

Parenting under Pressure: Exploring Gendered Differences and Associations with Parental Responsiveness, Overprotection, and Overvaluation


Gaëlle Venard^{1,2}, Grégoire Zimmermann¹, Jean-Philippe Antonietti¹, Cindy Eira Nunes², & Stijn Van Petegem^{2,3}


¹*FAMILY and DevelOpment research center (FADO), Université de Lausanne, Switzerland*

²*Centre de recherche de psychologie du développement, de la famille et des systèmes humains (DeFaSy), Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium*

³*F.R.S.-FNRS Research Associate, Belgium*


Author Note

Gaëlle Venard :  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6571-335X>

Grégoire Zimmermann :  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4460-520X>

Jean-Philippe Antonietti :  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0117-4769>

Cindy Eira Nunes :  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1614-9622>

Stijn Van Petegem :  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9956-0363>

We have no conflicts of interests to disclose. This research was supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation under Grant (FNS n°10001C_179455) and by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 950289). The authors would like to thank parents who kindly accepted to participate in the study and the Youth Department (Direction Générale de l'Enseignement Obligatoire, DGEO) of the Canton of Vaud in Switzerland.

Correspondance concerning this article should be addressed to Gaëlle Venard, University of Lausanne, CH-1015 Lausanne. Email : gaelle.venard@unil.ch

Abstract

According to the ideology of intensive parenting, parents should be financially, physically, and mentally highly involved in their parental role. This ideology would put parents under pressure, and mothers in particular, as they are often viewed as being naturally better skilled at parenting. This study examined differences between mothers and fathers of adolescents about their perceptions of pressure to be a perfect parent and its association with parental responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation of their children. Thereby, we also estimated Actor-Partner Interdependence Models (APIM) to examine mutual influences between mothers and fathers. The sample for the present study consisted of 146 dyads of parents ($N = 292$ parents; $M_{\text{age}} = 47.57$ years) of Swiss adolescents. The results indicated that mothers reported experiencing significantly more pressure than fathers. No links between perceived pressure to be perfect and responsiveness was observed. We found evidence for a positive association between perceptions of pressure and parental overprotection among both mothers and fathers. Regarding overvaluation, the results showed that there was a significant association between feelings of pressure and overvaluation, but only among fathers. Moreover, we found no significant partner effects in any of the models. In conclusion, mothers were particularly found to experience more pressure to be a perfect parent. This is potentially problematic, as we found that these pressures may push parents to become overly involved in their children's upbringing.

Keywords: parenting; gender; societal pressure; adolescence

Parenting under Pressure: Exploring Gendered Differences and Associations with Parental Responsiveness, Overprotection, and Overvaluation

“I want the best for my child” is a sentence often said by parents. According to various media, parenting today can be compared to a performance. In fact, there are several indicators that may signal whether a parent performs appropriately, such as the child's success at school, their overall health, and the activities in which they are involved (Smyth & Craig, 2017). Thus, modern-day parents have to meet many expectations, which may put significant pressure on parents, as has been stressed by sociological and psychological accounts (Lee et al., 2014; Martin, 2020; Martin & Leloup, 2020). In the context of changing societal expectations, parents may more often feel pressured to adopt certain specific ways of parenting (e.g., Rizzo et al., 2013; Smyth & Craig, 2017). Today, most of them will be more involved and present for their child compared to earlier in the 20th century (Smyth & Craig, 2017). This involvement, although essential, may sometimes be inappropriate depending on the child's developmental level and needs (e.g., LeMoyné & Buchanan, 2011). Yet, the question whether and how parents' perceptions of societal pressure is predictive of their parenting has rarely been empirically studied (Lee & Macvarish, 2020). In particular, there is a lack of studies among parents of adolescents looking at the pressure to be perfect, and its correlates in terms of parenting. This is unfortunate, as this developmental period brings about specific challenges and expectations, including the need to balance appropriate parental involvement and support with adolescents' growing need for independence (Smetana & Rote, 2019). The goal of this study is therefore to examine associations between perceived pressure to be a perfect parent among parents of adolescents, and three dimensions of parenting that reflect high parental involvement, that is, parental responsiveness, parental overprotection, and parental overvaluation. Furthermore, this

study tested the mutual influences between fathers and mothers, via Actor-Partner Interdependence Models (APIM; Kenny et al., 2006).

The Pressure to Be a Perfect Parent

Since the 1940s and 1950s, scientific research has begun to take a great interest in child welfare and parenting (e.g., Spock, 1946). In this context, the literature on parenting has grown considerably, which has contributed to a redefinition of the concept of parenting (Lee et al., 2014). That is, parenting no longer corresponds to the natural activity of caring for the child, but now refers to all activities prescribed for children's well-being and their optimal development (Lee et al., 2014; Martin & Leloup, 2020). In sociological accounts, it is argued that this redefinition of childrearing may have contributed to the emergence of the ideology of intensive parenting (Hays, 1996; Lee et al., 2014; Wall, 2010). This ideology would promote the idea that parents should be aware of all expert advice and are encouraged to invest a great deal of their time, energy, and money in order to be considered "fit" for parenting. On top of that, their parenting would play an essential role in the healthy development of their child — hence, parents also become the primary responsible figures for the development of the society of tomorrow more broadly (Bernstein & Triger, 2010; Furedi, 2008; Hays, 1996; Lee et al., 2014; Martin, 2020; Martin & Leloup, 2020). This responsibility for their child's education and success would fall entirely on their shoulders: indeed, it would be almost exclusively determined by their actions, and is therefore sometimes referred to as "parental determinism" (Lee et al., 2014; Lee & Macvarish, 2020; Martin, 2020; Martin & Leloup, 2020). Furthermore, this intensive parenting ideology discourse would be addressed at mothers particularly (i.e., intensive mothering ideology), as they would be naturally better equipped at child rearing, making them more vulnerable to such societal pressures (Hays, 1996).

Parents under Pressure: Gender Disparities

Despite the greater involvement and engagement of fathers in their children's lives as

compared to a few decades ago (Sayer et al., 2004; Schoppe-Sullivan & Fagan, 2020; Shirani et al., 2012; Sullivan, 2010), maternal figures are still considered as the main parent (Hays, 1996; Wall, 2010). Also in scientific accounts, the field of developmental psychology historically focused on mothers, putting aside the role of the father (Coltrane, 2000). Early theories (e.g., psychoanalysis, attachment theory) generally portrayed mothers as mainly responsible for both the physical and psychological health of the child. They were expected to devote themselves fully to the task of child rearing, in order to ensure the healthy development of the child. This focus on mothers may have contributed to an intensive mothering ideology, according to which women would make better parents than their male counterparts, as they are naturally better equipped to care for children (Coleman et al., 2007; Hays, 1996). Furthermore, women's ultimate achievement would be to have a child and their role would be to devote themselves to their offspring, even at the expense of their own needs and personal ambitions (Walls et al., 2016).

As a consequence, mothers would feel more pressure than fathers about the way they should fulfil their parental role (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Several studies indicated that guilt is a common feeling among women, especially when they aspire to perfectly adhere to the norms of intensive motherhood (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018; Sutherland, 2010; Wall, 2010). In addition, research among parents of young children also suggests that women who adhere to this intensive mothering ideology are more likely to adapt their parenting behavior (Wall, 2010). When women experience pressure to be a perfect parent, they may seek to engage more often in highly involved parenting practices, as is prescribed within an intensive parenting ideology (Wall, 2010). In this study, we focus on three potential manifestations of high parental involvement that could result from their adherence to an intensive parenting ideology: responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation. Whereas the first dimension (i.e., responsiveness) is considered to be appropriate and beneficial for adolescents' development

(e.g., Davidov & Grusec, 2006), the latter two dimensions (i.e., overprotection and overvaluation) are considered inadequate and potentially harmful for adolescents' development (e.g., Brummelman et al., 2015; Van Petegem et al., 2020).

Parental Involvement during Adolescence: Between Responsiveness, Overprotection, and Overvaluation

Responsiveness is an adaptive parenting dimension, and is defined as the extent to which parents are attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's needs and demands (Baumrind, 1991). That is, when a child is upset or distressed, responsive parents have sensitive reactions such as comforting or helping (Gottman et al., 1996). When parents are generally responsive, children are more likely to develop a sense of security and self-confidence, social competence, and adaptive coping skills (Davidov & Grusec, 2006; Kiss et al., 2014; von Suchodoletz et al., 2011). For example, Davidov and Grusec (2006) showed that parental responsiveness to distress was positively and significantly related to children's more effective regulation of negative emotions, more empathic capacity and more prosocial behaviors toward other distressed other children. Among adolescents, parents' responsiveness was found to be positively associated with adolescents' responsible behavior (i.e., completing chores, following through on promises, showing good judgment when spending money or choosing friend; Bogenschneider & Pallock, 2008).

However, despite good intentions, parents can also provide attention and protection that is excessive, considering the child's developmental level (Grolnick, 2003; Gutman & Eccles, 2007; Thomasgard et al., 1995; Venard et al., 2021). This parenting dimension, referred to as parental overprotection, can manifest through a variety of parenting practices, such as when parents constantly warn about potential dangers and are excessively preoccupied about the adolescent's safety (Brenning et al., 2017; Omer et al., 2016), when they solve problems prematurely by providing help when this is not requested (Segrin et al. 2013), or when they

intrude upon the adolescent's privacy (Hawk et al., 2009). Higher levels of parental overprotection during adolescence and young adulthood were generally found to relate to lower psychosocial adjustment, including higher levels of distress, lowered self-esteem, excessive worries about relationships, and unassertive interpersonal behavior (LeMoyne & Buchanan, 2011; Rousseau & Scharf, 2015).

Parents who adhere to an intensive parenting ideology may also hold the belief that their child merits special treatment and attention (Brummelman et al., 2017; Twenge & Campbell, 2009). Parental overvaluation refers to a parent's belief that their child is superior to others, a tendency to overestimate their child's capacities, and therefore is entitled to privileges (Brummelman et al., 2015; Brummelman & Sedikides, 2020). Such unrealistically positive views of their children may also be expressed through inflated praise, where parents praise their children in excessive ways to bolster their child's self-esteem (Thomaes et al., 2016; Twenge, 2006). However, past research showed that inflated praising predicted lower—not higher—self-esteem in children over time (Brummelman et al., 2017; Coppola et al., 2020). Further, overvaluation can be detrimental, as children's narcissism can take root in such a family climate (Brummelman et al., 2015). Feeling more gifted than others, narcissistic children would crave other people's admiration to feel good about themselves (Morf & Rhode-Walt, 2001; Thomaes et al., 2008). Hence, children who are overvalued by their parents might become dependent on external validation to feel worthy, and are therefore at risk for developing psychopathology (Thomaes et al., 2009, 2013).

Although there are reasons to believe that ambient societal norms and pressures may become apparent through parents' specific parenting practices and beliefs that are congruent with an intensive parenting ideology (e.g., Smyth & Craig, 2017), as far as we are aware, no study has yet explicitly tested whether parents' perception of pressure to be a perfect parent is associated with higher levels of parental responsiveness, parental overprotection, and/or

parental overvaluation among parents of adolescents. In this study, we examined associations with these dimensions, thereby explicitly including fathers in order to understand the gendered dimension of these intensive parenting dynamics, but also to explore the dyadic dynamics between mothers and fathers, for the reasons outlined below.

Mutual Influences between Mothers and Fathers

The family is a system of mutual influences (Cox & Paley, 2003; McHale & Lindahl, 2011). Both parents may have lived together for a long time, they may have raised jointly their children and they may often interact about upbringing, co-constructing their beliefs and practices (McHale & Lindahl, 2011). As a consequence, the characteristics (e.g., beliefs, behaviors) of one parent may influence the characteristics and outcomes of the other parent (McBride et al., 2005; Ponnet et al., 2012; Rousseau & Scharf, 2015). For example, Ponnet et al. (2012) showed that higher levels of maternal parenting stress were negatively linked to their partner's responsiveness toward their children. Furthermore, past research has highlighted such interdependence between parents and the possibility of carry-over effects between family members (e.g., Brenning et al, 2017; Peterson et al., 2008). For instance, Guay et al. (2018) indicated that mothers' and fathers' self-reported autonomy support and control predicted increases in the other parent's behavior over time. In line with these results, we used APIMs (Kenny et al., 2006) to estimate associations between one parent's perception of pressure and their own parenting and parental beliefs, but also associations between one parent's perceived pressure and their partner's parenting and parental beliefs. This approach allows us to overcome the conceptualization of parental beliefs and actions as uniquely intra-individual, by examining whether one parent's perception of pressure relate to the other parent's responsiveness, overprotection and overvaluation, above and beyond the parent's own perception of pressure. As the ideology of intensive parenting is typically conceived as socially constructed (Lee et al., 2014), it is likely to have ramifications for dynamics at the family system level as well.

The Present Study

The present research addresses several questions. First, we examined mean-level differences between mothers and fathers in terms of perceived pressure to be a perfect parent, as previous studies investigating parents' pressure to be perfect most often only focused on mothers (Meeussen et al., 2016; Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018; Sutherland, 2010). As Western societies continue to consider mothers as the primary caregiver (e.g., Hays, 1996; Wall, 2010), we expected that mothers would perceive more pressure than fathers. The mean-level differences between mothers and fathers for responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation, were investigated as well. Considering previous studies (Brummelmann et al., 2010; Davidov & Grusec, 2006; Rousseau & Scharf, 2015; Schiffrin et al., 2019), we hypothesized that there would be no differences between mothers and fathers concerning responsiveness and overvaluation, but that overprotection would be more reported by mothers than by fathers.

Second, we used APIM to estimate associations between perceived pressure and parental dimensions, thereby considering both *actor* effects (i.e., associations between a parent's pressure perceptions and their own parenting) and *partner* effects (i.e., associations between a parent's pressure perceptions and their partner's parenting). For actor effects, to our knowledge, no research has examined associations between pressure to be a perfect parent and the parental dimensions of responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation, but we expected that parents' pressure perceptions would predict higher scores on all three dimensions, and this association would be particularly pronounced among mothers (Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). For partner effects, drawing upon family systems theories (McBride et al., 2005), we predicted reciprocal relations between mothers and fathers where one parent's perceived pressure is predictive of their partner's parental dimensions.

In this study, we focused on parents of adolescents specifically, as previous research on intensive parenting mainly focused on parents of young children, or did not distinguish

explicitly in terms of the child's developmental phase (e.g., Lee et al., 2014; Rizzo et al., 2013; Wall, 2010). However, adolescence is a particular developmental period in terms of parenting, with specific developmental challenges for the child and for the parents accordingly. Adolescence is characterized by an increasing need for independence and autonomy, more time spent outside parental home, and more experimentation and the exploration of different identity alternatives (Smetana & Rote, 2019; Smetana et al., 2015). Indeed, autonomy development is an important developmental task during adolescence (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2018), as adolescents seek to explore their environment and question themselves, in order to choose what they want for their future (e.g., identity construction; Zimmermann et al., 2017). However, at the same time, adolescents also need continued parental support to rely upon when they are going through a difficult time (Smetana & Rote, 2019; Zimmermann et al., 2017). Hence, it may be particularly relevant to address our questions in a sample of parents of adolescents.

Method

Sample and Procedure

Participants were parents of adolescents in their last year of obligatory schooling in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. After obtaining approval from the School and Youth department of the Canton (BLINDED FOR REVIEW), schools were visited by two trained members of the research team. They first explained the overall purpose of the study during a class period, as well as the voluntary nature of participation and the confidential treatment of the data. Then, they distributed envelopes among pupils, which contained two informed consents, two questionnaires and two pre-stamped envelopes. The pupils were instructed to give the questionnaires to their parents (or the two persons they considered as most involved in their education). The general goal of the study, the voluntary nature of participation and the confidential treatment of the data were described in the informed consent. Parents were invited to fill out the questionnaires separately, and to send the questionnaire back within three weeks

in separate envelopes. The questionnaires had a unique and randomly generated code, which allowed us to link the data of the parents of the same adolescent. All participating parents were rewarded with 20 Swiss francs (approximately equivalent to 20 US\$) voucher in a local store. The study followed the ethical standards of the Swiss Society of Psychology (SSP) and was approved by the Coordinating Committee for educational research of (BLINDED FOR REVIEW).

Our initial sample consisted of 467 parents, composed of 283 mothers (60.6%) and 184 fathers (39.4%), and with a mean age of 47.28 years ($SD = 5.46$). However, as the analyses focus on mother-father dyads, we used a subsample of complete dyads, which included 146 couples of parents of Swiss adolescents ($N = 292$ parents; 62.5% of the initial sample). The mean age of mothers and fathers was 45.80 years ($SD = 4.51$) and 49.30 years ($SD = 6.10$), respectively. The majority of parents reported being married or living together (79.5%), whereas 19.18% reported being divorced or separated, 4.1% reported being single, and 1.4% reported being widowed. Concerning parents' economic status, the median gross household income ranged from CHF 103'000 to CHF 122'000, which is in line with the median gross household income of families with children in this area of Switzerland (StatVD, 2015). Only 9% of parents reported a household income below CHF 49'000 and 9.7% reported a household income over CHF 190'000. In our sample, 12.0% of the parents reported having one child, 55.8% had two children, and 32.2% reported having three or more children. Parents filled out questionnaires with respect to their adolescent child in the last year of obligatory schooling. These adolescents were, on average, 14.7 years of age ($SD = 0.61$), 60.3% were girls, and most adolescents followed either vocational education (23.1%) or general education (75.5%).

Measures

Participants filled out French versions of questionnaires, which were either available or translated following the recommendations of the International Test Commission (Hambleton,

2001). Items were scored on five-point Likert scales, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Pressure To Be a Perfect Parent. Parents' perception of pressure to be a perfect parent was measured through two items from the study of Meeussen and Van Laar (2018), which were inspired by the literature on idealized motherhood (Henderson et al., 2010, 2016). Participants reported their feelings of pressure to be a perfect parent by rating to what extent they agreed with the statements: "I feel pressured to be 'perfect' in my role as a parent" and "My social environment sets very high expectations for me as a parent to live up to". In this study, Cronbach's α 's were .76 for mothers and .70 for fathers.

Parental Responsiveness. Parental responsiveness was measured through the Acceptance-Rejection subscale of the Child Report of Parenting Behavior Inventory (CRPBI; Davidov & Grusec, 2006; Schaefer, 1965). This subscale includes 7 items that measure the degree to which parents show warmth and affection and are sensitive when the child is distressed. Initially, the scale was designed to be completed by children, but as in previous research (e.g., Brenning et al., 2017), the items were slightly revised to make them amenable to parent self-report (e.g., "My child feels better after discussing his worries with me" or "I smile at my child very often"). In this study, Cronbach's α 's were .76 for mothers and .80 for fathers.

Parental Overprotection. Parental overprotection was assessed using the 10-item Anxious Overprotection subscale of the short version of the Multidimensional Overprotective Parenting Scale (S-MOPS; Chevrier et al., 2022; Kins & Soenens, 2013). This scale assesses several aspects of overprotective parenting, including parents' anxious rearing, premature problem solving, infantilization, and privacy invasion. Example items include "I am all over my child" and "I follow everything my child does, even when he/she needs time to himself/herself". The psychometric properties of this short version are provided by Chevrier et

al. (2022). Good internal consistency was observed in this study, with Cronbach's alphas of .83 and .80 respectively for mothers and fathers.

Parental Overvaluation. Parents rated the Parental Overvaluation Scale to assess their tendency to overvalue their child (POS; Brummelman et al., 2015). The POS is a 7-item instrument that examines the degree to which parents think their child is extraordinary (e.g., "My child deserves special treatment" or "I would not be surprised to learn that my child has extraordinary talents and abilities"). The psychometric properties of the POS are provided by Brummelmann et al. (2015), who found a strong stability and validity of the items throughout several studies. In the present study, Cronbach's α were .77 for mothers and .75 for fathers.

Data Analysis

All statistical analyses were performed in the R environment version 4.1.2 (R Development Core Team, 2020). Raw data were structured as dyadic data. In other words, the data were organized in a pairwise structure so that each line represented a dyad containing the mother's and father's scores. The preliminary analyses involved examining descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) and correlations between the variables of interest. Concerning our variables of interest, only 1.1% of data were missing. For handling missing data, we used Hot deck imputation, which is a method replacing each missing value with an observed response from a "similar unit" (Kowarik & Templ, 2016). Then, we tested mean level differences between mothers and fathers using MANOVA, with parental gender as a within-subject independent variable, and parental responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation as dependent variables. We also calculated Cohen's d to assess the effect size. Cohen (1988) suggested that $d = 0.20$ be considered a "small" effect size, 0.50 represents a "medium" effect size and 0.80 a "large" effect size.

Then, we conducted several APIMs, using a structural equation modeling (SEM) framework, to test three models, one for each parental dimension. For each model, the approach

was the same: first, we examined the saturated model with the degree of freedom and the chi-square value at 0. Second, we constrained the actor and partner links that were not significantly different from 0. Third, to test whether the actor or partner effects differed significantly between mothers and fathers, we specified equality constraints across mothers and fathers. When there is a statistically significant change in the chi-square value as compared with the model with no equality constraints, this indicates that actor or partner effects were statistically different from each other. A nonsignificant change in the chi-square value as compared with the model with no equality constraints indicates no differences between the two parents. Model fit was assessed by the chi-square test, the chi-square to *df* ratio (χ^2/df), the root mean square estimation of association (RMSEA), the standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR), and the Bentler comparative fit index (CFI: Barrett, 2007; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). Good model fit was indicated when χ^2/df is lower than 3.0, an RSMEA lower .06 (>.10 suggests poor fit), SRMR under .08 and CFI larger than .95 (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Results

Table I presents descriptive statistics of, and correlations between, the study variables. First, mothers' and fathers' pressure to be a perfect parent correlated significantly positively, as was the case for mothers' and fathers' overprotection and overvaluation. Further, mothers' pressure to be a perfect parent correlated significantly positively with maternal overprotection, whereas fathers' pressure to be a perfect parent correlated significantly positively with paternal overvaluation. Then, we examined differences between mothers and fathers on the variables of interest. The Repeated Measures MANOVA, which examined mean-level differences between mothers and fathers, yielded a significant multivariate effect, $F(1,145) = 16.86, p < .001$. Subsequent univariate analyses indicated that mothers, compared to fathers, reported higher levels of pressure to be a perfect parent, $F(1,145) = 18.38, p < .001, d = 0.43$. The difference for parental responsiveness was not statistically significant, $F(1,145) = 3.73, p = .055, d = 0.23$,

but was statistically significantly higher among mothers for parental overprotection, $F(1,145) = 5.82, p < .017, d = 0.23$. There was no significant differences between mothers and fathers for overvaluation, $F(1,145) = 1.29, p = .258, d = -0.10$.

Figure 1 depicts the results of the APIM, showing the saturated models and the most parsimonious models. The most parsimonious model for responsiveness had all actor and partner effects set to 0. This restricted model had a good fit, $\chi^2(4) = 2.360, p = .670, \chi^2/df = 0.590, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .000 [90\%CI:.000-.098], SRMR = .035$, and it did not differ significantly from the initial model ($\Delta\chi^2(4) = 2.360, p = .670$). The models revealed that there were no actor effects and no partner effects between pressure to be perfect and parental responsiveness. For overprotection, the partner effects were nonsignificant, and were therefore constrained to 0 ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 0.359, p = .549$). Then, the actor effects were constrained to be equal across mothers and fathers. The final model had a good fit: $\chi^2(3) = 0.892, p = .827, \chi^2/df = 0.297, CFI = 1.000; RMSEA = .000 [90\%CI:.000-.082], SRMR = .023$. This final model did not differ significantly from the initial model ($\Delta\chi^2(3) = 0.892, p = .827$). As can be seen in Figure 1, we observed a positive association between feelings of pressure and parental overprotection for both mothers and fathers. However, as for responsiveness, there was no partner effects. For overvaluation, in the fully saturated model, only the father's actor effect was significant. The two partner effects and the mothers' actor effect therefore were constrained to 0. The constraint model showed excellent fit to the observed data: $\chi^2(3) = 3.764, p = .288, \chi^2/df = 1.255, CFI = .982; RMSEA = .042 [90\%CI:.000-.152], SRMR = .063$. This final model did not differ significantly from the initial model ($\Delta\chi^2(3) = 3.734, p = .288$). As can be noted in Figure I, we observed a significant association between feelings of pressure and overvaluation, but only among fathers. Concerning partner effects, we found no significant partner effects across the models.

Discussion

In our contemporary society, parenting standards have become increasingly demanding in terms of parental involvement. Thus, certain parents may feel pressured to be perfect as parent, which is likely to bring about parents to adopt certain parenting strategies and hold certain beliefs. In this study, we used APIM to examine within a dyadic framework the links between pressure to be a perfect parent among mothers and fathers and three dimensions that reflect high parental involvement (i.e., responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation). Thus, in addition to examining gendered differences, this research is the first to investigate how mothers' and fathers' feelings of pressure to be a perfect parent are associated with their own and their partner's parental responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation during adolescence.

First, descriptive analyses showed that mothers perceived significantly higher levels of pressure to be a perfect parent compared to fathers. Mothers also reported significantly higher levels of overprotection, although the difference was small, considering Cohen's *d*. No significant differences were found for overvaluation and responsiveness. These gender differences regarding perceived pressure are in line with our hypothesis that mothers are more susceptible to experience such pressure, as mothers are still seen as the primary caregiver, in spite of societal trends where the division of household tasks is becoming relatively more egalitarian (Mannino & Deutsch, 2007; Monna & Gauthier, 2008; Smyth & Craig, 2017). This seems to suggest that women generally internalize socially constructed ideals of motherhood as a key aspect of their identity and are socially expected to be the "experts" in care. In contrast, men are only to a lesser extent expected to attach importance to their competence as caregivers (Kotila et al., 2013; Sasaki et al., 2010). This study seems to reveal that constructed ideals of motherhood persist beyond early childhood, even when the developmental needs evolve as the child becomes an adolescent.

According to our hypothesis, the reason why women would be more overprotective was

in part due to this greater sensitivity to the pressure to be perfect. However, the APIM analyses showed a somewhat different outlook. Indeed, the results indicated that there was a positive association between feelings of pressure and parental overprotection for both parents, and no significant gender difference concerning this actor-oriented effect. This suggests that parents who experience pressure to be perfect as a parent, tend to overprotect their adolescent child to meet the norms of intensive parenting, irrespective of whether they are a mother or father. These parents probably find it more difficult to strike the right balance between being intensively involved with their adolescent child to support their development and, at the same time, giving them space to develop independently (Lee et al., 2014). During adolescence, this balance may be particularly difficult to find, as the child needs autonomy while at the same time needing parental figures to rely on (Smetana & Rote, 2019). More generally, this finding highlights the importance of taking into account the macro-context to better understand the phenomenon of parental overinvolvement, as it was found to relate to the way in which parents experience societal expectations and norms about how one ought to raise a child.

Further, the APIMs exploring the relationship between pressure and overvaluation also provided evidence for actor-oriented patterns, but only among fathers. As they experience pressure to be a perfect parent, fathers thus seem to hold the belief that their child is outstanding and deserves special attention (Brummelman et al., 2017; Twenge & Campbell, 2009). In line with these results, a study of middle- to upper-class fathers in India particularly highlighted how fathers directly associate their involvement as fathers with their child's success (Sriram & Sandhu, 2013). Thus, for fathers, the impression of being a perfect parent would be reflected in the child's performance and social and cognitive abilities (Smyth & Craig, 2017; Sriram & Sandhu, 2013). Fathers' particular emphasis on child success may stem from the still-prevalent male gender stereotype associated with agency (e.g., ambitious, assertive, competitive) characterized by self-mastery and goal achievement (Eagly et al., 2020). For future research, it

would be interesting to also explore qualitatively how motherhood and fatherhood are perceived by parents of teenagers in a European context. Finally, we found no evidence for an association between pressure to be a perfect parent and responsiveness. These results suggest that responsiveness, which is a positive aspect of parenting, is not associated with the way in which parents perceive societal expectations about parenthood and the pressure that may result from such expectations. In fact, as is shown in previous studies, stress and pressure would rather induce inadequate involvement from parents, where one is less sensitive to the child's developmental needs (e.g., Yatziv et al., 2018). Potentially, the behaviors and beliefs of parents who perceived high pressure to be a perfect parent may be particularly driven by their concern for competence and excellence, instead of being guided by what the child would really need in terms of developmental and psychological needs.

Last but not least, contrary to our expectations, we observed no partner effects in any of the models. Thus, mothers' and fathers' feelings of pressure to be a perfect parent were unrelated to their partner's parental responsiveness, overprotection, and overvaluation. These findings are in contradiction with a systemic conception of the family, which would suppose that parental figures influence one another and are affected by their partners in their parenting attitudes (McHale & Lindahl, 2011; Guay, et al., 2018). However, partner effects might still exist, but they might be too inconsistent across families to produce interpretable main effects. For example, while some parents may respond to their partner's pressure to be a perfect parent by also becoming more overprotective, others may tend to engage in less overprotective behaviors, possibly to compensate for their partner's overprotection (Zimmermann, et al., 2022). An alternative explanation for the absence of partner effects could be that feelings of pressure are particularly experienced individually, and do not necessarily reflect expectations regarding the partner. In fact, the items used to evaluate the pressure to be a perfect parent refer directly to the individual feelings of the parent (i.e., "I feel pressured to be 'perfect' in my role

as a parent" and "My social environment sets very high expectations for me as a parent to live up to") and not to a perception of general pressure on all parents or on the family system. In line with this hypothesis, other studies suggest that an individual's parenting is influenced by the partner's feelings about their relationship, rather than his personal concerns (Ponnet et al., 2012; Rousseau & Scharf, 2018). For example, Ponnet et al. (2012) pointed out that marital quality and marital support had partner effects on parenting, while the respective feeling of stress had only actor effects. Future research is needed to shed further light on these questions.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations that could be addressed in future studies. Due to cross-sectional nature of data, we could only test within-time associations. Longitudinal or experimental research is needed to gain insight into the direction of effects. Further, the sample had characteristics that do not necessarily allow us to generalize our results. In particular, the large majority of participating parents were from intact, upper-middle-class families, that may not be representative of all families with adolescents living in Switzerland (OFS, 2017). Another limitation of this study was that all variables were only measured through parent's self-reports (single-informant bias), which may produce stronger associations among the study's variables. Information from other informants (i.e., multi-informant design) could provide a more complete picture (Van Petegem et al., 2020). The single-informant bias also concerns actor and partner effects, as demonstrated by Orth (2013). Indeed, partner effects may be underestimated because the partner effect is based on measures that have less variance in common than measures on which the actor effect is based (Orth, 2013). As such, further research should use a multiple informants design in order to overcome these limitations and improve the validity of the estimated effects. Finally, in terms of practical implications, future research should also focus on resilience factors that may provide better insights for prevention and intervention efforts. For example, parental mindfulness (e.g., open and receptive attention to and awareness of

present moment events and experiences ; Brown & Ryan, 2003), parental self-determination (e.g., one's tendency to regulate behavior in accordance with one's personal values, preferences, and interests ; Deci & Ryan, 1985), or parental reflective functioning (e.g., one's capacity "to hold others' mind in mind" ; Fonagy et al., 2007, 2018) could help parents to be less susceptible to societal expectations and pressures regarding intensive parenting.

Conclusion

Despite its limitations, this study contributes to the literature by offering important insights into the gendered dimension and the potential negative impact of perceived societal pressure for parents of adolescents. Our results highlighted the greater susceptibility of mothers to feel pressured to be perfect. This suggests that intensive parenting is more actual than ever and can make the parental experience more demanding than it already may be. It is therefore crucial to put into question overly demanding standards that may put parents under pressure. As our results suggest, these pressures may push parents to become overly involved into their adolescent's life, hence putting both their own and their child's mental health at risk. With the aim of promoting adaptive parenting, this study calls for further research on the individual's factors that may enable parents to better cope with such societal pressure, while at the same time indicates that a stronger policy is needed to encourage more gender equality in the family realm as well.

References

- Barrett, P. (2007). Structural equation modelling: Adjudging model fit. *Personality and Individual Differences, 42*(5), 815-824. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2006.09.018>
- Baumrind, D. (1991). The influence of parenting style on adolescent competence and substance use. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 11*(1), 56-95. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02724316911111004>
- Bernstein, G., & Triger, Z. (2011). Over-parenting. *U.C. Davis Law Review, 44*(4), 1221-1280.
- Bogenschneider, K., & Pallock, L. (2008). Responsiveness in parent-adolescent relationships: Are influences conditional? Does the reporter matter? *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*(4), 1015-1029. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00543.x>
- Brenning, K. M., Soenens, B., Petegem, S., & Kins, E. (2017). Searching for the roots of overprotective parenting in emerging adulthood: Investigating the link with parental attachment representations using an Actor Partner Interdependence Model (APIM). *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 26*(8), 2299-2310. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0744-2>
- Brown, K. W., & Ryan, R. M. (2003). The benefits of being present: Mindfulness and its role in psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*(4), 822-848. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.84.4.822>
- Brummelman, E., & Sedikides, C. (2020). Raising children with high self-esteem (but not narcissism). *Child Development Perspectives, 14*(2), 83-89. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12362>
- Brummelman, E., Thomaes, S., Nelemans, S. A., Orobio de Castro, B., & Bushman, B. J. (2015). My child is God's gift to humanity: Development and validation of the Parental Overvaluation Scale (POS). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 108*(4), 665-679. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000012>

- Brummelman, E., Nelemans, S. A., Thomaes, S., & Orobio de Castro, B. (2017). When parents' praise inflates, children's self-esteem deflates. *Child Development, 88*(6), 1799-1809. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12936>
- Cheung, G. W., & Rensvold, R. B. (2002). Evaluating goodness-of-fit indexes for testing measurement invariance. *Structural Equation Modeling, 9*(2), 233-255. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15328007SEM0902_5
- Chevrier, B., Soenens, B., Zimmermann, G., Skhirtladze, N., & Van Petegem, S. (2022). The psychometric qualities of a short version of the Multidimensional Overprotective Parenting Scale. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2022.2079630>
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences* (2nd ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Coleman, M., Ganong, L.H., Warzinink, K. (2007) *Family life in 20th-century America*. Greenwood Press.
- Coltrane, S. (2000) *Gender and families*. Alta Mira Press.
- Coppola, G., Musso, P., Buonanno, C., Semeraro, C., Iacobellis, B., Cassibba, R., Levantini, V., Masi, G., Thomaes, S., & Muratori, P. (2020). The apple of daddy's eye: Parental overvaluation links the narcissistic traits of father and child. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 17*(15), 5515. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17155515>
- Cox, M. J., & Paley, B. (2003). Understanding families as systems. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 12*(5), 193-196. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.01259>
- Davidov, M., & Grusec, J. E. (2006). Untangling the links of parental responsiveness to distress and warmth to child outcomes. *Child Development, 77*(1), 44-58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00855.x>

- Eagly, A. H., Nater, C., Miller, D. I., Kaufmann, M., & Sczesny, S. (2020). Gender stereotypes have changed: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of US public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018. *American psychologist, 75*(3), 301-315
- Fonagy, P., Gergely, G., & Jurist, E. L. (2018). *Affect regulation, mentalization and the development of the self*. Routledge.
- Fonagy, P., Gergely, G., & Target, M. (2007). The parent-infant dyad and the construction of the subjective self. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 48*(3-4), 288-328. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01727.x>
- Furedi, F. (2008). *Paranoid parenting: Why ignoring the experts may be best for your child*. Chicago Review Press.
- Gottman, J. M., Katz, L. F., & Hooven, C. (1996). Parental meta-emotion philosophy and the emotional life of families: Theoretical models and preliminary data. *Journal of Family Psychology, 10*(3), 243-268. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.10.3.243>
- Grolnick, W. S. (2003). *The psychology of parental control: How well-meant parenting backfires*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Guay, F., Ratelle, C. F., Duchesne, S., & Dubois, P. (2018). Mothers' and fathers' autonomy-supportive and controlling behaviors: An analysis of interparental contributions. *Parenting, 18*(1), 45-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295192.2017.1337461>
- Gutman, L. M., & Eccles, J. S. (2007). Stage-environment fit during adolescence: Trajectories of family relations and adolescent outcomes. *Developmental Psychology, 43*(2), 522-537. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.2.522>
- Hawk, S. T., Keijsers, L., Hale III, W. W., & Meeus, W. (2009). Mind your own business! Longitudinal relations between perceived privacy invasion and adolescent-parent conflict. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(4), 511-520. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015426>

- Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. Yale University Press.
- Henderson, A. C., Harmon, S. M., and Houser, J. (2010). A new state of surveillance? An application of Michel Foucault to modern motherhood. *Surveillance & Society*, 7(3-4), 231-247. <https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v7i3/4.4153>
- Henderson, A., Harmon, S., and Newman, H. (2016). The price mothers pay, even when they are not buying it: Mental health consequences of idealized motherhood. *Sex Roles*, 74(11), 512-526. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-05345>
- Hu, L.-T, & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 6(1), 1-55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118>.
- Kenny, D. A., Kashy, D. A., & Cook, W. L. (2006). *Dyadic data analysis*. Guilford Press.
- Kins, E. & Soenens, B. (2013, September). *Generation me and its helicopter parents: A study on parental overprotection in adolescence*. Paper presented at the 16th European Conference on Developmental Psychology (ECDP), Lausanne, Switzerland.
- Kiss, M., Fecete, G., Pop, M., & Susa, G. (2014). Early childhood self-regulation in context: Parental and familial environmental influences. *Cognition, Brain, Behavior*, 18(1), 55-85.
- Kotila, L. E., Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J., & Kamp Dush, C. M. (2013). Time in parenting activities in dual-earner families at the transition to parenthood. *Family Relations*, 62(5), 795-807. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12037>
- Kowarik, A., & Templ, M. (2016). Imputation with R package VIM. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 74(7), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v074.i07>
- Lee, E., Bristow, J., Faircloth C., & Macvarish, J. (2014). *Parenting culture studies*. Springer.

- Lee, E., & Macvarish, J. (2020). Le « parent hélicoptère » et le paradoxe de la parentalité intensive au XXI^e siècle. *Lien social et Politiques*, 85, 19-42. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1073740ar>
- LeMoyne, T., & Buchanan, T. (2011). Does “hovering” matter? Helicopter parenting and its effect on well-being. *Sociological Spectrum*, 31(4), 399-418. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2011.574038>
- Mannino, C. A., & Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Changing the division of household labor: A negotiated process between partners. *Sex Roles*, 56(5), 309-324. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9181-1>
- Martin, C. (2020). Collectiviser la question parentale : Les apports des parenting cultures studies. *Lien social et Politiques*, 85, 252-259. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1073751ar>
- Martin, C., & Leloup, X. (2020). La parentalisation du social. *Lien social et Politiques*, 85, 5-18. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1073739ar>
- McBride, B. A., Brown, G. L., Bost, K. K., Shin, N., Vaughn, B., & Korth, B. (2005). Paternal identity, maternal gatekeeping, and father involvement. *Family Relations*, 54(3), 360-372. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2005.00323.x>
- McHale, J. P., & Lindahl, K. M. (Eds.). (2011). *Coparenting: A conceptual and clinical examination of family systems*. American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/12328-000>
- Meeussen, L., & Van Laar, C. (2018). Feeling pressure to be a perfect mother relates to parental burnout and career ambitions. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, 2113. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02113>
- Meeussen, L., Veldman, J., & Van Laar, C. (2016). Combining gender, work, and family identities: the cross-over and spill-over of gender norms into young adults' work and

- family aspirations. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7, 1781.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01781>
- Monna, B., & Gauthier, A. H. (2008). A review of the literature on the social and economic determinants of parental time. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 29(4), 634-653.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-008-9121-z>
- Morf, C. C., & Rhodewalt, F. (2001). Unraveling the paradoxes of narcissism: A dynamic self-regulatory processing model. *Psychological Inquiry*, 12(4), 177-196.
https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327965PLI1204_1
- Omer, H., Satran, S., & Driter, O. (2016). Vigilant care: An integrative reformulation regarding parental monitoring. *Psychological Review*, 123(3), 291-304.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000024>
- Orth, U. (2013). How large are actor and partner effects of personality on relationship satisfaction? The importance of controlling for shared method variance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39(10), 1359-1372.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213492429>
- Peterson, B. D., Pirritano, M., Christensen, U., & Schmidt, L. (2008). The impact of partner coping in couples experiencing infertility. *Human Reproduction*, 23(5), 1128-1137.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/humrep/den067>
- Ponnet, K., Mortelmans, D., Wouters, E., Van Leeuwen, K., Bastaits, K., & Pasteels, I. (2012). Parenting stress and marital relationship as determinants of mothers' and fathers' parenting. *Personal Relationships*, 20(2), 259-276. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6811.2012.01404.x>
- Rizzo, K. M., Schiffrin, H. H., & Liss, M. (2013). Insight into the parenthood paradox: Mental health outcomes of intensive mothering. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 22(5), 614-620. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-012-9615-z>

- Rousseau, S., & Scharf, M. (2015). "I will guide you" The indirect link between overparenting and young adults' adjustment. *Psychiatry Research*, 228(3), 826-834. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2015.05.016>
- Sasaki, T., Hazen, N., & Swann, W. B., Jr. (2010). The supermom trap: Do involved dads erode moms' self-competence? *Personal Relationships*, 17(1), 71-79. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6811.2010.01253.x>
- Sayer, L.C., Bianchi, S.M., & Robinson, J.P. (2004). Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(1), 1-43. <https://doi.org/10.1086/386270>
- Schaefer, E. S. (1965). Children's Reports of parental behavior: An inventory. *Child Development*, 36(2), 413-424. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1126465>
- Schiffrin, H. H., Erchull, M. J., Sendrick, E., Yost, J. C., Power, V., & Saldanha, E. R. (2019). The effects of maternal and paternal helicopter parenting on the self-determination and well-being of emerging adults. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 28(12), 3346-3359. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01513-6>
- Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J., & Fagan, J. (2020). The evolution of fathering research in the 21st century: Persistent challenges, new directions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82(1), 175-197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12645>
- Segrin, C., Woszidlo, A., Givertz, M., & Montgomery, N. (2013). Parent and child traits associated with overparenting. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 32(6), 569-595. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2013.32.6.569>
- Shirani, F., Henwood, K., & Coltart, C. (2012). Meeting the challenges of intensive parenting culture: Gender, risk management and the moral parent. *Sociology*, 46(1), 25-40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511416169>

- Smetana, J. G., Robinson, J., & Rote, W. M. (2015). Socialization in adolescence. In J. E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 60-84). The Guilford Press.
- Smetana, J. G., & Rote, W. M. (2019). Adolescent–parent relationships: Progress, processes, and prospects. *Annual Review of Developmental Psychology, 1*(1), 41-68. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-devpsych-121318-084903>
- Smyth, C., & Craig, L. (2017). Conforming to intensive parenting ideals: Willingness, reluctance and social context. *Families, Relationships and Societies, 6*(1), 107-124. <https://doi.org/10.1332/204674315X14393034138937>
- Spock, B. (1946). *The common sense book of baby and child care*. Sloan and Pearce.
- Sriram, R., & Sandhu, G. K. (2013). Fathering to ensure child's success: What urban Indian fathers do? *Journal of Family Issues, 34*(2), 159-181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X12461136>
- Sullivan, O. (2010). Changing differences by educational attainment in fathers' domestic labour and child care. *Sociology, 44*(4), 716-733. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510369351>
- Sutherland, J.-A. (2010). Mothering, guilt and shame. *Sociology Compass, 4*(5), 310-321. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00283.x>
- Thomaes, S., & Brummelman, E. (2016). Narcissism. In D. Cicchetti (Ed.), *Developmental psychopathology: Maladaptation and psychopathology* (pp. 679-725). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119125556.devpsy316>
- Thomaes, S., Brummelman, E., Reijntjes, A., & Bushman, B. J. (2013). When narcissus was a boy: Origins, nature, and consequences of childhood narcissism. *Child Development Perspectives, 7*(1), 22-26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12009>
- Thomaes, S., Bushman, B. J., de Castro, B. O., & Stegge, H. (2009). What makes narcissists bloom? A framework for research on the etiology and development of narcissism.

- Development and Psychopathology*, 21(4), 1233-1247.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579409990137>
- Thomaes, S., Stegge, H., Bushman, B. J., Olthof, T., & Denissen, J. (2008). Development and validation of the Childhood Narcissism Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 90(4), 382–391. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223890802108162>
- Thomasgard, M., Metz, W. P., Edelbrock, C., & Shonkoff, J. P. (1995). Parent-child relationship disorders: I. Parental overprotection and the development of the Parent Protection Scale. *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics*, 16(4), 244-250. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00004703-199508000-00006>
- Twenge, J. M. (2006). *Generation me: Why today's young Americans are more confident, assertive, entitled—And more miserable than ever before*. Free Press
- Twenge, J. M., Abebe, E. M., & Campbell, W. K. (2010). Fitting in or standing out: Trends in American parents' choices for children's names, 1880-2007. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 1(1), 19–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550609349515>
- Twenge, J. M., & Campbell, W. K. (2009). *The narcissism epidemic: Living in the age of entitlement*. Simon and Schuster.
- Van Petegem, S., Albert Sznitman, G., Darwiche, J., & Zimmermann, G. (2021). Putting parental overprotection into a family systems context: Relations of overprotective parenting with perceived coparenting and adolescent anxiety. *Family Process*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12709>
- Van Petegem, S., Antonietti, J. P., Eira Nunes, C., Kins, E., & Soenens, B. (2020). The relationship between maternal overprotection, adolescent internalizing and externalizing problems, and psychological need frustration: A multi-informant study using response surface analysis. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 49(1), 162-177. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-019-01126-8>

- Venard, G. L., Pina Brito, V., Eeckout, P., Zimmermann, G., & Van Petegem, S. (2021). Quand le parent veut trop bien faire: Etat de la littérature sur le phénomène de surprotection parentale [When the parent wants to do too well: State of art on the phenomenon of parental overprotection]. *Psychologie Française*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psfr.2021.11.001>
- Von Suchodoletz, A., Trommsdorff, G., & Heikamp, T. (2011). Linking maternal warmth and responsiveness to children's self-regulation. *Social Development*, 20(3), 486-503. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2010.00588.x>
- Wall, G. (2010, May). Mothers' experiences with intensive parenting and brain development discourse. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 33(3), 253-263. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2010.02.019>
- Walls, J. K., Helms, H. M., & Grzywacz, J. G. (2016). Intensive mothering beliefs among full-time employed mothers of infants. *Journal of Family Issues*, 37(2), 245-269. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X13519254>
- Yatziv, T., Gueron-Sela, N., Meiri, G., Marks, K., & Atzaba-Poria, N. (2018). Maternal mentalization and behavior under stressful contexts: The moderating roles of prematurity and household chaos. *Infancy*, 23(4), 591-615. <https://doi.org/10.1111/infa.12233>
- Zimmer-Gembeck, M., Van Petegem, S., Ducat, W., Clear, S., & Mastro, S. (2017). Parent-adolescent relationships and romantic development: A review and argument for research on autonomy-supportive parenting. In B. Soenens, M. Vansteenkiste & S. Van Petegem (Eds.), *Autonomy in adolescent development: Toward conceptual clarity* (pp. 168-192). Psychology Press.

Zimmermann, G., Antonietti, J. P., Mageau, G., Mouton, B., & Van Petegem, S. (2022).

Parents' storm and stress beliefs about adolescence: Relations with parental overprotection and parental burnout. *Swiss Psychology Open: the official journal of the Swiss Psychological Society*, 2(1). <http://doi.org/10.5334/spo.31>

Zimmermann, G., Carvalhosa, M. B., Sznitman, G. A., Van Petegem, S., Baudat, S., Darwiche,

J., Antonietti, J.-P., & Clémence, A. (2017). Conduites à risque à l'adolescence : manifestations typiques de construction de l'identité ? *Enfance*, 2(2), 239-261. <https://doi.org/10.4074/S0013754517002051>

Table I. Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations among the Study Variables

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Perceived pressure (M)	2.93	1.11							
2. Perceived pressure (F)	2.48	0.95	.25**						
3. Parental responsiveness (M)	4.37	0.45	-.09	.06					
4. Parental responsiveness (F)	4.26	0.51	.00	-.03	-.00				
5. Parental overprotection (M)	1.90	0.56	.20*	.09	-.01	.00			
6. Parental overprotection (F)	1.77	0.48	-.00	.16	-.03	-.14	.33**		
7. Parental overvaluation (M)	2.31	0.73	.12	.11	-.07	.10	.35**	.22**	
8. Parental overvaluation (F)	2.38	0.76	.15	.22**	.00	-.10	.24**	.25**	.42**

Note. M = mother, F = father

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

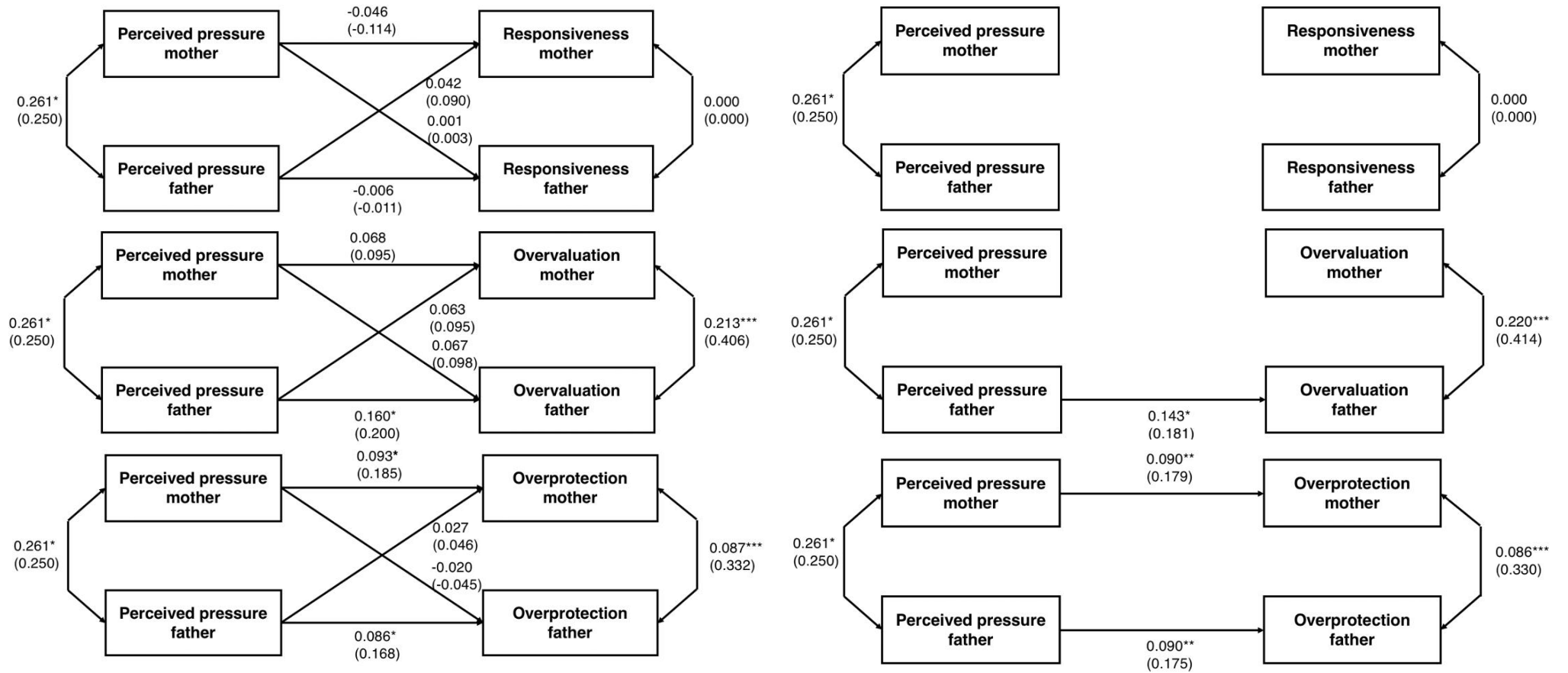


Figure 1. Actor-Partner Interdependence Models without constraints (left column) and with constraints (right column). Standardized coefficients are presented between brackets. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.