



High Achieving Schools Survey: Parent-Child Relationships During COVID

June 2021

Parent-Child Relationships During COVID

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In this paper, we report on aspects of family functioning most likely to be linked with vulnerability versus resilience in adolescents' mental health. The sample consists of **4,182 middle and high school students from 10 independent and public schools** with considerable diversity; one third of students were racial/ethnic minorities, and between 16-47% received financial aid or tuition assistance. Considering multiple aspects of parenting known to be affected by life stress, findings showed that two were most strongly related to students' depression and anxiety: **students' feelings that they were criticized by their parents, and perceptions of their parents as being stressed or troubled**. In relation to rule-breaking behaviors and substance use, strong, unique links were found for **perceptions of parents as bothersome or hovering, lack of parental consequences for substance use, and in some instances, perceptions of parental neglect**. When these aspects of parenting were considered, there were no significant links for the positive dimension of parental warmth or unconditional acceptance. Additionally, no links were found for a parenting dimension commonly discussed in the contemporary media— that is, parents' overprotectiveness (i.e., excessively shielding the child from failure or adversity).

Additional analyses were conducted to determine which subgroups of children might be most vulnerable on mental health symptoms, as well as on the five parenting dimensions listed above. Notably **higher vulnerability** was found for **gender non-binary students** versus males and females, and among **high school** versus middle school students. Overall, findings provide directions for preventive interventions as COVID-related stressors continue, with particular attention to the five aspects of parenting behaviors noted above, and the subgroups of students identified as especially vulnerable.

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PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS DURING COVID

In this report, we describe findings on parent-child relationships in relation to student mental health during COVID. This report is the second in a five-part series. Part 1 describes theory and methods, and presents symptom rates within different student subgroups ([Introduction](#)). Each of the next four parts focuses, in turn, on a specific aspect of student life that has essential implications for their mental health and well-being; the aspects are **Parent Relationships**, **Peer Relationships**, **School Climate**, and **Individual Student Attributes**.

FAMILY WELL-BEING DURING COVID

Evidence from developmental science has shown that **resilience among children and adolescents depends on the well-being of their adult caregivers**— a group including parental figures and also educators (see Luthar et al., 2015; Luthar & Eisenberg, 2017; NASEM, 2019). In parallel, just as children’s resilience rests on the quality of their relationships with close adults, these caregivers’ well-being is also maximized when they have positive, supportive relationships, at work and at home.

Events of the past year have intensified difficulties in parent and caregiver well-being. National surveys have reported **higher rates of parental stress, anxiety, depression, and alcohol consumption since the beginning of the COVID pandemic** (APA, 2020; Patrick et al., 2020; Grossman et al., 2020). In a June 2020 survey, **27% of parents reported worsening mental health for themselves since the start of the pandemic, and 14% reported worsening behavioral health for their children** (Patrick et al., 2020). Parents in distress are more likely to experience difficulties across diverse parenting behaviors, such as increased distance from or irritability with children (Goodman & Garber, 2017; NASEM, 2019; Phelps & Sperry, 2020).

As COVID forces families to spend more time together with fewer supports and added strains, the **increased stress and anxiety may make overwhelmed caregivers more likely to resort to negative, impulsive, or otherwise harmful parenting behaviors** (Cuartas, 2020). Additionally, as students and their families navigate the disruptions and uncertainty surrounding academic coursework, school schedules, extracurricular activities, and college admissions, there is heightened risk of difficulties in parent-child relationships. Therefore, in this report, **we focus on several aspects of parent-child relationships, with the aim of identifying those most strongly linked with students’ mental health** through the challenges that have resulted from COVID.

THE FALL 2020 HIGH ACHIEVING SCHOOLS SURVEY

The **High Achieving Students Survey (HASS)** is a comprehensive mixed-methods survey with both quantitative and open-ended questions, designed to be completed online by students in a single class period (approximately 30-45 minutes). During the Fall semester of the 2020-2021 school year, **Authentic Connections (AC)** partnered with 10 independent and public schools across the country to administer the **HASS** to 4,182 middle and high school students (for more details about the sample, see [Authentic Connections, June 2021](#)). The **HASS** is AC's most in-depth survey; an additional 4,954 students in 15 schools completed the abbreviated **Student Resilience Survey (SRS)** in Fall 2020.

MEASURES

Student Symptoms

The **HASS** measured four components of student mental health and well-being: **Depression**, **Anxiety**, **Rule Breaking** (i.e., behaviors such as cheating and stealing), and **Substance Use**. For each component, five questions asked students to report how frequently they experienced the symptom in question on a 5-point scale Likert-scale (0 = never, 4 = very often). The items were taken from the **Well-Being Index**, a psychometrically-validated measure of adolescent mental health symptoms (Luthar et al., 2020).

Parent Predictors

The **HASS** assessed two broad components of parent-child relationships: **Parental Affect** and **Parental Limit-Setting**.

As shown in Table 2, **Parental Affect** consists of multiple constructs, including students' perceptions of parents' distress levels— **Low Parent Mood**— and, within the parent-child relationship, levels of perceived parental **Warmth**, **Criticism/Perfectionism**, **Unkindness**, **Neglect**, and **Emotional Distance**. Components of **Parental Limit-Setting** included students' perceptions of parents' **Invasiveness**, **Overprotectiveness**, **Excessive Hovering**, **Stress About Grades**, and **Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol**.

Table 2 presents examples of items for each construct (all were rated on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 = strongly disagree/not at all, 5 = strongly agree/very much).

Table 2. Parenting Dimensions, Component Constructs, and Sample Items

Component	Construct	Sample Item
Parental Affect	Low Mood	My parent(s)/guardian(s) seem sad, blue, or depressed.
	Warmth	My parent(s)/guardian(s) make me feel seen and loved for who I am.
	Criticism/Perfectionism	My parent(s)/guardian(s) make me feel like I'm a disappointment.
	Unkindness	My parent(s)/guardian(s) make me upset (e.g., speak to me in hurtful ways).
	Neglect	My parent(s)/guardian(s) don't give me much attention.
	Emotional Distance	My parent(s)/guardian(s) become cold or stop speaking to me when they're mad.
Parental Limit-Setting	Invasiveness	My parent(s)/guardian(s) read my online messages without my permission.
	Overprotectiveness	My parent(s)/guardian(s) don't think I can take care of myself without their help.
	Hovering	My parent(s)/guardian(s) annoy or irritate me.
	Stress About Grades	When your parent(s)/guardian(s) talk to you about your grades, how much do you feel the following: Cared about? Upset?
	Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol	How serious would the consequences be from your parent(s)/guardian(s), if they found out that you got drunk?

RESULTS

Top Parent Predictors of Student Symptoms

We conducted multiple regression analyses to identify which of the parenting constructs were most strongly linked to student symptoms. Figure 3 presents the **top parent predictor of student mental health for each symptom**.

	Depression	Anxiety	Rule Breaking	Substance Use
OVERALL	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Male	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Female	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Non-Binary	Excessive Hovering	Stress About Grades	Excessive Hovering	Neglect
White	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Black	Criticism/Perfectionism	Excessive Hovering	Unkindness	Low Consequences
Asian	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Excessive Hovering	Neglect
Hispanic	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Parent Mood
Other Ethnicities	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Unkindness	Emotional Distance
Middle School	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Excessive Hovering	Neglect
High School	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
In-Person Learning	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Hybrid Learning	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Remote Learning	Emotional Distance	Emotional Distance	Excessive Hovering	Low Parent Mood
Day Student	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Boarding Student	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
International Student	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Emotional Distance ^{n.s.}	Neglect
Domestic Student	Criticism/Perfectionism	Low Parent Mood	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences
Receives Financial Aid	Emotional Distance	Low Parent Mood	Emotional Distance	Emotional Distance
No Financial Aid	Criticism/Perfectionism	Criticism/Perfectionism	Excessive Hovering	Low Consequences

Figure 3. Top Parent Predictor of Each Student Symptom¹

As shown in Figure 3, perceived **Parent Criticism/Perfectionism** was the strongest predictor of **Depression** in the overall sample of students and for 16 out of the 19 demographic subgroups examined, indicating that students' perceptions of their parents as being disappointed in them and as having impossibly high standards were linked to higher symptoms of **Depression**. Three subgroups stood out from the overall trend: for gender non-binary students, **Excessive Hovering** was the strongest predictor of **Depression**, and for students in remote learning and for those receiving financial aid, **Parent Emotional Distance** was the top predictor of **Depression**.

Low Parent Mood was the top predictor of **Anxiety** in the overall sample, showing that perceptions of parents as distressed were linked to higher levels of student **Anxiety**. Considered by subgroup, perceived **Low Parent Mood** and high **Parent Criticism/Perfectionism** were the two top predictors in 16 of the 19 subgroups. This corroborates prior findings showing that children become anxious when they feel they are not worthy or "good enough" in their parents' eyes, and when they view their parents to be themselves stressed or troubled. Again, gender non-binary students and students in remote learning were exceptions; for the former, **Stress About Grades** was the strongest predictor of **Anxiety**, while perceived **Parent Emotional Distance** was the top predictor among students in remote learning. For Black students only, **Excessive Hovering** was the strongest predictor of **Anxiety**.

Excessive Hovering was the top predictor of student **Rule Breaking**, overall and for 15 of the 19 subgroups, suggesting that students' perceptions of parental hovering or nagging were linked to higher levels of behaviors such as lying, cheating, stealing, and violating rules at school and at home. However, for Black students and those in the Other ethnicity/race subgroup, **Parent Unkindness** was the strongest predictor of **Rule Breaking**, and for students receiving financial aid and for international students, **Parent Emotional Distance** was the top predictor of **Rule Breaking**.

Perceived **Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol** was the top predictor of student **Substance Use**, overall and for 11 of the 19 subgroups. The next most frequently observed predictor of **Substance Use** was perceived **Parent Neglect**; this was the case for four subgroups: gender non-binary, Asian, middle school, and international students. Finally, **Low Parent Mood** was the top predictor of **Substance Use** in two cases— among Hispanic students and students in remote learning— and **Parent Emotional Distance** was the top predictor in two others— for students in the Other ethnicity/race subgroup and for students receiving financial aid.

Top Three Parenting Predictors of Student Symptoms

It is important to note that Figure 3 (previously shown on p. 7) presents only the single strongest predictor variable found for each symptom, overall and separately for each subgroup; **these findings do not suggest that the other parenting dimensions assessed but not shown were “not important.”** In fact, almost all of them— with the exception of **Parent Overprotectiveness**— emerged as one of the top three predictors across the different symptoms and subgroups. Our goal, in summarizing findings in Figure 3, was simply to address this question that all parents will likely have at some point: **What is the single most important aspect of my parenting that I should be mindful of, to keep different mental health problems at bay for my child during these difficult times?**

Returning to the issue of the “relevance” of parenting dimensions other than those highlighted above— that is, the **single** predictor with the strongest associations across subgroups— Figure 4 shows the **top three** predictors in relation to each symptom area, separately by gender. The height of the bars represents the relative strength of links between each parent dimension and symptom area (values are standardized regression coefficients).

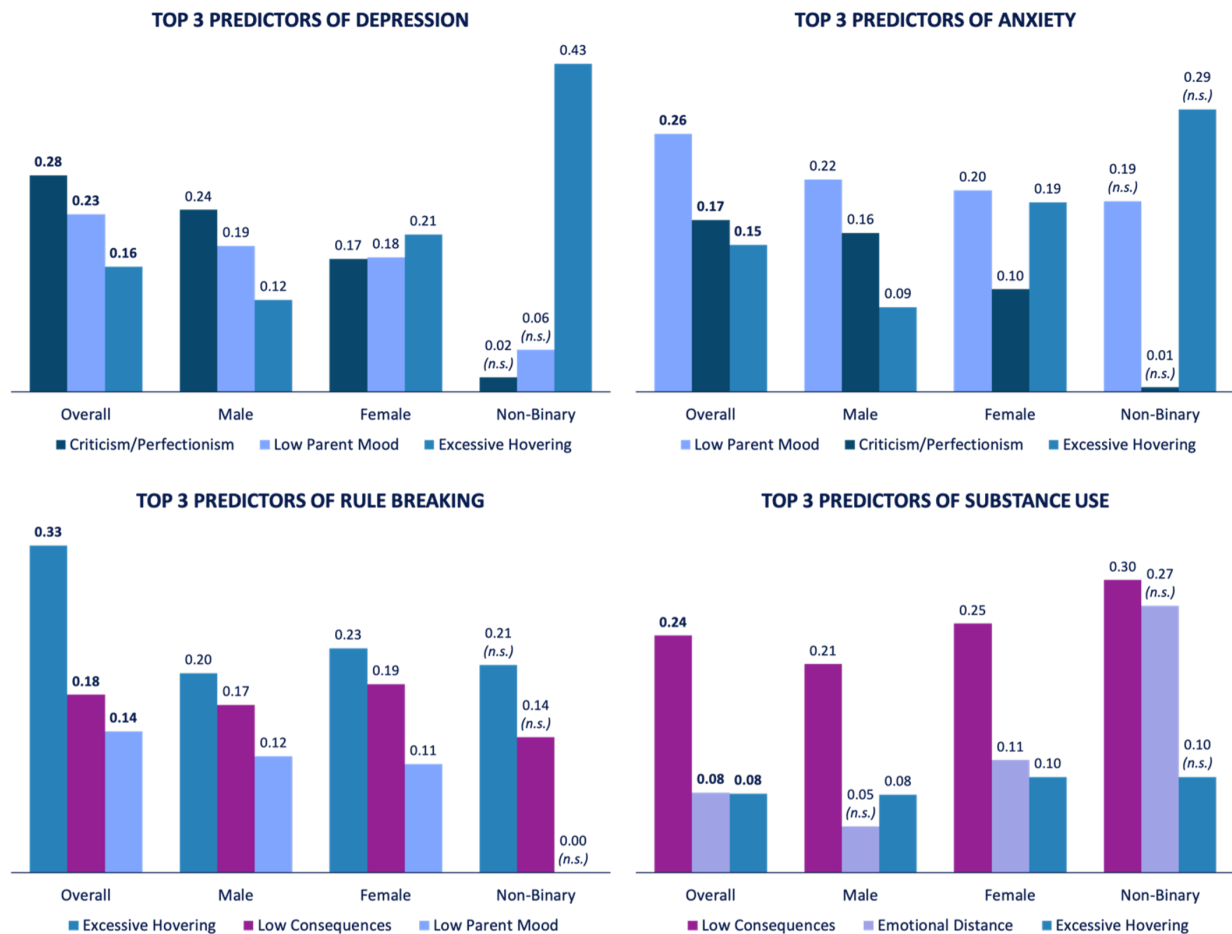


Figure 4. Top 3 Predictors of Symptoms Overall and by Gender: Relative Size of Effects²

As shown in Figure 4, the same parenting dimensions– **Criticism/Perfectionism**, **Low Parent Mood**, **Excessive Hovering**, and **Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol**– were consistently among the top three predictors of the different mental health symptoms, overall, and when split by gender.

Parent Predictor Scores Within Student Subgroups

Figure 5 shows mean scores on the top parent predictor variables identified by the multiple regression analyses across different demographic subgroups. To reiterate, all items were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree/not at all, 5 = strongly agree/very much), and higher scores are linked with worse outcomes.

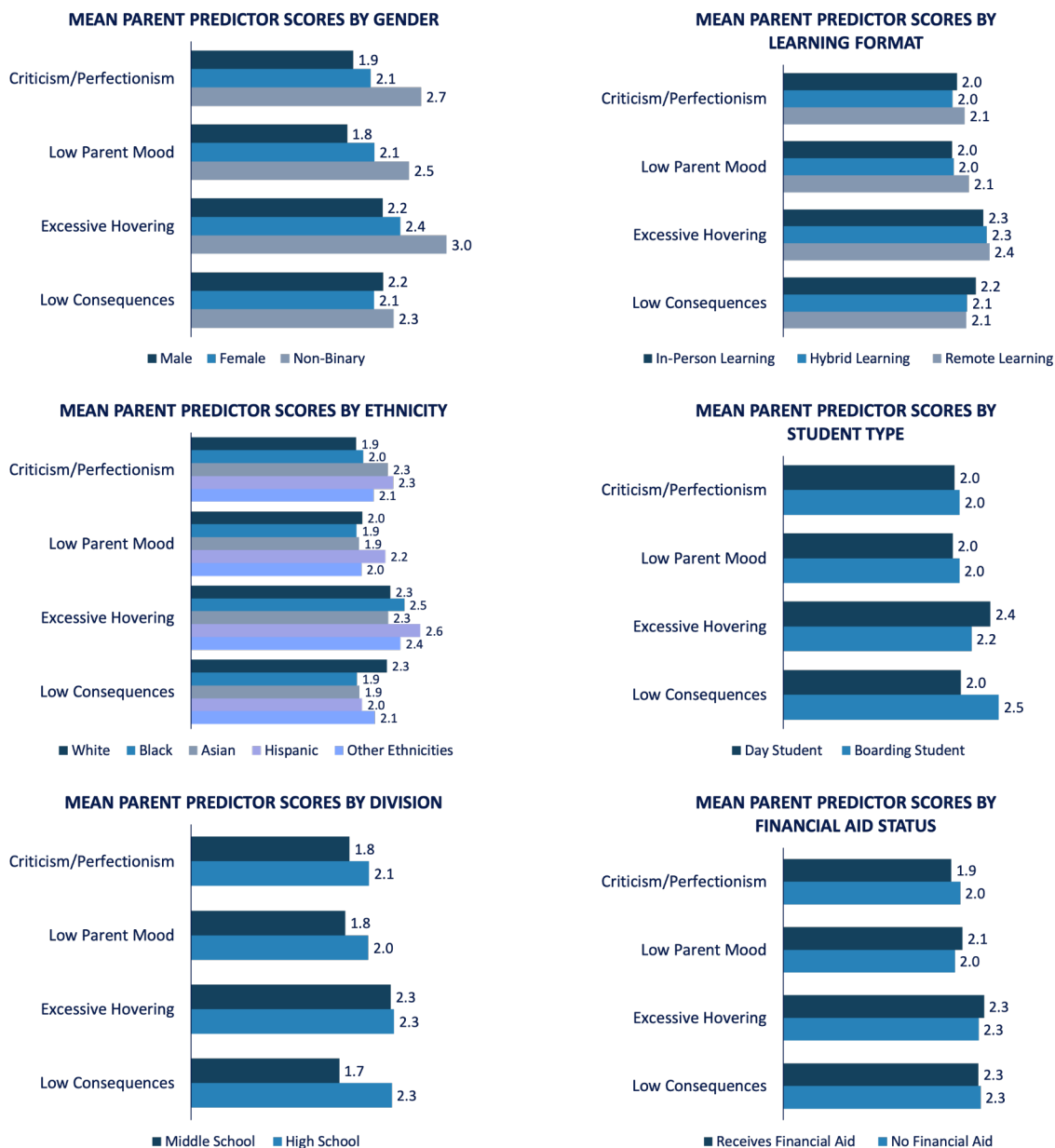


Figure 5. Mean Parent Predictor Scores by Student Characteristics

Comparisons were made to see if there were noteworthy differences by student demographics. Given the large sample size, many of the differences were statistically significant; here, we discuss only those where the magnitude of differences were meaningful in the “real world”— i.e., differences with at least a “small” partial η^2 of .01 and ideally approaching a “medium” value of .06 per Cohen (1969). Additional analyses are presented in the Appendices.

Considered by gender, there were significant differences on all four of the top parent predictors, with **gender non-binary students clearly faring worst**: non-binary students reported the highest levels of *Excessive Hovering*, *Criticism/Perfectionism*, and *Low Parent Mood*³.

Considered by ethnicity/race, there were differences on all four of the top parent predictors⁴. **Hispanic students had the highest scores on *Criticism/Perfectionism* and *Excessive Hovering*, and White students fared worst on *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol*** (i.e., they reported lowest parental repercussions for substance use).

Compared to middle school students, **high school students clearly scored worse on *Criticism/Perfectionism*, *Low Parent Mood*, and *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol***; the groups did not differ on *Excessive Hovering*⁵.

Day students reported higher levels of *Excessive Hovering* than boarding students⁶. At the same time, **day students fared better on *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol***, reporting higher levels of parental repercussions for substance use.

There were differences by financial aid status on *Low Parent Mood* and *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol*, with **students receiving financial aid faring slightly worse** in their parental relationships than students who did not receive tuition aid⁷.

Qualitative Responses

Besides the quantitative, rating-scale variables discussed so far, the **HASS** also included open-ended questions designed to capture students' feelings about issues that were top of mind for them. Figure 6 shows the top three most frequently mentioned themes in students' responses to the question, **"These days, what are you most worried about?"**⁸

"These days, what are you most worried about?"

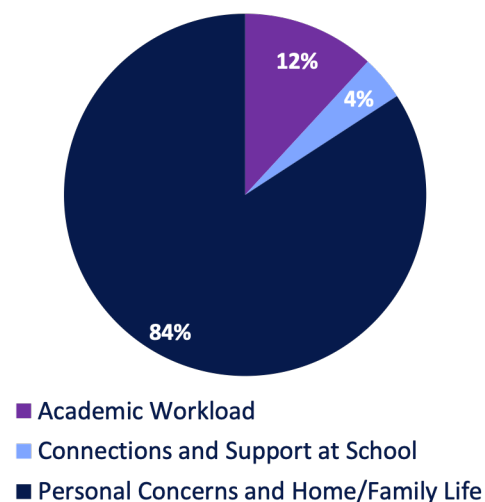


Figure 6. Top 3 Themes for Student Concerns

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our analysis of symptom rates among 4,182 students surveyed between September and December of 2020 revealed several important patterns regarding the role of parents in students' resilience during COVID. We summarize findings on the two major questions addressed, and then provide related recommendations for schools.

Which specific aspects of family functioning truly “matter” for students' mental health?

Of the eleven parenting dimensions we examined, four consistently emerged as most strongly linked with student symptoms. First, **high levels of Parent Criticism/Perfectionism**—i.e., students' perceptions that their parents are difficult to please and easy to disappoint—was the top predictor of **Depression**. It also showed strong links with students' **Anxiety** in several subgroups. In addition, this theme came up frequently in students' responses to the open-ended question about what was most concerning to them. As presented in Table 3, **a recurring theme in students' responses was the fear of disappointing or failing their parents**; this could have been about their academic performance or other issues such as their appearance or weight, behavioral challenges, friendships and relationships, or personality traits. Overall, these findings are consistent with the literature showing that **perceptions of ongoing harshness or criticism from parents is among the most destructive of forces affecting children's mental health** (Luthar & Eisenberg, 2017; NASEM, 2019).

Low Parent Mood—i.e., **perceptions that parents were more tired, sad, or irritable than usual**—was the top predictor of students' **Anxiety**. Again, this finding echoes cautions frequently noted in developmental psychology and prevention science: **the well-being of children under stress rests strongly on the well-being of those who take care of them** (NASEM, 2019).

When students perceived **Excessive Hovering** by their parents, they also reported higher levels of **Rule Breaking**. To some degree, these links could be bi-directional, such that children's rule-breaking behaviors *caused* parents to talk to their children about problematic behaviors more often, rather than parental nagging leading to more rule-breaking. Either way, **parents' examination of their ways of monitoring, disciplining, and limit-setting—avoiding what children may see as “over the top”—can only be helpful in breaking this negative cycle** in parent-child interactions.

Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol was strongly linked with student **Substance Use**. These results are consistent with prior findings showing that **this construct is generally the single most important factor linked with high drug and alcohol use during adolescence**. What was surprising here is that **perceptions of parents as neglectful or emotionally distant** actually overrode perceived repercussions in some cases. Typically, the latter cases involved groups in which substance use levels tended to be relatively low, such as Asian students, international students, those learning at home, and those receiving financial aid. Thus, the data show that at least for some subgroups of children—namely those who generally show low frequency of experimenting with substances—**perceptions of parents being relatively distant or uninvolved could be as important as perceived parental repercussions, in relation to their use of drugs and alcohol**.

Interestingly, **parents' overprotectiveness did not emerge as among the most important predictor variables** for any symptom or subgroup. This finding contradicts messages commonly heard in the popular press and media suggesting that the fragility of today's youth is because parents tend to bail children out of any trouble, not allowing them to experience setbacks or failures (as in descriptors such as "helicoptering" or "snowplowing"). That some parents may be overprotective is true, for sure. But in the aggregate, the data clearly show that **overprotectiveness is by no means the "culprit" underlying the high levels of depression, anxiety, rule breaking, or substance use seen among some pre-teens and adolescents**.

Which subgroups are most "at-risk" in terms of family functioning?

In examining levels of parenting predictors within each subgroup, we identified some groups of students who may be particularly at risk. Most notably, the **gender non-binary students** in our sample reported relatively high levels of **Parent Criticism/Perfectionism, Low Parent Mood**, and **Excessive Hovering**. Previously, they had also shown to fare worse than male and female students on all symptoms assessed ([Authentic Connections, June 2021](#)). Collectively, these findings are concerning, as gender non-binary students comprise 3% of the survey sample described in this report (n = 110), and population-level statistics estimate that 1 in every 250 adults in the US—approximately 1 million Americans—identifies as non-binary, with rates even higher among adolescents and younger adults (Meerwijk & Sevelius, 2017).

In terms of developmental level, **high school students fared worse than middle school students** on all symptoms assessed, as was shown in past reports ([Authentic](#)

[Connections, June 2021](#)). Here, they also had higher levels of **Parent Criticism/Perfectionism**, **Low Parent Mood**, and **Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol** compared to middle school students. These findings are not surprising, as children's relationships with parents tend to become more distant and less close as they move from the early teens through the high school years (Ebbert et al., 2019).


Considering ethnic groups, just as they tended to be more vulnerable to depression and anxiety ([Authentic Connections, June 2021](#)), **Hispanic students stood out from others in having somewhat higher Parent Criticism/Perfectionism and Excessive Hovering**. At the same time, **White students** were most vulnerable on **Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol**. Overall, the findings underscore the importance of carefully attending to specific patterns that occur **within each ethnic group**, rather than assuming generalizations across students from different ethnic backgrounds.

Finally, **day students reported higher Excessive Hovering of parents than boarding students**, but the patterns were **reversed for Low Consequences for Drug Use**. Thus, it could be beneficial for parents of day students to ease up a bit in ongoing vigilance of their children, whereas parents of boarding students could perhaps re-think too much leniency in repercussions for their children's substance abuse.

Recommendations for Schools

Taken together, the findings reported here indicate a need for schools to support students by working to promote healthy parent-child relationships. On this front, **the most important issue to address is overly high parental standards**; students who felt criticized and unable to measure up to parents' expectations were highly vulnerable. The message for parents is that given the many disruptions caused by the pandemic, it makes sense that they are anxious about their children's futures. But **if children feel that they are generally a disappointment to their parents, this can be highly detrimental to their mental health, which in turn will impair their ability to learn**.

Parents will also need help in understanding that **when children perceive their parents as troubled, they tend to worry and become more distressed themselves**. The recommendation for this is straightforward: **for parents who are struggling with distress— as many of us have been through the considerable challenges of COVID— it is vital to seek help**. This may take the form of support from close friends or family, and if necessary, from professionals in the form of psychotherapy.



To minimize rule breaking in children, the most important parenting behaviors to watch out for are those the child might see as nagging or hovering. In this regard, it can be helpful for parents to carefully think through “picking their battles,” that is, **to identify the specific issues they feel strongly must be attended to, and those they could let go of**, if necessary. Once these decisions have been made, then it is helpful to talk it over with the child, explain one’s thinking about why this is, agree on repercussions if the concerning behaviors persist, and set limits on both the frequency and tone of these discussions.

With regard to substance use, parents must be helped to understand that **even though adolescents’ use of drugs and alcohol may in fact be relatively common in their communities, this is by no means benign.** It can be helpful to share research findings showing that frequent substance use in high school significantly heightens risk for psychiatric diagnoses of addiction in adulthood (e.g., Luthar, Small, & Ciciolla, 2018). Also, it would be useful to share with parents findings that **feelings of parental neglect can be strongly related to substance use among some subgroups of students, over and above effects of repercussions for drug/alcohol use.** In groups where substance use levels in general tend to be relatively low— e.g., middle versus high school students, international versus US students, Asian students versus others, and gender non-binary youth— it would be useful to discuss risks involved when children feel parents do not pay enough attention to them.

Implications of Overall Results for Different Subgroups of Students

As we reported in our previous white paper on over 13,000 students assessed with the short-form [Student Resilience Survey](#) in Spring 2020, the present findings based on the Fall 2020 in-depth [High Achieving Schools Survey](#) indicate the importance of **heightened attention to some subgroups of students given their greater overall vulnerability. These included gender non-binary students and high school (versus middle school) students.**

With regard to recommended directions for intervention, affinity groups bringing gender non-binary students together in an organized, regular way might be helpful in enhancing feelings of positive well-being. Similarly, it is important to ensure students have at least one supportive adult with whom they might connect, especially if they are struggling with high distress.

Ongoing Innovation and Support

At **AC**, we are committed to creating high-quality tools to help schools measure, track, and improve the well-being and resilience of all members of the learning community. We believe that supporting students also requires supporting the adults they rely on. To that end, we have developed the [Parent Resilience Survey \(PRS\)](#) to assess well-being and resilience among students' parents and guardians. When combined with **AC**'s surveys for students and faculty/staff, the **PRS** allows schools to gather a holistic view of mental health within their own communities.

Conclusion

In future efforts to enhance students' well-being, schools would benefit from helping parents to understand the potentially high importance of specific aspects of relationships with their children. Five messages appear to be important for all groups of parents (i.e., regardless of race/ethnicity, age of child, school type, or learning format): **1) watch out for seeming overly critical, such that your child feels they are a disappointment to you, 2) seek help for your own distress when you experience it, 3) try to avoid behaviors that your child perceives as nagging or irritating, 4) do not take a sanguine or lax attitude to substance use but instead have clear repercussions, and 5) check in with your children to ensure that they are not feeling neglected.** Communication of these messages must be accompanied by all efforts possible to actively support parents as they negotiate the myriad tasks and responsibilities in their parenting roles, especially given that all challenges are still further amplified as a result of the pandemic.

Key Takeaway Messages for All Parents

Watch out for seeming overly critical about your child's grades.

Seek help for distress when you yourself experience it.

Try to avoid behaviors that can be viewed as nagging or irritating.

Have clear and consistent repercussions for substance use.

Check in to ensure your child is not feeling neglected.

NOTES

¹ All regression coefficients (standardized beta weights) are statistically significant ($p < .05$) except where noted with the superscript, ^{n.s.}.

² All beta coefficients are statistically significant ($p < .05$) except where noted in parentheses, (*n.s.*).

³ Gender: *Criticism/Perfectionism* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$), *Low Parent Mood* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$), *Excessive Hovering* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$), and *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol* ($p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .00$).

⁴ Ethnicity/race: *Criticism/Perfectionism* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$), *Low Parent Mood* ($p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .00$), *Excessive Hovering* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$), and *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$).

⁵ Grade level division: *Criticism/Perfectionism* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$), *Low Parent Mood* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$), *Excessive Hovering* (*n.s.*), and *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$).

⁶ Boarding student status: *Criticism/Perfectionism* (*n.s.*), *Low Parent Mood* ($p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .00$), *Excessive Hovering* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$), and *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$).

⁷ Financial aid status: *Criticism/Perfectionism* ($p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .00$), *Low Parent Mood* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$), *Excessive Hovering* ($p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .00$), and *Low Consequences for Drugs/Alcohol* ($p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .01$).

⁸ Two other open-ended questions were asked; however, both were specific to the school environment (i.e., what was going well at school and what most needed improvement) and are not presented here.

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