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A MASTER'S THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF BETHEL UNIVERSITY

BY
SARAH MURRAY

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A CROSS CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE OF PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON
CHILDREN'S ACADEMIC SUCCESS AND WELL-BEING

Sarah Murray

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APPROVED

Thesis Advisor: Lisa M. Silmser, Ed.D

Program Director: Lisa M. Silmser, Ed.D

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Abstract

This paper examines the correlation between parental involvement and student academic achievement through a multicultural lens, with a focus on eastern and western parenting. Parenting styles are proven to significantly influence academic achievement and performance (Brown & Iyengar, 2008), with past research suggesting that children tend to benefit most from being raised by an authoritative parent. However, there is growing evidence that western parenting styles (Baumrind's parenting typology) do not directly correlate with observations of student achievement across cultures. This literature review provides an overview of different parenting styles, highlighting dimensions of parenting such as differences in maternal and paternal influence, levels of responsiveness (support/warmth), demandingness (psychological/behavioral control), and autonomy granting. Educational achievement of young students is a robust predictor of socioeconomic attainment in adulthood, subjective well-being, self-esteem, self-efficacy, motivation, and physical health outcomes (Bae & Wickrama, 2015; Brown & Iyengar, 2008).

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

As a society, we are enamored with student achievement. Individual influences of parents, teachers, and school environments are well documented in educational and developmental literature. However, research on the linkage of parenting styles and student academic success needs to be more clearly defined. Educational achievement is a robust predictor of socioeconomic attainment in adulthood, subjective well-being, self-esteem, self-efficacy, motivation, and physical health outcomes (Brown & Iyengar, 2008; Bae & Wickrama, 2015), but who or what is the key to student learning and academic achievement?

There is a strong correlation between parent involvement and student academic achievement. In this thesis I would like to investigate the relationship between parental involvement that is controlling vs. supporting and the impact of other parenting style dimensions (responsiveness, demandingness, and autonomy granting) on academic achievement from a cross-cultural lens. Gopnik (2016) brings to light some apparent flaws in modern day parenting. Parents today are willing to do whatever they can to help their children “win at life”. Like “carpenters” they try to shape their three year olds into a Harvard freshman, chiseling away to achieve a particular end goal. However, students flourish most when they are allowed to learn through inquiry, exploration, by asking questions, and coming up with their own meanings. Gopnik (2016) encourages parents to be like “gardeners”, creating safe spaces to allow children to explore and become themselves, rather than trying to mold them into what kind of person their parents believe they should be. I was intrigued by how this new age “carpenter” parenting style

compared to that of other cultures and how it reflected in student academic achievement. Would there be significant cultural differences in the kinds of parental involvement in schooling that predicts children's success?

Baumrind's Parenting Typology

Parenting styles are proven to significantly influence academic achievement and performance (Brown & Iyengar, 2008), with past research suggesting that children tend to benefit most from being reared by an authoritative parent; however, parental education and social-economic status has also been shown to play a very significant role in achievement (Brown & Iyengar, 2008; Pong et al., 2010). Many researchers continue to question whether and how parenting style and student achievement vary in different cultural contexts.

Parenting style is most often used to broadly describe how parents interact with their children, a reflection of the parent-child relationship. The concept of parenting styles was first introduced by developmental psychologist Diana Baumrind in 1967 (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Baumrind's pioneering studies of the socialization of competence, started with observing 100 middle-class, European-American preschool students to investigate how parents could influence their child's behavior and development. She found that most parents fall into one of three parenting categories, authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). These theory derived parenting style classifications were based on the concept that certain parental control could generate different behaviors in children. Each parenting style is distinguished by the level of demandingness of the child (both behavioral and

psychological control) and the parent's level of responsiveness (support and warmth) towards the child and their needs.

There is growing evidence that Baumrind's parenting typology does not directly correlate with observations of student achievement across cultures. According to most research the authoritative parenting style is associated with high achievement and the authoritarian style to lower achievement in individualistic cultures. However, there is disagreement, with respect to the applicability of Baumrind's authoritative model to cultures that are described as collectivist (e.g., China, Korea, or Japan). Some cross-cultural researchers (Chao 2000, 2001) suggest that Baumrind's authoritative model may not be relevant to cultures like China because the same beneficial effects found in authoritative parenting in families of European descent were not found among families of Chinese descent.

Authoritarian Parenting

An authoritarian parent attempts to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct. These parents value obedience and favor punitive, forceful measures to curb the child's self-will and may restrict the child's autonomy (Simons & Conger, 2007). They do not encourage a verbal give and take and believe the child should accept the parents' word for what is right. An authoritarian parent exhibits high levels of control and low levels of responsiveness and is associated with low achieving children (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). These parents don't typically exhibit the love and emotional support that is characteristic of authoritative parenting and development of a positive self concept (Dehart et al., 2004). Baumrind's

later studies, (1971, 1973) explored the impact of authoritarian parenting on 8-9 year olds, finding authoritarian parents had different consequences for girls than for boys. Girls who came from authoritarian parents were more socially assertive. For both boys and girls, intrusive directiveness was associated with lower cognitive competence.

Ethnic Minority Parenting, found in many eastern homes, made popular by Chua's book, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, is considered a subset of the authoritarian model and is also considered to promote high academic achievement in Chinese and Chinese American students (Huang & Gove, 2015).

Authoritative Parenting

An authoritative parent encourages verbal give and takes and shares with the child the reasoning behind the policy. This parent enforces his/her own perspective as an adult but recognizes the child's individual interests in special ways. Components of authoritativeness include parental acceptance and warmth, behavioral supervision and strictness, and psychological autonomy granting or democracy (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). In the preschool sample, Baumrind (1971), found female children were more socially responsible and more independent than other children. Male children raised by authoritative parents were found to be as independent as the other children were and appeared to be as socially responsible. In the older sample of 8-9 year olds, both male and female children of authoritative parents were high in social and cognitive competence (Baumrind, 1971, 1973). Students develop a healthy sense of autonomy and more specifically are a healthy psychological orientation toward work. This parenting style is strongly related to high achieving students. It has been consistently related to greater

adolescent adjustments and psychological maturity than authoritarian or permissive parenting (Baumrind, 1991). These parents provide their children with love and emotional support, as well as clearly defined rules of what is considered appropriate behavior (Dehart et al., 2004). Generally, children raised by authoritative parents exhibit higher psychological competence, social development, self-perception, and mental health compared to their counterparts raised in permissive and authoritarian homes (Macoby & Martin, 1983).

Permissive Parenting

A permissive parent has a non-punitive, acceptant, and affirmative manner towards their child's impulses and desired actions (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). There is an attempt by this style of parent to allow the child to regulate his/her own activities as much as possible to avoid the exercise of control. Permissive parents exhibit low levels of control and low levels of responsiveness. This parenting style typically struggles with consistent rule enforcement and providing the child structure. In the study of preschool students, Baumrind (1967) found children of permissive parents were immature, lacked impulse control, self reliance, a lack of social responsibility and independence. In her follow up studies of 8-9 year olds (1971, 1973) she found these children were also low in social and cognitive competence. As a result, these children struggle to learn appropriate methods of self-regulation and may suffer from lower self-concept and self-esteem after experiencing interpersonal rejection following engagement in inappropriate behaviors their parents may tolerate or ignore (DeHart et al., 2004). These children often lack implicit and explicit self esteem as a result of the mixed messages their parents send, not

bothering to enforce rules or structure, which can be interpreted by the children as not caring. They receive increasingly negative feedback from peers and authority figures as they grow older because the impulsive ego-centric behaviors that were once tolerated as children are no longer tolerated by adolescents or young adults. Children raised by permissive parents often struggle later in life with establishing appropriate relationships and following social norms (DeHart et al., 2004).

In the 1980s, Macoby and Martin divided permissive parenting into two subcategories; *indulgent* and *neglectful*. Adolescents whose parents were indulgent reported a strong sense of self confidence, but higher frequency of substance abuse and school misconduct and were less engaged in school. Dornbusch and colleagues (1987) tested Baumrind's typology of authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting styles on adolescent school performance, using a large, diverse sample of approximately 8,000 high school students (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). They found that authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were negatively associated with grades, and authoritative parenting was positively associated with grades (Brown & Iyengar, 2008).

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature Search Procedures

To locate the literature for this thesis, searches of Educator's Reference Complete, Expanded Academic ASAP, Education Journals, ERIC, Academic Search Premier, and EBSCO MegaFILE were conducted for publications from 1990-2021. This list was narrowed by only reviewing published empirical studies from peer-reviewed journals that focused on the dimensions of parenting, parenting style typologies, and parental involvement found in journals that addressed the guiding questions. The key words that were used in these searches included "parenting and academic success", "Baumrind's parenting typology", "western parenting and academic achievement", "eastern parenting and academic achievement", "helicopter parenting", "maternal and paternal parenting styles", "parental control and child autonomy", "individualistic and collectivist cultures", and "parenting and child well-being". The structure of this chapter is to review the literature on parenting in three sections in this order: Dimensions of Parenting, a Cross Cultural Lens of Baumrind's Parenting Typology, and Parental Involvement.

Dimensions of Parenting

Parental levels of responsiveness (support/warmth), demandingness (behavioral and psychological control), and autonomy granting are key variables to consider when looking into academic achievement and overall well-being in children. Parental support is generally defined as the level of acceptance and warmth parents express towards their children. Parent demandingness is the control parents have over their children, both behaviorally and psychologically, it has been examined as an aspect of effective parenting

but can also be seen as an indication of domineering and negative parenting (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Experience of autonomy and social environments that promote autonomy (e.g., parents, teachers, etc.) are crucial for optimal learning and achievement, even for non-western individuals (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001).

Maternal and Paternal Roles

Much of the previous research on parenting styles have been focused on mothers, assessing parenting styles through a maternal lens. Researchers often assess the parenting styles of the mothers and assume that fathers parent the same way. Unfortunately, there is little information regarding if this assumption is correct and there has been little focus on the ways in which parenting styles of mothers and fathers coexist and the impact of these various parenting styles on child development (Simons & Conger, 2007). Baumrind's (1971) research only assessed parents with the same parenting styles and excluded families from the analysis with different parenting styles. Baumrind found a strong consistency of parenting styles between parents. However, only half of the families in the study were identified as having a "pure parenting style" (parents that scored in the top one third of the parenting index and not in the top one third of the two other indexes), one quarter of the sample was omitted from the analysis because the mother and father did not display the same parenting styles (Simons & Conger, 2007). Families not identified as having a "pure parenting style" were identified as inconsistent (Baumrind, 1971). Steinberg et al., (1989) identified parenting styles by averaging the scores of the mothers and fathers. This strategy can lead to the misclassification of families. It isn't fair to assume that an authoritarian father and an indulgent mother would average out to an

authoritative parenting style when combined (Simons & Conger, 2007). This maternal focus on parenting is limited because it is not able to address important theoretical questions such as potential expectations and consequences for children when mothers and fathers have different parenting styles.

Simons and Conger's (2007) research addressed these issues. First comparing the parenting styles (authoritarian, authoritative, indulgent, and neglectful) of mothers and fathers by constructing a typology of family parenting styles (consisting of all possible combinations of mother and father parenting styles), examining the frequency with which various parenting styles tend to occur and the extent to which this prevalence reflects a pattern of similarity (e.g., authoritarian-authoritarian) versus complimentary (e.g., authoritarian-indulgent). Lastly, they investigated the extent to which various family parenting styles were related to positive and negative outcomes in adolescents. The analysis was conducted on a sample of 451 European American, intact, two-parent, working-class families (Simons & Conger, 2007). After using multiple sources to assess the parenting of the sample, including child reports and observational ratings of family interactions done by trained observers, the most common family parenting styles are those in which both parents displayed the same parenting style ("pure parenting style"). This can be seen as a consequence of assortative mating (individuals marrying someone with characteristics similar to their own) and socialization effects (the process of mutual influence of husbands and wives may gradually acquire a similar perspective on parenting) (Simons & Conger, 2007). Authoritarian parenting was seen as an exception to this trend. Despite pure parenting styles being the most common, if the inconsistent

parenting styles were to be omitted that would account for 22% of child reports and 42% of observer ratings (Simons & Conger, 2007). Results indicated that having at least one authoritative parent fosters better outcomes than family parenting styles without an authoritative parent. Families with two authoritative parents were associated with the lowest levels of depression and highest levels of school commitment. The lowest levels of delinquency were associated with an authoritative mother and indulgent father, suggesting that the presence of highly warm and loving parents may remove the impulse for engaging in delinquent behaviors (Simons & Conger, 2007). Families with uninvolved mothers resulted in significantly worse adolescent outcomes than families with uninvolved fathers. Their findings reinforced findings from previous studies that authoritative parenting is the optimal manner of parenting European-American adolescents.

Parenting styles and behavior problems are some of the most studied variables when looking at the academic outcomes of students in primary school. Purificación et al. (2019) examined the interconnections between parenting style, behavior problems, and academic achievement, assessing both paternal and maternal parenting styles in order to determine the separate influence of each on the child. Seventy-eight Spanish families participated in this study. Four questionnaires were mailed to families, two for the mothers and two for the fathers. Teachers were also asked to provide information on the children's general Academic Outcomes at the end of the academic year. As expected both maternal and paternal sensitive parenting styles were positively correlated with academic

outcomes. However, mothers' sensitive parenting styles were more predictive of academic outcomes than paternal outcomes.

In recent years there has been greater attention on the role of fathers in the lives of children; however, the overall lack of findings makes it difficult to develop empirically supported hypotheses and literature about teen fathers' relationships and the role of fathers in the lives of children, in particular African Americans (Bean et al., 2006). Bean et al. (2006) did not use Baumrind's parental typography model in their research but instead chose to focus on the dimensions of parenting. The dimensions they identified as being consistently associated with child/adolescent well-being and optimal functioning were support, behavioral control, and psychological control (Bean et al., 2006). The adolescent participants in the study were from the Tennessee Adolescent Families Project; a self-reported survey of the 5th, 8th and 10th graders from 14 schools in the Knox County schools system, 109 females and 93 males, all African American, 141 students (69%) were from lower-income families and the remaining 61 (31%) were from middle-income homes. Sixty of the participants lived with both biological parents, 25 lived with at least one biological parent and one step-parent, 100 lived with one parent (typically the mother), and the remaining 17 lived with other nonparent relatives or guardians (Bean et al., 2006).

Adolescents were asked questions regarding mothers and fathers parenting behaviors regardless of living arrangements and rated parenting done by non-biological parents as well. Bean et al. (2006) found paternal support to be significantly and negatively related to youth depression and delinquency for every group regardless of the

child's gender, grade level, or family income level. However, there was a non-significant association between maternal support and adolescent depression. Limited by the lack of previous research studying mothering and fathering behaviors separately, it is difficult to explain this rationale.

Behavioral control by both mothers and fathers was found to be negatively associated with delinquency. This finding offers additional support for the long-held idea that when parents monitor their child's free time and after-school activities, they help reduce the opportunities for delinquent behaviors (Bean et al., 2006). Paternal influence may be more pivotal in relation to youth outcomes than maternal influence in African American families, not in the sense that it is more important. Rather it varies more and is less consistent compared to maternal support (Bean et al., 2006). It is very likely that these African American youths received lower doses of support from school and societal agents compared to their European American counterparts, making parental support much more crucial for this ethnic group (Bean et al., 2006).

Even less research has been done in regards to paternal influence in Native American families. Williams et al. (1996) conducted some of the earliest research in regard to Ojibwa families. The first objective was to assess the relationship between the quantity and quality of Ojibwa fathers' involvement in childrearing and in their children's academic and social functioning. In Native American society, an additional influence on father behavior, one not previously studied in relation to paternal involvement, may be the expectation of children's future leadership roles in the community (Williams et al., 1996). Seventeen families from the Bay Mills Indian Community near Sault Ste. Marie,

Michigan, volunteered to participate in this study. These families were two parent homes made up of a mother or stepmother and a father or stepfather, and a child. Mothers' and fathers' average education was around one year of college. The children in the study were 3-11 years old and attended Anglo-American schools. Data was collected using a questionnaire and through separate interviews with mothers and fathers of each family. As a result of the small sample size and the exploratory nature of this study the conclusions drawn must be treated tentatively (Williams et al., 1996). Mothers estimated that the father was the primary caregiver 30% of the time for the family and 35% for just their sons. Fathers estimated they were primary caregivers 31% of the time and 33% for just their sons (Williams et al., 1996). Similar to what has been found in previous research there was a positive relationship between the quantity of paternal involvement in childrearing and children's academic and social development. However, contrary to previous paternal research, this did not necessarily apply to the quality of paternal involvement, with children of more nurturant fathers tending to be less competent in school (Williams et al., 1996). Native Americans place a greater value on parental non-interference in children's lives (Brant, 1990), and the level of demandingness is likely low, resulting in more of a permissive parenting style. Research has proven that permissive parenting is not conducive to learning in an Anglo-American school context (Baumrind, 1967, 1971).

Little is known about the role of paternal support in academic activity, especially when children are experiencing academic stress. Leung et al. (2010) sought to further investigate this topic by exploring whether paternal, emotional (spending more time with

them), and informational (coaching or guiding them in their school work) support helped combat academic stress and anxiety. In a cluster sample of fifth and sixth-grade students, from nine government-aided Hong Kong Elementary schools, 1,171 students were selected (482 boys (41.2%) and 689 girls (58.8%). Most of these students came from two-parent family homes (90.7%), with 2.5 % of the participants living in a single father family. More than half of the fathers (53.1%) and mothers (55.3%) had completed secondary education, 92.8% of fathers were employed, and 52.4% of mothers were employed (Leung et al., 2010). Participants were asked to complete a survey administered by trained research assistants, but the survey was not to be administered ten days before or after exams to take into account the students' general perceptions of academic stress. Academic stress was found to be a risk factor that heightened student anxiety. The mean scores of maternal support and time spent with children were higher than those of corresponding paternal variables (Leung et al., 2010). The academic stress scores were positively related to student anxiety and negatively associated with paternal and maternal support variables. Paternal emotional support was found to have the main effect on children's emotional well-being and to buffer student academic stress. It moderated academic stress, which contributed to lower levels of student anxiety, but with high paternal informational support, student anxiety levels mounted in high-stress situations. Paternal emotional support was found to be conducive to children's well-being, protecting children from possible risks, such as acute life stressors, negative peer influence, and social conflict and promoting children's socio-emotional and cognitive development (Leung et al., 2010).

The impact of paternal influence on student achievement, overall well-being, and rates of delinquency could be related to the different and specific roles mothers, and fathers may have in families. Traditionally mothers are usually the ones who shoulder a larger portion of the parenting responsibilities and have been expected to take on a more caring role, providing more structural and functional support to children than do fathers.

Leung et al. (2009) support this, discovering that the mean maternal emotional and informational support scores of mothers are higher than the paternal variables. Purificación et al. (2019) also found evidence of differing maternal and paternal roles; mothers' sensitive parenting style was more supportive of academic outcomes in children. In Caribbean culture, mothers are predominantly responsible for the day-to-day physical and emotional care of the children (Roopnarine et al., 2006). In comparison, fathers are responsible for instilling discipline in matters of schooling and behavioral conduct (Roopnarine et al., 2006). In Hong Kong, fathers were found to be more involved in discipline and fun activities and less involved in children's schoolwork (Leung et al., 2009). A survey in Hong Kong examined wives' expectations towards the responsibilities of their husbands found that 24% of respondents expected their husbands to assist with their children's studies, 62% expected their husbands to be involved in disciplining their children, and 47% hoped their husbands would engage in fun activities with their kids (Leung et al., 2009). Currently, in Korea, there are heightened expectations of new fathers to provide more physical and emotional care to children in addition to the financial resources that are already expected. However, this involvement is still significantly lower than in Western fathers (Otto, 2018).

Behavioral and Psychological Control

Support is consistently regarded as an essential feature in the normal development of children and adolescents, but there has been far less consensus regarding the concept of control and its relationship to child and adolescent behavior. Parental demandingness is the control parents have towards their children, both behaviorally and psychologically. It has sometimes been examined as an aspect of effective parenting but has also been treated as an indication of negative and domineering parenting (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Excessive or unrealistic demands may lead to increases in student achievement but may be at the expense of the parent-child relationship as well as mental health (Peterson & Rollins, 1987).

Behavioral control involves facilitating development by providing necessary supervision, establishing structure and enforcing rules on the child's behavioral world (Baumrind, 1971). High levels of support and behavioral control (authoritative parenting) have been found to be consistently related to higher social and academic achievement and to fewer problem behaviors in children and adolescents (Bean et al., 2006). Monitoring is a significant factor in predicting lower levels of adolescent delinquency in African American children and early adolescents (Bean et al., 2006).

Psychological control is generally considered to have negative effects on children or adolescents and involves inhibiting development through excess control. It includes intrusiveness, guilt, invalidation of feelings, and withdrawal that interferes with a child's ability to become independent and to develop a healthy sense of self and personal identity (Dehart et al., 2004). Parents attempt to intrude on the psychological and emotional

development of the child, such as the child's thinking process, self-expression, emotions, and attachment. This typically results in higher levels of anxiety and depression in middle childhood and adolescence (Brown & Iyengar, 2008).

Despite the academic success achieved by Asian and Asian-American students under the ethnic-minority parenting style, little research has been done into its impact on emotional intelligence (Sung, 2010). In China, more parental involvement behaviors were accompanied by more psychological control. In the midst of academic success, there are indicators of social and emotional difficulties among East Asian youths (Hashimoto, 2004; Lau et al., 2002). Hierarchical and domineering beliefs are related to lower emotional intelligence while reciprocal relationships are linked to higher emotional intelligence. If a child is raised to have poor emotional intelligence, the child is more likely to have mental health issues, make choices that are to his/her own detriment, have problems dealing with stress, and be an unhappy and angry person (Sung, 2010). Children raised with higher emotional intelligence are capable of being empathetic to those in need, solving problems, making choices that have a positive impact, expressing feeling happier, and are more inclined to make a positive impact on the world around them (Sung, 2010).

In a study of twenty Chinese and Korean adolescents (16-20 years of age), Sung (2010) found that only three of the participants had a high Emotional Quotient. Despite this sample being small, these participants had several things in common; their parents stressed accountability and individuality. These parents made an effort to consider emotions when disciplining and making decisions. The common form of discipline was

through consequences, and these adolescents perceived their parents' punishments to be fair and reasonable. These parents also created an environment of reciprocal communication. Parents who expressed more of an authoritative parenting style helped develop high levels of EQ in their children (Sung, 2010).

Sung (2010) found that negative attention is common in the interaction patterns of families who maintain very low emotional intelligence levels in their children. The common form of discipline in these families is punitive, directive in communication, using shame, guilt, and enormous amounts of parental pressure (Sung, 2010). These children find themselves in a vicious cycle where each component is interdependent; for example, these parents believe that their children do not know how to make good choices and put themselves in the position of making all decisions for their children, taking away all opportunities for them to learn and make mistakes (Sung, 2010). This leaves children unable to make future decisions, fulfilling parents' belief that children cannot make good choices on their own. When children are always corrected and criticized, it plants negative emotions. Over time these negative emotions can shape the individual's perceptions of the world (Sung, 2010).

Adolescents with high EQs were able to identify problems and think constructively by being aware of their emotional responses. They were optimistic and positive in their approach to problem-solving, able to self-reflect and take the perspective of others before acting (Sung, 2010). Ethnic minority parenting style has been linked to academic success. However, it may have negative consequences for children's emotional intelligence development.

Vansteenkiste et al. (2018) sought to explore the implication of controlled and autonomous motivation for Chinese students' learning attitudes, academic achievement, and dropout rates (an outcome that has yet to be investigated in non-western samples from a self-determination theory model). Self-determination theory holds that the experience of autonomy and social environments that promote autonomy (e.g., parents, teachers, etc.) are crucial for optimal learning and achievement, even for non-western individuals (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). However, various cross-cultural researchers (Heine, 2003; Iyengar & Devoe, 2003) have argued that the experience of autonomy is not valued strongly by Eastern learners and that such experiences are less encouraged by their instructors and parents. Therefore the concept of autonomy would be less applicable to eastern cultures. Vansteenkiste et al. (2018) used a sample of 153 Chinese students, ranging from 18-39 years old, in Shenyang, Northeastern China (93 female, 57 male). All participants were engaged in a special English training program, five of the eleven class groups were randomly selected, and participation was voluntary. Students were given a questionnaire to fill out at the beginning or end of class that included demographic questions and measures tapping students' study strategies, their motivation for studying, and class habits.

The study provided four important findings from these participants. First, experiences of relative autonomy with respect to studying were conducive to optimal learning and academic success (Vansteenkiste et al., 2018). Secondly, it was found that autonomous motivation positively predicted adaptive learning and academic success, whereas controlled motivation hindered the optimal learning process and increased the

likelihood of dropping out of the course (Vansteenkiste et al., 2018). Thirdly, the benefits associated with autonomous study motivation are not limited to learning outcomes, but also radiate to students' overall well-being (conversely, controlled study motivation is associated with reduced well-being and increased depression) (Vansteenkiste et al., 2018). Lastly, an autonomy supporting parenting style that is characterized by offering choice, empathetic perspective-taking, and the minimal use of guilt and shame-inducing tactics promotes adjustment and learning enhancing Chinese students' relative autonomy with respect to studying (Vansteenkiste et al., 2018). Two important factors to take into consideration when reviewing these results; many of these participants had been accepted into foreign study programs and periodically migrated to a western country and may have a self-concept that is more independent than interdependent.

Parental Support

Parental support is generally defined as the level of acceptance and warmth parents express towards their children. Adolescents who described their parents as treating them warmly, democratically, and firmly were more likely than their peers to develop positive attitudes toward and beliefs about their achievement, and as a consequence, they are more likely to do better in school (Steinberg et al., 1989). Support in African American families, both maternal and paternal, has been related to indicators of prosocial adjustment, higher self-esteem, and lower depression (Bean et al., 2006). Leung (2009) found that girls, fifth-grade students, and students with low levels of paternal and maternal emotional support tended to feel more anxious. Neglectful parenting is consistently and significantly related to the most negative adjustments for

older adolescents characterized by academic disengagement and problem behavior (Brown & Iyengar, 2008).

The amount of parental warmth and how positive the parent-child relationship has been shown to be the most significant factor in establishing a child's self-esteem and self-concept (DeHart et al., 2004). The sociometer theory of self esteem suggests that people develop a sense of self, and self-esteem based on social interactions and how other people treat them (Cooley, 1902; Brown 1987). Repeated interpersonal experiences within the family form the basis for mental representations of the self in relation to others. DeHart et al. (2004) used three studies of over 100 university students enrolled in introduction to psychology courses, to investigate how experiences with parents can be associated with developing implicit and explicit self-esteem. They found that positive experiences between supportive parents and their children directly translate into positive interactions and relationships later in life with friends, family, significant others, etc. Through experiencing these nurturing non-rejecting interpersonal relationships with caregivers (parents, teachers, etc.), children develop high self-esteem (DeHart et al., 2004). The relationships between the level of warmth and love of mothers and fathers directly correlated with child resilience. As the levels of warmth and love increase, so do the child's levels of resilience (DeHart et al., 2004).

Parental Expectations

Parental expectations have been found to play a critical role in children's academic success. Students whose parents hold higher expectations receive higher grades, achieve higher scores on standardized tests, and persist longer in school than

those whose parents have low expectations (Yamamoto & Holloway 2015). Parent expectations differ from parent aspirations. Parent expectations are realistic beliefs or judgments that parents have about their children based on course grades, the highest level of school attained, and college attendance (Yamamoto & Holloway 2015).

Lin et al. (2014) surveyed rural educators in Nebraska, Idaho, and Wyoming, on their perceptions of parental involvement in their schools and the likely predictors of student success. These states were selected because of their similar characteristics, including a high percentage of rural and town school districts (Idaho: 82.8%, Nebraska 96.4%, and Wyoming 97.9%) and similar racial and ethnical makeup. Participants were asked to fill out a 20 question survey based on literature addressing parental involvement, as well as family-school-community relationships. When educators were asked to identify the best predictors of positive parental involvement and predictors of student success, the highest percentage of educators selected "parents expectations and attitudes toward education" (97.9% Nebraska, 92.0% Idaho, 97.7% Wyoming) (Lin et al., 2014). When asked to select the least important impact of parental involvement from the same set of indicators, the family's length of residence and parental ethnic background were rated as the least important indicators (32.4% Nebraska, 33.9% Idaho, 28.9% Wyoming).

Loughlin and Bierman (2017) focused their research on understanding the link between parent academic expectations and child academic performance with a focus on low-income families. They chose to focus on a low-income sample of students, because students from low-income homes typically gain the most economic benefits from attending college relative to their upper-income peers. Their goal was to find pathways

that link parent expectations with child achievement, enriching developmental understanding of these links and potentially informing the design of intervention strategies aimed at reducing educational disparities (Loughlin & Bierman 2017). They recruited 356 children and caregivers from Head Start Centers (50% Euro American, 25% African American, and 17% Latino). Students were found in 44 different classrooms in 25 Head Start Centers. All were from low-income families with a median household income of \$15,000. In the parent sample, 37% were married, 24% were living with a partner, 39% were single parents, 31% did not complete high school, and 2% had college degrees. The study was a cross-lagged longitudinal model tested across two distinct developmental periods, early elementary (grade 1 to grade 3) and later elementary (grade 2 to grade 5). Assessments were conducted when children were in grades 1, 2, 3, and 5. Parents were interviewed in their homes and asked about their academic expectations. Parents were compensated \$20 for each interview and were provided a trained bilingual research assistant if they had limited English language skills. Child assessments were conducted individually at the school by trained research assistants, including reading achievement tests and ratings for child self-perceived academic competence. Teachers also rated parent involvement in child education, child learning behaviors, and child academic performance.

Loughlin and Bierman (2017) found that parent academic expectations significantly contributed to child achievement in early elementary school (grade 1 to 2) and incrementally in later elementary school (grade 3 to 5). Bidirectional paths also emerged with child achievement influencing parent academic expectations in early but

not later elementary school, which demonstrated that parent academic expectations prospectively predict child academic performance. As children mature and develop an increased capacity for self-awareness, particularly with respect to their academic capabilities, academic self-perceptions take on an increasingly large role in supporting academic success (Loughlin & Bierman 2017). Based on this research, it may be particularly beneficial to work with parents to help set expectations that will promote a generally positive attitude towards learning as children enter elementary school.

Meta-analytic research by Castro et al. (2015) of 37 studies from 2000 to 2013 of subjects in kindergarten, primary, and secondary schools, suggests that the strongest associations between type of parental involvement and academic achievement was found when parents have high academic expectations for their children, develop, and maintain communication with them about school activities and schoolwork, and promote the development of reading habits (Castro et al., 2015). It also indicates that other family behaviors such as supervision and control of homework and parent attendance of school activities do not appear to be as related to children's academic achievement (Castro et al., 2015)

As children approach school age, parents with higher academic expectations may cultivate early learning behaviors by encouraging children to keep trying and praising efforts to learn new skills by increasing children's behavioral engagement with challenging tasks as they progress through elementary school (Gunderson et al., 2013).

Cross Cultural Lens of Baumrind's Parenting Typology

Almost 60 years ago Baumrind's original studies of socialization concluded that a certain type of parental control would generate different types of behavior in children, resulting in the original parenting style prototype (authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive) (Baumrind, 1966, 1967, 1971). This research attempted to link components of parental interactions to cognitive competence of children. Past research suggests that children tend to benefit most from being raised by an authoritative parent (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). However, many researchers debate the paradox that Asian American students achieve extraordinarily well in school but the "authoritarian parenting style" adopted by most Asian parents has been found to be harmful to child development, causing poor academic performance and self-esteem (Pong et al., 2009). Within the United States, parenting styles have been shown to differ substantially by cultural groups as measured by their race/ethnicity (Pong et al., 2009).

Western Parenting

One of the most significant studies of parenting style and its impact on academic performance was conducted by Dornbusch et al. (1987). Baumrind's studies focused on a small sample of homogenous, middle class Euro-American, pre-school and elementary school students. This study focused on extending Baumrind's parenting typology research to a very large and diverse sample of adolescents. The new sample consisted of 7,836 adolescents from six high schools in the San Francisco area. Participants filled out a questionnaire that contained questions about student background characteristics, self

reported grades, perceptions of parental attitudes and behaviors, and family communication patterns.

Dornbusch et al. (1987) found that half of the families could not be characterized as having a pure parenting style, 18% (1,321) were pure permissive, 17% (1,218) pure authoritative and 15% (1,064) were pure authoritarian. Asian, black, and Hispanic families were found to rank higher on the authoritarian index for both males and female adolescents than white families. Families of Asians, Hispanics, and black females ranked lower on the authoritative index than white families. Data indicated that across ethnic groups, authoritarian and permissive styles were associated with lower grades than authoritative parenting. For authoritative parenting the correlation to grades was positive in seven out of eight ethnic-sex groups with the only failure among Asian females. Asians appear to be the ethnic group for whom the typology applied the least well. However, despite the diverse measures of parenting style associated with grades across a wide variety of social categories, family structure, adolescent age and gender, parental education, authoritarian parenting, and permissive parenting tended to result in adolescents who did less well than adolescents raised in authoritative families (Dornbusch et al.,1987).

In 1991, Steinberg et al., linked the study of authoritative parenting with the research on school involvement and scholastic encouragement. This was one of the first longitudinal studies to examine the relations between adolescent school performance and parental behaviors over time (two years). Most of the previous research on this subject had been linked to white middle class families. The large diverse sample in this study

permitted researchers to observe if parenting practices and adolescent achievement transcend ethnicity and socio-economic status. The sample of 6,357 students was drawn from nine high schools in Wisconsin and California, the schools selected yielded students from different ethnic (African-American 11%, Asian-American 13.4%, European-American 57.7% , and Hispanic-American 15.4%) and socioeconomic backgrounds. Students were in ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade and 68.9% came from intact two parent families, where 70.7% of their parents had some level of college education. Data was collected over two years, from 1987-1989, using questionnaires to measure levels of authoritative parenting, parental involvement, parental encouragement, and academic outcomes.

As expected, parental authoritativeness was significantly correlated with parental school involvement and parental academic encouragement in most groups (Steinberg et al., 1991). Children from authoritative homes did better and were more engaged in school in part because their parents were more involved in their schooling. Parental involvement led to academic success; it did not merely accompany it. Parental involvement included behaviors such as attending school programs, helping with course selection, and monitoring student progress. These findings were not found in African-American adolescents, parental involvement and encouragement were not significant predictors of school performance or school engagement (Steinberg et al., 1991). In Asian-American homes academic encouragement had a significant impact on school performance. As in previous studies it was found that students who described their parents as authoritative reported better school performance and stronger school engagement than their peers from

non-authoritative families, scoring close to half a letter grade better than their non-authoritatively raised peers. These findings cut across sex, age, and social class groups, but not across all ethnic groups.

Using the data gathered from the large sample of high school students in the previous study, Steinberg et al. (1992) focused on the differences in school performance based on the adolescent's ethnicity. Aiming to understand how different contexts in children's lives affect their behavior, schooling, and development. Steinberg et al. (1992) argued that ethnic differences in school performance could be explained by examining the interplay between the major contexts in which adolescents develop, including their family, their peer group, and their school, rather than focusing on one of these contexts alone. In this study, authoritative parents were defined as those who scored high in acceptance, behavioral control, and psychological autonomy.

Consistent with previous research, authoritativeness was more prevalent in white households than minority households. When looking at variables not related to school (psychosocial development, psychological distress, and behavior problems) adolescents from authoritative homes regardless of ethnic background fared better than their peers from non-authoritative homes (Steinberg et al., 1992). When looking at school performance, white and Hispanic youngsters were more likely to benefit from authoritative parenting than were African American or Asian American adolescents. Regardless of parenting practices, the Asian American students in the sample were receiving higher grades in school than other students, and the African American students were receiving relatively lower grades than other students (Steinberg et al., 1992).

Psychologists have traditionally believed that the transmission of values or standards of acceptable behavior is most effectively accomplished when children see those values and standards as self-generated or autonomously chosen, rather than being imposed by agents of socialization (parents, other family members, or teachers) (Rudy, 2001). Authoritative parenting, characterized as high support, and high demand for the child and their needs, is seen to create a more effective environment in which to transmit values, facilitating the child's internalization of feelings of self-regulation (Rudy, 2001). It has been argued that authoritarian parenting, characterized by imposing an absolute set of standards, valuing obedience and respect for authority, and the discouragement of give and take, is detrimental to the socialization of a child because it fails to encourage the child's feelings of autonomy (Rudy, 2001).

Why doesn't authoritarian parenting work in Western European contexts, but appears to be less detrimental to other cultures? Why does authoritarian parenting have negative outcomes for the transmission of values in middle-class Anglo-European contexts? Rudy (2001) attempted to investigate these questions further, examining whether negative parental characteristics such as low levels of parental warmth, parental attribution of negative disposition to child misbehavior, and high levels of anger associated with individualistic authoritarian parenting are less likely to be associated with authoritarian parenting in collectivist cultures. The study sample consisted of thirty-eight Egyptian Canadians (19 female and 14 male; 26 parents and seven nonparents) and 31 Anglo-Canadians (24 female and seven male; 21 parents and ten nonparents) ranging from 18-62 years of age. The Egyptian Canadian sample was chosen because Arabic

cultural groups have been found to score relatively high on measures of collectivism (Buda & Elsayed-Elkhoully, 1997).

Participants provided information concerning their age, sex, education, and cultural background. They completed four short scenarios, the Success Scale; the Collect scale; the PAT, and a questionnaire that contained the items assessing authoritarianism, warmth, and nurturance. As predicted, the Egyptian-Canadian sample scored higher on the collectivist and authoritarian measures but did not differ from the Anglo-Canadian sample in levels of warmth or maladaptive thinking about children in the discipline situation. Warmth was negatively associated with authoritarianism in the Anglo-Canadian group but not in the Egyptian-Canadian group. Also unexpected parental anger was positively associated with authoritarianism in the Egyptian Canadian sample but not in the Anglo Canadian group. Egyptian-Canadians did report higher feelings of control over difficult parent-child interactions. These findings mean that the higher levels of authoritarianism often associated with collectivist cultural groups (Chao, 1994) are not necessarily accompanied by lower levels of warmth, more negative (dispositional) attributions about children, or more automatic, maladaptive, and inflexible processing of information. The conditions that promote the transmission of values are just as likely to be present in both of these groups (Rudy, 2001).

In an attempt to further earlier findings on the relative importance of parenting styles, parent-child academic activities, at home and parent-school contact for children's early cognitive and social development in diverse ethnic groups, Roopnarine et al. (2006) investigated a sample of 70 English speaking Caribbean immigrant families and their

kindergarten age children living in the New York city area. They analyzed the individual contributions of both the mothers and fathers to their children's early academic skills and behaviors. With the exception of six all fathers resided with their children, 86% were married to the child's mother. Three percent of the mothers and 10% of the fathers were college graduates (38 and 29% were high school graduates). Eighty four percent of fathers and 77% of mothers were employed full time and were earning between \$50,000-99,999. Data was collected through interviews and questionnaires. Interviews lasted about one hour and mothers and fathers were interviewed separately.

Roopnarine et al. (2006) found that children spent on average 11 hours and 15 minutes in literacy type activities, 5 hours and 20 minutes doing homework, 45 min in the library, 15 hours watching television, 16 hours and 15 minutes playing, and 45 minutes in extracurricular activities each week. Fathers' parenting styles and contact with children's schools were more strongly associated with early academic grades than those of mothers (Roopnarine et al., 2006). However, both mothers and fathers were associated with influencing childhood social behaviors. Fathers with an authoritative parenting style and academic interaction with children at home were positively associated with children's social behaviors, whereas only mothers with contact with their child's school were positively associated with children's social behaviors (Roopnarine et al., 2006). There was a negative relationship between fathers' authoritarian parenting and child language skills in areas of vocabulary and receptiveness. This is likely the result of the authoritarian parenting style not permitting verbal give and take. Children are expected to accept parents' word for what is right, potentially limiting language development.

Research based on Baumrind's concept of the parenting style typology has produced a remarkably consistent picture of the type of parenting conducive to the successful socialization of children into the dominant culture of the United States: authoritativeness. Most of what is understood about the socialization process is based on studies of the majority culture, which is European American families (Bean et al., 2006). Despite some impressive consistencies in socialization literature, as researchers have expanded beyond these original samples of white predominantly middle class families (Darling & Steinberg 1993), important questions remain unanswered. It has become increasingly clear that the influence of the authoritative parenting style varies depending on the social milieu (physical and social setting) in which the family is embedded (Darling & Steinberg 1993).

Eastern Parenting

Asian educational models have long been considered to be closely associated with academic success and achievement in adolescents, in particular in math and science. Students in East Asian countries such as South Korea, Singapore, China, and Japan continue to earn top performances on various international tests measuring academic achievement (Bae & Wickrama, 2014). Asians outscore European Americans, especially in mathematics, science, and other technical areas. Scoring higher on SAT and ACT and are overrepresented among winners of different prestigious scholarships such as national merit, US presidential, and Westinghouse science talent search scholars (Huang & Gove, 2015). In 2003, 51% of Asian American males and 44% of females ages 25 or older had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 32 percent of non-Hispanic white males and

27% of non-Hispanic white females (Huang & Gove, 2015). In the 2012 PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) survey, the top five overall ranking students were Asian from China, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea (Huang & Gove, 2015).

The ethnic minority parenting style or "training" in Asian American families has been related to high achievement. It is typically viewed as being closely aligned with the authoritarian parenting style and is often characterized as being controlling and restrictive. However, the biggest difference between ethnic minority parenting and authoritarian parenting is that this style involves high responsiveness to the child's needs (but low priority in supporting their interests) (Huang & Gove, 2015). Like the authoritative parenting style, the ethnic minority style is high demand and high response, which produces high academic performance in children. Poor achievement has been associated with this type of parenting style in western, individualistic cultures (Baumrind, 1967, 1971; Darling & Steinberg 1993; Brown & Iyengar, 2008). However, Chinese and Chinese American students have shown no decrease in achievement under this type of parenting style.

In accordance with Confucianist philosophy, many Asian families put a significant amount of pressure and importance on education and the family's educational practices. Asian education is very strongly associated with a person's social class. Many Asian descendants believe that educational success leads to a better life, including higher social status, getting a good job, or a better marriage and relationships; therefore, education is central to most Asian families' daily lives (Huang & Gove, 2015). In Chinese

culture, the family unit functions as a collective and de-emphasizes the individual. An individual should strive to expand the prosperity and vitality of one's family. Pressures to achieve academic success can be high on both parents and children. Low achievement brings embarrassment and shame to the family. If a child fails to achieve academically, parents will be criticized for not monitoring their children properly, and children will be condemned for not fulfilling their filial duty (Leung et al., 2009). Chinese families raise their children with the virtue of filial piety, which is an expression of respect from the child towards their parents and the elderly. Rebellion against parents' authority is unacceptable and will result in harsh consequences (Huang & Gove, 2015). The standard of excellence of Chinese students is defined by others in the group (Yu & Yang, 1994); although students may obtain good grades they are disappointed and doubt their own abilities when their test scores are lower than their peers.

In 2001, Chao expanded on her previous research on the consequences of parenting styles for Chinese Americans and European Americans. The purpose of the study was to first examine the effects of parenting style on school performance to determine whether authoritative parenting would have beneficial effects for European Americans but not for Asian Americans and whether the effects differed across ethnic groups. It also examined the effect of parent-adolescent relationships on adolescent school performance to determine whether parent-adolescent "closeness" had beneficial effects for European Americans but not Asian Americans, and whether these effects differed across these groups. This study was especially unique because it identified the

ethnic and generational composition of the samples (looking at both first and second-generation Chinese adolescents), which prior studies had not (Chao, 2001).

The sample included 324 Chinese Americans (148 first generation and 176 second generation) and 208 European Americans (primarily third generation or later) taken from a larger sample of 1,755 students from ninth through twelfth grade. They came from seven different high schools in the greater Los Angeles area and there were a total of 247 males and 282 female students (Chao, 2001). The first generation Chinese adolescent sample was made up of 11% who had lived in the US for two years or less, 25% who had lived in the US for more than two years, but less than five. Of these first-generation immigrants, 69 (47%) were from Taiwan, 48 (33%) were from China, 19 (13%) were from Hong Kong, and 9 (8%) were from other parts of Asia. Adolescents were given a 50 minute class period to complete a paper and pencil survey that measured parenting style, relationship closeness, and school performance outcomes.

The study found that authoritative parenting may have beneficial consequences for some groups but not others. First-generation Chinese youth from authoritative families were not better off in school than those Chinese youth with authoritarian families (Chao, 2001). School effort and school grades were positively related to authoritative parenting and relationship closeness for European American and second-generation Chinese adolescents, but not for first-generation Chinese adolescents. When looking at the associations between parenting style and closeness, authoritative parenting was positively related to closeness in all three sample groups, authoritarian parenting was only negatively associated with closeness in the European American sample (Chao,

2001). European American adolescents with authoritative parents had significantly higher grades than those with authoritarian parents. This was not found in the Chinese adolescent sample (both first and second-generation); for these groups, adolescents with authoritarian or authoritative parents did not significantly differ in school grades. In the European American sample, there was a significant positive effect of closeness on school grades, whereas no relationship was found for second-generation Chinese and only marginally for the first-generation. Authoritative parenting should not be treated as a prototype for some Asian American groups. By directly comparing the effects of authoritarian and authoritative in this study, the authoritative parenting style was no better at predicting the school performance of Chinese American youth (Chao, 2001).

Pong et al. (2010) sought to further investigate if Baumrind's parenting typology was applicable across cultures, in particular across cultures that are collectivist in nature. Seeking to answer the question of whether there are cultural variations in the distribution and impact of parenting styles on academic outcomes and focusing on the impact of authoritative parenting on Asian students in two settings, Asian-American students in the US and Chinese students in Taiwan.

To collect their samples, they used two sources of data, the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) and the Taiwan Educational Panel Survey (TEPS). The Add Health Survey is a nationally representative study of youth in grades 7-12 in the United States. The first wave was completed in 1995 with a sample of over 20,000 adolescent students. Add Health collected detailed data on the target adolescent's family situation and the parent-child relationship. The sample size was restricted by Pong

et al. (2010) when controlling for in-home parent and adolescent survey respondents and selecting only the European American and Asian American students for comparison. The working sample size included 10,668 students. The Taiwan Educational Panel Survey (TEPS) administered their cognitive ability tests to two sample populations of 7th and 11th graders as well as their parents. After controlling for missing parenting measures, a sample of 12,429 seventh graders in 2001 and 12,211 ninth graders in 2003 (the survey was administered again after two years) (Pong et al., 2010). The US sample included 9,479 European American students and 1,189 Asian-American students and was similar in their distribution of gender and family income. Asian American students exhibited more desirable family backgrounds in terms of having a parent with a college or higher degree (45% versus 26%) and living with two parents (70% versus 57%). The average GPA was higher among Asian American students (3.0) than among European-American students (2.83) (Pong et al., 2010).

Through the information provided in these surveys, researchers were able to measure parenting styles, family background, and GPA/Cognitive Ability score. The US data did not exhibit any significant differences between European-Americans and Asian-Americans in terms of parenting styles. Authoritative parenting amongst European American students was 48.7% versus among the Asian American students 46.1%. Authoritarian parenting amongst European American students was 23.1% versus 25.6% amongst Asian American students. They were accounting for a 2% difference in whether these groups were parented in an authoritarian or authoritative style. Pong et al. (2010) were able to replicate the previous results found by Dornbush and colleagues in 1987,

suggesting that European-American children with authoritative parents exhibit higher GPAs than those with authoritarian, permissive, or neglectful parents. Asian American students showed a similar pattern with one exception; authoritarian parenting did not differ from authoritative parenting in its association with GPA. This seems to imply that authoritarian parenting does not affect Asian-American success. In the Taiwanese sample, slightly more students had authoritarian parents (46%) than authoritative parents (43%). It was found in both the Taiwanese and Asian American samples that authoritarian parenting was common among the least and most educated parent groups. In the analysis of the 7th-grade students in the TEPS, students with authoritarian parents had significantly lower test scores than students with authoritative parents (Pong et al., 2010). The results collected from both data sources suggest that the impact of parenting style on school achievement among Chinese students in Taiwan and European American students in the US are similar. Authoritative parenting is beneficial to children's education, while authoritarian parenting is less desirable because it is negatively associated with children's school performance. Pong et al. (2010) did not find cultural variations in the relationship between parenting in Taiwanese and US society. The differences in the impact of parenting styles on US and Taiwanese students were relatively small compared to other variables, such as family income, family structure, and parents' level of education. Having a higher family income, in a household with two parents, who are both highly educated, matters more to educational success than the impact of parenting style. Suggesting that cultural differences in parenting and academic achievement may be

over-exaggerated and authoritarian parenting should not be granted as much importance in its role in Asian educational achievement (Pong et al., 2010).

Eastern parenting and emotional intelligence. Using a small sample of twenty adolescents (16-20 years of age) and their mothers of Chinese and Korean heritage (9 Chinese students and 11 Korean students), Sung (2010) conducted a qualitative study focused on further investigating the emerging theoretical construct of parenting practices of East Asian families and the degree of impact on the emotional intelligence of older adolescents. This sample was elicited through a non-profit organization for Asian teens and parents, Chinese language schools, parent referrals, school psychologist referrals in local high school and the local community college. A free emotional intelligence survey was offered in return for participation in the study. This qualitative study used formal interviews as its primary data collection strategy. In depth and open ended interviews were used to reconstruct the parents' past growing up experiences and the way they were parented. A total of 40 interviews were conducted, 20 students and 20 parents. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed and ranged from 90-120 minutes.

Sung (2010) found the majority of students with very low EQ had a combination of the common factors; either the father or mother was the disciplinarian, who used punitive discipline methods and a negative form of punishment. The other parent was usually not available emotionally or physically to support the child. Degrading words were used to make them feel shameful. They were constantly compared with others who were doing better than them. Guilt was used in the form of letting them know how hard the parent was working/self-sacrificing for them so they should be doing better. The

communication style was directive (Sung 2010). Parents told these adolescents what to do, how to do it, when to do it, and what not to do. They used anger to control the family. The emotions of others were not considered and never discussed. A sense of helplessness and hopelessness were common emotions expressed because these parents were not open to discussion (Sung 2010).

Only three of the 20 adolescents who participated in this study had a high EQ (Sung 2010). These adolescents understood that respect was a two-way street. These parents stressed the importance of accountability and individuality. Parents consider their adolescent's emotions when disciplining and making decisions. The common form of discipline was the use of consequences (Sung 2010). The parents also created an atmosphere of reciprocal communication where these adolescents felt comfortable questioning decisions made, asking for more information or disagreeing.

Hierarchical and domineering beliefs are related to lower emotional intelligence, while reciprocal relationships are linked to higher emotional intelligence. If a child is raised to have poor emotional intelligence, that child is more likely to have mental health issues, make choices that are to his/her own detriment, have problems dealing with stress, and be an unhappy, angry person (Sung 2010). Helping develop a child's emotional intelligence doesn't just fall on the parents and families but also on educators. Educators and professionals who work in the school system can integrate skills like taking perspective, problem-solving, recognizing feelings in self and others, showing empathy, and respecting others into their current curriculums (Sung, 2010).

Ethnic minority parenting style is a very high response to the child's needs as it relates to academic achievement but is a low response to supporting the children's interests. Therefore it is very comparable to the authoritative parenting style, which is also high demand and high support of the child's needs, the biggest difference being it disregards the children's interests. There is little room for children's opinions in East Asian parenting ideology. The typical ways in which family members relate to each other are primarily a reflection of their culture. Chinese parenting or "training" emphasizes the importance of hard work, self discipline, and doing well in school (Huang and Gove, 2015; Chao 2001).

Parental Involvement

Parental involvement and support in children's education has received a lot of attention in the past decade from researchers, educators, parents, politicians, and the media (Nunez 2015). It can be viewed in terms of parental practices to help children's academic and intellectual activities. Research has confirmed that parent expectations and involvement are strong predictors of academic achievement. Students with involved parents, regardless of income or background, are more likely to earn higher grades, achieve higher test scores, enroll in higher-level academic programs, attend school regularly, graduate from high school and enroll in postsecondary programs (Lin et al., 2014).

In the United States, educators have typically viewed parental involvement as something occurring within the school: parent-teacher conferences, volunteering activities or committee work at school, or involvement in fundraising activities (Lin et al.,

2014). However, parental involvement in children's education can vary depending on if it occurs at home or in a school setting. Schools are not the only contributors to children's education. Another type of parental involvement includes investment outside of school education for children (tutoring, after-school programs, etc.). Different patterns of effective parental involvement exist because national school systems vary in what they expect of students and in the ways in which they are open to parental participation. However, research has shown that parental involvement varies across cultures. The three main types of parental involvement include home-based involvement, in-school, and investments in outside-of-school education (private tutoring).

Home-Based Involvement

Home-based involvement refers to parental reinforcement of learning at home. This form of parental involvement has been advocated because it reaffirms the knowledge and instruction received at school, thereby helping students retain what they have learned (Comer, 1995). Home based parental involvement can take many forms but has three major dimensions a) behavior involvement; which includes active connections between home and school (e.g., assisting with homework), b) cognitive-intellectual; providing educationally stimulating activities, and c) personal involvement; helping children develop attitudes and expectations about school and education (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994).

Supporting children by helping with homework is one of the most common forms of parental involvement. The nature of parental involvement and the degrees of homework control and support may differ depending on children's educational skills and

levels of development. *Parental Homework Control* is understood as the control and pressure on children to complete assignments (e.g., checking if children do all their homework and punishing children when homework is not done, prioritizing homework to other school activities) (Núñez et al. 2015). *Parental Homework Support* refers to the value of parent's assistance to students and the legitimacy and spirit of help given (e.g., attentiveness to children's need for support while doing homework, helping children solve problems with homework) (Núñez et al. 2015).

A study led by Nunez et al. (2015) aimed to produce a deeper understanding of the relationship between perceived parental homework involvement (i.e., Parental homework control and parental homework support), student homework behaviors (i.e., time spent on homework completion, time management, and amount of homework completed), and students' academic achievement. The participants in the study consisted of 1,683 Spanish students at different stages of schooling ranging from 10 to 16 years old (subdivided into three subgroups; 433 elementary school students in grades 5-6, 716 junior high students in grades 7 and 8, and 534 high school students in grades 9-10) from 94 different classrooms in 10 urban schools and their teachers.

For this quantitative study, students were asked to complete a questionnaire over one 25 minute class period. The questionnaire was a confirmatory factor analysis focusing on perceived parental control, perceived parental support, time spent on homework completion, amount of homework completed, homework time management, and academic achievement (Núñez et al. 2015). Student achievement was also monitored by checking students' report cards (focusing on grades in mathematics, Spanish language,

English language, and social sciences) (Núñez et al., 2015). Teachers rated parent involvement on a parent teacher involvement questionnaire, covering the topics of parents' relationship with the teacher and school in general, as well as parent support for the child's education.

The data showed that student homework behaviors, perceived parental homework involvement, and academic achievement are significantly related. However, the results varied depending on the student's grade level. Although the coefficients varied by grade level, the data showed that the higher the perceived parental homework control, the lower the student's academic achievement (Núñez et al., 2015). It was found that parental homework control was directly and negatively related to academic achievement. Boys also perceived more parental homework control than did girls across all grade levels, no gender differences were found in perceived parental homework support. Perceived parental control and support were more strongly and systematically related to time spent on homework completion in older grades (accounting for 0, 14, and 16% of explained variance in 5-6th, 7-8th, and 9-10th grade) than with homework management (accounting for 0, 12, and 3% explained variance in 5-6th, 7-8th and 9-10th grade) (Núñez et al. 2015). This study perceived parental control and support for homework work directly, but differently related to student academic achievement. The relationship was positive for perceived parental homework support and achievement and negative for perceived parental homework control and achievement (Núñez et al., 2015). Perceived parental support was significantly related to homework time management, whereas perceived parental control was significantly associated only with time spent on homework

completion for the 9th and 10th grade sample (Núñez et al., 2015). The study suggests that if educators helped students improve their skills of homework time management and improved parents' understanding of productive involvement behaviors, more students would increase the amount of homework completed and improve academic achievement (Núñez et al., 2015).

Most parents assume that they should be involved with helping their children with homework, but the amount of time parents spend helping their children with homework varies significantly across cultures and socioeconomic statuses. In most Asian countries parental involvement is generally more home-based rather than school-based (Kim & Barrett, 2019). Korean parental involvement includes an emphasis on private tutors and home-based involvement. The combination of high levels of home-based parental involvement and emphasis on education can be reflected in the stereotype of Asian parents being "tiger mom's" (authoritarian parents with too much involvement in their child's education) (Kim & Barrett, 2019). Helping children with their homework could be beneficial as it may provide children with skill related information, but it also could hurt the child's autonomy if the parents are too controlling and directive (Kim & Barrett, 2019).

This high emphasis on education and home-based involvement versus school-based involvement in Asian culture, and the concept of a "tiger parent" inspired Kim and Barrett (2019) to consider the question of the effectiveness of parental involvement in relation to the children's attitudes about their parents. They wanted to see whether children's attitudes toward their parents and parental involvement might be

factors that restrain the relationship between parental involvement and children's English proficiency. It is known that parental involvement has a positive correlation with academic success in language learning, but no study to date has examined whether and how students' attitudes towards parental involvement influence the positive effect associated with parental involvement (Kim & Barrett, 2019). Participants were 254 sixth graders from two public elementary schools in a metropolitan city in South Korea. Students ranged from 11-12 years of age and included 130 girls and 124 boys. All students had taken formal English courses in school beginning in third grade. However, it is common for children in Korea to start studying English before third grade. A background survey also indicated that 74% of the participants were currently studying English outside of school, either through a private English tutor or by attending one (or more) private English language academies (Kim & Barrett, 2019).

The study collected data through an attitude survey questionnaire, a perceived parental involvement questionnaire, and an English proficiency test. One of the research questions for this study was to examine whether the relationship between parental involvement and children's English proficiency changed depending on children's attitude towards parents in general and/or attitudes towards parent involvement.

The participants responded very positively to the questions regarding their attitudes towards their parents in general (mean of 4.2), with only 14 of the 254 participants responding below 3.0 (on a 5 point Likert Scale) (Kim & Barrett, 2019). This suggests that participants either had highly positive attitudes towards their parents or did not feel comfortable providing negative assessments of their parents which is not

surprising as parental respect (filial piety) is one of the core values in Asian culture. On average, children reported that they perceived moderate degrees of parental involvement (between 3.16 and 3.37). Students' positive attitudes toward parental involvement (though marginal) suggest that despite the "tiger mom" stereotype, Korean children's attitudes towards parental involvement are not as negative as often assumed (Kim & Barrett, 2019). It was found that there were positive correlations between all types of parental involvement and English proficiency. This result conforms with the results of other studies that most types of parental involvement are positively associated with academic achievement in young children.

The results of this study do suggest the possibility that learners' attitudes toward parental involvement that delimit the positive influence of parental involvement on EFL learners' achievement (Kim and Barrett, 2019). While all seven forms of parental involvement promoted success in students with positive attitudes toward parental involvement, this was not the case for students who had negative attitudes toward parental involvement. When children perceive their parents' interventions in a positive way, even those types of involvement which could be seen as less autonomy supportive and more controlling (managing and monitoring) are positively correlated with children's achievement (Kim and Barrett, 2019). Children's attitudes are probably more important than originally thought and more research needs to be done into how children feel and think about their parents' attempts to help them and how children form these attitudes towards parental involvement.

When analyzing the relationship between family SES and academic achievement in Korean adolescents, Bae and Wickrama (2015) hypothesized that parental depressive symptoms and monitoring would play a significant role in student academic achievement (structured learning oriented time use vs. unstructured non-academic time use). Using a 2006 sample of 14,469 adult respondents and 750 young adolescent respondents between the ages of 9-11 (fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students), from the Korean Welfare Panel Study, they measured parental education, family economic pressure, parental depression symptoms, parental monitoring, time use in out of school activities, and academic achievement (Bae & Wickrama, 2015). Adolescents and parents were asked to fill out questionnaires as well as self evaluations.

The mean educational attainment level for both parents was above middle school graduation and 24% of the sample reported that their household income was below the median household income. On average adolescents showed “above average achievement” in all subjects (Math, Korean, and English) (Bae & Wickrama, 2015). Family SES variables were significantly related to academic achievement. Family economic pressure was associated with higher depressive symptoms in both mothers and fathers. However, maternal depression and not paternal depression was correlated with parental monitoring. Parental monitoring was negatively associated with time spent on unstructured activities (watching television, surfing the internet, playing video games, etc.) and positively associated with structured learning activities (private tutors, completing homework, reading, etc.). With more economic resources, higher SES parents are more likely able to afford high-quality specialized private tutoring and academic institutes which meet their

child's specific needs (Bae & Wickrama, 2015). The parents who experienced economic pressure were less likely to support their children by direct supervision for engaging in homework or sending them to private tutoring. They instead spent their capital on immediate family needs.

Helicopter Parenting

Helicopter parenting is not an entirely new dimension of parenting and instead represents a unique pattern of the basic dimensions of parenting (responsiveness/involvement, control, and autonomy granting). It has been defined as a parent-child relationship with high levels of warmth, in which a parent exercises excessive control (behaviorally and psychologically), restricting a child's autonomy and displaying an inappropriate amount of involvement in the child's life (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). The term "helicopter parenting" has also been used interchangeably with; overparenting (Segrin et al., 2015); parental over- protection (Klein & Pierce, 2009); parental over- involvement (Givertz and Segrin, 2014) intense parental support (Fingerman et al., 2012); parental control (Barber & Harmon, 2002); and tiger parenting (Chua 2011; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). Given affection, warmth, support, involvement, protection, etc. tend to be aspects of good parenting it leads to the question when and whether a parent can give too much of a "good thing". The line that distinguishes between normative/appropriate protection and overprotective parenting depends on whether the situation or context of parent-child interaction warrants such high levels of direction and affection from a parent (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012).

Somers and Settle (2010) interviewed academic and student officials and reported that 40-60% of college students reported intensive and sometimes intrusive involvement by their parents in their daily lives (helicopter parenting), regardless of parent demographics. However, there is relatively little research on the relationship between helicopter parenting and college students' academic outcomes. Despite popularity in the media there have been no scholarly attempts to identify helicopter parenting as a unique parenting construct and to examine how it might be related to the more well established dimensions of responsiveness/involvement, control, and autonomy granting, in parenting.

Padilla-Walker and Nelson (2012), examined the relations between helicopter parenting and other forms of parental control (behavioral and psychological) during emerging adulthood to determine if helicopter parenting was a distinct form of parental control. Their sample consisted of 438 undergraduate students (320 women, 118 men) and at least one parent (376 mothers and 303 fathers), from the 2010-2011 school year. The majority of the emerging adults were European American 69%, 18% Asian American, 5% Latino American, and 3% African American. Ninety percent of these emerging adults reported living outside of their parents' homes.

The results of the study found that helicopter parenting was not an entirely different form of parenting and shares major dimensions of responsiveness/involvement, and autonomy granting, with other forms of parenting (authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive) (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). However, it is different in the way the dimensions are prioritized (high involvement, low autonomy granting, presence of emotional support in the relationship). Helicopter parenting was neither positively or

negatively linked to identity achievement, feeling like an adult or self worth. It was positively associated with parental involvement but was negatively associated with parental autonomy granting (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). It was also positively associated with guidance/advice, disclosure, and emotional support. There was a negative association between helicopter parenting and children's school engagement. The more parents were involved in the daily lives of their children, the less engaged their children were in school. Emerging adults with intrusive parents may take a less proactive, personally invested approach to important tasks of emerging adulthood such as education/career (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012).

Further research is needed to determine whether helicopter parenting experiences influence academic outcomes, especially across varying cultural contexts. Jung et al. (2019) expanded the current body of research by using a sample of American and Korean college students, investigating whether mothers' and fathers' helicopter parenting differential affected college academic outcomes across cultures. The sample consisted of undergraduate students 200 from the United States and 143 from Korea. In the US sample 71.5% were white, 18.9% were Asian American, 6% hispanic, and 3.5% were African American. In the Korean undergraduate sample all students were Korean. The American sample consisted of 135 (67.5%) female students and 63 male students (31.5%), whereas the Korean sample was composed of 74 female students (51.7%) and 69 male students (48.3%). Participants all attended mid-sized private universities in suburban areas. Surveys were used to gather information on helicopter parenting

experiences, self efficacy, and academic outcomes. They were first prepared in English and then translated into Korean.

Results showed helicopter parenting of mothers and fathers were received differently by children in both the US and Korean samples (Jung et al., 2019). American students reported higher levels of self efficacy than the Korean students. In the American group, mothers' helicopter parenting was negatively related to children's self efficacy, however, fathers' helicopter parenting was not correlated with children's self efficacy (Jung et al., 2019). GPA was not significantly correlated with mothers' or fathers' helicopter parenting for the American sample. Korean students reported higher levels of helicopter parenting in fathers than the American students. Mothers' helicopter parenting was not significantly different between the two groups. Mothers' and fathers' helicopter parenting was negatively correlated to self efficacy and GPA in the Korean sample (Jung et al., 2019).

A qualitative study of 40 Korean-American college students done by Kwon et al. (2017) explored how students perceptions, perceived prevalence of, and experiences with helicopter parenting and its impact on emotions, academics, and physical/health outcomes, to gain a better understanding of helicopter parenting across social cultural contexts. Respondents ranged in age from 17-26, 23 were female and 17 were male, 53% currently lived with their parents. Researchers chose to do a qualitative study because they felt the nature of the study may better capture helicopter parenting students' experience. Using an open ended questionnaire provided richer and more nuanced accounts of helicopter parenting than other surveys. Participants were asked to respond to

questions in detail (at least a paragraph) the same as they would respond in a face to face interview. The majority of participants experienced helicopter parenting (20-25%), but when using the standard helicopter parenting scale (non-open ended questions) it accounted for only 3-5%. The qualitative research of this study allowed participants to express fuller descriptions of overparenting.

Korean college students defined three broad categories as important features of helicopter parenting, strict control without any autonomy granting, overinvolvement/overprotection, and benevolent intention (Kwon et al., 2017). Most participants responded that outcomes of parental helicopter parenting were mostly negative, especially in psychological, social, and emotional areas of development. Thirty-five students highlighted the negative aspects of helicopter parenting and mentioned that it should be avoided as it does not allow freedom and opportunities for children to make decisions independently and disrupts independence (Kwon et al., 2017). However, it is noteworthy that 37 participants perceived that they would benefit from helicopter parenting to some extent in their life such as academics, worth ethic, or future career. Thirty-seven participants agreed that Korean American parents are generally more likely to be overprotective and over controlling than other ethnic groups. Overlap was found between the student descriptions of authoritarian parenting style, ethnic minority parenting, and helicopter parenting (high levels of control without granting autonomy) (Kwon et al., 2017). Thirty students had mentioned they had noticed changes in parental involvement and parenting when they entered college compared to parental involvement in middle school and high school.

Most of the research on parental involvement and helicopter parenting is based on child reports of perceived parental behavior while fewer studies have compared how child reports compare to parental reports on their own parenting practices. Schiffrin and Liss (2017) investigated both child and maternal perceived helicopter parenting behaviors and the variables associated with academic achievement in college. One hundred and ninety-two undergraduates and 121 of their mothers were selected for this study. Undergraduate students ranged from 18-21 years old, 85.5% were female, 80% caucasian, 5.8% African American, 3.3% Asian or Pacific Islander. Mothers were 40-60 years old, 91.8% caucasian, 4.1% African American, 4.1% Asian or Pacific Islander (Schiffirin & Liss, 2017). Most mothers described their socio-economic status as middle to upper class (92.7%), 91.8% indicated they were married or with a domestic partner, and 63.5% had indicated they had a college degree or higher. Participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire that included statements regarding their goals for performing well in an academic setting, perfectionism, entitlement, and reports of helicopter parenting.

Mothers reported higher levels of helicopter parenting than did their children on almost all items. Children reported that mothers' helicopter parenting behaviors were related to maladaptive forms of perfectionism as well as performance approach, performance avoidance, and mastery avoidance goals (Schiffirin & Liss, 2017). It was related to decreased self efficacy and reduced sense of perceived confidence. It was also related to mastery avoidance which represents the child's concern over not being able to master the material. Children who feel as though their mothers are over controlling may come to doubt their ability to live up to their own standards. Mothers and their children

seem to have related, but different views about parenting behaviors. It is only when children perceive that their parents engage in helicopter parenting that they experience negative consequences (Schiffrin & Liss, 2017).

Parenting and grit have been associated with positive academic outcomes, but little research has been done on the predictors of grit (Hodge et al., 2012). Grit can be defined as the ability to withstand adversity while maintaining a passion for long-term goals (Cross, 2014). The ability to approach challenges and face failure while also maintaining stamina to resist defeat. Students who display grit share the ability to handle stress, while utilizing resilience and coping strategies.

Howard et al. (2019) investigated the linkages between authoritative parenting and academic success, with a particular focus on grit. They also examined the extent to which grit may also mediate the relationship between overparenting and academic success. Participants in this study consisted of 383 undergraduate students from a mid-size research university in the Southeastern United States. Data was collected from participants enrolled in psychology courses using a research participation scheduling program and an online questionnaire. Participants ranged from 18-25 years of age and 82% of the participants were female. Approximately 67% identified as Caucasian, 29% African American, and 2% Asian. The questionnaire included sections to measure students' grit levels, academic success, recollections of their parent's parenting style, including over parenting. It typically took participants 20-30 minutes to complete the questionnaire, and they received credit in an enrolled course.

Participants' grit scores were found to be positively associated with psychological autonomy granting parenting behaviors, acceptance and involvement in parenting behaviors, and total academic success (Howard et al., 2019). In addition to grit these parenting behaviors were positively associated with internal motivation/confidence, concentration, socializing and personal adjustment. Overparenting behaviors were negatively associated with total academic success and grit levels in this student sample. The study demonstrated the positive relationship between respondents' grit levels and academic success in a college environment (Howard et al., 2019). This research was the first to examine and establish grit as a partial mediator between authoritative parenting behaviors (i.e., acceptance/involvement and academic success) and academic success. Suggesting that grit is one mechanism by which parenting may affect college academic success. Results showed that parents who engage in overparenting, such as restricting autonomy and intrusiveness negatively impacted their students' success in college (Howard et al., 2019).

Parents that engage in helicopter parenting practices, believe that their children cannot be successful without their parents' involvement. It is often well-intentioned but most often causes more harm than good (Gopnik, 2016). It interferes with the child's ability to develop a sense of autonomy or competence. It more specifically may undermine a child's ability to take full credit for their accomplishments, which may result in lower self-esteem (Dehart et al., 2004). Parental overhelping, over protecting, and hand holding prevent children from practicing and developing self-efficacy. It has also been associated with negative outcomes in emerging adults, such as poor autonomy

development, lower emotional regulation, increased recreational drug use, narcissistic traits, and lower life satisfaction (Howard et al., 2019). The relationship between autonomy granting and overparenting deserves additional attention in future research, but if parents want children to develop resilience and self-efficacy, the child needs to do more hoping, coping, thinking, and experiencing life for themselves without excessive parental control (Gopnik, 2016).

CHAPTER III: DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Summary of Literature

Educational achievement of young students is a robust predictor of socioeconomic attainment in adulthood, subjective well-being, self-esteem, self-efficacy, motivation, and physical health outcomes (Bae & Wickrama, 2015; Brown & Iyengar, 2008). Parenting style has been considered to have a significant influence on academic achievement and performance, with students being reared by at least one authoritative parent benefiting the most (Baumrind, 1966, 1967, 1971, 1978; Brown & Iyengar, 2008; Durbin et al., 1993; Simons & Conger, 2007). Parental authoritativeness is significantly correlated with parental school involvement and parental academic encouragement (Steinberg et al., 1991). Generally, children raised by authoritative parents exhibit higher psychological competence, social development, self-perception, school commitment, and mental health compared to their counterparts raised in permissive or authoritarian homes (Baumrind, 1991; Dehart et al., 2004; Macoby & Martin, 1983; Simons & Conger, 2007). However, much of the research on Baumrind's parenting style typology has been conducive to the successful socialization of children into the dominant culture of the United States. There

is growing evidence that Baumrind's parenting typology may not directly correlate with observations of student achievement in other cultures.

Parental levels of responsiveness (support/warmth), demandingness (behavioral and psychological control), and autonomy granting, are key variables to consider when looking into academic achievement and overall well-being in children. Parental support is generally defined as the level of acceptance and warmth parents express towards their children. Adolescents who described their parents as treating them warmly and democratically, were more likely than peers to develop positive attitudes and beliefs about their achievement in school, express higher self-esteem, self concept, resilience and lower levels of depression (Bean et al., 2006; DeHart et. al., 2004; Macoby & Martin, 1983). Parent demandingness is the control parents have over their children, both behaviorally and psychologically, it has been examined as an aspect of effective parenting but can also be seen as an indication of domineering and negative parenting (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). High levels of behavioral control (e.g., supervision, establishing structure, enforcing rules) and support (authoritative parenting) have been consistently related to higher social and academic achievement, high levels of emotional intelligence, and lower levels of problem behavior and delinquency in children (Bean et al., 2006; Purificación et al., 2019; Sung 2010). Psychological control (e.g., using guilt, intrusiveness, invalidating feelings, hindering self expression) has negative effects on children and adolescents, typically resulting in anxiety and depression (DeHart et al., 2004). In China more parental involvement behaviors were accompanied with psychological control, which resulted in lower emotional intelligence, linked to mental health issues, poor decision making,

problems dealing with stress, and feelings of hopelessness (Ciarrochi et al., 2002; Sung, 2010; Taylor, 2001). Public humiliation, shaming, and rejection of Chinese children whose perceived achievement levels fell below what is necessary to maintain family honor, carry psychological costs and undermine children's scholastic achievement (Chen et al., 2001; Rubin & Li, 1995). Self determination theory holds that the experience of autonomy and social environments that promote autonomy (parents, teachers, etc.) are crucial for optimal learning and achievement (Rudy, 2001). Authoritative parenting is seen as a more effective environment in which to transmit values, facilitating the child's internalization of feelings of self regulation. Whereas authoritarian, ethnic minority, and helicopter parenting, have been seen as detrimental because they fail to encourage the child's feelings of autonomy (Kwon et al., 2017; Schiffrin & Liss, 2017; Sung 2010). These parents believe that their children do not know how to make good choices and put themselves in the position of making all decisions for their children, taking away all opportunities for them to learn and make mistakes. This leaves the children unable to make future decisions, fulfilling parents' beliefs that the children cannot make good choices on their own (Kwon et al., 2017; Schiffrin & Liss, 2017; Sung, 2010).

Much of the previous research on parenting has been assessed through a maternal lens, with little research on the way parenting styles of mothers and fathers coexist and impact childhood development. Simons and Conger (2007) found that the most common parenting style was the "pure parenting style" in which parents both display the same parenting style (Baumrind, 1971). Most likely a consequence of assortative mating (marrying someone with characteristics similar to their own) and socialization effects (the

process of mutual influence of partners on each other gradually acquiring a similar perspective on parenting), however, 20-40% of the sample fell into the category of an inconsistent parenting style (Simons & Conger, 2007). The lowest levels of delinquency were associated with an authoritative mother and an indulgent father, suggesting the presence of highly warm and loving parents may remove the impulse for engaging in delinquent behavior. Fathers parenting styles and contact with children's schools were more strongly associated with academic grades than those of mothers, but both parents were associated with influencing childhood social behaviors (Roopnarine et al., 2006). Purificación et al. (2019) found paternal and maternal sensitive parenting styles were more predictive of academic outcomes. Paternal support was significantly and negatively related to youth delinquency and depression in every African American respondent regardless of the child's gender, grade level, or family income level (Bean et al., 2006). Positive relationships were found between the quantity of paternal involvement in childrearing and childrens' academic and social development in Ojibwe children (Williams et al., 1996). Paternal emotional support was found to have the main effect on children's emotional well-being and to buffer student academic stress in fifth and sixth grade students from Hong Kong (Leung et al., 2010). Fathers' parenting styles and contact with children's schools were more strongly associated with early academic grades than those of mothers (Roopnarinne et al., 2006). The significant impact paternal influence has on student achievement and overall well-being could be related to the different roles mothers and fathers may have in their families. Traditionally mothers are shouldering the larger portion of parenting responsibilities and are expected to take more

of a caring role than fathers. Paternal roles in the household tend to vary and are less consistent compared to maternal support.

Many researchers debate the paradox that Asian American students achieve extraordinarily well in school but the “Ethnic Minority” parenting style (often viewed as most closely aligned with the authoritarian parenting style) used by most Asian parents can be found to be harmful to child development in the Anglo-American sample, causing poor academic performance and self esteem (Chao, 2001; Pong et al., 2009). The most recent studies consistently show that authoritative parenting is least effective in influencing Asian and African American youths (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1991). The ethnic minority style differs from the authoritarian style because it is high demand and high response to the child’s needs (but low priority is put on supporting the child’s interests), giving it similar characteristics to an authoritative parent. The higher levels of authoritarianism often associated with collectivist cultural groups (Chao, 1994) are not necessarily accompanied by lower levels of warmth or negative attributions about children (Rudy, 2001). When looking at variables not related to school (psychosocial development, psychological distress, and behavior problems) adolescents of all ethnic backgrounds fared better than their peers if they came from an authoritative home (Steinberg et al., 1992). When comparing American, Asian American, and Taiwanese students, in grades 7-12, Pong et al. (2009) found only a small variation (2% difference) in the percentages of authoritarian and authoritative parents. In the Asian sample the students’ GPAs didn’t differ if they had an authoritarian or authoritative parent. Pong et al. (2009) found that the impact of parenting

styles, authoritative vs. authoritarian, on student achievement was very small, and was significantly less important than the impact of having highly educated parents, higher family income, and living with two parents. With more economic resources, higher SES parents are more likely able to afford high quality specialized private tutoring and academic institutes which meet their child's special needs. Parents who experience economic pressure are less likely to support their children by direct supervision for engaging in homework or sending them to get private tutoring. They instead spend their capital on immediate family needs (Bae & Wickrama, 2015).

Limitations of the Research

Researchers are still divided on the application of Baumrind's parenting typology across cultures. When looking at the impact of parenting styles on academic achievement, the dominant Anglo-American sample benefited most from having authoritative parents. However, Asian-American and African American student achievement did not appear to improve with the presence of an authoritative parent (Steinberg et al., 1992). Evidence suggests that for Asian samples Confucianist philosophy, filial piety, and the significant amount of pressure and importance placed on education, outweigh the impact of the various parenting styles. It was suggested in African American samples, that student underachievement is more related to the underdevelopment of literacy and numeracy rather than an intentional opposition to education or parenting styles. If the course materials were presented in a more culturally responsive manner, African American students would acquire such skills at more equitable rates (Harris & Robinson 2007). When looking at variables not related to school (psychosocial development,

psychological distress, and behavior problems) adolescents of all ethnic backgrounds fared better than their peers if they came from a home with at least one authoritative parent (Steinberg et al., 1992). Most of the research on the impact of parenting styles and parental involvement on student achievement are based on studies of the majority culture, which is European American families (Bean et al., 2006). More research is needed on diverse samples and observations of student achievement across cultures.

Despite indications that parenting is dynamic (especially in adolescence) most studies have not addressed the developmental complexity of changes in parental involvement (Wang et al., 2014). Researchers have treated parental involvement in education as a static baseline predictor of adolescent outcomes. This can be seen in the lack of longitudinal studies I came across in my research. Much of the data was cross-sectional, collected through a one time child or parent self report, where single source bias could be present. Sample sizes ranged from 40-2,000, from kindergarten to college age. The majority of the studies lacked ethnic diversity with the white working class families making up over 60% of participants. When using college students as subjects these results may not be generalizable for the non-student population. In the Asian samples, children's attitudes and opinions of parents could be skewed due to cultural values of filial piety. Participants may not have felt comfortable providing negative assessments of parents. In studies where in person observations were made of children and their parents' interactions, subjects were only observed a few times, allowing parents to adapt their parenting styles to what they thought would be most appropriate

and valued. In future research more diverse samples and accurate/representative measurement tools are needed.

Implications for Future Research

The lack of longitudinal data collected in the area of parenting, leaves us to question how parenting styles evolve over time. Parenting should be dynamic as children grow and develop parenting styles should follow suit. Helicopter parenting is the result of inappropriate levels of overinvolvement. As children get older, parents should be granting them higher levels of autonomy. Helicopter parents characteristically do not permit autonomous behaviors as children age and maintain the high levels of involvement and control necessary for early childhood development.

Many researchers focused on parenting being unidirectional and different parenting characteristics elicited different behaviors in children. However, more research should be done into the idea of parenting being bidirectional (Schiffrin & Liss, 2017). Do parenting characteristics impact children's characteristics or do children's characteristics impact parenting? For example, if a child has a more fearful and cautious temperament does that elicit characteristics of overprotectiveness in parents?

Pong et al. (2009) found that the impact of parenting styles (authoritative vs. authoritarian) on student achievement was very small and was significantly less important than the impact of having highly educated parents, higher family income, and living with two parents. Their results found the links between parenting style and child outcomes but believe the cultural differences between western vs. eastern parenting may be over exaggerated (Pong et al., 2009). The distribution difference between authoritative

and authoritarian parents was small, with slightly more authoritarian parents among Asian American and Asian students (about 2%) surveyed (Pong et al., 2009). These findings were consistent with previous research (Chao, 2001; Kao, 2004), which indicated that Asian parents tended to be more authoritarian, but this proportion was only slightly higher compared to authoritative parents. The impact on school performance was small compared to other family background variables, especially parent education.

Implications for Professional Application

Research confirmed that parent expectations and involvement are strong predictors of academic achievement. Students with involved parents, regardless of income or background, are more likely to earn higher grades, achieve higher test scores, enroll in higher-level academic programs, attend school regularly, graduate from high school and enroll in postsecondary programs (Lin et al., 2014). Expectations placed on school professionals continue to expand leaving schools with more responsibility for addressing the academic, behavioral, social, and emotional needs of students. Nurturing children involves collaboration among parents, teachers, and students and reflects cultural beliefs on how best to foster learning. It is important for educators to recognize that parental involvement in education is multifaceted and differs based on student grade, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity. Educators and parents must work together to provide the support children needs, including providing involvement opportunities that appeal to a diverse multicultural parental population.

Educators can pull concepts from Baumrind's parenting typology and add them to their teaching repertoire. Authoritative parenting as a teaching style would present itself

as a teacher that is high response (support/warmth) and high demand (control). These teachers would promote acceptance, warmth, behavioral supervision (with clearly defined rules), psychological autonomy granting, encouraging verbal give and take in their classrooms. When looking at variables not related to school (psychosocial development, psychological distress, and behavior problems) adolescents of all ethnic backgrounds fared better than their peers if they came from a home with at least one authoritative parent (Steinberg et al., 1992).

Lastly, educators need to make sure that they are providing opportunities to involve both mothers and fathers. All the information gathered in this literature reviewed stresses the importance of paternal involvement and support in children's lives. Paternal support was strongly associated with academic grades and influencing childhood social behaviors (Roopnarine et al., 2006, Williams et al., 1996). As well as, significantly and negatively related to youth delinquency and depression in every African American respondent regardless of the child's gender, grade level, or family income level (Bean et al. 2006). Paternal emotional support was found to have the main effect on children's emotional well-being and to buffer student academic stress in fifth and sixth grade students from Hong Kong (Leung et al., 2010). The significant impact paternal influence has on student achievement and overall well-being needs to be promoted by the educators and administrators.

Conclusion

Despite not being able to conclusively determine if Baumrind's parenting typology applied across cultures, especially in the Asian samples. Common dimensions

of parenting kept emerging that benefited children's academic achievement and overall well-being. Children who described their parents as treating them warmly, democratically, and firmly were more likely than their peers to develop positive attitudes and beliefs about their self esteem, self concept, and achievement (Steinberg et al., 1989; Dehart et al., 2004). As a consequence, these children are more likely to do better in school. Children with involved parents, regardless of income or background, are more likely to earn higher grades, achieve higher test scores, enroll in higher-level academic programs, attend school regularly, graduate from high school and enroll in postsecondary programs (Lin et al., 2014).

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