

The Impact of Parental Tough Love on Children

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Author Note

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine how parental tough love impacts children. This study was conducted as a retrospective literature review. Findings from the review suggest how successful the theory of “parental tough love” is compared to other parental styles. Implications for the study’s results are also discussed.

The Impact of Parental Tough Love

There is a significant gap in the research in regard to the impact of parental tough love on children. Specifically, I am examining whether adopting a parental tough love approach positively or negatively affects a child's success. This study reviewed research on authoritative parenting to describe parental tough love because these two approaches to parenting have very similar definitions.

Baumrind's Theory of Socialization

Diana Baumrind is the author from which all other parenting style research is based. In 1966 Baumrind published an article on parenting styles, followed by a 1967 article with Allen Black examining the effects of parenting styles on girls' and boys' development. Baumrind's researched defined three parenting styles that involve different combinations of parental demand and control (confrontation, monitoring, consistent discipline, punishment) and responsiveness and affection (warmth, attachment, reciprocity, friendly discourse). These three parenting styles include authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting. In 1983 Eleanor Maccoby and John Martin proposed a fourth style, un-involved parenting (Gale, 2008).

Baumrind's typology formed the foundation for research on parental socialization of children and children's developmental outcomes. In her own work, Baumrind examined parenting styles in parents of children of preschool age through adolescence. Outcomes that Baumrind examined encompass "academic achievement, emotion regulation, moral development, peer relations, social skills, substance abuse, and teenage sexuality" (Gale, 2008). Baumrind found authoritative parenting to be associated with better outcomes for children. This parenting style provides a model for children of care and concern for others' needs and of confident and controlled behavior. Beginning in the late 1980s, researchers expanded on

Baumrind's paradigm to families with low incomes and diverse cultural backgrounds. "Despite cultural differences in the degree of endorsement of different parenting styles and in the strength of the association of authoritative parenting with better outcomes in children, Baumrind's typology has been largely supported" (Gale, 2008).

Background of 'Tough Love' Construct

Furthermore, Baumrind defines authoritative parenting as, "parents of the children who were the most self-resilient, self-controlled, explorative and explorative and content were themselves controlling and demanding; but they were also warm, rational, and receptive to the child's communication. This unique combination of high control and positive encouragement of the child's autonomous, and independent strivings is called authoritative parenting style" (Baumrind, 1971, pp. 22-23).

Similarly, "tough love" is an expression that is used in regard to one person treating another person in a strict, firm, consistent, yet loving manner with the intent of helping that individual in the long run. Bill Milliken first used this expression in his 1968 book, *Tough Love*. For research purposed this study found "tough love" to be described as a societal term. Whereas, Baumrind's authoritative parenting is uniquely similar to Bill Milliken's "tough love" definition but is used in the scientific world. Thus, Baumrind's authoritative parenting style definition and authoritative parenting scholarly evidence will be used to reveal the outcomes of "tough love" parenting on children.

Studies have shown that children brought up by parents practicing "tough love" are more likely to have well-rounded personalities and well-developed characters compared to those who face either a more authoritarian or laissez-faire approach. "Tough love teaches parents to face the crisis, take a stand, demand cooperation, and meet challenges. Tough love will help parents to

develop new strengths so they can give a young person a sense of direction and support” (York, York & Watchel, 1982, p. 52).

"Tough love" is successful because it builds up a child's self-esteem but also teaches them to be restrained and respectful. "The 'tough' bit of the equation is about children realizing 'we can't have exactly what we want immediately when we want it. And that there needs to be recognition that there are other people in the world in which you have to treat with a certain amount of respect. That is a crucial life skill" (Asthana, 2009).

Factors that can prevent parental tough love from being successful are financial issues, diversity with children, and the fact even within one family parental tough love isn't consistent with every child. "Often within the same family, with exactly the same parenting style, you will have a child that is much more difficult than another child (Szalavitz, 2006).

Nevertheless, research about tough love definitely seems to have benefits to parents, although not all parenting styles are fixed and do change over time according to a child's needs, well-being, and age, a parent's parenting style seem to be a contributing factor that flourishes or diminishes a child's academic success.

Definitions

Psychologists dating back to the 1920s have studied the concept of good parenting and the influences it has on children in detail. It appears that most of them agreed upon a common ground that Diana Baumrind's theory of socialization was effective in distinguishing the three different types of parenting styles: permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative. Also, included is Eleanor Maccoby and John Martin proposed fourth style, un-involved parenting (Gale, 2008). These parenting styles are differentiated based upon the behavior a child exhibits and gives

insight as to why adopting certain parenting styles may or may not be more effective than others. Refer to the 'Appendix' for a visual image of Baumrind's three parenting styles.

"The **authoritarian** parent attempts to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually an absolute standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher authority. She values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what she thinks is right conduct. She believes in inculcating such instrumental values as respect for authority, respect for work and respect for the preservation of order and traditional structure. She does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept her word for what is right" (Baumrind, 1971, p .22).

"The **authoritative** parent, by contrast with the Authoritarian parent, attempts to direct the child's activities but in a rational, issue-oriented manner. She encourages verbal give and take, and shares with the child the reasoning behind her policy. She values both expressive and instrumental attributes, both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity. Therefore, she exerts firm control at points of parent-child divergence, but does not hem the child with restrictions. She recognizes her own special rights as an adult, but also the child's individual interests and special ways. The authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct. She uses reason as well as power to achieve her objectives. She does not base her decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires; but also, does not regard herself as infallible, or divinely inspired" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 22-23).

"The **permissive** parent attempts to behave in a nonpunitive, acceptant, and affirmative manner toward the child's impulses, desires, and actions. She consults with him about policy decisions and gives explanations for family rules. She makes few demands for household

responsibility and orderly behavior. She presents herself to the child as a resource for him to use as he wishes, not as an active agent responsible for shaping or altering his ongoing or future behavior. She allows the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible, avoids the exercise of control, and does not encourage him to obey externally –defined standards. She attempts to use reason but not overt power to accomplish her ends” (Baumrind, 1971, p. 23).

Rejecting or negligent parents are parents “who disregarded children, focusing on other interests” (Baumrind, 1971, p. 24).

Tough Love is an expression that is used in regards to one person treating another person in a strict, firm, consistent, yet loving manner with the intent of helping that individual in the long run (York, York & Watchel, 1982, p. 52).

Research Questions

Central Question:

Does the evidence support the hypothesis that parental tough love nurtures successful children?

Sub- Questions:

1. What differences result in a child’s classroom success when the child experiences different parental approaches?
2. What are the outcomes of authoritative parenting on a child?

Research Method

A retrospective literature review was used to conduct this study. Publications in this study included systemic reviews, individual research studies, and critically appraised research studies. Children are the population of interest of this study ranging from age three to twenty-one. No specific ethnicity, race or gender will be used. Databases utilized in this study include: Academic

Search Premiere, CINAHL, SAGE Journals, JSTOR, and EBSCO. Limitations pertaining to the research conducted include age, language, ethnicity, race and year of publication. Main topics and terms used include: authoritative, outcomes, tough love, academic success, benefit, support, parenting styles, child, children, and educational development.

Although this search yielded more than 5,000 articles and papers on parental involvement, nearly all of these articles were not relevant in nature. This process yielded a total of 67 studies that assessed the relationship between parental involvement and school student achievement. Of these, 25 had a sufficient degree of data to include in this retrospective literature review. The data was evaluated by its applicability to fit within Baumrind's three parenting styles and a child's academic success. Success in this study is defined as an umbrella term; situations in which this research will deem outcomes successful included one or more of the following: related to academic performance, social and emotional outcomes, implications within particular cultural contexts, and/or performance outcomes that occur in the school when regulated by a non-parent.

Review of Literature

Influence of Adopting Tough Love

Tough love has been found to influence children in many ways. An Australian study and the millennium Cohort study found evidence that tough love produces better outcomes for children compared to other parenting styles (Wardrop, 2009) (Bartlett, Grist & Hahn, 2011) .

The Australian study tracked the lives of 9,000 families and found that 13% used a "tough love" approach which combines warmth and discipline. The parents who adopted a "tough love" approach brought up children who were more likely to be empathetic, control their emotions, and bounce back from disappointment. As well, children were more dedicated,

concentrated and more successful at completing tasks. The research conducted also found that “tough love” was the style of parenting that developed strength of character (Wardrop, 2009).

Similar to the Australian study, the Millennium Cohort Study involving 7,000 UK households found that while family structure and parent income levels impacted children’s development it was parenting style that had the greatest influence on outcomes for kids. An analysis of school results shows the revealing impact of this point. One quarter of children within the study who had authoritative parents were in the top twenty percent at school. Eighteen percent of the top children had permissive parents, while fifteen percent had authoritarian parents and eleven percent were children of disengaged parents. These results reveal that tough love has influential benefits for a child’s academic success (Bartlett, Grist & Hahn, 2011).

Authoritative Parenting Effects on Academic Success

Numerous studies have explored the influence of both parenting style and parental involvement on the achievement outcome of early adolescents. Paulson found using 247 ninth grade boys and girls and their parents from rural, suburban communities in the southeast and mid-west “that adolescents’, but not parents’ reports of parenting significantly predicted their achievement outcome ($R^2=.14$; $p < .01$), with parental involvement significantly predicting achievement above and beyond dimensions of parenting style. As well, family influences on achievement and a number of parenting characteristics were positively associated with children’s and adolescents’ school achievement, particularly in authoritative parenting styles” (Paulson, 1994, p. 250).

In addition, Rudasill, Adelson Callahan Houllhan, and Kelzer found from regression analysis, utilizing 332 gifted students, ages 9-17 years, who attended a summer residential program, that more cognitively-able students were likely to perceive their parents as employing a

flexible (authoritative) parenting style and that authoritative parenting promotes positive outcomes for children, particularly those who have been identified as gifted” (Rudasill, Adelson, Callahan, Houlihan, and Keizer, 2012, pp. 15-24). Rudasill, Adelson, Callahan, Houlihan, and Keizer used demographic information and a Parent Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) to measure the results ($R^2=.021$, $p<.078$).

Also, Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts results indicated a similar result using the Child Report of Parent Behavior Inventory (CRPBI) finding that “authoritative parenting facilitates adolescents' academic success, each component of authoritativeness studied made an independent contribution to achievement, and the positive impact of authoritative parenting on achievement is mediated at least in part through the effects of authoritativeness on the development of a healthy sense of autonomy and, more specifically, a healthy psychological orientation toward work ($n=900$, $p= <.001$) ” (Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989, p. 1428).

Too, Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts and Fraleigh also found a similar result when testing a sample of 7836 San Francisco Bay Area high school students. Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts and Fraleigh found that “both authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were negatively associated with grades, and authoritative parenting was positively associated with grades. Authoritarian parenting tended to have a stronger association with grades than did the other 2 parenting styles, except among Hispanic males. Although authoritative parenting best predicted grades among white students. Pure authoritative families (high on authoritative but not high on the other 2 indices) had the highest mean grades, while inconsistent families that combine authoritarian parenting with other parenting styles had the lowest grades” (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts & Fraleigh, 1987, pp. 1244-1257).

Additionally, Jabaghourian, Sorkhabi, Quach, and Strage also examined the academic and behavioral outcomes among fifth grade Latino students using the Parent Authority Questionnaire (PAQ); and, found significant positive relations between parental authoritative and grades, academic engagement, social competence, self-regulation, and perspective-taking as well as negative relations between authoritative and aggression ($r=.52, p <.01$). Although no relations were found between authoritarian or permissive parenting styles and child outcomes (Jabaghourian, Sorkhabi, Quach, & Strage, 2014, pp. 175-194).

Similarly, Kramer examined 6297 adolescents, in grades 7-12, and studied whether parental warmth was a possible moderator of the relationship between parental behavioral control and adolescent academic outcomes. Kramer's research revealed a "consistent link between parental behavioral control and various outcomes. Illustrating that higher behavioral control has been linked to higher academic achievement, lower internal distress and higher psychological development" (Kramer, 2012, pp. 85-93). Dually noted authoritative and authoritarian parents exercise behavioral control over their children and differ in the amount of warmth they exhibit toward their children. While, indulgent and uninvolved, both exercise low levels of behavioral control. Kramer also found that among the different parenting styles, "Authoritative parenting was associated with the most favorable outcomes including higher academic achievement, higher self-esteem, lower levels of depression, and lower levels of delinquency. Mother involvement and both father and mother warmth variables were positively related to academic achievement ($p <.01$)."

 (Kramer, 2012, p 90-91).

Influence of Authoritative Parenting on Social & Emotional Outcomes

Numerous studies also explored the successfulness of authoritative parenting based on the effects authoritative parenting had in relation to social outcomes. For example, Miller,

Lambert, and Speirs-Neumeister conducted a study that explored among 323 honors, college students at Midwestern University the potential relationships between parenting style, perfectionism, and creativity. The researchers used the Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (MPS), self-report creativity measures (SCAB), and Parenting Scale as instruments. Analysis results revealed that “permissive parents showed a significant positive relationship with creativity; authoritative parenting showed a significant negative correlation with creativity ($r = -.165, p = .004$) but showed a significant positive correlation with socially prescribed perfectionism ($r = .210, p < .001$); and, indifferent parenting style was not used in this study due to extremely low variances (” (Miller, Lambert, Speirs-Neumeister, 2012, pp. 344-365).

Likewise, Garcia and Gracia conducted a study, including 1,416 teenagers, ages 12-17, using the Warmth/Affection Scale (WAS) and Parental Control Scale (PAS), to discover which parenting style was best associated with optimum youth outcomes among adolescents of Spanish families, teenagers' parents were classified into one of three groups (authoritative, authoritarian, or neglectful), the adolescents were then contrasted on four different outcomes: “(1) self-esteem (academic, social, emotional, family and physical); (2) psychosocial maladjustment (hostility/aggression, negative self-esteem, negative self-adequacy, emotional irresponsiveness, emotional instability, and negative worldview); (3) personal competence (social competence, grade point average, and number of failing grades); and (4) problem behaviors (school misconduct, delinquency, and drug use). Garcia and Gracia’s results specified, “Authoritative parenting is associated with better outcomes than authoritarian and neglectful parenting. Overall, the optimum parenting style best associated with youth outcomes in Spain is authoritative parenting ($r = .76, p < .001$)” (Garcia & Gracia, 2009, pp. 101-131).

On the other hand, Alegre conducted a study that examined parenting literature and the four main dimensions of parenting that are identified to study emotional intelligence: parental responsiveness (authoritative parenting characteristic), parental positive demandingness (authoritative parenting), parental negative demandingness (authoritarian parenting) and parental emotion-related coaching (authoritative parenting characteristic). Alegre's study was conducted to review the way in which parenting styles and practices predicted children's emotional intelligence in a similar or different ways that predicts other developmental outcomes. Alegre's revealed that "parental responsiveness and parental positive demandingness was positively related to children's emotional knowledge, also parental emotional training were found to relate to a higher emotional intelligence as well" (Alegre, 2010, p. 58). On the contrary, "negative parental demandingness was found to correlate to children's lower level of emotional understanding and to lower emotional regulation" (Alegre, 2010, p. 58).

Similarly, Panetta, Somers, Ceresnie, Hillman, and Partridge conducted a study that extended on current research and examined, 195 students ages 12-18, in 7th to 11th grade, in a rural school district in southeast Michigan, and the relationship between parenting style combinations and adolescent emotional behavioral outcomes to further understand affective functioning in adolescents. The researchers used three instruments: the Behavior Assessment System for Children: Self-Report of Personality (BASC:SRP), Revised Dimensions of Temperament Survey (DOTS-R), and parenting styles. Panetta, Somers, Ceresnie, Hillman, and Partridge results revealed that when both parents were authoritative, it was associated with more optimal outcomes in adolescents' personal adjustment than any other parenting style combination ($p < .001$). Overall, "when both parents were permissive and neglectful, these

parenting styles were associated with poorer adolescent outcomes ($p=.023$)” (Panetta, Somers, Ceresnie, Hillman, & Partridge, 2014, pp. 342-359).

Leadership can be considered a type of emotional/social competence. Kudo, Longhofer and Floersch conducted an exploratory study in order to examine how leadership potential may initially develop in adolescent children through specific parenting practices. The researchers used five instruments: the Parenting Style Index, Emotional Autonomy Scale, Implicit Theories of Intelligence and Personality Scale for Children, the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire Form 6S, and The Strategy and Attribution Questionnaire. The data from 245 adolescent boys and girls revealed “a positive relationship between authoritative parenting practice, emotional autonomy, mastery orientation, and transformational leadership” ($r=0.53$, $p < .001$) (Kudo, Longhofer, & Floersch, 2008, pp. 345-375).

Not only this but also, Silva, Dorso, Azhar, and Renk conducted a study that examined, 298 Caucasian college students, ages 18-21, and the relationship among parenting styles experienced in childhood, anxiety, motivation, and academic success in college students. The researchers used three instruments: the Parental Authority Questionnaire, Manifest Anxiety Scale, and Motivation to Achieve Academically Questionnaire. Results revealed, “fathers’ authoritative parenting was related to decreases ($r= -.23$, $p < .001$), whereas mothers’ authoritarian parenting was related to increases ($r=.13$, $p < .02$), in college students’ anxiety” (Silva, Dorso, Azhar, & Renk, 2007, pp. 159). Silva, Dorso, Azhar, and Renk’s data also revealed, “A mothers’ and fathers’ authoritative parenting, mothers’ authoritarian parenting, and college student’s anxiety and motivation were related to college students’ grade point averages ($r=.19$, $p < .001$). In addition, college students’ motivation served a mediational role in the

relationship between their anxiety and grade point averages” (Silva, Dorso, Azhar, & Renk, 2007, p. 160).

Additionally, Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison, and Bridges examined the outcomes authoritative parenting has on 370 fourth-grade children and their mothers. Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison, and Bridges conducted a study that investigated parental use of punitive discipline and the yielding coercion levels and associated child outcomes for mothers with different parenting styles. The researchers used two instruments: the Children’s Report of Parenting Behaviors Inventory (CRPBI) and Childrearing Issues Questionnaire. Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison, and Bridges results indicated that “authoritative mothers used less punitive discipline than indifferent mothers. Authoritative and authoritarian mothers engaged in less yielding to coercion than indifferent or indulgent mothers. More punitive discipline and yielding to coercion were associated with lower academic grades and more punitive discipline was associated with more social problems ($t(100)= 2.7, p=.03$)” (Fletcher, Walls, Cook, Madison, & Bridges, 2008, p. 1724).

Similarly, Simons-Morton and Chen conducted a research study and assessed the relationships over time between school engagement and parenting practices and peer affiliation among 2,453 students in sixth to ninth grade recruited from seven public middle schools. The researchers used four instruments: the Child Rearing Practices Report, Revised Class Play, Index of Peer Rejection, and Teacher-Child Rating Scale. Findings suggested, “Authoritative parenting practices may foster school engagement directly and indirectly by discouraging affiliation with problem-behaving friends and facilitating school adjustment ($r=.63, p <.001$)” (Simons-Morton & Chen, 2009, pp. 3).

In the same manner, Walker, Day, Dyer and Black conducted a study that examined, 325 two-parent families within children ages 11-14, adolescent persistence as a mediator between authoritative parenting and adolescent's school engagement, prosocial behavior, and delinquency. These researchers used six instruments: the Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire-Short Version (PSDQ), Industry and Perseverance subscale of the Inventory of Strengths, Self-regulation Survey, Kindness and Generosity subscale of the Inventory of Strengths, School Engagement Scale, and self-reports by mothers of antisocial behaviors. Walker, Day, Dyer and Black's data revealed, "Authoritative parenting was positively associated with adolescent persistence ($p < .001$) and adolescent persistence was positively related to school engagement ($p < .01$) and negatively related to delinquency ($p < 0.05$)" (Walker, Day, Dyer, & Black, 2013, p. 434).

Authoritative Parenting Benefits to Different Cultures

Studies have also identified significant findings on the effects of authoritative parenting in different cultural contexts. For instance, Park and Bauer found using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with a sample of 873 Asian Americans, 1449 Hispanics, 1176 African Americans, and 8292 European Americans that, "European Americans are more authoritative than other ethnic groups, but the relationship between having an authoritative parenting style and student academic achievement is supported only for this group ($R^2=0.018$; $p < 0.001$)."

(Park & Bauer, 2002, p. 394).

Equally, Spera conducted a review of empirical research on the relationship among parenting practices, parenting style, and adolescent achievement. Spera's evidence found, "Authoritative parenting styles are often associated with higher levels of student achievement,

although findings indicate that this is not consistent across culture, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status” (Spera, 2005, p. 141)

In an effort to help explain the discrepancies not consistent across culture, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, the study suggests, “Darling and Steinberg (1993) proposed a contextual model of parenting that suggests that parenting style is a context (i.e., emotional climate) in which parental socialization goals are emphasized and parental practices are exhibited” (Spera, 2005, p. 142). Spera’s research concluded even further stating, “Darling and Steinberg’s (1993) model provides three ways to help explain the discrepancies in the literature. The first possibility is that parents of different ethnicities hold unique educational aspirations, goals, and values for their children, and therefore enact unique parenting practices. Research indicates, however, that parental aspirations, values, and goals for their children do not vary dramatically by ethnicity. A second possibility is that socioeconomic status moderates the relationship between parental socialization goals for their children and parental practices. Evidence to support this hypothesis would suggest that the contextual model should expand its notion of context toward the larger cultural and economic context in which families reside. Although this hypothesis seems plausible, little research to date has examined its potential moderating effect. Finally, a third possibility is that parenting styles serve as a moderator between parenting practices and adolescent outcomes, resulting in distinct outcomes dependent upon the combinations of parenting styles and practices.

Similarly, little research to date has examined this hypothesis. As a result, Darling and Steinberg’s (1993) contextual model of parenting provides a promising model to help resolve the discrepancies in the literature on the relationship between parenting styles and adolescent achievement. Although the model has had a significant impact on the field, aspects of the model

require further examination as to whether they can help explain the discrepancies in the literature. Therefore, further examination of the major linkages in the contextual model of parenting is warranted in order to increase knowledge of the parental socialization process” (Spera, 2005, p. 143-144).

On the other hand, there appears to be some support for cross-cultural connections between authoritative parenting and academic success. Chen, Dong and Zhou conducted a study utilizing 304 second-grade children (161 males and 143 females) ages 6-8 in Beijing, People’s Republic of China (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997, pp. 88-864). The researchers used three instruments: the Teacher-Child Rating Scale (T-CRS), Revised Class Play, and a Chinese version of Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPR). Chen, Dong and Zhou’s results revealed that authoritarian parenting was associated with “aggression and negatively with peer acceptance, sociability-competence, distinguished studentship and school academic achievement ($r=.53$, $p <.001$). In contrast, parental authoritative style was associated positively with peer-sociometric preferences, sociability-competence, distinguished studentship, and school achievement ($r=.42-.52$, $p <.001$). In general, Chinese children who had authoritative parents tended to adjust well both socially and academically in the school” (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997, p. 865).

Whereas, Bean, Bush, McKenry and Wilson conducted a study to examine the relationships between adolescent functioning (self-esteem and academic achievement) and parental support, behavioral control, and psychological control in European American and African American adolescents. The instruments used include: the Parent Behavior Measure (PBM), Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and adolescents’ reports of their academic performance. Bean, Bush, McKenry and Wilson’s results revealed that “Supportive behaviors of African American mothers (authoritative parenting) toward their adolescent children positively predicted

both self-esteem and academic achievement ($r = .61, p < .01$). Psychological control was significantly related to adolescent self-esteem in both the models of parental authoritative parenting (African American and European American) and maternal authoritative parenting (African American)" ($\beta = .45, p < .01$) (Bean, Bush, McKenry & Wilson, 2003, pp. 529-533). The study ultimately supports the notion that African American adolescents raised in families characterized by an authoritative parenting style (high levels of parental support and behavioral monitoring and low levels of psychological control) are healthier and more competent than adolescents raised with non-authoritative parenting.

Additionally, Kim and Rohner conducted a study that explored the relationship between Baumrind's parenting prototypes and academic achievement, judged by grade point average (GPA), of Korean American adolescents. The instruments used include: the Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire (PARQ/Control) and adolescents' self-report of GPA. Kim and Rohner analysis revealed that, "Authoritative and permissive fathers (but not mothers) performed better than youth raised by authoritarian fathers. Youth raised by authoritative fathers, however, did not perform significantly better than youth raised by permissive fathers" ($r = .21, p = .001$). (Kim & Rohner, 2002, pp. 127-135).

Impact of Authoritative Practices by Non-Parents

Furthermore, studies have also concluded on the impact of authoritative practice by nonparents, such as teachers. In particular, Paulson, Marchant, and Rothlisberg examined, 230 fifth and sixth grade students, perceived congruence among middle school students' perceptions of parenting style, teaching style, and school atmosphere and examined the difference between resulting clusters of students on the importance of grades, academic competence, and school achievement. The instruments used include: the Parental Values Scale, Parental Responsiveness,

Parental Demandingness, Teacher Control Scale, The Importance of Grades Scale, and adolescents' self-report of grades. Paulson, Marchant, and Rothlisberg's results revealed, "Students who perceived congruent authoritative parenting and teaching style accompanied by high parental involvement and a positive school atmosphere had the highest achievement outcomes ($r=.58, p <.01$). Students who perceived incongruent styles between their parents and teachers, such as neglecting and authoritarian teaching, accompanied by low parental involvement and a negative school atmosphere had the lowest achievement outcomes. The study found no differences in gender or socioeconomic status among the clusters" (Paulson, Marchant, & Rothlisberg, 1998, pp. 13-26).

Likewise, Gregory and Weinstein conducted a study that measured the quality of adolescent-adult relationships, among adolescents from 8th to 12th grade, across home and school environments as predictors of academic growth in mathematics. Instruments used include: socioeconomic states (SES), parent and teacher surveys, and standardized test scores collected during 8th, 10th and 12th grade. Gregory and Weinstein's results revealed, "No evidence supported a compensatory process in which less connection or regulation at home was compensated by the presence of experiences provided in school" (Gregory & Weinstein, 2004, p. 405). Within the school, researchers found that teacher connection was the strongest predictor for all adolescents, but "a combination of connection and regulation, making up an authoritative parenting style, predicted even greater academic growth in math for adolescents from low socioeconomic backgrounds ($r = .28, p < .001$)" (Gregory & Weinstein, 2004, p. 405-427).

In the same manner, Pellerin conducted a study to provide support for the middle-range theory of socialization style by comparing Baumrind's typology of parenting (authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and indifferent) to high schools as socializing agents. Pellerin found

that, “Authoritative style (both responsive and demanding) produces the best results on child behavioral outcomes, and the indifferent style provided the worst results” (Pellerin, 2005, p. 291). Her results also indicated, “School styles produce outcomes similar to parenting styles: authoritative schools have the best results and indifferent schools the worst results for disengagement, while authoritarian schools have the worst results for dropout” (Pellerin, 2005, pp. 293).

Contradicting Evidence of Authoritative Practices Success

Nevertheless, there was also contradicting evidence of authoritative practices success. For example, Huey, Saylor, and Rinn conducted a study that examined 88 early college entrants and the predictive nature of parenting styles and overall family environment on the academic performance and program completion of the early college entrants. Instruments used in this study include: the Family Environment Scale (FES), Parental Authority Questionnaire– Revised (PAQ-R), Cohesion subscale, Expressiveness subscale, and self-reported GPAs. Huey, Saylor, and Rinn’s results indicated, “Gender and family form had no measurable effect on grade point average or on program completion among early college entrants. Parenting style combined with overall family environment was not predictive of program completion or changes in academic performance. However, further analyses revealed that an authoritative parenting style was related to increases in grade point average among those students who showed an increase in grade point average during the program ($R^2 = .68$, $p < .001$)” (Huey, Saylor, & Rinn, 2013, pp. 418-432).

Likewise, Wang conducted a study that examined the relationship between parenting styles and adolescents’ academic and behavioral outcomes. Instrument used include: self-report of grades in English and mathematics, parental responsiveness, self-report of delinquent behaviors, and parental demandingness. Wang’s results collected from eighth-graders in two

cities in China, found that the majority of Chinese parents adopted optimal parenting styles, such as the democratic parenting style (high in responsiveness and low in demandingness).

“Authoritative parenting (high in both responsiveness and demandingness) was not the optimal parenting style among urban Chinese boys because sons of democratic mothers have better academic achievement and engage in fewer delinquent activities than sons raised by other types of mothers. Sons of democratic fathers had better academic achievements than sons of other types of fathers, including authoritative fathers. Conversely, maternal warmth was found to be essential to cultivating academic and behavioral competence among urban Chinese girls, and paternal warmth is crucial to reducing delinquency among girls. Girls of authoritarian (low in responsiveness and high in demandingness) or neglectful (low in both responsiveness and demandingness) parents have lower grades and engage in more delinquent activities than girls of democratic or authoritative parents” (Wang, 2014, pp. 19-40). The distinction between democratic and authoritative parenting definitions in this study is somewhat blurred.

Conclusion

Baumrind's theory of socialization has been discussed in the research reviewed and has been explained to differentiate among three parenting styles. One of the anchors of parenting styles is the amount of behavioral control exercised by parents over their children. Authoritative and authoritarian parents exercise behavioral control over their children and differ in the amount of warmth they exhibit towards their children. For instance, authoritarian parenting exercises high levels of control with little responsiveness and warmth. Whereas, research studies have concluded that authoritative parents, who are highly involved in their adolescent's activities and show warmth towards their adolescent, are more likely to use lower levels of control. The other two types of parenting styles, indulgent and uninvolved, both exercise low levels of behavioral

control. Authoritative parents believe that lower control will contribute positively to their adolescent's development and outcomes. The findings from this retrospective review show that parental involvement and warmth contribute to several adolescent outcomes, including fewer conduct problems in young and adolescent children.

Overall, among the different parenting styles, authoritative parenting style is associated with the most favorable child outcomes including higher academic achievement, higher self-esteem, lower levels of depression and lower levels of delinquency. Parental behavioral control has been a major theoretical construct for studies of parenting styles. The research reviewed in this study has shown a consistent link between parental behavioral control and various adolescent outcomes. For example, higher parental behavioral control has been linked to higher academic achievement, lower internal distress and higher psychological development.

Although there is empirical support for a relationship between parental behavioral control and adolescent outcomes, few studies have examined possible moderators of this relationship. Findings regarding the directional effect of parental behavioral control on adolescent academic outcomes have varied. As well, findings regarding the successful use of authoritative parenting among different cultures varied. For example, several studies found no relationship between parental behavioral control and academic achievement, some found a positive relationship and some found a negative relationship. Such discrepancies in findings were often found due to moderators that might operate to alter the relationship between the predictors and the outcome. Thus, studies need to remain consistent in the moderator factors they use and the analysis methods they use to influence the results.

Nevertheless, valuable information about authoritative parenting influence on children's personality and cognitive outcomes has been revealed. The findings concerning cognitive

development revealed that children of authoritative parents were high in social and cognitive competence. The findings concerning social development revealed that authoritative parenting style was associated with better cognitive and social development. On the contrary, the results revealed that authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were associated with lower cognitive and social development. Whereas, inconsistent families that combine authoritarian and permissive parenting styles or uninvolved parents showed the lowest cognitive and social competence.

In summary, evidence has demonstrated that the family factor plays an essential role in children's cognitive development and that authoritative parenting yields the highest academic success when compared to other parenting styles. Nevertheless, this study found similarities between the definitions of tough love and authoritative parenting. Thus, if these definitions are used to demonstrate the same parenting style and past studies have found a positive relationship with authoritative parenting and academic success. One could speculate from the evidence provided here that the use of parental tough love does positively impact the success of children.

Limitations and Future Direction

A possible reason for the lack of significant relationship between parental behavioral control and academic achievement is that parents might use both low and high levels of behavioral control to try to influence the academic achievement of their child. Thus, further studies need to examine the underlying mechanisms of family influence on children's cognitive development. Researchers could view parenting and literacy practices in their socioeconomic, cultural, and historical contexts since these seemed to be the influential factors that varied in the successful use of authoritative parenting among different cultures. Thus, it is imperative that

future studies distinguish between ethnic groups and develop theory that is culturally and ethnically appropriate.

As well, further understanding also of the family context may yield important information that helps frame theory as well as policy decisions about related educational methods or principle approaches to learning. Subsequent studies also need to focus on revealing the nature of the casual linkages between parenting variables and educational success.

Implications

This evidence found in this study can be used to help inform parents of the positive and negative outcomes that could affect a child's success when adopting one or more of Baumrind's parenting styles within the family context. This evidence found in this study could also be used to help expand on future studies including how members of the extended family (grandparents, aunts, adopted parents, etc.) parental approaches could affect a child's success. This research could also be used in the healthcare setting by using Baumrind's parental styles as a behavioral approach to discussing disease related changes that could be implemented to help improve a patient's health. For example, if a nurse was to adopt an authoritative parental approach to help educate a diabetic patient on the harmful effects of smoking on the body; the nurse would express empathy to the patient in relation to the hardship of trying to quit, inquire about the stress related factors that implement the desire to need to smoke (demonstrating warmth and high level of responsiveness). Also, the nurse would inform the client of the available options to help the patient stop smoking (moderate-high level of educational control).

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Appendix

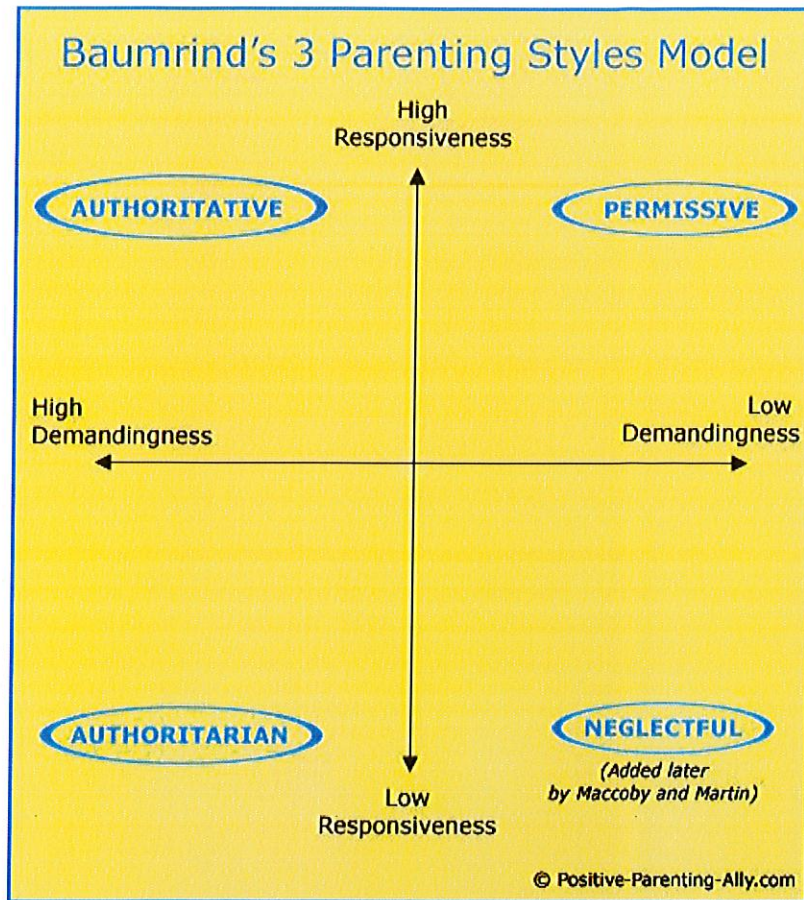


Figure 1. Baumrind's three parenting styles. The parenting styles model has two axes. Each axis represents one of Baumrind's parenting themes which is 'high' in one end and 'low' in the other. Together these two axes of demandingness and responsiveness create four quadrants where each parenting styles is placed: The authoritative parenting style is high on demandingness and high on responsiveness (hence placed in the top left corner). The authoritarian parenting style is high also high on demandingness but low on responsiveness (hence placed in the bottom left corner). The permissive parenting style is high on responsiveness but low on demandingness (hence placed in the top right corner). The neglectful parenting style is both low on responsiveness and low on demandingness (the neglectful parenting style was not formulated by Diana Baumrind but added later by Maccoby and Martin).