

Parental control and aggression in children and adolescents: a systematic review of the literature

Control parental y agresión en niños y adolescentes: una revisión sistemática

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ABSTRACT

There is considerable research on aggression in children and adolescents that highlights the relevance of parenting strategies as antecedents. However, there are few researchers that systemize the available studies on effects of the subtypes of parental control on each specific category of aggression. The present review is an attempt to integrate in the same study the updated research on the differential effects of both, behavioural and psychological control, on aggression, in general, and its types (open, relational, proactive, reactive, bullying), in particular. For this review, studies published between 2018 and 2023 that were deemed relevant to the topic were searched, coded, and classified. As a result, 28 works were identified. The results showed that greater parental psychological control seems to contribute to externalizing behaviour and more specifically to the aggression of their children, without this relation being moderated by the country of origin, nor the cultural normativity of psychological control in the country of study, nor the age of the adolescent. On the other hand, sufficient consensus has not been found in the conceptualization and measurement instruments of parental behavioural control or in the results on the associations of this type of control with the externalizing and/or aggressive behaviour of children, evidencing that culture can act as a moderating variable. In the coming years, the authors could focus on agreeing on the concept, components and measurement instruments of parental control, especially behavioural control, considering the specificity of the different categories of aggression, and elucidating the role of gender of the parent and the adolescent in each of these specific relations.

Keywords: parental behavioural control, parental psychological control, aggression, externalizing behaviour, adolescence, gender

RESUMEN

Actualmente contamos con una considerable cantidad de investigación sobre la agresión entre niños y adolescentes que destaca la relevancia de las estrategias parentales como antecedentes. Sin embargo, existen pocos estudios que sistematicen los trabajos disponibles sobre los efectos de los subtipos de control parental en cada categoría específica de agresión. La presente revisión es un intento de integrar en un mismo estudio las investigaciones actualizadas sobre los efectos diferenciales del control, tanto conductual como psicológico, sobre la agresión, en general, y sus tipos (abierta, relacional, proactiva, reactiva, bullying), en particular. Para esta revisión se buscaron, codificaron y clasificaron estudios publicados entre los años 2018 hasta el 2023, que consideramos relevantes en la temática. Como resultado, se identificaron 28 trabajos. Los resultados mostraron que un mayor control psicológico parental parece contribuir a la conducta externalizante y más concretamente a la conducta agresiva de sus hijos, sin que esta relación sea moderada por el país de origen, ni la normatividad cultural del control psicológico en el país de estudio, ni la edad del adolescente. Por otro lado, no se ha encontrado consenso suficiente entre los estudios revisados en la conceptualización e instrumentos de medida del control

conductual parental ni en los resultados sobre las asociaciones de este tipo de control con la conducta externalizante y/o agresiva de los hijos, evidenciándose que la cultura puede actuar como variable moderadora. En los próximos años, los autores podrían centrarse en consensuar el concepto, los componentes y los instrumentos de medida del control parental, especialmente el control conductual, considerar la especificidad de las distintas categorías de agresión, y dilucidar el papel del género del progenitor y del adolescente en cada una de estas relaciones específicas.

Palabras clave: control conductual parental, control psicológico parental, agresión, conducta externalizante, adolescencia, género

INTRODUCTION

The late childhood and adolescent years represent a period characterized by rapid and sometimes intense changes in physical, psychological, and intellectual development. During this stage, adolescents are deeply engaged in constructing their own identities, and the challenges posed by this process can lead to imbalances in their attitudes and emotions. These imbalances, in turn, may manifest as behavioral changes, such as the emergence or intensification of aggressive behavior (Petersen et al., 2015). In fact, aggressive behavior during this transition to youth are highly prevalent. While there are differences based on age, gender, and other individual, family, and school-related variables, as well as the country under analysis, various studies estimate a prevalence ranging from 13% to 48.6% of adolescents involved in some form of aggression (e.g., Lebrun-Harris et al., 2020). Moreover, during this developmental stage, aggressive behavior—whether newly emerging or intensified—are the most common and persistent form of social maladjustment, with significant long-term consequences for mental health and individual and social well-being (Wolke & Lereya, 2015).

Precisely because of its harmful impact on aggressors, victims, and society itself, aggression has garnered significant theoretical and empirical attention since the 1960s. Early research focused on overt forms of aggression (more characteristic of boys than girls), but since the 1990s, studies have also included relational aggression. This type of behavior includes actions such as ostracism, social exclusion, spreading false and malicious rumors, or threatening to end friendships (Casas et al., 2006). Later, research progressed from focusing solely on the form of aggression to also examining its function, which has deepened our understanding of why young people behave aggressively (Little et al., 2003). Considering function, a distinction is made between proactive aggression, which is goal-oriented, calculated, devoid of emotional charge, and motivated by external rewards; and reactive aggression, which refers to retaliatory behavior in response to hostility and is often accompanied by negative emotions such as anger and anxiety.

Additionally, both the form and function of aggression gradually change as adolescence progresses, likely associated with the development of social and cognitive processes. Research suggests that aggression tends to become less physical and more verbal and relational throughout childhood and adolescence (Björkqvist, 2018). Regarding function, although research findings are less clear, aggressive behavior seems to become more person-oriented and hostile in nature with age (Fite et al., 2008). In recent decades, research has also focused on a specific type of aggression: school bullying. This form of aggression is defined as intentional, repeated aggressive behavior aimed at causing harm to others, based on a perceived power imbalance. It has high prevalence in late childhood and adolescence and entails negative consequences for mental health (Noncentini et al., 2018). Despite the substantial knowledge gained about aggression and associated factors, a more comprehensive and integrated understanding of aggressive behavior is still necessary.

Among the factors studied as antecedents to aggression in childhood and adolescence, those related to the family environment have received special attention. It has been concluded that parental figures play a key role in the aggressive behavior of children and adolescents. Influenced by Baumrind's theory (1971), many of these studies have focused on the relationships between parenting practices and the development of aggression in those under their care, finding both direct and indirect, as well as positive and negative, effects. In a review, Masud et al. (2019) concluded that authoritarian parenting has a greater impact on the development of aggression during childhood compared to authoritative and permissive parenting. From this analytical perspective, it is noteworthy that these authors suggest that differences between authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles in the exercise of parental control may be a key factor in understanding the varying impact of these styles on aggression.

In this vein, it is worth noting that, in recent decades, a significant number of researchers on parenting strategies have shifted their attention from traditional typologies (parenting styles) to the separate study of the specific dimensions that comprise them. This shift has spurred research on the control exercised by responsible adult figures and its effects (Kuppens et al., 2009).

Some authors have argued that parental control should not be viewed as a unidimensional construct, as it may encompass various elements with different meanings (Hoeve et al., 2009). Thus, behavioral control and psychological control in parenting are considered two distinct forms of parental control (Barber, 1996). The former refers to the specific strategies employed by responsible adult figures to supervise, manage, or regulate behavior during childhood and adolescence, such as monitoring activities and whereabouts, as well as establishing rules and restrictions to guide actions. In contrast, psychological control focuses on implicitly manipulating

the behavior of those under their care by regulating their emotions, thoughts, and feelings, using tactics such as personal attacks, inducing guilt, asserting authority, and withdrawing affection.

From a theoretical perspective, relationships between parental control practices and aggression are suggested. These relationships have been explained by social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and coercion theory (Reid et al., 2002), which propose that parental figures model aggressive behavior in children and adolescents when they use various control strategies such as coercion, punishment, or manipulation. The relationships between parental control and aggression have also been linked to attachment theory, suggesting that insensitive and rejecting behavior by adult figures foster insecure attachment. This insecurity may lead to perceiving others as unreliable and hostile, potentially triggering aggressive behavior in social relationships (Michiels et al., 2008). This view aligns with social processing theory, which attributes aggression to the inappropriate attribution of hostile intentions in social situations, leading to aggression as a response (Crick & Dodge, 1996).

On the other hand, according to self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), aggression may arise when the need for autonomy in childhood and adolescence is unmet by overly controlling adult figures. In such cases, aggression may occur as a protest against the frustration of being unable to satisfy needs, desires, and motivations (frustration-aggression theory; Breuer & Elson, 2017).

However, from an empirical perspective, the results of studies evaluating the relationship between parental control and aggression in childhood and adolescence have not always been consistent. In the case of behavioral control, a large body of studies concludes that appropriate levels of this type of control (neither too low nor too excessive) are positively associated with self-control and social adaptation in childhood (e.g., Zhang et al., 2022). While it is true that behavioral control exercised by responsible adult figures involves the presence of rules and requirements, it is also true that effective control often entails the imposition of consequences, which can vary greatly and encompass a wide range of parental behavior in response to noncompliance with agreed-upon rules and limits. In this regard, research has shown that certain disciplinary techniques, such as the withdrawal of privileges or inductive reasoning, promote appropriate child behavior and prevent misconduct. Conversely, other techniques, such as coercion or physical punishment, are considered counterproductive because they induce aggression, feelings of hostility, and rejection. Baumrind (2012) asserts that parental behavioral control, while it can sometimes be a form of positive parenting as many authors have suggested, can also have negative consequences when coercive strategies or punishment are used as methods of power assertion.

On the other hand, regarding parental psychological control, studies have linked it to physical aggression in childhood and adolescence (Chen et al., 2020), relational aggression (Blossom et al., 2016), reactive aggression (Fite et al., 2021), and proactive aggression (Rathert et al., 2011). It has also been shown that this type of parental control increases the likelihood of children and adolescents engaging in bullying behavior (Yu et al., 2019). However, these studies are fewer in number, and their results have also shown some inconsistency (Kuppens et al., 2009).

In addition to primary studies, some review papers have explored the relationship between parental control and aggression in childhood and adolescence. For example, Rothbaum and Weisz (1994) conducted a quantitative and general analysis of the associations between parental behavior and externalizing behavior in children. Among their conclusions, they reported a positive relationship between coercive and punitive strategies used by responsible adults and these types of behavior in their children. Other meta-analytic studies have associated corporal punishment with high levels of aggression and delinquency (e.g., Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). In the research by Hoeve et al. (2009), they reviewed the associations with delinquency (including aggressive behavior) and concluded a positive relationship with behavioral and psychological parental control, as well as a negative relationship with parental supervision. For his part, Pinquart (2017) identified in his study that the strongest relationships between externalizing behavior and parenting strategies were found for psychological control and physical punishment. Some authors have specifically examined the effects of parental psychological control, concluding that there is a positive association between this type of parenting strategy and general behavioral problems (Yan et al., 2020), particularly with relational aggression (Kuppens et al., 2013).

It is interesting to note that one of the most extensively studied moderators in the relationship between parental control and aggression in childhood and adolescence has been gender, both of the subject and the parent. However, the results of these studies have also been unclear. For example, the meta-analysis by Rothbaum and Weisz (1994) indicated that the impact of parental control on aggression was stronger among girls than boys, while other recent research has found no evidence of the moderating role of adolescent gender (Kuppens et al., 2013; Pinquart, 2017). Similarly, the evidence regarding whether adolescent aggression is more strongly related to maternal or paternal psychological control is also inconsistent (Beliveau et al., 2023).

Lastly, although these review studies have provided valuable conclusions, they have rarely distinguished within the same work the impacts of behavioral and psychological parental control on aggressive behavior in childhood and adolescence (Guo et al., 2023). Therefore, it is considered that an updated review of the literature integrating the effects of both behavioral and psychological parental control on

different types of aggression (overt, relational, proactive, reactive, bullying) could contribute not only to refining the concepts of both types of control but also to clarifying some of the inconsistencies that still remain. From this perspective, such inconsistencies may stem from the fact that both the explanatory theories and the moderators acting in these relationships are specific to the different types of aggression. Furthermore, it is considered that in the later years of childhood and adolescence, on the one hand, the dimensions of parental control may become more differentiated, and on the other hand, aggressive behavior tend to stabilize and become more discriminated not only by form but also by function. This period is also deemed relevant for bullying, making a review focused on this stage more conducive to understanding these relationships.

Objectives of the Present Review

In this context, the main objective of this systematic review is to evaluate the nature of the association between parental control and aggression in children and adolescents aged 8 to 18 years by synthesizing the knowledge published on this topic over the last five years. The aim is to determine whether different types of parental control, behavioral or psychological, constitute risk factors for various categories of aggression in children (overt, relational, proactive, reactive, bullying), taking into account the gender of both the responsible adult figure and the young individual. Additionally, the review seeks to expand the current knowledge base by identifying other potential moderators of this relationship in each case.

To achieve these objectives, a series of research questions were formulated:

1. How are behavioral and psychological parental control currently conceptualized? What measurement instruments are used to evaluate the different subtypes of parental control?
2. What differential relationships exist between the various subtypes of parental control and each specific category of aggression considered? Are these relationships different when the parent is the mother or the father, and for sons and daughters? Can potential moderators of the relationship between parental control and aggression in children be suggested based on the results of the studies analyzed in each case?
3. Can the findings from the analyzed studies suggest the next steps in research on the effects of parental control on aggression in children and adolescents?

METHODOLOGY

The research design involved a systematic review (SR) based on the PRISMA guidelines (Moher et al., 2009; Page et al., 2021). The study was conducted in five phases: (1) Selection criteria for studies; (2) Definition of the search strategy; (3) Data extraction; (4) Bias assessment; and (5) Data synthesis and analysis. The entire process was carried out using the Rayyan tool (Ouzzani et al., 2016), which facilitates data collection and review.

It is important to note that, due to the high heterogeneity observed in the criterion variables, it was decided, following Ruiz-Hernández et al. (2018), to perform a narrative synthesis of the results, as conducting a meta-analysis was not feasible.

Study Selection Criteria

The inclusion criteria for the literature search were as follows: (1) Quantitative studies with a cross-sectional or longitudinal design; (2) The study must include parental psychological control (mother or father) or parental behavioral control (mother or father) as a predictor variable; (3) The study must include child or adolescent aggression as a criterion variable; studies considering externalizing behavior as a criterion variable were also included, as this encompasses aggression among other behavior; (4) Participants must be between the ages of 8 and 18; (5) The study must be written in English or Spanish; (6) The study must have been published in peer-reviewed scientific journals between January 1, 2018, and December 31, 2023; (7) Studies must be published in open-access journals to allow full access to the article.

Search Strategy

In January 2024, a comprehensive literature search was conducted for studies published between 2018 and 2023 across the databases Web of Science, Scopus, SciELO, PsycInfo, Medline, PubMed, ERIC, and PsycArticles. The search strategy used combinations of “AND” and “OR” connectors in titles, abstracts, and keywords. The search terms included both English and Spanish iterations:

In English:

“Parental behavioral control” OR “Parental behavioural control” OR “Parental psychological control” OR “Parenting control dimension” AND “Aggression” OR

“Aggressive behavior” OR “Aggressive behaviour” OR “Bullying” OR “Externalizing behavior” OR “Externalising behavior” AND “Children” OR “Adolescents” OR “Adolescence.”

In Spanish:

“Control comportamental parental” OR “Control conductual parental” OR “Control psicológico parental” AND “Agresión” OR “Comportamiento agresivo” OR “Bullying” OR “Acoso escolar” OR “Comportamiento externalizante” OR “Problemas de comportamiento” AND “Niñ*” OR “Adolescentes” OR “Adolescencia.”

The same search strategy and equations were consistently applied across all selected databases to ensure uniformity. Terms related to parental control, aggression, and externalizing behavior in children and adolescents were included. The combination of terms and connectors “AND” and “OR” was identical across all searches to guarantee comparability of results among the various platforms consulted.

Data Extraction

Data extraction involved three independent reviewers who examined titles, abstracts, and keywords, resolving disagreements by consensus. In a second phase, selected studies were independently reviewed by two evaluators, who discussed discrepancies. If no agreement could be reached, a third evaluator intervened to determine whether the study met the inclusion criteria.

Bias Assessment

Study quality was assessed using a checklist addressing the following questions: Are the research objectives clearly specified?; Was the study designed to achieve these objectives?; Are the techniques used clearly described and their selection justified?; Are the variables adequately measured?; Are the data collection methods adequately described?; Is the purpose of the data analysis clear?; Are the statistical techniques used to analyze the data adequately described and justified?; Are negative results (if any) reported?; Do researchers discuss any issues with the validity/reliability of their findings?; Are all research questions adequately answered?; and How clear are the links between the data interpretation and the conclusions?

Data Synthesis and Analysis

Selected studies were coded into two summary tables based on the study design (longitudinal or cross-sectional). The tables included the following information for each study: Authors, publication date, study location, objective, sample characteristics (gender distribution, retention rate, age range), type of parental control and its denomination, measurement instruments, informants of parental control, criterion variable (externalizing behavior, aggression and its subtype, measurement instruments, and informants), moderator variables, and key findings relevant to this review's objectives. For longitudinal studies, the duration was also recorded.

RESULTS

Figure 1 shows the outcomes of each stage of the review process. Using the described search strategy, a total of 1,080 publications were initially identified. Subsequently, 319 studies were excluded as duplicates. A further 726 studies were eliminated during the review of the remaining works for various reasons, such as sample characteristics, research design, or topics unrelated to the investigation. Of the remaining articles, 35 were retained after applying inclusion and exclusion criteria through the review of titles, keywords, and abstracts. These were subjected to a full critical reading, resulting in the exclusion of seven studies. Table 1 presents the excluded articles and the reasons for their exclusion. The process concluded with the selection of 28 articles included in this analysis.

Figure 1

Selection process (following the PRISMA guidelines; Moher et al., 2009; Page et al., 2021)

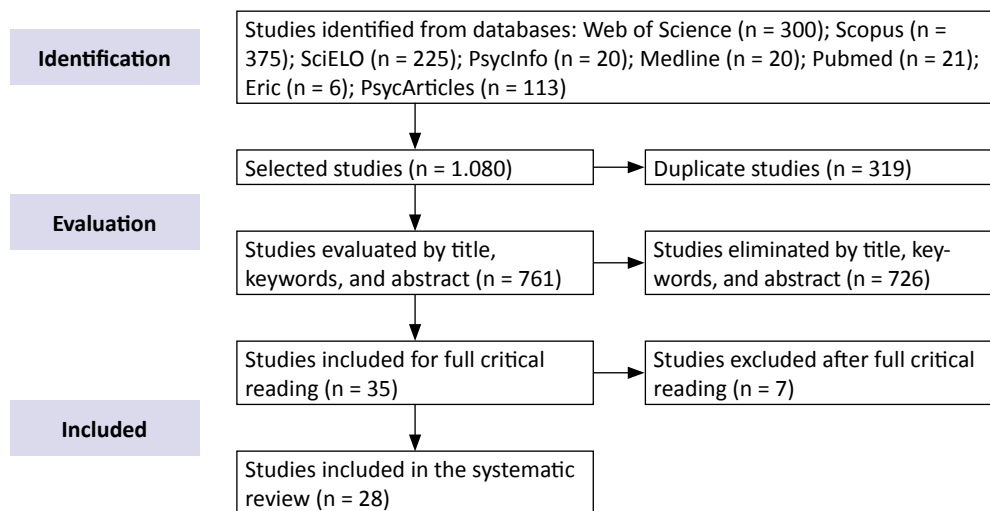


Table 1

Excluded studies

Authors/Date	Reason for Exclusion
1. Calders et al. (2020).	Control was not the predictive variable but appeared in the article as a characteristic of the styles used as predictive variables.
2. Cole et al. (2021).	Psychological control was used as a mediating variable rather than a predictive variable.
3. Del Puerto-Golzarri et al. (2022).	Control was not the predictive variable but appeared in the article as a characteristic of the styles used as predictive variables.
4. Li et al. (2021).	Did not use psychological control as a variable; instead, it studied physical punishment.
5. McClain et al. (2020).	Psychological control was used as a moderating variable rather than a predictive variable.
6. Peets et al. (2022).	In the first year of the longitudinal study, participants were six years old. Although they were 8–9 years old in the final year, most of the study occurred before preadolescence.
7. Yang et al. (2023).	Control was not the predictive variable but appeared in the article as a characteristic of the styles used as predictive variables.

The annexed tables summarize the findings of the longitudinal and cross-sectional studies included in this review. Of the analyzed articles, 16 were longitudinal, encompassing a total sample of 11069 subjects, while 12 were cross-sectional, with a total sample of 13334 subjects. Most studies involved a gender-homogeneous sample. The age range covered 8 to 18 years, representing preadolescence, early adolescence, middle adolescence, and late adolescence. It should be noted that parental behavioral control was measured using different terms, concepts, and evaluation tools. Moreover, in most cases, parental control was examined alongside other predictive variables, and some studies included moderating variables.

It is also worth mentioning that in some studies, the criterion variable was externalizing behavior, which includes aggression and other behavior such as delinquency or rule-breaking, depending on the study. Among studies that considered aggression as the criterion variable, some focused on general aggression, while others examined specific types.

Concept and Measurement of Parental Control

As shown in the annexes, some of the reviewed articles simultaneously analyzed the effects of psychological and behavioral parental control (Di Giunta et al., 2022; Fuentes-Balderrama et al., 2020; Guo et al., 2023; Houtepen et al., 2019; Lansford et al., 2018; Selçuk et al., 2022), with three of them being longitudinal. Of the remaining studies, 14 (Ahemaitijiang et al., 2021; Bai et al., 2020; Basili et al., 2021; Chen & Cheng, 2020; Chen et al., 2020; Huey et al., 2020; Kochanova et al., 2021; Laird & Frazer, 2020; León del Barco et al., 2019; Metro et al., 2019; Safdar & Khan, 2019; Tian et al., 2019; Van Heel et al., 2019; Lin et al., 2022, with eight being longitudinal) focused on the effects of psychological control, and six on behavioral control (Álvarez-García et al., 2019; Rothenberg et al., 2020a; Rothenberg et al., 2020b; Rothenberg et al., 2020c; Yang et al., 2022; Vrolijk et al., 2023), with all but one being longitudinal.

Regarding the concept of parental psychological control, 88.5% of the articles were based on Barber's (1996) definition or on definitions by other authors derived from Barber's concept (e.g., Silk et al., 2003; Soenens et al., 2004). Psychological control was described as a coercive, passive-aggressive, and intrusive type of control characterized by hostility toward adolescents, often manifested through covert strategies such as invalidating feelings, inducing guilt, or creating environments where acceptance depends on the adolescent's behavior. Most measurement tools were scales (or subscales of broader scales) based on Barber's (1996) proposals, either translated, adapted, or developed by the authors themselves. Examples include the Psychological Control Scale – Youth Self-Report (Barber, 1996), the

Parental Psychological Control Questionnaire (PPCQ) (Cheng, 2014), and subscales from the Psychological Control and Autonomy Granting Scale (Silk et al., 2003), among others.

Only one study used an observational measure (also based on Barber's characteristics of psychological control) during a parent-child discussion task in a controlled setting, coded using an adapted Likert scale from the Minnesota Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children (Sroufe et al., 2005). This was the study by Ahemaitijiang et al. (2021), conducted with preadolescents.

There was less consensus regarding the concept of parental behavioral control and the terminology used for this variable. Only a few works (Di Giunta et al., 2022; Guo et al., 2023; Selçuk et al., 2022) referred to Barber's (1996) definition distinguishing it from psychological control. Other authors (e.g., Rothenberg et al., 2020a; Rothenberg et al., 2020b; Rothenberg et al., 2020c) conceptualized it as parental efforts to monitor their children's activities, communicate clear expectations, and redirect behavior.

The authors Lansford et al. (2018) highlight the emphasis on complete obedience from children, distinguishing it from other parental behavior such as monitoring (knowing with whom the child spends time or limiting the teenager's activities). However, Yang et al. (2022) and Kapetanovic et al. (2020) argue that behavioral control includes parents' active attempts to monitor their children (even using the term parental monitoring), soliciting information (referred to as parental solicitation), tracking activities, and controlling adolescent behavior through rule-setting. For Vrolijk et al. (2023), behavioral control is a form of monitoring in which parents require children to keep them informed and ask permission about their unsupervised free time, without necessarily providing further guidance or feedback, thus distinguishing it from solicitation, which they consider a different form of parental monitoring. Similarly, Fuentes-Balderrama et al. (2020) refer to it as imposition, describing parental behavior used to punitively dictate beliefs and behavior to limit or eliminate undesirable behavior, regardless of the child's desires and needs. Meanwhile, Houtepen et al. (2019) argue that parental behavioral control is similar to the control exercised by parents who support autonomy, by setting clear rules for the child's behavior (even using the term support for autonomy). Authors Cui & Lan (2020) define it as a form of harsh parenting discipline, characterized by higher levels of power assertion, also including psychological control.

Furthermore, a variety of instruments are used in the articles to measure behavioral control. The most common has been the parental behavioral control subscale from the Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire-Short Form (Rohner, 2005), both in its versions for parents and adolescents (Di Giunta et al., 2022; Lansford et al., 2018; Rothenberg et al., 2020a; Rothenberg et al.,

2020b; Rothenberg et al., 2020c). In contrast, Vrolijk et al. (2023) and Kapetanovic et al. (2020) used the Dutch version of the scale developed by Stattin and Kerr (2000), in versions for adolescents and/or parents; Fuentes-Balderrama et al. (2020) used a shortened version of the Parental Practices Scale by Andrade and Betancourt (2008), for parents. Only Houtepen et al. (2019) used another subscale from the same scale (Leuven Adolescent Perceived Parenting Scale (LAPPS), Soenens et al., 2004) used to measure psychological control. Guo et al. (2023) employed the Parental Control Questionnaire developed by Wang et al. (2007; to measure behavioral control, the subscales of parental solicitation, and parental restriction), an instrument completed by adolescents. The Dimensions of Parenting Style Questionnaire (Álvarez-García et al., 2016; an adaptation of the scale developed by Oliva et al., 2007) was completed by adolescents in the study by Álvarez-García et al. (2019). Finally, in the research by Selçuk et al. (2022), the Parental Solicitation and Parental Rules Scales (Kerr & Stattin, 2000) were used, completed by mothers and adolescents.

Effects of Parental Control on Adolescent Aggression and Moderating Variables

A key objective of this work was to investigate the effects of both forms of parental control on externalizing behavior, and more specifically, on aggression in preadolescents and adolescents. As shown in the tables in the annexes and in Table 2, from the articles reviewed, 46.4% used externalizing behavior as the criterion variable. Among these studies, nine analyzed psychological control as a predictor variable (Bai et al., 2020; Basili et al., 2021; Fuentes-Balderrama et al., 2020; Kochanova et al., 2021; Laird and Frazer, 2020; Lansford et al., 2018; León del Barco et al., 2019; Selçuk et al., 2022; Van Heel et al., 2019), and eight (Álvarez-García et al., 2019; Fuentes-Balderrama et al., 2020; Kapetanovic et al., 2020; Lansford et al., 2018; Rothenberg et al., 2020a; Selçuk et al., 2022; Vrolijk et al., 2023) studied the effects of parental behavioral control.

Table 2
Articles Reviewed Based on the Predictor and Criterion Variables

	Externalizing Behavior	Aggression
Psychological Control	(1) Lansford et al. (2018)* (6) Laird y Frazer (2020) (11) Basili et al. (2021) (19) León del Barco et al. (2019) (22) Bai et al. (2020) (25) Fuentes-Balderrama et al. (2020)* (28) Selçuk et al. (2022)*	(2) Meter et al. (2019) (3) Van Heel et al. (2019) (4) Chen et al. (2020) (5) Huey et al. (2020) (10) Ahemaitjiang et al. (2021) (12) Di Giunta et al. (2022)* (13) Lin et al. (2022) (16) Guo et al. (2024)* (18) Houtepen et al. (2019)* (20) Safdar y Khan (2019) (21) Tian et al. (2019) (24) Chen & Cheng (2020) (27) Kochanova et al. (2021)*
Behavioral Control	(1) Lansford et al. (2018)* (7) Rothenberg et al. (2020a) (8) Rothenberg et al. (2020b) (15) Vrolijk et al. (2023) (17) Álvarez-García et al. (2019) (25) Fuentes-Balderrama et al. (2020)* (26) Kapetanovic et al. (2020) (28) Selçuk et al. (2022)*	(9) Rothenberg et al. (2020c) (12) Di Giunta et al. (2022)* (14) Yang et al. (2022) (16) Guo et al. (2024)* (18) Houtepen et al. (2019)* (23) Cui y Lan (2020)*

Note. Articles marked with an asterisk (*) are those that studied both parental psychological control and behavioral control as predictor variables, so they appear in both rows.

The results of the reviewed studies consistently showed that parental psychological control was related to higher levels of externalizing behavior in their children. However, this effect was moderated by different variables; for instance, some authors found this relationship only when the externalizing behavior was reported by the parents (Lansford et al., 2018), while others found it only in the case of maternal psychological control, but not paternal (Basili et al., 2021). Regarding gender as a moderator, some authors did not find this moderating effect (Basili et al., 2021; Guo et al., 2023; Van Heel et al., 2019), while others found the effect to be stronger in boys (León del Barco et al., 2019). Other variables analyzed as moderators, but which did not show this conditional effect, were cultural normativity regarding psychological control as parental behavior and parents' beliefs about the effects of such behavior (Lansford et al., 2018), the country of origin and the adolescent's age (León del Barco et al., 2019), self-control (Bai et al., 2020), as well as warmth and legitimacy (Selçuk et al., 2022). Surprisingly, one study (Fuentes-Balderrama

et al., 2020) found that psychological control, but only in the case of fathers, had a negative effect on adolescents' externalizing behavior.

As for the relationship between parental behavioral control and externalizing behavior in children, the results of the studies were less consistent. Some of them did not find significant effects (Fuentes-Balderrama et al., 2020; Lansford et al., 2018; Rothenberg et al., 2020b; Vrolijk et al., 2023). Selçuk et al. (2022) observed a negative association between behavioral control and externalizing problems. Others found significant effects, although depending on certain moderating variables; for example, only in some countries or cultural groups such as Jordan, Sweden, and Thailand (Rothenberg et al., 2020a), or in cultures where parental behavioral control was less normative, and the effects were measured in the same year (Rothenberg et al., 2020b). Neither the parents' gender (Fuentes-Balderrama et al., 2020; Rothenberg et al., 2020b; Vrolijk et al., 2023), nor the informant of parental behavioral control (Vrolijk et al., 2023), nor maternal warmth or adolescents' beliefs about the legitimacy of parental control (Selçuk et al., 2022) were found to moderate the relationship between parental behavioral control and externalizing behavior in preadolescents and adolescents.

The 53.6% of the studies reviewed considered aggression in general as a criterion variable (Ahemaitijiang et al., 2021; Cui & Lan, 2020; Di Giunta et al., 2022; Houtepen et al., 2019; Huey et al., 2020; Lin et al., 2022; Rothenberg et al., 2020c; Tian et al., 2019; Van Heel et al., 2019; Yang et al., 2022), or open aggression (Chen et al., 2020; Safdar & Khan, 2019), relational aggression (Chen & Cheng, 2020; Meter et al., 2019; Safdar & Khan, 2019), reactive aggression (Guo et al., 2023; Kochanova et al., 2021; Safdar & Khan, 2019), or proactive aggression (Guo et al., 2023; Kochanova et al., 2021; Safdar & Khan, 2019) specifically. Among these studies, thirteen analyzed psychological control as a predictor variable (Ahemaitijiang et al., 2021; Chen et al., 2020; Chen & Cheng, 2020; Di Giunta et al., 2022; Guo et al., 2023; Houtepen et al., 2019; Huey et al., 2020; Kochanova et al., 2021; Lin et al., 2022; Metro et al., 2019; Safdar & Khan, 2019; Tian et al., 2019; Van Heel et al., 2019) and six studied the effects of parental behavioral control (Cui & Lan, 2020; Di Giunta et al., 2022; Guo et al., 2023; Houtepen et al., 2019; Rothenberg et al., 2020c; Yang et al., 2022).

The results from the reviewed studies showed a positive relationship between psychological control and general aggression in children (Ahemaitijiang et al., 2021; Cui & Lan, 2020; Houtepen et al., 2019; Huey et al., 2020; Lin et al., 2022); in one of these studies, this relationship was moderated by physiological synchrony in the parent-child relationship (Ahemaitijiang et al., 2021), and this effect was only observed when the synchrony was stronger. In another study, the relationship was not confirmed through a regression that included gender and subject effort control as moderators (Huey et al., 2020), and these moderators were not significant. The

gender of the subject and the parent did not show significant moderators in the same study. However, in the research by Cui & Lan (2020), moderating effects of gender and adolescent determination profile (perseverance and consistency) were observed, such that both paternal and maternal harshness increased aggressive behavior in boys with Profile 1 (low perseverance and consistency) and Profile 3 (high perseverance and consistency). Similarly, Lin et al. (2022) found a moderating effect of adolescent self-esteem in the relationships between psychological control and aggression, specifically for adolescents with low self-esteem, where parental psychological control predicted peer deviance and increased aggression. When the effect of parental psychological control on relational aggression was studied, one of the studies did not find a significant association (Meter et al., 2019), while the other found a significant relationship mediated by children's normative beliefs about relational aggression, with this indirect effect being evident only for girls (Chen & Cheng, 2020). In the latter study, the parent's gender was not shown to be a moderator. Among the articles that analyzed the relationship between psychological control and other types of aggression, Chen et al. (2020) observed an indirect effect on physical aggression through impulsivity, and Guo et al. (2023) found an effect on reactive aggression.

On the other hand, only five studies analyzed the effects of parental behavioral control on aggression in preadolescents and adolescents (Di Giunta et al., 2022; Guo et al., 2023; Houtepen et al., 2019; Rothenberg et al., 2020c; Yang et al., 2022). One of them showed that higher parental behavioral control at age 9 predicted higher aggressive behavior at age 10, and this effect was not moderated by culture. Conversely, another study found a negative transactional dyadic relationship between maternal behavioral control and child aggression from ages 11 to 15; however, the relationship between paternal control and adolescent aggression was also negative but unidirectional (adolescent aggression did not predict subsequent paternal control). In this study, the subject's gender did not have a moderating effect. A third study showed no relationship between parental behavioral control and child aggression. Meanwhile, Di Giunta et al. (2022) observed that paternal control was negatively associated with young people's self-efficacy beliefs in managing anger, which in turn was associated with lower aggressive behavior in the youth. Lastly, Guo et al. (2023) showed that parental behavioral control positively predicted reactive aggression and proactive aggression in 7th-grade students, with no gender differences.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Theoretical and empirical evidence regarding the effects of parenting on children has almost invariably specified two fundamental components of

parenting: support, referring to the affectionate or protective behavior of parents, and control, referring to parental behavior related to regulation and discipline, which can be exercised with varying degrees of sensitivity. While there is broad agreement on the benefits of the first of these dimensions for children, the effects of control have been more controversial. In an attempt to bring more precision to the research on the effects of control, Barber (1996) differentiated between psychological control and behavioral control. The aim of this systematic review was to synthesize the findings from the past five years on the effects of these two dimensions of control on externalizing behavior, specifically aggression in preadolescents and adolescents.

Concept and Measurement of Parental Control

Regarding the conceptualization and measurement of psychological and behavioral parental control, the reviewed articles suggest greater consensus on psychological control than on behavioral control. From this perspective, the distinction between behavioral and psychological control by parents remains promising for resolving part of the complexity that still exists in understanding parental control and its associations with children's aggression. Additionally, it is evident that the terms "psychological control" and "behavioral control" are appropriate because they allow for an understanding of the distinction between parental control of children's psychological world and parental control of adolescent behavior, thus capturing the original differentiation proposed by Schaefer (1965a; 1965b) and Barber (1996). However, following the review, it is necessary to reach greater consensus among authors regarding the concept and measurement of behavioral parental control, as noted by Barber et al. (2005). From this perspective, the need persists to clarify the concept and specify its components (for example, parental knowledge of children's activities and company, monitoring of these activities, rule-setting) and to design, validate, and reach a consensus on measurement tools. Moreover, it is important to consider the form (negotiation, coercion, punishment) and the frequency and intensity of parental efforts to enforce their expectations, as this could help explain the differences in study results concerning the association between behavioral parental control and aggressive behavior in adolescent children.

Effects of Parental Control on Adolescent Aggression and Moderating Variables

Psychological

Parental Control

In the past five years, studies have consistently shown that higher psychological parental control can contribute to the development of externalizing behavior, especially aggressive behavior in children, as evidenced by the results. Furthermore, this effect does not appear to be conditioned by the country of origin, the cultural norms surrounding psychological control in the study context, or the age of the adolescent. The only factors that emerge as potential moderators of this relationship are the informant of externalizing behavior in preadolescents and adolescents, physiological synchrony in the parent-child relationship, the adolescent's self-esteem, and their school connection.

Although the effects of psychological parental control on externalizing behavior in children have been less studied than the effects of behavioral control—because some authors have pointed out that psychological control seems to have more marked effects on the emergence of internalizing rather than externalizing problems (Soenens et al., 2010)—several studies and previous reviews had already found associations between this type of psychological control and adolescent conduct problems or antisocial behavior (Batanova & Loukas, 2014; Hoeve et al., 2009; Pinquart, 2017). These effects have been explained by the fact that adolescents try to achieve greater autonomy and independence and may perceive their parents' attempts at psychological control as intrusive and inappropriate, leading them to escape this situation by engaging in externalizing behavior (Galambos et al., 2003). Previous studies included in this review also found specific relationships between parental psychological control and different types of aggression. For example, Kuppens et al. (2009) observed specific associations between parental physical and psychological control and children's participation in physical and relational aggression, respectively. The effects of psychological control on relational aggression have been explained by the fact that children of psychologically controlling parents learn coercive and aggressive behavior from their parents and later engage in similarly relationally aggressive behavior with their peers (e.g., Kuppens et al., 2013). However, previous work has also demonstrated significant links between psychological control and both forms of aggression among children (Nelson & Crick, 2002; Nelson et al., 2013).

Regarding potential variables that condition the relationship between psychological parental control and adolescent externalizing behavior/aggression, on one hand, the review confirms the idea that this effect appears to be independent of culture and other individual characteristics of adolescents, as noted by Barber

et al. (2005). Special mention should be made of the frequency with which gender, whether of the parent or adolescent, has been studied as a moderator. The authors cited, Barber et al. (2005), conclude that the lack of differences in outcomes with fathers versus mothers, and with male versus female subjects, further emphasizes that the fundamental nature of the relationship between psychological parental control and adolescent externalizing behavior is the intrusiveness experienced by the adolescents. The review indicates that the results from the past five years on the relevance of the parent or adolescent's gender in this relationship are far from clear, being significant in some studies and irrelevant in others. However, when these effects manifest, it appears that, regarding the parent's gender, maternal psychological control tends to have a greater impact than paternal control. In relation to the adolescent's gender, the effect seems more pronounced in males, except in the case of relational aggression, where the impact is greater in females.

Therefore, while the evidence suggests that experiencing psychological control is generally harmful to human development, it is essential to clarify its specific effects on the different components of externalizing behavior and various types of aggression, using varied methodologies. It is also crucial to conduct longitudinal analyses that explore the role of both parent and adolescent gender in large samples, which would allow for a transactional analysis between psychological parental control and adolescent externalizing behavior, either confirming or refuting the effects suggested by this research. Finally, it would be pertinent to investigate other potential moderating variables, such as those identified in this systematic review, such as the informant of adolescent behavior and physiological synchrony in the parent-child relationship.

Parental Behavioral Control

In line with the lesser consensus in the conceptualization and measurement tools of parental behavioral control compared to psychological control, found in this review, the results in the last five years regarding the associations of this type of control with externalizing and/or aggressive behavior in children have been less consistent. Most of these studies found no significant effects. In studies where such effects did appear, they were sometimes positive effects on externalizing behavior, and only in certain cultures such as Jordan, Sweden, or Thailand, sometimes coinciding with cultures where parental behavioral control was less normative (although in the case of effects on aggression, these did not depend on culture), and sometimes negative effects on aggression. Neither the gender of the parents nor that of the adolescents, nor the informant of parental behavioral control conditioned these effects.

In a prior review by González-Cámara et al. (2019), it was concluded that to determine whether parental behavioral control can be beneficial or harmful to children (in terms of externalizing behavior, or more specifically aggression), it is necessary to focus on the concept and tools used to measure this type of control rather than culture or the normative nature of behavioral control within a culture. In fact, as in our review, when behavioral control is understood as monitoring and setting norms, it seems to be consistently beneficial; however, when control includes punishment and coercion, it has harmful effects on children. It is also important to note that some authors have found that the relationship between parental behavioral control, particularly that characterized by punitive behavior, and adolescent aggression is curvilinear, meaning that both low and excessive levels of control have a more positive effect on adolescent aggression (Van Heel et al., 2019).

On the other hand, Barber et al. (2005), understanding behavioral control as monitoring and knowledge of adolescent activities, found a negative relationship with antisocial behavior in children, with a clear differentiation by gender; thus, they showed that mothers' behavioral control, more than fathers', is consistently associated with adolescent antisocial behavior, particularly in the mid-adolescence years. These results have not been confirmed by those found in this review of studies from the past five years. In addition to the differences in conceptualization and instruments, which were already anticipated previously, there may be that, throughout the 21st century, the gap between fathers and everyday family management problems has decreased, and fathers' knowledge of their children's friends and activities has increased, which could have brought the role of behavioral control of fathers and mothers closer.

In any case, it seems clear that, regarding behavioral control, one should begin by attempting to conceptualize this type of control and the tools to measure it. Furthermore, it is necessary to differentiate between the various components (rule-setting, monitoring, punishment, or other types of control) to analyze which of them may be beneficial and which may be harmful to children and clarify the type of relationship, linear or curvilinear, of each component. Once the concept has been agreed upon, it would be necessary to analyze the potential moderating effects of the parent's and adolescent's gender, the latter's age, as well as culture, on the relationship between each component of parental behavioral control and externalizing behavior, specifically aggression in children.

The systematic review of the effects of parental control on aggressive behavior in adolescents has important implications for education, particularly in the school context. The evidence highlights how psychological and behavioral control dynamics in the home can significantly influence students' behavior, affecting their interactions with peers, teachers, and the school environment. Parental psychological control,

by fostering externalizing behavior such as aggression, underscores the need for educational interventions aimed at strengthening students' socioemotional skills and promoting positive communication between families and schools. On the other hand, when behavioral control is exercised consistently and appropriately, it can be a protective factor that encourages rule adherence and the development of prosocial behavior. In this context, schools can play a crucial role in parent training and promoting parenting styles that foster an emotionally healthy environment, thereby contributing to students' well-being and academic success.

Study Limitations

While this review has demonstrated the relevance of parental control, both psychological and behavioral, in the emergence or development of externalizing behavior, particularly aggression, during the preadolescent and adolescent stages, it also presents some limitations. First, the search was limited to a specific time window (2018–2023), two languages (English and Spanish), a few specific keywords, and additional inclusion criteria. Therefore, some relevant studies may not have been considered. However, it is noted that the variety of databases considered ensures a sufficiently broad search. Second, this work was a systematic review, not a meta-analysis as initially planned, which would have required a single criterion variable (a relevant aspect given the scarcity of studies specifying the type of externalizing behavior) and greater homogeneity in measurement instruments. Third, the study considered preadolescence and adolescence as a single age range, as most of the reviewed research was longitudinal, and only one included age as a moderating variable. Therefore, future studies should address this moderating variable, as puberty and the specific physical and psychological characteristics associated with it may play an important role. Finally, it must also be considered that some studies gathered information on parental control from the adolescents' perspective (perceived control) and others from the parents' perspective.

Conclusions and Future Research

This review has highlighted several gaps that future studies could explore to enhance the body of knowledge on this topic. First, the conceptualization and measurement tools of parental behavioral control are unclear, and different authors use the same term to refer to different aspects of control. It is a priority for future research to reach a consensus on the nomenclature, concept, and components of parental control (rule-setting, monitoring, knowledge of activities

and friendships, imposition, punishment, coercion, etc.), as well as on their measurement instruments. Second, many studies consider externalizing behavior as a criterion variable, although it consists of different dimensions that may be affected by different factors in various ways. Therefore, future studies could aim to simultaneously assess, using the same methodology, the specific relationships between psychological and behavioral parental control and the components of externalizing behavior (rule-breaking, aggression, and delinquency), as well as the different subtypes of aggression (overt and relational, proactive and reactive). Third, the various conceptualizations, measurement tools, informants, and methodological designs have not allowed for a clear determination of the relevance of a number of moderating variables such as the gender of the parent and the child, the adolescent's age, and culture-related variables, and the normative nature of control in those cultural groups. This review allows us to hypothesize about these issues, but future well-designed studies must confirm these hypotheses.

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ANNEXES

Table 1
Included Longitudinal Studies

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(1) Lansford et al. (2018); China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States	Study whether the cultural normativity of parental beliefs and behavior moderates the relationships between these parental behavior and child adaptation.	1,298 participants (51% girls); 91% retention rate	8 – 13 years	Psychological and behavioral parental control	Psychological Control and Autonomy Granting (Silk et al., 2003; 3 items); adolescents. Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire-Short Form (Rohner, 2005; 5 items); parents.	Externalizing Behavior	<i>Child Behavior Checklist</i> (CBCI; Achenbach, 1991; 33 items), madres y padres.	Cultural normativity of parental beliefs and behavior	Psychological control predicted externalizing behavior when reported by parents. Cultural normativity did not moderate this relationship. Behavioral parental control showed no significant relationships with externalizing behavior.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(2) Meter et al. (2019); United States	Study (a) whether parental psychological control predicts future social aggression in parents and adolescents, (b) whether parents' social aggression is related to their use of psychological control with their children, (c) whether parents' and adolescents' social aggression is associated with changes in each other's social aggression over time, and (d) changes in psychological control.	174 subjects (52% girls); 67%	15–17 years old at the beginning of the four-year study	Parental psychological control; parental psychological control	Subscales of Guilt Induction (5 items), Love Withdrawal (3 items), and Invalidating Feelings (2 items) from the Parental Psychological Control Scale (Barber, 1996; Nelson et al., 2006); parents	Relational aggression	Adapted version of the Social Behavior Scale (Crick, 1996; 3 items); teacher	No	Parental psychological control did not predict children's relational aggression over time.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(3) Van Heel et al. (2019); Belgium	Examine the transactional and indirect associations between parental control (proactive, punitive, and psychological), personality, and two subtypes of externalizing problem behavior (rule-breaking and aggressive behavior), using a three-wave longitudinal design throughout adolescence.	1,116 subjects (49% girls); 79%	11 – 19 years	Parental psychological control	Parental Regulation Scale (PRS-YSR; Barber, 2002; 12 items); Parental Behavior Scale – Short Form (PBS-S; Van Leeuwen et al., 2013; 4 items); Barber's Psychological Control Scale (Barber, 1996; 8 items); and Verbal Hostility Scale (Nelson & Crick, 2002; 6 items); mothers and fathers.	Externalizing problem behavior (aggression and rule-breaking)	Youth Self Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; "aggressive behavior," 17 items, and "rule-breaking," 14 items); adolescents.	Gender	No mediating effects of adolescent personality were found in the relationships between parental control and externalizing behavior. Similarly, no mediating effects of parental control were observed in the relationships between adolescent personality and externalizing problems. Rule-breaking behavior was positively associated with proactive, punitive, and psychological parental control. Aggressive behavior was also positively associated with proactive, punitive, and psychological parental control.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(4) Chen et al. (2020); Guangdong (China)	Analyze the reciprocal associations between parental psychological control, child impulsivity, and child physical aggression in a one-year longitudinal study.	689 subjects (44,1% girls);	8 – 12 años	Control psicológico parental	Parental Psychological Control (Barber 1996; 8 items); preadolescentes.	Agresión física	Buss-Warren Aggression Questionnaire (BWAQ; Maxwell 2008; 8 items); preadolescentes.	No hay	Se encontró un efecto indirecto longitudinal del control psicológico de los padres sobre la agresión física infantil a través de la impulsividad infantil. Sin embargo, el efecto indirecto inverso a través de la impulsividad no fue evidente.
(5) Huey et al. (2020); Lituania	Study the bidirectional longitudinal effects of parental support and psychological control on adolescents' internalizing and externalizing problems, including self-esteem as a longitudinal mediator and adolescent gender as a moderator of direct and indirect relationships.	917 subjects (51,4% girls)	14 – 17	Parental psychological control	Psychological Control Scale – Youth Self-Report (Barber, 2008; 8 items); preadolescentes.	Buss-Warren Aggression Questionnaire (BWAQ; Maxwell 2008; 8 items); preadolescentes.	None	A longitudinal indirect effect of parental psychological control on child physical aggression through child impulsivity was found. However, the reverse indirect effect through impulsivity was not evident.	En cada intervalo de tiempo, un mayor control psicológico se asoció con aumentos posteriores en agresión, y viceversa. La autoestima no medió estos efectos y tampoco fueron moderados por el género del sujeto o del progenitor.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(6) Laird & Frazer (2020)	Provide evidence of whether negative emotional reactions or psychological reactance mediate the relationships between parental psychological control and subsequent externalizing problem behavior.	242 subjects (50.8% girls); 64% retention rate	14–17 years	Parental psychological control; Psychological control	<i>Psychological Control Scale – Youth Self-Report</i> (Barber, 2000)	Conductas externalizantes; comportamiento antisocial	<i>Problem Behavior Frequency Scale</i> (Farrell et al., 2000; 27 items), adolescentes	No hay	El control psicológico parental (reportado por adolescentes) se asoció positivamente con el comportamiento antisocial en el T1. El control psicológico parental (reportado por padres) se asoció positivamente con el comportamiento antisocial en el T3.
(7) Rothenberg et al. (2020a); Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States	Study the effects of parental warmth and behavioral control on the trajectories of children’s externalizing and internalizing behavior across 12 cultural groups.	1,298 subjects (51% girls; 79% retention rate)	8–14 years	Parental Behavioral Control	<i>Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire–Short Form</i> (Rohner, 2005; 5 items); mothers, fathers, and adolescents.	Externalizing Behavior	<i>Child Behavior Checklist</i> (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991; 33 items), mothers and fathers. <i>Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; 30 items); adolescents</i>	Cultural group	Parental behavioral control was associated with the emergence of externalizing problems in three cultural groups studied (Jordan, Sweden, and Thailand) and persisted after the age of 8 in Jordan and Sweden.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(8) Rothenberg et al. (2020b); China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States	Investigate the bidirectional relationships between parental warmth and behavioral control and children's externalizing and internalizing behavior. Explore whether these associations differed between mothers and fathers and across cultures with varying normative levels of warmth and parental control.	1,315 subjects (51% girls); 93%.	8–13 years	Parental Behavioral Control	Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire-Short Form (Rohner, 2005; 5 items); mothers, fathers, and adolescents.	Externalizing Behavior	Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991; 33 items); mothers and fathers. Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; 30 items); adolescents.	Cultural Normativity of Warmth and Behavioral Control; Parent Gender	No significant effects of parental behavioral control on children's subsequent externalizing behavior were found, nor differences based on the cultural normativity of warmth and behavioral control or between mothers and fathers. However, significant effects were observed for externalizing behavior measured in the same year, particularly in cultural groups where parental control was less normative.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(9) Rothenberg et al. (2020c); China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States	Study the bidirectional relationships between parental warmth and behavioral control and children's aggression and rule-breaking across 12 cultural groups (9 countries).	1,298 subjects (51% girls); 82% retention rate	8 – 13 years	Parental Behavioral Control	Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire-Short Form (Rohner, 2005; 5 items); mothers, fathers, and adolescents.	Aggression	Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991; 20 items), mothers and fathers. Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; 19 items); adolescents	No	The only effect of parental behavioral control on adolescent aggression found was that higher parental behavioral control at age 9 predicted greater aggressive behavior at age 10 across all cultures.
(10) Ahe-maijiang et al. (2021); China	Examine the relationships between parental emotion-related behavior (psychological control and parental emotion dysregulation) and child aggression, as well as the moderating role of physiological synchrony between parents and children in these relationships.	89 subjects (45% girls); 82% retention rate	7 – 12 years	Parental Psychological Control	Observation of parents and children during a discussion task using the Minnesota Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children scale (Sroufe et al., 2005); observers.	Aggression	Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991; 20 items), parents.	Physiological Synchrony in Parent-Child Relationships	For children with stronger physiological synchrony with their parents, parental psychological control positively predicted child aggressive behavior.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(11) Basili et al. (2021); Italy, Colombia and United States.	Analyze the dyadic and cumulative effects of maternal and paternal psychological control on adolescents' antisocial behavior and anxiety-depressive symptoms in three countries.	376 subjects (47% girls, evenly distributed across the sample); 78.5%	13 – 16 years	Parental Psychological Control	Adapted version of the Psychological Control and Autonomy Granting Scale (Silk et al., 2003; 8 items); mothers and fathers	Antisocial Behavior	Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; 11 items); adolescents.	Gender of subject and parent; Country of origin	Significant positive direct associations were found between maternal psychological control, but not paternal, and adolescents' antisocial behavior, regardless of the country of origin. This effect did not vary based on the gender of the adolescent.
(12) Di Giunta et al. (2022); Italy	Investigate whether adolescents' regulation of specific negative emotions and self-efficacy beliefs to manage these emotions mediate the relationship between parental rejection and control and adolescents' aggressive behavior and depressive symptoms.	103 subjects (43% girls); 99%	15,5 - 16,7 years	Parental Psychological and Behavioral Control	The Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire-Short Form (PARQ/Control-SF; Rohner, 2005; 17 items); adolescents	Aggressive Behavior	Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991; 20 items), family; Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; 5 items); adolescents	None	Parental control was negatively associated with adolescents' self-efficacy beliefs for managing anger, which in turn was associated with lower aggressive behavior. Maternal rejection was positively related to aggressive behavior, which was negatively linked to self-efficacy in anger management.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(13) Lin et al. (2022); Guangdong (China)	Examine the role of deviant peer affiliation (DPA) and self-esteem in the association between parental psychological control (PPC) and aggressive behavior.	438 subjects (48.6% girls); 24, 22%	11 – 15 years	Parental Psychological Control	Parental Psychological Control Scale (Yu et al., 2017; Chinese version; 8 items); adolescents	Aggressive Behavior	Buss-Warren Aggression Questionnaire (Maxwell, 2008; 19 items), adolescents.	Self-Esteem	Deviant peer affiliation mediated the relationship between parental psychological control and aggression, and self-esteem moderated the mediation by deviant peer affiliation. Specifically, for adolescents with low self-esteem, parental psychological control predicted deviant peer affiliation, increasing aggression. No indirect effects were observed for adolescents with high self-esteem.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(14) Yang et al. (2022) United States	Examine the longitudinal associations within families between parental monitoring and adolescent aggression, as well as gender differences (of parents and adolescents) in these associations.	977 subjects (52% girls); 78%	11,5 – 15 years	Parental Behavioral Control; Parental Monitoring	5 previously validated items (Lippold et al., 2014); mothers and fathers separately	Aggression	<i>Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991; 17 items measuring verbal and relational aggression); mothers and fathers separately.</i>	Gender of subject and parent	Maternal behavioral control and adolescent aggression showed a transactional dyadic relationship from ages 11 to 15, where adolescents with more controlling mothers showed less aggression, and more aggressive adolescents predicted lower maternal control one year later. However, the relationship between paternal control and adolescent aggression was also negative but unidirectional (adolescent aggression did not predict subsequent paternal control).

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(15) Vrolijk et al. (2023); Netherlands	Examine family-level links between parental monitoring (behavioral control and solicitation) and adolescents' externalizing behavior, controlling for family differences.	497 subjects (43.1% girls); 88%	13 – 18 years	Parental Behavioral Control	Dutch version of the scales (Kerr & Stattin, 2000; Stattin & Kerr, 2000; 5 items); adolescents reporting on mothers and fathers; mothers and fathers	Externalizing Behavior	Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991; 33 items); mothers and fathers Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; 31 items); adolescents	Parent Gender; Autonomy Support; Informant	For variables reported by adolescents, evidence was found only for the effect of externalizing behavior on maternal behavioral control one year later, with no moderating effect of autonomy support. For variables reported by parents, evidence was found only for maternal behavioral control predicting externalizing behavior one year later, with no moderating effect of autonomy support.

Authors, Date, Location	Objective	Sample (Composition), Retention Rate	Age Range	Type, Label of Parental Control	Measurement, Informants of Parental Control	Criterion Variable	Measurement, Informants of Criterion Variable	Moderating Variables	Relevant Results
(16) Guo et al. (2023); China	Examine the developmental characteristics of proactive and reactive aggression and the role of parental control in China.	484 subjects (47.93% girls); 92.3%	T1: 11.66 years	Parental Control (Psychological and Behavioral)	Parental Control Questionnaire (Wang et al., 2007; subscales: psychological control and behavioral control); adolescents	Reactive and Proactive Aggression	Children completed the Reactive-Proactive Aggression Questionnaire (RPQ; Fu et al., 2009; 23 items)	Gender	Both parental psychological and behavioral control positively predicted reactive aggression among 4th and 7th-grade students, while only behavioral parental control positively predicted proactive aggression in 7th-grade students, with no gender differences.

Table 2
Included Cross-Sectional Studies.

Autores, fecha, localización	Objetivo	Muestra (composición)	Rango de edad	Tipo, etiqueta del control parental	Medida, informantes del control parental	Variable criterio	Medida, informantes de la variable criterio	Variables moderadoras	Resultados relevantes
(17) Álvarez-García et al. (2019); Asturias (Spain)	Analyze the effect of family affection-communication and parental behavioral control) (antisocial friendships) on adolescents' antisocial behavior; also analyzing the mediating role of impulsivity and empathy.	3199 subjects (49,2% girls)	11 – 18 years	Parental Behavioral Control, Behavioral Control	Dimensions of Parenting Style Questionnaire (Álvarez-García et al., 2016), adaptation of Oliva et al., 2007); adolescents.	Externalizing Behavior (Antisocial Behavior)	Self-report scale by Álvarez-García et al. (2016, 4 items); adolescents	None	Affection and communication were negatively associated with impulsivity, reducing the likelihood of antisocial behavior. Conversely, behavioral control was positively associated with impulsivity, increasing the likelihood of antisocial behavior.

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(18) Houtepen et al. (2019); Netherlands	Estudiar las asociaciones entre el control del esfuerzo, el control psicológico y el apoyo a la autonomía parentales, y los problemas externalizantes (agresión interpersonal y violación de reglas) e internalizantes (problemas depresivos y de ansiedad).	866 sujetos	11 – 16 años	Control psicológico y control conductual parental; Control psicológico parental y Apoyo a la autonomía	<i>Leuven Adolescent Perceived Parenting Scale</i> (LAPPS; Soenens et al. 2004), <i>Control Psicológico Parental</i> (16 ítems), adolescentes para padres y madres; Apoyo a la autonomía (5 ítems), adolescentes para los padres.	Agresión	<i>Antisocial Behavior Questionnaire</i> (ASBQ), basado en <i>Self-report Delinquency Scale</i> (Moffitt and Silva 1988; 10 ítems).	Género del sujeto, Control del esfuerzo	El control psicológico parental correlacionó positivamente con la agresión interpersonal. Sin embargo, significación no se corroboró en los análisis de regresión ni fue moderado ni por el género del sujeto ni por el control del esfuerzo. No hubo relación significativa del control conductual parental con la agresión, ni fue moderado ni por el género del sujeto ni por el control del esfuerzo.

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(19) León del Barco et al. (2019); Spain	Study the relationships between parental psychological control and mental health (emotional and behavioral disorders).	762 subjects (53.8% girls)	11 – 14 years	Parental Psychological Control	Scale for the Evaluation of Parental Educational Styles of Adolescents (EES-C; Oliva et al., 2007; 8 items); adolescents	Externalizing Behavior	Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Muris et al., 2003; 5 items from the conduct problems subscale and 5 items from the hyperactivity subscale); adolescents.	Adolescent Gender and Age	Adolescents who perceive high levels of parental psychological control are 4.8 times more likely to develop externalizing behavior. A gender effect was detected, with boys who perceive high levels of parental psychological control being more likely to exhibit externalizing problems (62.7%).

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(20) Safdar & Khan (2019); Pakistan	Examine the mediating role of emotional dysregulation in the relationships between parental psychological control and adolescent aggression.	350 subjects (50,3% girls)	13 – 18 years	Parental Psychological Control (Dependency-Oriented and Achievement-Oriented)	Dependency Oriented and Achievement Oriented Psychological Control Scale (DAPCS; Soenens et al, 2010; 20 items; 2 subscales)	Reactive (Overt and Relational) and Proactive (Overt and Relational) Aggression	Peer Conflict Scale (PCS; Marsee & Frick, 2007; 40 items; 4 subscales), adolescents.	None	The results revealed a positive relationship between parental psychological control, emotional dysregulation, and adolescent aggression. Emotional dysregulation significantly mediated the association between psychological control and the forms of aggression.

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(21) Tian et al. (2019); Guangdong (China)	Analyze whether deviant peer affiliation mediates the relationship between parental psychological control and adolescent aggressive behavior, and whether this indirect link is moderated by school connectedness.	4265 subjects (51.7% girls)	9-19 years	Parental Psychological Control	<i>Psychological Control Scale-Youth Self-report (Barber, 1996; 8 items); adolescents</i>	Aggression	<i>Buss-Warren Aggression Questionnaire (BWAQ; Maxwell, 2008; Chinese version by Lin et al., 2018; 19 items); adolescents</i>	School Connectedness	When parents exercise high levels of psychological control, adolescents are more likely to form negative friendships, which in turn could promote more aggressive behavior. This relationship was moderated by school connectedness, with aggressive behavior being higher in adolescents with lower school connectedness than in those with higher levels.

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(22) Bai et al. (2020); China	Clarify how parental psychological control impacts adolescents' externalizing behavior by introducing the mediating and sequential roles of need frustration and self-control. The moderating effect of self-control is also explored.	1118 subjects (55,5 % girls)	12 – 18 years	Parental Psychological Control (Dependency-Oriented and Achievement-Oriented); Parental Psychological Control	Dependency-oriented and Achievement-oriented Psychological Control Scale (Soenens et al. 2010; Dependency-Oriented, 8 items, Achievement-Oriented: 9 items); adolescents about mothers and fathers	Externalizing Behavior	Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman et al. 2010), mothers and fathers separately	Self-control	Parental psychological control was indirectly associated with externalizing behavior through need frustration and self-control in both maternal and paternal models. Additionally, a significant indirect effect was found between need frustration and externalizing problems through self-control in both models.

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(23) Cui & Lan (2020); China	Identify determination profiles in a sample of Chinese adolescents based on two dimensions (perseverance and consistency) and examine whether adolescent gender and determination profiles moderate the association between harsh parental discipline and aggressive behavior.	1156 subjects (46,5% girls)	10 – 13 years	Parental Behavioral Control; Harsh Parental Discipline	Adaptación Chinese adaptation of the Ghent Parental Behavior Scale (GPBS; Van Leeuwen and Vermulst, 2004; 18 items); adolescents about each parent	Aggression	Youth Self-Report (YSR; Achenbach, 1991; 9 items); adolescents	Determination profiles (perseverance and consistency) and gender	The positive association between paternal harshness and aggressive behavior was significant for adolescents with low levels of perseverance and consistency (Profile 1). Additionally, the positive association between maternal harsh discipline and aggressive behavior was significantly stronger for adolescents with high levels of perseverance and consistency (Profile 3). The association between parental harsh discipline and aggressive behavior was not significant for girls, regardless of their perseverance and consistency levels.

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(24) Chen & Cheng (2020) China	Examinar el papel mediador de las creencias normativas de los niños sobre la agresión relacional en la asociación entre el control psicológico parental y la agresión relacional de los hijos, y si este posible efecto indirecto depende del género del hijo.	341 sujetos (48,7% chicas); 88,1%.	11 - 12	Control psicológico parental; Control psicológico parental	Versión china del <i>Parental Psychological Control Questionnaire</i> (PPCQ; Cheng, 2014; 8 ítems); adolescentes para el padre y la madre por separado.	Agresión relacional	Nominación por pares (Cheng, 2014; 4 ítems); adolescentes de todos los compañeros de clase	Género del sujeto y del progenitor	El efecto del control psicológico paternal y maternal en la agresión relacional de los niños fue mediado por las creencias normativas de los niños sobre la agresión relacional. Solo en el caso del control psicológico paternal este efecto indirecto fue moderado por el género del sujeto, de forma que solo fue evidente para las niñas.
(25) Fuentes-Balderrama et al. (2020); México	Identify the association of inconsistent discipline, parental psychological control, and parental imposition with the development of behavioral problems (externalizing and internalizing) in preadolescents.	306 subjects (48.8% girls)	Average age: 10 years (SD = 0.92)	Parental Psychological Control; Parental Behavioral Control; Parental Imposition	Reduced version of the Parental Practices Scale by Andrade & Betancourt (2008; 3 items for psychological control subscale and 3 items for parental imposition); mothers and fathers	Externalizing Behavior	Spanish translation (Rivera Gutiérrez, 2013) of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman et al., 2000); adolescents	Parent Gender	While neither paternal nor maternal imposition had effects on externalizing behavior, psychological control—only in the case of fathers—showed a negative effect (surprisingly, for the authors) on adolescents' externalizing behavior.

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(26) Kapetanovic et al. (2020); China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, USA	Examine the reciprocal associations between parent-driven communication efforts (parental solicitation and behavioral control) and adolescent-driven efforts (adolescent disclosure and secrecy) and adolescents' psychological problems (internalization and externalization).	1087 subjects (50% girls); 91,7%	13 – 15 years	Parental Behavioral Control; Patterns of Parental Communication (Solicitation and Behavioral Control)	Youth Knowledge, Disclosure, Control, and Solicitation Scale (Stattin and Kerr 2000)	Externalizing Behavior	Youth Self Report Form of the Adolescent Behavior Checklist (Achenbach, 1991; 30 items); adolescents.	Adolescent Gender	Parental solicitation and behavioral control did not predict adolescents' externalizing problems in any culture after accounting for previous levels of externalizing problems and adolescents' communication efforts.

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(27) Kochanova et al. (2021); USA	Explore whether the associations between parental stress and adolescents' reactive and proactive aggression are mediated by psychological control, acceptance, and lax control.	282 subjects (49,3% girls)	12 – 17 years	Parental Psychological Control; Maternal Psychological Control	Parent Report of Parent Behavior Inventory (PRPI); Mar- golles & Weintraub, 1977; Schaefer, 1965b; 56 items	Proactive and Reactive Aggression	Child and Adolescent Behavior Inventory (CABI; Burns et al., 2015; 8 items, ODD scale), mothers; Proactive and Reactive Aggression Measure (PRAM; Dodge & Coie, 1987; 6 items); mothers	None	Parental stress was negatively associated with both proactive and reactive aggression. Psychological control mediated the relationship between parental stress and reactive aggression but not proactive aggression. Lax control mediated the link between parental stress and proactive aggression but did not mediate the link with reactive aggression. Acceptance mediated the associations between parental stress and both proactive and reactive aggression.

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(28) Selçuk et al. (2022); Turkey	Examine a model of relationships between parental control, adolescents' interpretations of specific control practices, and adolescents' adaptation problems, as well as the moderating roles of maternal warmth and perceived legitimacy of control practices in these relationships.	689 adolescents (7th, 8th, and 9th grade)	13,95 years	Parental Psychological and Behavioral Control; Psychological and Behavioral Control	<i>Psychological Control Scale— Youth Self-Report (PCS-YSR; Barber, 1996; 8 items), adolescents and mothers; adaptation of Parental Solicitation and Parental Rules Scales (Kerr & Stattin, 2000; 5 items), adolescents and mothers</i>	Externalizing Behavior	<i>Youth Self Report/ 11-18 (Achenbach, 1991; 18 items), adolescents; Child Behavior Check List/6-18-CBCL (Achenbach, 1991; 18 items), mothers.</i>	Maternal Warmth and Adolescents' Perceptions of Parental Control Legitimacy	The findings indicated that, regardless of the informant, higher psychological control was associated with more negative interpretations of parental psychological control, which in turn was related to greater externalizing problems. Conversely, higher behavioral control was associated with less negative interpretations of behavioral control, which in turn was linked to fewer externalizing problems. Adolescents' perceived maternal warmth moderated the relationship between perceived psychological control and interpretations of psychological control.