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Beyond Baumrind: A Critical Review of Parenting Styles and Academic Achievement in Rural Collectivist Contexts



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Abstract

Parenting-style studies have been explaining the aspects of academic development by Baumrind under the terms of authoritative, authoritarian and permissive, which were later covered by the fact of neglectful parenting. However, these categories are created predominantly on Western, urban and middle-class bases and most often applied in rural collectivist contexts, without a sufficient interpretation of culture or structure. This critical review examines the strengths and weaknesses of the typology by integrating developmental, sociological, educational and cross-cultural research, which can be regarded as an important tool in research with a comprehensive understanding of what can and cannot be conveyed by the typology. Research findings suggest warmth, predictable non-violent organization, inspirational expectations and involvement in learning usually contribute towards performance. Regulation of psychological behaviors can foster routines and effort to study, but control of behavior through psychoanalytic methods, humiliation and emotional coercion hamper self-efficacy, help-seeking and wellbeing. A contextualized relational ecological model that sees parenting in the context of four inter-connected questions, namely what practice is done, in what relational climate, what meaning it has, and what opportunities are conducive to it or hampered by it, is therefore suggested in the review. The main verdict is that the framework by Baumrind is only useful as a vocabulary of responsiveness and demandingness, but not to divide entire families into universal categories. The studies ought to focus on rural longitudinal and mixed methods designs, measures which are culturally valid, multidimensional achievement, and on children as the reports of their own experiences and achievements.

The policies should incorporate respectful parenting, support and school-family partnership, as well, poverty-sensitive, gender-responsive, and digital-inclusion.

Keywords: Parenting styles, Academic achievement, Baumrind, collectivism, Rural education, Parental involvement, Cultural context, Global South

1. Introduction

The families influence academic development in relation to routines, expectations, discipline, emotional security, language, resources and definitions of success. Meta-analytic studies indicate the relationship between parenting dimensions and educational expectations and achievement with differing effects by age group, approach and culture (Pinquart, 2016; Pinquart and Ebeling, 2020). The heterogeneity is crucial as parenting practices do not work in social isolation of social meaning. Surveillance can signal affiliation in one association and doubt in another, silence in school might denote regard, dread or lack of confidence; low openness might signal apathy, yet it might additionally convey an expression of destitution, immigration or absence of knowledge on the system or process.

The most impactful organizing framework of the field is the typology by Baumrind. Responsiveness coupled with demandingness combine to form authoritative parenting, high levels of control coupled with less responsiveness form authoritarian parenting, warm and weak regulation become permissive parenting and low control coupled with low warmth form neglectful parenting (Baumrind, 1966, 1971; Maccoby and Martin, 1983). The lasting wisdom is its firm structure does not invariably have the same impact when incorporated in warmth and communication. Authoritative or autonomy-supportive parenting is linked to stronger engagement, self-regulation and school success; coercive control and emotional absence are found to be detrimental to worse outcomes (Western and cross-national evidence), suggesting that these styles are more likely to be combined than exclusive (Steinberg et al., 1992; Vasquez et al., 2016).

The issue here is that they are considered as culturally neutral family types. Some of the features of collectivist parenting are training, filial duty, interdependence, moral guidance and authority shared among grandparents or kin. Chao experience with the Chinese training revealed that the Western

practices could not even understand the devotion and governance in China since it was mere authoritarianism (Chao, 1994). Cultural psychology also proves that there is no opposition between autonomy and relatedness: agency can be exercised by children, who still strive to achieve common family ambitions (Kagitcibasi, 2007; Lansford, 2022). Rural landscapes exacerbate such problems as livelihoods, migration, lack of school limit the practices that can be carried out in practice by the family and genderized labor and digital exclusion restrict them.

This review poses the question of which aspects of Baumrind tradition can be upheld across settings, the effects of rural collectivist institutions on parenting, which mechanisms parenting has on academic performance, and research and policy modification. It contends that the unit of analysis that is appropriate in this case is a configuration of practices, relationships, meanings and opportunities, not some fixed label of parenting.

2. Narrative Review Approach

This article has a critical narrative review design since the evidence of interest cut across developmental psychology, sociology of education, family studies and policy research and cannot be summed into a single estimate of effect. Literature was chosen based on its applicability to parenting styles or dimensions, parental expectations and involvement, achievement, engagement, self-regulation, rural, and collectivism, gender, and socioeconomic inequality and online learning. The basic theoretical sources were kept, whereas the evidence was given preference to recent peer-reviewed and institutional evidence.

Synthesis puts more emphasis on meta-analyses, longitudinal studies, multi-country studies and contextually rich qualitative work. Cross-sectional links are viewed with care since the success and behavior of children also have an effect on parenting. It is not a systematic review and not professed to be comprehensive; it adds conceptual integration, critical comparative and context-sensitive interpretation framework.

3. From Parenting Types to Contextualized Theory

The framework offered by Baumrind is also handy in that it differentiates the warmth, structure and coercion and dispels the idea that all control is developmentally identical. Meta-analysis indicates the relatively small average effects of support in authoritative parenting and autonomy, as well as that relationships are not deterministic but probabilistic (Pinquart, 2016; Ryan and Deci, 2020). Parental expectations tend to be positive when feasible and backed by resources, but often turn to pressure when within the context of failure to belong (Pinquart & Ebeling, 2020).

Failing modes of the typology It will be a weak typology when categories are considered natural kinds. Families integrate practices material, father, mother and grandparent may vary; and parenting varies as age, school transition, child behavior. Mixed and cyclical changes, which cannot be classified into four textbook categories, are revealed in the person-centered and longitudinal study (Kuppens & Ceulemans, 2019; Kassis et al., 2025; Smetana, 2017). The difference between parenting style, which is a kind of relational climate, and parenting practices, which are certain behaviors presented by Darling and Steinberg is therefore critical (Darling and Steinberg, 1993).

A descriptive story comprises multiple opinions. Social learning accounts to modelling (Bandura, 1986); self-efficacy and reinforcement accounts to social learning (Bandura, 1986); the mutual effect among the representatives of a family is accounts to the family systems theory (Cox and Paley, 1997); parenting becomes a focal point of ecological theory is installing it in schools, community, livelihood and policy (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 2006). Bourdieu and Coleman demonstrate the role of economic, cultural and social capital in forming the ability of families to transduce aspiration into identified academic support (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). The idea of class that was discussed by Lareau and the literature of Davis-Kean et al. on parental education also show that certain forms of involvement are more easily rewarded than others by institutions (Lareau, 2011; Davis-Kean et al., 2021).

Combined these theories transform the question of which is the best style into

the question of what is a good practice in what kind of relationships with what meaning and under which circumstances, results in what outcome? This is against ethnocentrism and cultural relativism.

Table 1. Analytical value and limits of major perspectives

Perspective	Contribution	Risk if used alone	Context-sensitive use
Baumrind/Maccoby-Martin	Distinguishes responsiveness, demandingness and control.	Reifies four stable types.	Use as a vocabulary of dimensions, not a universal family classification.
Social learning/self-determination	Explains modelling, self-efficacy, autonomy, competence and motivation.	Can individualise structural inequality.	Link psychological mechanisms to cultural meaning and resources.
Ecological/family systems	Locates parenting in reciprocal family-school-community systems.	May become too broad.	Specify pathways involving kin, migration, school quality and policy.
Bourdieu/social capital	Explains unequal capacity to convert aspiration into educational advantage.	Can understate warmth, resilience and agency.	Distinguish low commitment from low institutional capacity.
Cultural psychology	Shows that control, duty and autonomy carry different meanings.	Can essentialise cultures or excuse harm.	Examine normativity and meaning while retaining ethical judgement.

4. Culture, Authority and Academic Achievement

The main intercultural conflict is with regards to authoritarian parenting.

Coercive control, less dialogue and psychological intrusion (Western) studies are indicative of weaker intrinsic motivation and emotional adjustment, in many studies. Strictness, when it is practiced in collectivist environment could be construed as investment, protection or, morally approved guidance. However, it is the normativeness that can change the way the child views a practice, and not the humiliation, fear or withdrawal of love developmentally harmless (Rohner et al., 2005; Lansford, 2022). The most applicable point of difference is between behavioral regulation, which organizes time and responsibility and psychological control that controls the identity, guilt or attachment (Grolnick and Pomerantz, 2009).

The fact that this is different is supported by cross-regional evidence. Authoritative or autonomy-supportive parents are more popular with North American and European studies especially with ethnic, class, and age and outcome varying effects of parenting (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1992). Mediterranean indications oftentimes dwelling indulgent parenting in line with authoritative parenting indicating that warmth and exterior organization could be notably demanding as well (Garcia and Serra, 2019). High expectations and monitoring can be associated with helping the East Asian worker to work hard in the region whereas overprotection and monitoring can make one feel more anxious and voice less (Du et al., 2022; Li et al., 2025). Recent discovery in Peruvia also indicates that need-supportive and need-thwarting parenting have no effect on grades alone, but instead have an effect through psychological experience (Matos et al., 2025).

There is less evidence available in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, which is usually based on imported scales. Parental ambition in rural Pakistan might be great, whereas the lack of literacy, transportation, school standards, gender and unsafe employment inhibit participation. The national data proves that it is a combination of conditions in households and school that determines achievement and parenting-only accounts are insufficient (Aslam & Kingdon, 2011; World Bank, 2018). It should not be a comparison of different mechanism but a comparison of different cultures by using the cross-cultural theory.

The culture as it is is in itself diversified. The tendency of class, ethnicity, religion, migration and urbanization and exposure to digital aptitude generates numerous parenting culture in the same country. The obligation of family and aspiration of individuals under varying interplay in terms of income setups determines future orientation (Basilici et al., 2025; Zhou et al., 2025). It is possible to have a practice that is normative, but not optimal, and the culturally responsive analysis needs to avoid the blurring between the explanation and justification.

Table 2. Reinterpreting parenting styles in rural collectivist settings

Label	Potential academic contribution	Main risk	Contextual judgement
Authoritative	Warmth, dialogue, predictable routines and high expectations.	May require time and educational capital not equally available.	Broadly favourable where structure is credible and non-coercive.
Authoritarian	Short-term compliance, attendance and examination effort.	Fear, secrecy, anxiety and reduced intrinsic motivation.	Separate legitimate regulation from psychological domination.
Permissive/indulgent	Emotional openness and low conflict.	Weak routines and inconsistent monitoring.	Effects depend on external school and kin structure.
Neglectful/uninvolved	No inherent academic benefit.	Low guidance, emotional support and	Apparent uninvolved may reflect

		monitoring.	migration, poverty, illness or institutional exclusion.
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5. Rural Collectivist Contexts and Mechanisms

Rurality is an institutionalist formation as opposed to a geographic term. The seasonal nature of parental time stemming out of agriculture and informal livelihoods; the schools can be poorly resourced or distant; online learning and private tutoring can be inaccessible; the power of education can be widely decentralized among grandparents and the elderly. Migration has the potential to boost income but diminish daily interaction with each other, and the consequences through alternative care and school assistance. The Chinese rural evidences demonstrate that the lack of available parents and strict communication with them undermines the dialogue and instead of this dynamic, the aspiration can be reinforced by the parents (Chen et al., 2023).

When there is economic scarcity, it alters the sense of involvement. Parents cannot assist in homework, yet preserve the time at the studying table, contribute to producing money or give up consumption. On the other hand, there may be a narrow scope of grades with the highly visible monitoring. The relationship between economic pressure, despair (reduced consistency) and the priority of access to books, tutoring and devices are discussed in the literature of family stress to explain the inequality between families (Conger et al., 2010; Deater-Deckard and Panneton, 2017). The system of labeling stunted families as morally failed causes structural disadvantage to be transformed to moral failure.

Achievement in terms of self-efficacy, self-regulation, drive, expectation and sense of emotional security relates to parenting. Constructive feedback makes it clear that one could learn to master difficulties and humiliation is a threat to mistakes. Parenting that is positive facilitates self-regulated learning with the help of self-esteem (Du et al., 2022), expectations of the parents affect wellbeing with self-efficacy and engagement (Yin et al., 2025). The

support of autonomy is also important in the context of collectivism due to the possibility of using agency to a common set of interests instead of separation (Ryan and Deci, 2020).

The attendance of parents is multi-dimensional. During the adolescence stage, the involvement of home discussions, encouragement and monitoring is even more important than the school event attendance (Hill and Tyson, 2009; Wang and Sheikh-Khalil, 2014). However, those definitions that are school-based favor educated and accessible caregivers. The evidence of the programme of Jeynes and the cooperation framework of Epstein implies that successful engagement should acknowledge the indirect assistance and assist families in going through school systems (Jeynes, 2012; Epstein, 2018).

Effects of family can be mediated by teachers and peers. Affiliative connections are beneficial in contributing to a sense of belonging and can mitigate a lack of parental home education, with punitive schools potentially reinforcing parenting by fear (Wentzel, 2022; Di Lisio et al., 2025). Academic resilience is a positive quality but does not have to be idealized: policy needs to mitigate the challenges children must overcome instead of saturating children with exceptional survival (Masten, 2014; OECD, 2019).

Parenting in the same house also is changed by gender and birth order. Girls can receive a combination of schooling and household duties and coerce movement with their freedom, whereas boys can be offered more freedom and pressure to make money or prove the status of the family. The same parents may thus seem to be authoritative and controlling or absent to another child. This does not require that the research on parenting should be based on the average household style, there must be the distribution of actual opportunities as well.

Table 3. Mechanisms linking parenting and academic outcomes

Mechanism	Supportive pathway	Risk pathway	Key moderators
Self-efficacy	Constructive feedback and	Shame and unpredictable	Prior achievement,

	attainable goals build competence.	punishment make error threatening.	teacher feedback, disability and language.
Self-regulation	Routines with graduated autonomy develop planning.	Overcontrol creates dependence; permissiveness creates inconsistency.	Age, parental time, school demands and digital distraction.
Motivation	Relatedness and meaningful expectations support internalisation.	Conditional approval and status pressure create controlled motivation.	Collective goals, examination competition and community norms.
Educational expectations	Realistic aspirations align effort and future planning.	Unrealistic pressure produces anxiety or concealment.	Parental information, school counselling and labour-market opportunity.
Emotional security	Warm, predictable responses support exploration and help-seeking.	Rejection and psychological control undermine concentration.	Teacher support, peers, kin care and child temperament.

6. Digital Parenting and Contemporary Inequality

Parenting was expanded into remote learning, access to devices, screen time and internet safety in the pandemic. Disconnection to the Internet could often resemble low parental engagement when infrastructure acted as a limiting

factor because the households of rural and low-income people were often shown to share one phone, which was used at work, during communication and schooling (UNESCO, 2020; UNICEF, 2021; Mishra and Brossard, 2021). Evidence of global learning-poverty also indicate that the household and school formulated continuity together (UNICEF, 2022; World Bank et al., 2022).

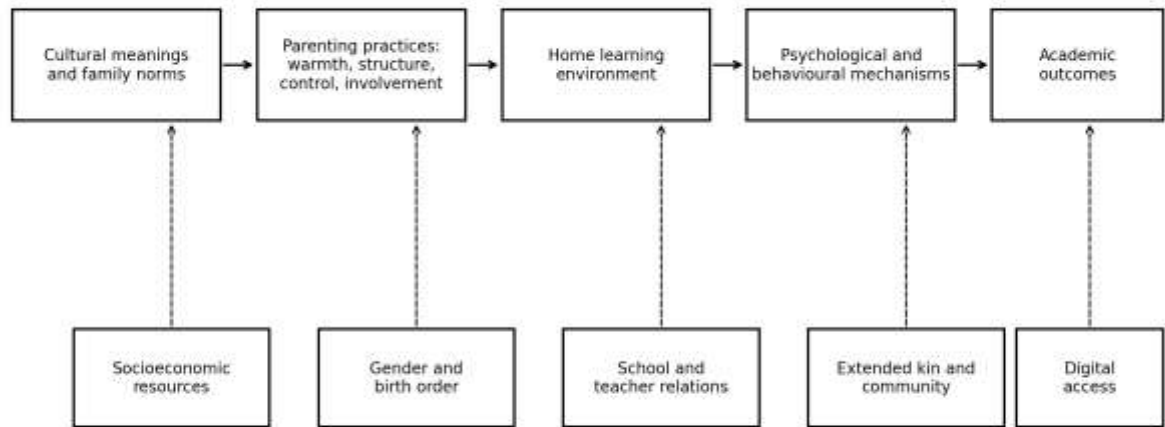
Limitations in the traditional labels are also predicted by digital form of control. The policy to confiscate devices, as well as open them at any time, can be either protective or intrusive; allowing distraction, by not being restrictive, can allow exploration. Conflict solving (Mediation) is a combination of discussion, sharing responsibility, privacy and competence. Artificial intelligence fuels such disparities as families having more digital capital can lead to verification and ethical use, whereas others are lack access or trust. The existing research on parenting practices should thus consider an all-encompassing approach to platform governance, AI literacy and unequal connectivity (UNESCO, 2023; OECD, 2023; UNICEF, 2023).

7. Contextualized Relational-Ecological Model

A four-part interpretive model is suggested in the review. Initially, researchers are to indicate the practice: monitoring, explaining, punishing, assisting, anticipating or feeling an emotion. Second, they are to evaluate the relational climate: warmth, trust, fear, consistency and communication skills of the child. Third, they ought to look into cultural meaning: is the practice an expression of care, a responsiveness and protection or is it a show of shame or status? Fourth, they need to determine opportunity structures such as income, literacy, time, education of the school, transportation and kinship and access to the Internet.

Academic results should be also dissimilar. Places, learning, attendance, growth, aspirations and wellbeing is not synonymous. Differences between intensive control and no control might enhance test preparation in the short-run, induce anxiety or inhibit question-asking. The feedback is two ways: parental trust and control are affected by the success of children and the

family practice is influenced by school responses.



Interpretation depends on practice, relational climate, cultural meaning and opportunity structure.

Figure 1. Contextualised relational-ecological model of parenting and academic achievement

8. Consolidating the Evidence and Its Contemporary Relevance

A multidimensional perspective of parenting is still supported by the condensed literature. Significant differences in warmth, control, beliefs and domain specific practice exist in the nominal styles, as demonstrated in major handbooks and conceptual reviews (Bornstein, 2019; Kuppens and Ceulemans, 2019; Smetana, 2017). Previous studies of school-performance had already provided support between family climate and performance but current studies demonstrate that time of development, child, and institutional variation alters such linkages (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Darling and Steinberg, 1993). This means that parents should be evaluated as dynamic as opposed to being static.

The aspirations of the parent-child dyad are not the only area of educational aspiration. The cross-national evidence suggests that there are relationships between the ambitions that families deem realistic and peers, significant adults and institutional pathways (Buchmann and Dalton, 2002). Rejection and acceptance are also strong relational signals that are cross cultural but

are different in the manner they are expressed depending on the local norms (Rohner et al., 2005). Aggression studies also caution that regulating or denying patterns may also impact behavioral adaptations along with performance, confirming the importance of considering academic and psychosocial consequences in tandem with each other (Masud et al., 2019).

Global learning inequality plays up the contemporary relevance of this argument. They have shown, based on international surveillance, that the educational success in both enrolments has increased structures on the social economic background and the quality of institutions (OECD, 2019, 2023; World Bank, 2018). The pandemic identified school closure, the relationship between households and the educational capital of parents as joint determinants of access to learning (UNESCO, 2020; UNICEF, 2021, 2022). Such results render it impossible to explain minimal engagement in remote learning by a mere lack of parental discipline.

Technology transforms now the manner and the moral speech of parenting. The greater educational controversy of the day seems to center around whether or not digital tools contribute to or contribute to the widening of access, or reingraining advantage, and the idea of whether monitoring is something that contributes to or erodes trust (UNESCO, 2023). Guidance in parenting should then cover the issues of privacy, co-use, misinformation, cyber-risk and AI-assisted learning. The UNICEF parenting paradigm also focuses more on supporting systems as opposed to behavioral change which has been highly applicable in places where parents are impoverished, insecurely employed or have poor services (UNICEF, 2023).

Lastly, parenting and education cannot be observed outside of broader responsibilities to the inclusion and sustainable development. In the 2030 Agenda, educational equality, lower poverty and gender inclusion are the goals that are mutually strengthening (United Nations, 2015). A context-sensitive parenting model will add to that agenda by recognizing where relational support will be useful in enhancing learning and where structural intervention is necessary. It does not also allow the policy to identify the heresy of education in the home alone. Families are very important and have

an impact within an unequal system of schools, labor, transport, welfare and access to digital systems.

9. Research Gaps and Policy Implications

Theoretical studies ought to differentiate among behavioral structure, training, protection, psychological control and coercion as opposed to viewing authoritarian parenting as a single construct. Cultural validity and invariance should be measured and then the national scores compared. To analyze reciprocal influence, change in development and meaning parents and children ascribe to care, obedience and success there has to be longitudinal and mixed-method designs. It should be analyzed by mothers, fathers and grandparents and substitute caregivers and outcomes must be engagement, continuation, creativity and wellbeing in addition to grades.

Rural South Asia, Africa and the Middle East are still vulnerable to geographical gaps. The livelihoods, kinship, the access to schooling and gendered labor should be compared across multi-site studies across countries, instead of a generalized cultural categorization. Another important factor is digital parenting and AI-mediated learning where the connectivity, privacy and ownership of devices is not equal.

Rural families should not be just taught to be authoritative as policy. Parenting care must turn warmth, peaceful discipline, definition, realistic anticipations as well as progressive accountability into regionally plausible practices. Educational institutions ought to adopt flexible hours of meetings, accessible languages and real instructions, as well as the identification of alternative caregivers in immigrant families. Transport, scholarships, and connectivity, counselling and social protection should be linked to the programmes since institutional scarcity cannot be offset by relational advice.

Assessment should assess the narratives of children with regard to communication, fear and support as well as attendance, progression and learning. The legitimacy can be reinforced with community involvement, but it cannot turn into the societal surveillance. The aim is the respectful union which enhances the viable options of the families instead of parental reproach.

10. Conclusion

The typology created by Baumrind is still a fruitful point of departure as it points to the developmental significance of the manifested responsiveness, the demandingness and the climate in which the control takes a place. When the four types are regarded as universal types of families with a fixed set of meanings, its value decreases. Collectivist families in the rural areas plan education in terms of kinship and livelihood as well as being a moral obligation, gender and community institution that cannot be captured well in a two-dimensional grid.

The facts neither advocate uncritical universalism nor cultural relativism. Distinctiveness, plausible anticipations, non-humiliating forecasts and significant agency is broadly protective. Even in case of normalization, there is a danger of psychological coercion, violence and emotional abandonment. However, the parenting impacts are conditional upon socioeconomic resources, school quality, migration, extended family and access to the Internet. A little school-facing participation could be a sign of disinterest, but it can also be those who do not feel included in the institutions that favor educated and available parents.

The field ought not to abandon Baumrind, however, without taking into consideration her core contribution. Contextualized relational-ecological approach poses the question what do the parents, how children are exposed to it, what it is in terms of the locality and what opportunities are in place about the relationship. This dualism provides a more accurate premise of research, does not adopt a deficit view of rural families and champions policy that offers a combination of relational counselling and support as well as material and institutional support. Whether there is any parenting style that works well across the board is no longer the main question, but when, how, and with what conditions of education, parenting can facilitate lasting academic success in childhood.

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