias, or favoring members of one's own group, is present in children as young as three years old, intensifies until approximately six or seven years of age, and then tends to diminish after a child reaches late childhood (Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle, & White, 1994). Biased

attitudes seem to escalate again during adolescence (Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Teichman, 2001), though Hoover and Fishbein (1999) found that prejudiced ethnic attitudes remained stable during adolescence, yet increased sharply during college for traditionally aged students.

There are competing explanations for why these types of attitudes are present at such young ages. Some explanations suggest a biological or evolutionary basis for these attitudes (Tawa & Kim, 2011). For example, a study found that the belief in race as a biological construct was positively correlated with out-group discomfort and in-group racial salience, or how important people make their race to their identity (Tawa & Kim, 2011). Additionally, results suggested that people with intergroup anxiety strengthen their beliefs that ethnic groups are socially incompatible in order to justify their in-group racial salience (Tawa & Kim, 2011).

The belief in race as a biological construct is a learned attitude, and suggests that children and teenagers learn these attitudes from others, especially parents (Bandura, 1977; Sinclair, Dunn, & Lowery, 2005). According to social learning theory (SLT; Bandura, 1997), patterns of behavior and related attitudes are acquired through direct experience as well as when significant others model behaviors from their beliefs. A study that investigated the relationship between parents' racial attitudes and their children's implicit prejudice viewed parents as socializing agents to determine if their beliefs had affected the racial attitudes of their children (Sinclair et al., 2005). Children who identified more with their parents had greater correspondence and showed more similarity with their parents' racial attitudes. The findings also suggested that the more strongly children identify with their parents, the more likely it is that parental racial attitudes and beliefs will influence the children's implicit and explicit racial prejudice (Sinclair et al., 2005).

SLT is supported by research showing that cold and unaffectionate parenting is related to tough-minded personalities (Duckitt, 2001). This tough-minded personality leads individuals to view the world as threatening and a place of constant competition, where individuals must prioritize their own needs and desires. Duckitt (2001) hypothesized that this negative worldview influences an individual to desire superiority over others—promoting social dominance orientation (SDO). SDO is an individual's preference and acceptance that one group is superior to another (Pratto, Sidanius,

Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Individuals high in SDO support group inequalities, and individuals low in SDO support group equality (Pratto et al., 1994). This orientation in particular is important when considering how perceived superiority of a person's ethnic group may influence the relationship between ethnic identification and attitudes toward in- and out-group members. In relation to attitudes toward out-group members, another study found that paternal warmth was correlated with less positive implicit attitudes toward Muslims, an out-group (Brayko, Harris, Henrikson, & Medina, 2011). This suggests that parental behaviors influence children's attitudes toward out-group members (at least toward Muslims). This is a particularly interesting question to address in Guatemala, where ethnicity is often viewed differently than in the United States. Exploring the way that parental behaviors relate to ethnic prejudice in Guatemala will extend Brayko et al.'s findings to other contexts.

Overall, there are existing theories surrounding how individuals' attitudes toward in- and out-groups arise. SIT suggests that individuals will favor their in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and that children learn their attitudes toward in- and out-groups from their parents (Bandura, 1977). Meanwhile, social dominance theory suggests that those high in SDO favor group inequalities (Pratto et al., 1994). Although many theories exist to explain in- and out-group attitudes, the research linking in- and out-group attitudes with parenting, specifically parental acceptance and rejection, is sparse. Specifically, research has linked strong identification with parents to similar racial and prejudicial attitudes (Sinclair et al., 2005), as well as paternal warmth with negative out-group attitudes (Brayko et al., 2011). Further research has also found that individuals being raised by rejecting, neglectful, or abusive parents are more likely to have prejudiced attitudes (Duckitt, 2001) and that xenophobia is correlated with greater perceived parental rejection (Demetrio, 2013). Although it seems as though parenting plays a role in in- and out-group attitudes and ethnic attitudes, the present study aimed to deconstruct the nature of this relationship. Taken together, we planned to examine whether Guatemalans favor their ethnic in-group and what role parental acceptance and rejection play as a primary socialization process in bringing about group biases.

Ethnic Identities in Guatemala

Issues related to discrimination and inequality

among ethnic groups have been an aspect of life in Guatemala for centuries since the arrival of the "conquistadores" in the 16th century, and very likely before that (PNUD, 2005). During the era of colonization, early independence, and then a 36-year civil war that started in 1960, the indigenous Maya people were often the targets of harassment, violence, disenfranchisement, property theft, and murder (Grandin, Levenson, & Oglesby, 2011). This history has laid the foundation of the current situation in Guatemala, where the two main ethnic groups are Ladinos, who make up about 40% of the population and maintain economic and political power, and indigenous Maya people, who comprise approximately 58% of the country's population (Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010; Martínez Peláez, 1992; PNUD, 2005). Ladinos, who are of mixed European and indigenous ethnicity, tend to reject an indigenous cultural heritage. Although indigenous Maya people make up a numerical majority of the population compared to Ladinos, they tend to be the targets of discrimination and suffer disparities in education, financial power, health, and politics (PNUD, 2005).

One aspect of Guatemala that makes it a unique and interesting place to investigate issues related to ethnicity is the relative fluidity of ethnic identification (Little, 2004). Because ethnic markers in Guatemala tend to be cultural and flexible in nature such as language and clothing, some Guatemalans are able to effectively move between ethnic groups if they deem it necessary or beneficial (Little, 2004). Gibbons and Ashdown (2010) found support for this fluidity of ethnic identity in Guatemala when they allowed their participants to ethnically identify themselves using a continuous variable rather than a categorical variable. One-third of their participants identified as having mixed Ladino and indigenous heritage. This relative ethnic fluidity leads to interesting questions about Guatemalans' ethnic group attitudes such as in relation to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Although a rich literature has addressed the fluidity of identity including that people have multiple identities that become more or less salient depending on context (for a good review, see Spears, 2011), what makes Guatemala particularly interesting in this regard is that people are able to be relatively fluid between ethnic identities. This fluidity within ethnic identity is usually less common than fluidity within various other social identities such as occupational or political identities.

As would be expected according to SIT, indigenous Maya people had more positive attitudes

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and beliefs toward their own ethnic group, and those claiming Ladino heritage felt more positively toward Ladinos (Ashdown, Gibbons, Hackathorn, & Harvey, 2011). However, less is known about whether people learn about these attitudes in Guatemala the same way they do in other parts of the world such as the United States. As described above, Duckitt (2001) argued that children who are raised by rejecting, neglectful, or abusive parents are more likely to have prejudiced attitudes and a higher SDO. It is interesting to consider whether perceived parental acceptance-rejection is related to greater prejudiced attitudes among Guatemalans—with the uniqueness of ethnic group identity and its relative fluidity—and whether IPARTheory measures can help elucidate this relationship.

The Current Study

The purpose of our research was to first extend the reliability and convergent validity of various measures of IPARTheory (i.e., parental acceptance and rejection and psychological maladjustment) among a Guatemalan sample. We hypothesized that these measures would demonstrate acceptable reliability via strong Cronbach's alpha coefficients. We also hypothesized that the scales and subscales of the IPARTheory measures of parental acceptance and rejection would correlate in expected directions with each other, as well as IPARTheory measures of psychological maladjustment, indicating convergent validity. That is, we expected that higher perceived parental rejection would correlate with more psychological maladjustment.

Secondly, to further examine the convergent validity and appropriateness of these measures in Guatemala, we explored the bi-directional relationships between measures and attitudes of ethnicity (attitudes towards Ladinos, attitudes towards indigenous people, ethnic identification) and parental acceptance-rejection. Third, we also hypothesized that greater perceived parental rejection would be correlated with more negative attitudes toward indigenous Maya people, regardless of the participant's own ethnicity, because this group is generally and prejudicially viewed in Guatemala as subordinate and less valuable. Finally, we explored correlations among parental acceptance-rejection and participants' own ethnic identification. However, because this aspect of the work was exploratory, we did not make specific hypotheses about these relationships.

Method

Participants

Participants were 62 students from a public university in Guatemala. Their mean age was 20.89 years ($SD = 3.08$), and most participants were women (75.8%, $n = 47$). All but one participant's primary language was Spanish (98.4%, $n = 61$) and on a continuous scale that measured ethnic identity from 0 (purely indigenous) to 17 (purely Ladino), the sample's mean score was above the midline, indicating that participants tended to self-identify as Ladino or having a mixed heritage ($M = 9.60$, $SD = 5.76$). This measure was developed and used in previous research assessing ethnicity in Guatemala (see Ashdown et al. 2011; Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010). In terms of education, approximately 58% of our sample ($n = 36$) had studied in a university for one year, 21% ($n = 13$) for two years, 8.1% ($n = 5$) for three years, and 8.1% ($n = 5$) for four or more years.

Measures

Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire: Father/Mother Short Form (PARQF/PARQM). This 24-item questionnaire measures respondents' reflections of their perceived acceptance-rejection from their parents when the respondents were between the ages of 7 to 12 years old (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). The measure was created to measure reflections of participants' memories of their childhoods, and not their current adulthood experiences. The measures are identical except that one asks participants to answer the questions while thinking about their mothers, and the other while thinking about their fathers. The PARQ consists of four subscales: warmth/affection, hostility/aggression, indifference/neglect, and undifferentiated rejection. A few examples from these measures include "... said nice things about me," "... hit me, even when I did not deserve it," and "... paid no attention to me." Participants use a 4-point Likert-type scale to indicate whether each statement was almost always true (4), *sometimes true* (3), *rarely true* (2), or *almost never true* (1) of their parent. The PARQ is scored after reverse coding various items to find an overall sum measure of parental acceptance-rejection, as well as scores for each of the subscales. Higher scores indicate more negative perceptions on each scale (i.e., more rejection). See Table 1 below for information on the reliability coefficients for this measure obtained from our sample of 62 Guatemalan students.

PAQ. This 64-item questionnaire measures psychological maladjustment (Rohner & Khaleque,

2005), as reflected in seven subscales: hostility and aggression, dependency, negative self-esteem, negative self-adequacy, emotional unresponsiveness, emotional instability, and negative worldview. Participants indicate how accurately each statement describes them by using a 4-point Likert-type scale identical to the PARQ (i.e., *almost always true, sometimes true, rarely true, or almost never true*). For example: “I certainly feel worthless.” The PAQ is scored, after reverse coding various items, by creating sum scores. Higher relative scores indicate more relative psychological maladjustment (Rohner, 1990; Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). See Table 1 below for information on the reliability coefficients for this measure obtained from our sample of 62 Guatemalan students.

Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R). This 6-item tool measures ethnic identification (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R consists of two subscales: exploration and commitment. Items on this scale include “I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group such as its history, traditions, and customs” and “I feel a strong attachment toward my own ethnic group.” Participants use a 5-point Likert scale to rate each item from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). To score the MEIM-R, the six items are summed. Higher scores indicate stronger exploration of and commitment to the group identity. In the current study, items had a Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha = .78$.

Attitudes Toward Ladino Persons of Guatemala (ALG). This 14-item questionnaire measures attitudes toward Ladinos (Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010). Items on this scale include “When I see Ladinos in the street, I think bad things about them” and “In general, Ladinos are well-educated.” Participants rated how much they agreed with each statement on a 4-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). Relevant items were reverse-scored and then all items were averaged to create a mean score. Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes toward Ladinos. Items had a Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha = .78$.

Attitudes Toward Indigenous Persons of Guatemala (AIG). This 22-item questionnaire measures attitudes toward indigenous persons (Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010). Items on this scale include, “Indigenous traditions provide a cultural base for Guatemala” and “In general, indigenous people are careless about their personal hygiene.” Participants rated how much they agreed with each statement on a 4-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). Relevant items are reverse

scored and then all items are averaged to create a mean score. Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes toward indigenous persons. Items had a Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha = .80$.

Procedure

The research procedure followed ethical guidelines and was approved by the Hobart & William Smith Colleges IRB (Protocol: 15-34). The Guatemalan University where the research was conducted did not have an IRB, and instead relied on the researchers’ home institution. All APA ethical guidelines were followed, and additional permission from the Guatemalan University was obtained. Potential participants were approached in classrooms at a large public university in Guatemala and invited to participate. Those who agreed were provided a recruitment statement that explained the details of the study. They then completed the anonymous survey packet in their classroom and returned it to one of the researchers. The survey packet took approximately 30 minutes for participants to complete. The ethnic attitudes measures (ALG & AIG) were originally developed in Spanish, and the

TABLE 1	
Reliability Analyses for All Study Measures of Guatemalan Participants (N = 62)	
Scale	Cronbach's alpha (N = 62)
PARQM Total	.94
PARQM - Warmth	.87
PARQM - Hostility	.86
PARQM - Neglect	.78
PARQM - Undifferentiated	.76
PARQF Total	.96
PARQF - Warmth	.95
PARQF - Hostility	.86
PARQF - Neglect	.86
PARQF - Undifferentiated	.79
PAQ Total	.91
PAQ - Hostility	.73
PAQ - Dependence	.82
PAQ - Neg. Self-Esteem	.73
PAQ - Neg. Self-Adequacy	.81
PAQ - Emotional Unresponsiveness	.79
PAQ - Emotional Instability	.69
PAQ - Neg. Worldview	.86
Attitudes Toward Indigenous Guatemalans	.80
Attitudes Toward Ladino Guatemalans	.78
Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised	.78

Note. PAQ = Adult Personality Assessment Questionnaire; PARQF = Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire: Father Short Form; PARQM = Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire: Mother Short Form.

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remaining measures (PARQ-M, PARQ-F, PAQ, MEIM-R, demographics) were translated into Spanish via a rigorous process involving multiple consultants, all of whom were fluent in Spanish and English.

Results

In Table 2, we present the descriptive information (e.g., *Ms*, *SDs*, and frequencies) for the study variables. There was a significant difference between the two types of ethnic attitudes, $t(61) = 7.29$, $p < .001$, with a paired-sample *t* test indicating that participants had significantly more positive attitudes toward indigenous Guatemalans ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 0.29$) than toward Ladino Guatemalans ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 0.38$). This difference had a large effect size (Cohen's *d*) of .93.

Reliability and Convergent Validity of IPARTheory Measures

The first purpose of the present research was to explore the reliability and convergent validity of IPARTheory measures (PARQF, PARQM, PAQ)

among a Guatemalan sample. We hypothesized that the IPARTheory measures would demonstrate acceptable reliability via strong Cronbach's alphas. The Cronbach's alphas for PARQF, PARQM, and PAQ ranged from .91 to .96, and the subscale alphas for these measures ranged from .69 to .95, all within an acceptable range. See Table 1 for each scale's (and subscale's) Cronbach's alpha.

To explore the convergent validity of IPARTheory measures in our study, we hypothesized that the scales and subscales of the IPARTheory measures of parental acceptance and rejection would correlate in expected directions. The intercorrelations among the PARQM and PARQF (and their subscales) were in the expected direction. See Table 3 for the correlations among the PARQM and PARQF subscales. As can be seen in Table 3, the sum score of the PARQM significantly correlated with each of the measure's subscales, and the sum score of the PARQF significantly correlated with each of its subscales. In addition, each subscale within each measure significantly correlated with

TABLE 2

Demographic Frequency and Mean Characteristics of Participants

Characteristic	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	%
Age (<i>N</i> = 62)	20.88	3.08		
Years Studying at University (<i>N</i> = 62)	1.64	1.15		
Ethnicity (<i>N</i> = 61)	9.60	5.76		
Sex (<i>N</i> = 62)				
Women			47	75.8
Men			15	24.2
Primary Language (<i>N</i> = 62)				
Spanish			61	98.4
English			1	1.6
Religion (<i>N</i> = 62)				
Protestant			12	19.4
Catholic			35	56.5
Other			15	24.2
Marital Status (<i>N</i> = 62)				
Married			3	4.8
Separated			2	3.2
Divorced			1	1.6
Never married			55	98.4
Employment (<i>N</i> = 61)				
Unemployed, not looking for work			9	14.5
Unemployed, looking for work			28	45.2
Employed part-time			12	19.4
Employed full-time			7	11.3
Other			5	8.1

Note. Ethnicity was measured on a continuous 17 cm line, with (0) denoting totally Indigenous and (17) denoting totally Ladino. Participants marked their ethnicity on this line.

TABLE 3

Descriptive Statistics for All Measures

Scale	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
PARQM Total	36.37	12.12
PARQM - Warmth	11.90	4.15
PARQM - Hostility	8.68	3.43
PARQM - Neglect	10.55	3.83
PARQM - Undifferentiated	5.24	2.33
PARQF Total	42.08	15.64
PARQF - Warmth	15.15	6.74
PARQF - Hostility	9.05	4.02
PARQF - Neglect	11.97	4.44
PARQF - Undifferentiated	5.92	2.76
PAQ Total	124.32	19.69
PAQ - Hostility	16.90	4.05
PAQ - Dependence	24.76	4.93
PAQ - Neg. Self-Esteem	14.56	3.51
PAQ - Neg. Self-Adequacy	14.65	4.20
PAQ - Emotional Unresponsiveness	18.45	5.01
PAQ - Emotional Unstability	20.66	4.25
PAQ - Neg. Worldview	14.34	4.91
Attitudes Toward Indigenous Persons of Guatemala	3.22	0.29
Attitudes Toward Ladino Persons of Guatemala	2.81	0.38
Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R)	3.57	0.81

Note. PAQ = Adult Personality Assessment Questionnaire; PARQF = Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire: Father Short Form; PARQM = Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire: Mother Short Form. Higher scores on the PAQ, PARQF, and PARQM indicate more rejection as measured by each subscale; Higher scores on the attitude measures indicate more positive attitudes toward the respective ethnic groups; Higher scores on the MEIM-R indicate stronger ethnic group identification.

every other subscale in that measure, as expected. Interestingly, the warmth/affection subscale of the PARQM correlated with the PARQF sum score ($r = .31, p = .02$), the warmth/affection subscale of the PARQF ($r = .34, p = .01$), and the indifferent/neglect subscale of the PARQF ($r = .27, p = .08$). In other words, less maternal warmth/affection correlated with less paternal warmth/affection, greater paternal indifference, and greater overall paternal rejection. Finally, the PARQM indifference/neglect subscale correlated with the PARQF sum scale ($r = .29, p = .03$), the PARQF warmth/affection subscale ($r = .28, p = .03$), and the PARQF indifferent/neglect subscale ($r = .31, p = .01$). This indicates that greater maternal indifference or neglect is related to greater paternal indifference/neglect, less paternal warmth, and greater overall paternal rejection.

To further explore the convergent validity of IPARTheory measures in our study, we hypothesized that parental acceptance-rejection would correlate with measures of psychological adjustment through the PAQ. Specifically, that higher perceived parental rejection would correlate with more psychological maladjustment. The correlations between the PARQF, PARQM, and PAQ

(and subscales) are presented in Tables 4 and 5. As expected, PAQ sum scores were significantly correlated with the PARQM ($r = .41, p = .001$) and PARQF ($r = .35, p = .01$) sum scores, indicating that greater perceived maternal and paternal rejection were related to greater psychological maladjustment. The PAQ sum scores correlated significantly with the PAQ subscales and with all of the PARQM subscales as well as two of the four PARQF subscales, as suggested by IPARTheory.

TABLE 4

Correlations for PARQ-Mother Measures and PARQ-Father Measures

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. PARQ - Mother	-									
2. Warmth/Affection-Mother	.91***	-								
3. Hostility/Aggression-Mother	.86***	.65***	-							
4. Indifferent/Neglect-Mother	.92***	.83***	.67***	-						
5. Undifferentiated-Mother	.81***	.61***	.75***	.64***	-					
6. PARQ - Father	.25	.31*	.13	.29*	.09	-				
7. Warmth/Affection-Father	.24	.34**	.12	.28*	.02	.92***	-			
8. Hostility/Aggression-Father	.18	.20	.15	.14	.13	.79***	.56***	-		
9. Indifferent/Neglect-Father	.23	.27*	.10	.31*	.06	.90***	.82***	.56***	-	
10. Undifferentiated-Father	.20	.20	.08	.23	.17	.83***	.64***	.75***	.66***	-

Note. PARQF = Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire: Father Short Form; PARQM = Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire: Mother Short Form. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

TABLE 5

Correlations for PARQ-Mother Measures and PARQ-Father Measures

Measure	Ethnic.	Educ.	Age	ATI	ATL	MEIM	PARQ	W/A	H/A	I/N	U	PAQ	H/A PAQ	D	NSE	NSA	EU	EI	NW
Ethnicity	-	.22	.04	-.36**	.20	.02	-.19	-.16	-.13	-.26*	-.04	-.24	.02	-.15	-.41**	-.35**	-.07	-.13	-.02
Education	.23	-	.43**	-.03	.04	-.01	.19	.14	.17	.13	.29*	-.03	.20	-.02	-.08	.03	-.16	-.07	.00
Age	.04	.43**	-	.00	.07	.09	.09	.03	.18	.00	.21	-.16	-.09	-.18	-.05	-.06	-.06	-.13	-.11
Attitudes Toward Indigenous (ATI)	-.36**	-.03	.00	-	.14	.26*	-.01	.03	-.09	.04	-.06	-.01	-.12	.05	.01	-.02	-.02	-.04	-.08
Attitudes Toward Ladinos (ATL)	.20	.04	.07	.14	-	.01	-.34**	-.29*	-.24	-.35**	-.32*	-.33**	-.31*	.05	-.27*	-.23	-.34**	-.23	-.20
Group Identification (MEIM)	.02	-.01	.09	.26*	.01	-	-.23	-.26*	-.14	-.21	-.12	-.20	-.09	-.12	-.12	-.24	-.13	-.15	-.03
PARQ	-.33**	-.02	-.03	.19	-.16	-.15	-	.92***	.79***	.90***	.83***	.35**	.26*	-.17	.35**	.35**	.31*	.23	.25
Warmth/Affection (W/A)	-.36**	.03	-.04	.09	-.13	-.23	.91***	-	.56***	.82***	.64***	.35**	.18	-.15	.36**	.35**	.33*	.27*	.26*
Hostility/Aggression PARQ (H/A)	-.29*	-.05	-.10	.27*	-.12	.01	.86***	.65***	-	.56***	.75***	.22	.33*	-.13	.24	.22	.14	.08	.18
Indifference/Neglect (I/N)	-.31*	-.01	.00	.23	-.18	-.16	.92***	.83***	.67***	-	.66***	.35**	.19	-.14	.37**	.39**	.34**	.26*	.19
Undifferentiated (U)	-.13	-.08	.05	.02	-.10	-.12	.81***	.61***	.75***	.64***	-	.21	.26*	-.21	.18	.18	.17	.15	.23
PAQ	-.24	-.03	-.16	.00	-.33**	-.20	.41**	.38**	.27*	.44**	.32*	-	.53***	.37**	.75***	.47***	.71***	.82***	.60***
Hostility/Aggression PAQ	.02	.20	-.09	-.12	-.31*	-.09	.32*	.29*	.29*	.30*	.21	.53***	-	.14	.23	.12	.26*	.47***	.23
Dependency (D)	-.15	-.02	-.18	.05	.05	-.12	.08	.01	.12	.06	.12	.37**	.14	-	.18	.19	-.04	.19	-.04
Negative Self-Esteem (NSE)	-.41**	-.08	-.05	.01	-.27*	-.12	.27*	.27*	.13	.33**	.20	.75***	.23	.18	-	.77***	.48***	.57***	.27*
Negative Self-Adequacy (NSA)	-.35**	.03	-.06	-.02	-.23	-.24	.32*	.35**	.18	.39**	.15	.74***	.12	.19	.77***	-	.51***	.49***	.33**
Emotional Unresponsiveness (EU)	-.07	-.16	-.06	-.02	-.34**	-.13	.14	.19	.02	.18	.08	.71***	.26*	-.04	.48***	.51***	-	.57***	.38
Emotional Instability (EI)	-.13	-.07	-.13	-.04	-.23	-.15	.21	.19	.10	.25	.20	.82***	.47***	.19	.57***	.49***	.57***	-	.35
Negative Worldview (NW)	-.02	-.02	-.11	.08	-.20	-.03	.48***	.41**	.37**	.48***	.46***	.60***	.23	-.04	.27*	.33**	.38**	.45***	-

Note: PAQ = Adult Personality Assessment Questionnaire; PARQ = Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire. PARQ-Mother correlations are below the diagonal. PARQ-Father correlations are above the diagonal. Higher scores on ethnicity indicate more Ladino identification. Higher scores on ATI and ATL indicate more positive attitudes towards the respective group being measured. In terms of the PARQ and its subscales, higher scores indicate more perceived rejection. On the MEIM, higher scores indicate stronger group identification. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

IPARTheory and Measures and Attitudes of Ethnicity

The second purpose of our research was to determine if scores on the IPARTheory measures (PARQF, PARQM, PAQ) correlated with measures and attitudes of ethnicity (attitudes toward indigenous and Ladino Guatemalan groups and ethnic identification). Interestingly, only PARQF scores correlated with attitudes toward Ladinos ($r = -.34$, $p = .01$), suggesting that more overall perceived paternal rejection was related to less positive attitudes toward Ladinos. Attitudes toward Ladinos were also correlated with PAQ scores ($r = -.33$, $p = .01$), indicating that more psychological maladjustment was related to less positive attitudes toward Ladinos. All of these correlations suggest that individuals who experienced more rejection from their fathers (but not mothers) had less positive attitudes toward Ladinos. In terms of ethnic identification, attitudes toward indigenous Guatemalans were correlated with MEIM-R scores ($r = .26$, $p = .05$). Findings indicated that people with a stronger ethnic group identification, regardless of which ethnicity they claimed, felt more positively toward indigenous Maya people. Additionally, MEIM-R scores also correlated with paternal warmth ($r = -.26$, $p = .04$), meaning that those with a stronger ethnic group identification remembered more perceived affection from their fathers.

Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Attitudes Toward Indigenous Maya People

In terms of attitudes toward indigenous Maya people, we hypothesized that greater perceived parental rejection would be correlated with more negative attitudes toward indigenous people, regardless of participants' own ethnicities. Perceived parental rejection (maternal and paternal) did not significantly correlate with attitudes towards indigenous Maya people. However, one subscale of maternal acceptance-rejection, hostility/aggression, did significantly correlate with attitudes towards indigenous Maya people ($r = .27$, $p = .03$). However, this suggests that those who perceived their mother as more hostile and aggressive actually had more positive attitudes towards indigenous Maya people.

Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Ethnic Identification

Some of the most interesting correlations were between ethnic identity, as measured by the line test, and some of the IPARTheory measures.

Participants who claimed more Ladino heritage perceived less paternal neglect ($r = -.26$, $p = .04$), less negative self-esteem ($r = -.41$, $p = .001$), less negative self-adequacy ($r = -.35$, $p = .01$), less overall maternal rejection ($r = -.33$, $p = .01$), more maternal warmth ($r = -.36$, $p = .004$), less maternal hostility ($r = -.29$, $p = .03$), and less maternal neglect ($r = -.31$, $p = .01$) than those that claimed more Indigenous heritage. These correlations can also be found in Tables 4 and 5.

Discussion

Cross-Cultural Generalizability of IPARTheory in Guatemala

In accordance with our first hypothesis, we found that all of the IPARTheory measures (PARQF, PARQM, PAQ) demonstrated acceptable reliability via strong Cronbach's alpha coefficients. This indicates the internal consistency of these measures among the Guatemalan sample. Additionally, the sum scores of the PARQ significantly correlated with each of the measure's subscales for both the father and mother versions in the direction posited by IPARTheory. The PAQ sum scores correlated significantly with the PAQ subscales, the PARQM subscales, and two of the four PARQF subscales. PAQ scores did not correlate with the PARQF hostility/aggression subscale and PARQF undifferentiated rejection subscale.

The correlations in the present study are evidence that these IPARTheory measurements are reliable and valid and can be utilized among a Guatemalan population. Our findings were consistent with past research that has cited that children everywhere tend to suffer psychological consequences from parental rejection (Rohner & Khaleque, 2002). This relationship between higher levels of perceived rejection from parents and more psychological maladjustment has been validated in a variety of different countries, ethnicities, and age groups, and now in Guatemala (Adumitroaie & Dafinoiu, 2013; Khaleque & Rohner, 2002; Lila et al., 2007; Rohner & Britner, 2002).

For example, some research has suggested that Latino fathers' main roles are as the authoritarian and disciplinarian (Engle & Breaux, 1998). If this pattern holds true for Guatemalan fathers, the lack of a relationship between the PAQ and the paternal undifferentiated subscale could be due to the cultural norm of fathers not being as involved in daily nurturance-based parenting. This could normalize undifferentiated rejection, making it effectively unrelated to psychological

maladjustment. Our findings contributed to the growing literature supporting the cross-cultural generalizability of IPARTheory.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Attitudes

Before examining the relationship between ethnic attitudes and parental acceptance-rejection, we examined the initial relationship between ethnic attitudes and ethnicity. Overall, we found significantly more positive attitudes toward indigenous people than toward Ladinos. However, participants' ethnicity correlated with their attitudes, such that participants who claimed greater Ladino heritage had less positive attitudes toward indigenous people. This is in accordance with SIT, which states that individuals' attitudes and opinions are influenced by their group membership and they tend to view their own group more favorably (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

It is possible that our finding, that attitudes toward indigenous people were generally more positive than attitudes toward Ladinos, occurred because of socially desirable responding (SDR). SDR refers to the tendency to give positive descriptions of the self (Paulhus, 1991) and respond in a way that makes the self appear better to others (Holtgraves, 2004). It is possible that participants were particularly conscious of the questions being asked because they related to ethnic and racial issues, and wanted to portray themselves in a more progressive, positive light. It is also possible that Guatemalan college students may be more politically liberal and social justice oriented. This could also potentially account for the general positive attitudes toward indigenous Maya people. Future research exploring the link between IPARTheory and ethnic attitudes should employ a method to control for socially desirable responding and a measure of liberal and social justice attitudes.

Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Ethnic Attitudes

Due to Guatemala's unique ethnic and cultural contexts, we examined how attitudes toward indigenous people and Ladinos might be related to participants' perceived acceptance and/or rejection from their parents. When examining the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and ethnic attitudes, we found differential findings. Specifically, individuals who experienced more rejection from their fathers also had less positive attitudes toward Ladinos. In general, there is a relative lack of literature linking parental

acceptance-rejection and ethnic attitudes. Demetriou (2013) found that, in Cyprus, xenophobia, or an intense and irrational dislike of people from other countries and groups correlated with greater perceived parental rejection. On the other hand, paternal warmth has been linked to less positive attitudes toward Muslims, an out-group (Brayko, 2011). Demetriou (2013), Brayko (2011), and the current research suggested a link, still unclear, between ethnic attitudes and parental acceptance-rejection, warranting further research.

It is particularly interesting that the link between ethnic attitudes and parental acceptance-rejection occurred only with paternal rejection. Previous research has demonstrated that maternal and paternal behaviors have different outcomes (Duncan & Hughes, 2011). This suggests that, for these Guatemalans, a connection exists between rejection from fathers and beliefs and attitudes toward Ladinos. With a history of unrest and distrust within the society (PNUD, 2005), it is possible that Guatemalans have unconsciously linked the past history of discrimination and violence perpetrated by mostly male *conquistadores* and Ladinos with father figures. Consequently, they have more negative views of Ladinos when their own fathers reject them. This provides a line of inquiry for future research.

Further, when a subscale of parental acceptance-rejection was examined, it was found that participants who perceived more hostility and aggression from their parents had more positive attitudes toward indigenous Maya people. Past research has suggested that children who are raised by rejecting, neglectful, or abusive parents are more likely to have prejudiced attitudes and higher SDO (Duckitt, 2001). This does not seem to be the case in our study. Although we did not measure SDO, we found that higher levels of parental hostility and aggression correlated with more positive attitudes toward the minority group (i.e., indigenous Guatemalans). Perhaps the relationships among these variables becomes muddled in a Guatemalan society where ethnic fluidity is possible and individuals are able to effectively "switch" their ethnicity with relative ease. Alternatively, as discussed above, perhaps participants who perceived more hostility and aggression from their parents felt an empathic connection to indigenous Maya people, themselves often treated with hostility and aggression (PNUD, 2005).

Psychological Adjustment and Ethnic Attitudes

We also found that individuals who experienced

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more psychological maladjustment had less positive attitudes toward Ladinos. This could be a direct result of Guatemala's ethnic makeup. Indigenous Guatemalans tend to be the targets of discrimination despite being the numerical majority ethnic group (PNUD, 2005). Ladinos, the other ethnic group represented in Guatemala, are usually responsible for this discrimination (PNUD, 2005). Some past research has shown that being a target of prejudice and discrimination has a large negative impact on an individual's mental health and well-being (Bostwick, Boyd, Hughes, West, & McCabe, 2014; Mereish, Liu, & Helms, 2012; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). It is plausible that participants in our study who experienced more psychological maladjustment believed that indigenous Maya people suffer from similar psychological maladjustment. Consequently, those who experienced more psychological maladjustment might identify more with indigenous Maya people. In turn, this could possibly result in individuals with higher psychological maladjustment having less positive attitudes toward Ladinos.

Psychological Adjustment and Parental Acceptance Rejection in Ladinos

Finally, a variety of correlations surrounding Ladinos' psychological adjustment and parental acceptance-rejection were evident in the data. Specifically, participants who claimed more Ladino heritage perceived less paternal neglect, less negative self-esteem, less negative self-adequacy, less overall maternal rejection, more maternal warmth, and less maternal hostility and neglect. Once again, the MEIM-R was used to measure ethnic identification and the degree to which participants perceived themselves as belonging to their ethnic group. One explanation for Ladinos reporting less neglect could possibly relate to socioeconomic status. Rohner defined neglect by the "physical and psychological unavailability of the parent" (Rohner & Rising, 2006, p. 2). The physical presence of the parent may relate to socioeconomic status because poorer parents may not be able to be such a presence in their children's lives because they need to focus on working to put food on the table. One report from Guatemala states that about 80% of indigenous Maya people live in poverty compared to only 45% of nonindigenous Guatemalans (PNUD, 2005). Put simply, Ladinos tend to be of higher socioeconomic status, and this could lead to them being more physically present for their children. Thus, this could lead to Ladinos

reporting lower levels of neglect.

The relationships between Ladino ethnicity and some of the IPARTheory measures may also reflect the protective benefits of being a member of the privileged group in a society. With this privilege might come more wealth and stability. This could allow parents more time and energy to demonstrate warmth and acceptance to their children. Because Ladinos are not the main targets of discrimination in Guatemala (PNUD, 2005), they may also perceive less overall rejection by society. It is possible that individuals who identified with Ladino heritage overgeneralized this feeling of being accepted by society to the current survey, resulting in perceiving less maternal rejection, less maternal hostility, and more maternal warmth. However, this explanation cannot account for why this pattern did not occur for perceptions of paternal warmth, rejection, and hostility. Further research should be conducted to attempt to decipher why this phenomenon occurred.

In terms of the psychological components, participants who claimed more Ladino heritage reported less negative self-esteem and self-adequacy. As mentioned before, Ladinos, being the majority power group in Guatemala experience less discrimination than indigenous Guatemalans (PNUD, 2005). Past research studies have suggested that discrimination is negatively related to psychological well-being and that discrimination can even predict future well-being (Schmitt et al., 2014). Therefore, it is possible that Ladinos in our study reported less negative self-esteem and self-adequacy than their indigenous counterparts because they did not experience as much discrimination that could undermine their psychological well-being.

Limitations

There were some limitations to this study. Namely, the sample was mostly female college students in Guatemala. Access to a university education in Guatemala is a privilege and therefore most of our sample was middle to upper class students. This could have a differential effect on our data, and in the future, it would be beneficial to find a way to survey and access a wide range of social classes. Also, most of the sample marked themselves above the midline of the ethnicity measure, indicating Ladino or mixed heritage. Because we were looking to observe ethnic attitudes, it was a limitation that our sample did not include as many self-identified indigenous Guatemalans. Additionally, the questionnaires used in the current study did not include

measures that controlled for socially desirable responding. As stated previously, it is important to consider how responding in a favorable light may alter the accuracy of the data. Therefore, additional measures designed to account for these test taking attitudes are warranted. Finally, our sample size was small. Although our data provided evidence that there are interesting links to explore between parental acceptance-rejection and ethnic attitudes, the small sample size should lead to caution in interpretation of the results. The small sample size also limited our ability to use more sophisticated statistical analyses, such as factor analysis. This study, however, provided preliminary and promising testimony for future work with larger samples in diverse cultures.

Conclusion

This study provided a crucial first step in establishing strong reliability via Cronbach's alphas for the PARQ measures and the PAQ in another Latin American context, and strong convergent validity by correlating the IPARTheory measures with measures of ethnic prejudice. By extending the reliability and convergent validity of the PARQ and the PAQ to Guatemala, there is even more support for the cross-cultural generalizability of these measures. Further research should extend the reliability and convergent validity of the measures in other Latin American countries in culturally appropriate ways. Now that perceived parental acceptance-rejection and psychological maladjustment can be reliably measured in Guatemala, researchers can explore connections between the PARQ and PAQ and other constructs among people in Guatemala such as we did here with ethnic attitudes.

Ultimately, the current research has important implications for understanding ethnic relations in Guatemala by establishing a relationship between some measures of ethnic prejudice and parental acceptance-rejection, as well as contributing to the growing research on the importance of parenting practices in general. Past research has linked parental rejection with xenophobia (Demetriou, 2013) and aggressive behavior (Casselmann & McKenzie, 2015), and this study pointed to a link between paternal rejection and less positive attitudes toward the majority group. Work that seeks to explain the foundations of ethnic attitudes and biases, and that can attempt to provide solutions to these complex problems, is extremely important in a world that suffers from these challenges on a daily basis. Our exploration of the impact of parental

acceptance-rejection on ethnic attitudes in Guatemala provided an important point from which future research can embark, not only in Guatemala but other parts of the world where ethnic prejudice is a significant challenge.

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