# Parent Child-Based Contingent Self-Esteem and Psychological Control on Child Self-Concept Clarity: A Parent-Child Dyad Study

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#### **Abstract**

Developing a clear identity is crucial during adolescence when individuals begin to recognize their qualities, goals, and values. Parents significantly influence identity development through social interactions. Understanding these parental influences on self-concept clarity is especially important during the formative years and essential for promoting healthy psychological outcomes in adolescents. This study aimed to explore the link between parental child-based contingent self-esteem on adolescent self-concept clarity, focusing on the mediating role of parental psychological control in this relation. Participants were recruited from high-SES Dutch and international high schools in the Netherlands and consisted of 81 parent-child dyads (adolescents M age = 13.9, SD = 1.14, 51.85% female, 76.5% Dutch nationality; parent M age = 47, SD = 4.64, 71.60% female, 75.3% Dutch nationality). Cross-sectional design and questionnaires were used to collect data. Results highlight non-significant effects of parental child-based contingent self-concept on self-concept clarity ( $\beta$  = -0.13, p = .33), and parental psychological control ( $\beta = 0.02$ , p = .90); and a significant negative influence of parental controlling behavior on self-concept clarity in adolescents ( $\beta = -0.34$ , p = .0017). These findings highlight the important role of parental psychological control in shaping adolescents' self-concept clarity and suggest that other factors may operate in the relationship between child-based contingent self-esteem and parental psychological control, warranting further research.

*Keywords:* child-based contingent self-esteem, parental psychological control, self-concept clarity, high-SES, parent-child dyads

# Parent Child-Based Contingent Self-Esteem and Psychological Control on Child Self-Concept Clarity: A Parent-Child Dyad Study

Child-based contingent self-esteem (CSE) is a type of parental self-worth that is highly dependent on child's performance and is a risk factor for psychologically controlling behaviors (Glatz et al., 2021; Ng et al., 2013). Parental psychological control includes emotionally manipulative behaviors through which parents attempt to regulate a child's actions (Barber, 1996). These behaviors are often seen in perfectionistic parents and parents from relatively high socio-economic (SES) backgrounds (Barber, 1996; Sand et al., 2021; Walling et al., 2006). Psychological control impedes a child's emotional and psychological development and, thus, may therefore hamper the development of a clear self-concept (Barber, 1996; Koepke & Denissen, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2011). Self-concept clarity reflects the certainty adolescents have about themselves and how they consistently articulate their self-descriptions (Campbell, 1990). The development of a clear self-concept is largely shaped by interactions with parents, who act as socializing agents and role models for their children (Koepke & Denissen, 2012). This study examines the relation between child-based contingent self-esteem and self-concept clarity, focusing on the mediating role of parental psychological control. The study uses a between-subjects design and involves 12-15-year-old adolescents and their parents recruited from international high schools and matched high-SES Dutch high schools in the Netherlands.

# **Child-based contingent self-esteem**

Child-based contingent self-esteem (CSE) refers to a form of self-worth in parents that relies heavily on the child's achievements (Glatz et al., 2021). The child's achievement can be seen as a means of demonstrating the parents' worth as individuals (Glatz et al., 2021). Parents who hinge part of their self-worth on their child's success experience an increase in self-worth when their child succeeds and, conversely, a decrease when their child fails (Ng et al., 2013; Ng et al., 2017). Since most parents dedicate significant time and effort to their children, it is very likely that for some parents, their self-esteem depends on their children's performance (Wuyts et al., 2015). Parents who place a high value on their child's success and link their self-esteem to their child's achievements are likely to view control tactics as a practical and efficient way to ensure that their child succeeds (Wuyts et al., 2015). The self-esteem theory suggests that the pursuit of self-esteem motivates individuals to achieve success and avoid failure in the domains in which self-esteem is invested (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). Child-based contingent self-esteem is a risk factor for parental controlling behaviors (Ng et al., 2013). Parents with high child-based contingent self-esteem might feel pressured to prove their worth as a person through their child, which manifests itself in a controlled and parent-centered orientation toward performance (Grolnick, 2014). Parents may see control as a sensible means to having a successful child (Wuyts et al., 2015). Researchers believe that parents' child-based contingent selfesteem may direct their attention toward their children's performance outcomes, potentially affecting their ability to respond to their children's emotional and autonomy needs (Grolnick et al., 2007).

# Parental psychological control

Parental psychological control encompasses a range of emotionally manipulative behaviors aimed at regulating a child's behavior so that the child behaves according to parental standards (Barber, 1996). These controlling behaviors can include love withdrawal, guilt induction, shaming, criticism, possessiveness, and protectiveness, such as closely monitoring the child and limiting their independence (Barber, 1996). These behaviors intrude on the psychological and emotional development of the child (Barber, 1996). Parental psychological control includes behaviors especially apparent in perfectionistic parents (Walling et al., 2006). Perfectionism is associated with factors such as the parent's socioeconomic status, and adolescents from affluent backgrounds are more prone to achievement pressure from their parents (Sand et al., 2021; Travers et al., 2013). It is believed that the harmful influence of psychological control is especially pronounced in adolescence because it interferes with the crucial process of developing autonomy by fostering emotional dependence on the parent, thus hindering the adolescent's ability to become independent (Barber, 1996; Steinberg, 1990). Parents may restrict the open expression of their children's emotions and thoughts to regulate their actions and behavior. This form of control hinders the child's ability to develop an independent self-identity and a clear self-concept (Barber, 2002; Li et al., 2022).

# **Self-concept clarity**

Self-concept clarity (SCC) pertains to the extent of certainty adolescents have about themselves and how they consistently articulate their self-descriptions (Campbell, 1990). Although positively related to self-esteem, self-concept clarity relates to the clarity of self-concepts rather than the positivity versus negativity of those beliefs (De Moor et al., 2022). Adolescence is an essential period for examining patterns of change and stability in self-concept clarity, as the search for a sustainable self is a core developmental task (Erikson, 1950, 1968). Instability in self-concept is typical as adolescents get to know themselves and their future goals (Schwartz et al., 2008). This temporal variance in self-concept clarity can be caused by external events such as important people's (dis)approval (Reynolds & Repetti, 2008). The development of the self is thus in part influenced by parent-child interactions (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Grotevant, 2001; McLean et al., 2007; Shaw, 1997). Self-concept clarity has shown positive links with psychological adjustment and emotion regulation capabilities (Parise et al., 2019). On the contrary, adolescents lacking this clarity are at higher risk of developing anxiety and depression symptoms (e.g., Montague et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2012).

The development of a clear self-concept is thus of great importance in adolescence. In adolescence, the distinction between self and others becomes more comprehensive as individuals begin to recognize their qualities, goals, and values (Harter, 2012). Parents play a significant role in this identity development as the formation process of the self-concept occurs in social interactions (Erikson, 1968). In these social interactions, parents act as socializing agents who transmit social values and norms to their children and, in addition, provide role models for identification (Koepke & Denissen, 2012). To fit society's demands and children's psychological needs, parents can adapt their

parenting to support the child's autonomy. However, overly controlling parenting can prevent the child from developing agentic capacities and, with this, the ability to identity management and a clear self-concept (Koepke & Denissen, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2011). Several studies found that the relation between parental child-based contingent self-esteem and children's psychological adjustment is mediated by parental psychological control (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Kyeong et al., 2023; Lee & Chong, 2019). Parents' efforts to influence their children's self-esteem through their accomplishments may directly impact their children's outcomes (Kyeong et al., 2023). This suggests that parental cognition affects children through their parenting practices (Bornstein et al., 2017).

# The current study

The current study aims to examine whether parents who hinge part of their self-esteem on their child's achievements have children with a less clear self-concept and if this can be explained by parents being more psychologically controlling. The study includes participants between the ages of 12 and 15 and one of their parents. These participants were recruited from high-SES Dutch and international high schools in the Netherlands. Research suggests that high socioeconomic status (SES) is associated with perfectionism, which in turn is associated with parental psychological control (Sand et al.; Walling et al., 2006). Moreover, adolescence is a crucial stage for identity development and the establishment of a clear self-concept, in which parents exert an important influence (Erikson, 1950, 1968; Harter, 2012). The negative impact of an unclear self-concept is significant, with unclear self-concept associated with loneliness, internet addiction, depression, and other mental problems (Butzer & Kuiper, 2006; Campbell et al., 1996; Lee-Flynn et al., 2011; Lin et al., 2018; Tsukawaki & Imura, 2020). Previous research has predominantly focused on an Asian population (e.g., Kyeong et al., 2023; Lee & Chong, 2019; Li et al., 2022) or compared Asian and Western populations (e.g., Wuyts, Chen, et al., 2015; Ng et al., 2013).

This study aims to answer the following research question: Does high child-based contingent self-esteem relate to low child self-concept clarity, and is this relation mediated by parental psychological control? To explore this, four hypotheses are tested. The first hypothesis reads: Higher levels of child-based contingent self-esteem relate to lower levels of child self-concept clarity. The second hypothesis reads: Higher levels of child-based contingent self-esteem relate to higher levels of parental psychological control. The third hypothesis reads: Higher levels of parental psychological control relate to lower levels of child self-concept clarity. The fourth and final hypothesis reads: Parental psychological control fully mediates the effect of child-based contingent self-esteem on self-concept clarity.

#### Method

# Sample

The sample was composed of 81 families who were recruited from international and matched Dutch high-SES high schools in the Netherlands. The schools were selected based on the socioeconomic status of the surrounding neighborhoods and cities, which was assessed using

indicators such as high housing prices, median household income, educational attainment of residents, and the prevalence of professional occupations. In addition, students' academic performance in these schools was a crucial selection criterion. Participants were 12- to 15-year-old adolescents and one of their parents/caregivers. The adolescent sample consisted of 39 boys and 42 girls, with a mean age of 13.9 (SD = 1.14). The parent sample consisted of 22 fathers, 58 mothers, and one parent who preferred not to mention their gender, with a mean age of 47 years (SD = 4.64). Of the parents, 63 percent had a bachelor's degree or higher.

Before data collection, a power analysis was conducted to determine the sample size to find a small effect size, set at 395 participants. For this power analysis, an F-test was conducted for linear multiple regression. The number of predictors was set at one, with an alpha error probability of .05 and an effect size of .02.

# Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Adolescents who wished to participate had to be between the ages of 12 and 15. An additional inclusion requirement was the participation and informed consent of their parents/caregivers in the study. Participants were recruited from high-SES schools, with low SES being an exclusion criterion. If data were missing for one (or more) of the variables needed for analysis or if participants did not meet the inclusion criteria, the entire case was removed before the data were analyzed.

# **Procedure**

# Recruitment

This study uses a cross-sectional between-subjects design with parent-adolescent dyads. Several high schools were recruited through email and telephone contact. Research assistants visited interested schools to present the study to the adolescents. Adolescents were approached during class and lunch breaks, where they were given a flyer containing the study's information and a QR code. By scanning the QR code, adolescents could enroll in the study. Consent from one of the adolescent's parents/caregivers was mandatory before starting the study because the children were underage. In addition, adolescents needed a parent/caregiver willing to participate. At the beginning of the weekly questionnaires, research assistants called participants to remind them of their participation.

# Ethical Approval

The Utrecht University Ethics Review Board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences (UU-SER) ethically approved the project on March 10, 2024.

# **Instruments**

# **Demographics**

To assess demographics, parents were asked about their demographics, such as their age, gender, nationality, marital status, and spouse's nationality. Parents were also asked about their children, such as their number of children, their age and position in the family, and whether they had ever moved out of the Netherlands with their child. Furthermore, parents were asked about their level

of education and work situation. Children were asked about their age, nationality of themselves and their parents, gender, and grade level at school.

# Child-based Contingent Self-Esteem

To assess child-based contingent self-esteem, parents were asked to fill out the child-based contingent self-esteem scale (Wuyts, Vansteenkiste, et al., 2015). The scale consists of fifteen items assessing parental contingent self-esteem on a child's achievement in general (three items, e.g., 'How I feel about myself is often related to my child's achievements'), child's successes (six items, e.g.: 'Often, my child's success causes me to feel very proud of myself'), and on child's failures (six items, e.g., 'My child's mistakes are my mistakes'). Parents were asked to respond to the items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). The child-based contingent self-esteem scale shows good construct validity and internal consistency ( $\alpha = 0.89-0.91$ ) (Wuyts, Vansteenkiste, et al., 2015). In our sample, Cronbach's alpha was .90.

# Self-Concept Clarity

To assess self-concept clarity, adolescents were asked to fill out the Self-Concept Clarity Scale (SCCS) (Campbell et al., 1996). The scale consists of twelve items, such as 'My beliefs about myself often conflict with one another.' Adolescents were asked to respond to the items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The study of Campbell et al. (1996) found support for the Self-Concept Clarity Scale's construct validity and internal consistency ( $\alpha$  = 0.86). In our sample, Cronbach's alpha was .84.

# Parental psychological control

To assess the adolescents' perceived parental psychological control, they were asked to complete the Psychological Control Scale-Youth Self-Report (PCS-YSR; Barber, 1996). The scale consists of eight items where adolescents are asked to indicate to what extent the given statements apply to their mother or father (Barber, 1996). Statements include 'My parent will avoid looking at me when I have disappointed her/him.' The Psychological Control Scale-Youth Self-Report has a Cronbach's alpha ranging from .80 to .83 (Barber, 1996). In our sample, Cronbach's alpha was .82.

# **Data-analysis**

Before data analysis, cases with missing values across a scale were identified and excluded. Assumptions applicable to mediation were checked by visualization, which resulted in all assumptions being met. The primary analysis consisted of a mediation in the PROCESS Macro by Andrew F. Hayes (Version 4.2) within SPSS. This analysis examined the relation between the three variables: child-based contingent self-esteem, child self-concept clarity, and parental psychological control. The mediation model was defined with child-based contingent self-esteem as the independent variable, child self-concept clarity as the dependent variable, and parental psychological control as the mediating variable. To increase the accuracy of the estimates, bootstrapping was applied with N = 5000 and a 95% confidence interval. The mediation model was then analyzed using the PROCESS Macro. The model's direct effect of child-based contingent self-esteem on child self-concept clarity

was examined independently of the mediator. Attention was paid to the indirect effect of child-based contingent self-esteem on child self-concept clarity via parental psychological control. The significance of the mediation effect was assessed by examining the 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect. If the confidence interval did not contain zero, this indicated a significant indirect effect at the 0.05 level, indicating evidence of complete mediation.

#### Results

Once data collection was complete, cases with multiple missing values across a scale were identified and excluded. Multiple imputation was used in cases with few missing values.

Ultimately, 25.7 percent of the data had missing values or met the exclusion criteria, resulting in 28 cases being removed. Then, the assumptions applicable to mediation were checked by visualization, which resulted in all assumptions being met.

A simple mediation analysis was conducted using the PROCESS Macro by Andrew F. Hayes (Version 4.2) to investigate the relation between parental child-based contingent self-esteem (independent variable), self-concept clarity in adolescents (dependent variable), and parental psychological control (mediator) (see Figure 1). This analysis followed the mediation steps outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986).

First, the total effect of child-based contingent self-esteem on self-concept clarity (c-path) was examined. The analysis revealed that this effect was not significant ( $\beta$  = -0.13, 95% CI [-0.40, 0.14], p = .33), indicating that higher levels of child-based contingent self-esteem do not relate to lower levels of self-concept clarity in adolescents.

Next, the relation between child-based contingent self-esteem and parental psychological control (a-path) was assessed. This result indicates no significant association ( $\beta$  = 0.02, 95% CI [-0.25, 0.29], p = .90), suggesting that parental child-based contingent self-esteem does not predict parental psychological control.

In the third step, the association between the mediator (parental psychological control) and the dependent variable (self-concept clarity) was significant (b-path) ( $\beta$  = -0.34, 95% CI [-0.55, -0.13], p = .0017). This result indicates that the more parents engaged in controlling behaviors such as love withdrawal, guilt induction, and criticism, the lower the adolescents' self-concept clarity.

Finally, the indirect effect (ab-path) of child-based contingent self-esteem on self-concept clarity through parental psychological control, as well as the direct effect (c'-path) of child-based contingent self-esteem on self-concept clarity, were tested. Both effects were found to be non-significant: indirect effect ( $\beta$  = 0.01, 95% CI [-0.08, 0.07]) and direct effect ( $\beta$  = -.13, 95% CI [-0.38, 0.13], p = .33).

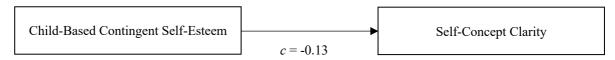
These results suggest that this model does not support the hypothesized mediation of the relation between child-based contingent self-esteem and self-concept clarity by parental psychological control. Therefore, neither direct nor indirect pathways indicate that child-based contingent self-

esteem significantly predicts self-concept clarity when mediated by parental psychological control. Parents who derive their self-worth from their children's achievements do not seem to have children with an unclear self-concept, which refers to the degree of certainty adolescents have about themselves and how they consistently articulate their self-descriptions. Parents with self-worth dependent on their child's achievements do not necessarily exhibit more psychologically controlling behavior. Although engaging in psychologically controlling behavior relates to less clarity of the self-concept in children, the effect of parental child-based contingent self-esteem on self-concept clarity in the child does not operate through parental controlling behaviors.

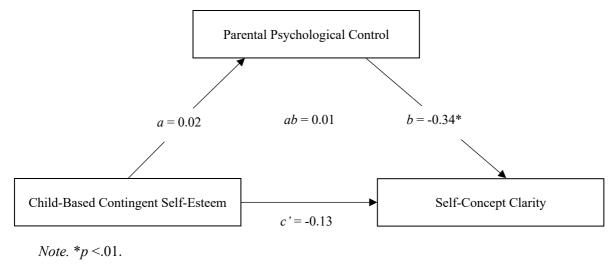
# Figure 1

The total effect of child-based contingent self-esteem on self-concept clarity (Model A) and a simple mediation model (Model B) with parental psychological control as mediator. In Model B, a, b, ab, c, and c' represent the standardized coefficients between variables.

Model A: Total effect of CSE on SCC



Model B: Direct effect of CSE on SCC (c') and indirect effects of CSE on SCC through PPC



# **Discussion**

This study aimed to explore the link between parental child-based contingent self-esteem on adolescent self-concept clarity, focusing on the mediating role of parental psychological control in this relation. The research question is: *Does high child-based contingent self-esteem relate to low child self-concept clarity, and is this relation mediated by parental psychological control?* This study was conducted among 12- to 15-year-old adolescents and one of their parents recruited from international and matched Dutch high-SES high schools in the Netherlands.

# Summary of results and alternative explanations

Firstly, we hypothesized that higher levels of child-based contingent self-esteem would relate to lower levels of adolescent self-concept clarity. Contrary to our expectations, the results showed no significant relation between child-based contingent self-esteem and self-concept clarity in adolescents. This indicates that the degree to which parent's self-esteem is contingent on their child's performance does not directly relate to the clarity and stability of the adolescent's self-concept. This finding can be explained by the study of Kyeong et al. (2023), where child-based contingent self-esteem was not directly associated with children's psychological well-being. This link is only established through the influence of psychological control and is in line with the parenting theoretical model. This model suggests that parental cognition impacts child outcomes through parenting behaviors rather than just cognitions (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Kyeong et al., 2023). In our sample, parents basing their self-esteem on the child's performance may not have translated into parenting behaviors that hinder the child's self-concept clarity.

Secondly, we expected higher levels of child-based contingent self-esteem to be associated with higher levels of parental psychological control. Our findings did not support this hypothesis; there was no significant correlation between child-based contingent self-esteem and parental psychological control. This suggests that parents whose self-esteem is contingent on their child's achievements or behaviors do not necessarily exhibit more psychologically controlling behaviors towards their child. This finding contradicts previous research indicating that parents with high child-based contingent self-esteem are more likely to engage in psychologically controlling behaviors (Grolnick, 2014; Ng et al., 2013: Wuyts et al., 2015). This inconsistency with previous research might suggest that other mediating or moderating factors, such as parental sensitivity to hurt or a disapproving attitude toward negative emotions, influence whether child-based contingent self-esteem translates into psychological control (Walling et al., 2006). Parents who are more sensitive to hurt and have disapproving beliefs about negative emotions are more likely to exhibit psychologically controlling behaviors (Walling et al., 2006). The possible absence of these parental cognitions might explain why high child-based contingent self-esteem did not necessarily relate to parental psychological controlling behavior in the current sample.

Thirdly, we hypothesized that higher levels of parental psychological control would be associated with lower levels of adolescent self-concept clarity. Our results confirmed this hypothesis, revealing a significant negative relationship between parental psychological control and adolescent self-concept clarity. This finding implies that adolescents who experience higher levels of psychological control from their parents tend to have a less clear and consistent understanding of themselves. Our finding is in line with previous research (e.g. Koepke & Denissen, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2011). This finding can be explained by the parent pressuring the adolescent to conform to their values, beliefs, and expectations regardless of the adolescent's needs and values, causing the adolescent to be less in touch with their personal beliefs and more in touch with the parent's beliefs. This relates to the adolescent experiencing difficulties in developing a clear self-concept (Luyckx et

al., 2007). Another mechanism for explaining the significant effect of parental psychological control on self-concept clarity is formed by protective and possessive behaviors that limit the child's independence (Barber, 1996). Parents may limit their child's opportunities for independence, depriving their child of important experiences that help them better understand themselves and form a clear self-concept (Koepke & Denissen, 2012; Schwartz et al., 2011).

Lastly, we hypothesized that parental psychological control would fully mediate the relationship between child-based contingent self-esteem and adolescent self-concept clarity. Our results, however, did not support this mediation hypothesis. The analysis showed that the effect of child-based contingent self-esteem on self-concept clarity is not mediated by parental psychological control, either fully or partially. This finding is not in line with previous research that states that the link between child-based contingent self-esteem and children's psychological well-being only exists through parenting behaviors as a mediator (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Kyeong et al., 2023).

# Limitations and strengths

This study has limitations. First, we may have inaccurately classified participants as high socioeconomic status (SES) while they were not. Despite our efforts to select samples based on income or education level, we cannot be sure that our sample truly represents a high-SES population. This uncertainty may have led to bias or affect the applicability of the findings. Second, the power analysis conducted before data collection showed that we needed 395 participants to find a small effect size. However, the sample consisted of only 81 families, which may not have been large enough to find significant effects. A large sample size and higher power make detecting a small and significant effect in the data easier (Field, 2018). Third, the percentage of missing data is large at 25 percent. Missing data are common in multi-informant studies (Chen et al., 2024). The unincluded participants might have significantly differed from the included participants, which may have led to bias. Fourth, the cross-sectional nature of the study has limitations, such as the lack of a time dimension. This snapshot nature makes it impossible to draw causal inferences (Grimes & Schulz, 2002; Kesmodel, 2018). We cannot state that high parental psychological control leads to low selfconcept clarity, but only speak of an association. Moreover, analyses used in cross-sectional research are subject to different types of bias, such as selection, information, and confounding bias (Kesmodel, 2018).

In addition to these limitations, the study also has strengths. The questionnaires used all had high internal consistencies with alphas of .82 or higher, which indicates that the tests used are all highly reliable. Another strength of the current study is the use of multiple informants and a dyadic design, which has many advantages, such as better reliability and validity (Chen et al., 2024). This allowed us to address questions that could not be answered using single-source data (De Los Reyes et al., 2013; De Los Reyes et al., 2015).

Moreover, the significant effect of parental psychological control on self-concept clarity provides interesting insight into the negative consequences of parental behavior and paves the way for

future research and interventions. Examining the effects of child-based contingent self-esteem and parental psychological control on child self-concept clarity within a Dutch context contributes to a better understanding of the cultural factors that may influence these variables. Furthermore, it can offer comparative insights between different countries and cultures.

# **Suggestions for future research**

The present study offers interesting perspectives for future research. First, future research could focus on the specific factors that cause parents with high child-based contingent self-esteem to resort to parental psychological control, such as parental sensitivity to hurt or disapproval of negative emotions (Walling et al., 2006). Moreover, it would be relevant for future studies to identify which child factors might reduce or enhance parents' use of controlling behaviors. In addition, it would be useful to examine potential moderating factors that influence parental psychological control without contributing to children's low self-concept. Finally, it is recommended to examine the resilience of children with low self-concept and how it can be strengthened even in the presence of psychologically controlling behaviors.

# Conclusion

In conclusion, while child-based contingent self-esteem does not appear to directly affect adolescents' self-concept clarity or be associated with parental psychological control, psychological control significantly influences adolescents' self-concept clarity. These findings highlight the important role of parental psychological control in shaping adolescents' self-concept clarity and suggest that other factors may operate in the relationship between child-based contingent self-esteem and parental psychological control.

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