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PARENTAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTROL AND SUSCEPTIBILITY TO PEER PRESSURE AMONG ADOLESCENTS: THE MEDIATING ROLE OF IDENTITY COMMITMENT

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ABSTRACT

Peer pressure is most significant for adolescents, while the processes in the family that account for why some adolescents are more susceptible to peer pressure than others are still unknown, particularly in the context of Pakistan. In the present study, the relationship between parental psychological control and susceptibility to peer pressure in adolescence and the mediating role of identity commitment were examined. The convenience sampling technique was used to recruit 243 adolescent students between the age of 13–18 years from government and private schools and colleges of Lahore, Punjab after applying the exclusion criteria, it came out to be 243 adolescents (52.7% girls). The participants were asked to fill out the Psychological Control Scale – Youth Self-Report, the commitment subscale of the Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale, and the Peer Pressure Scale. A positive correlation was found between parental psychological control and susceptibility to peer pressure ($r = .41$, $p < .001$) and the negative relationship between parental psychological control and identity commitment ($r = -.48$, $p < .001$). Identity commitment was negatively correlated with susceptibility to peer pressure ($r = -.42$, $p < .001$). A mediation analysis with 5,000 bootstrap samples revealed a significant indirect effect of parental psychological control on susceptibility to peer pressure via identity commitment (B = 0.15, 95% Boot CI [0.07, 0.25]), and the direct effect remained significant, suggesting about 34% of the total effect is mediated. Psychological control parenting, therefore, seemed to have undermined adolescents' commitments and increased their susceptibility to peer pressure. A parenting program that decreases psychological control and supports adolescents in making their own commitments might then be effective at decreasing vulnerability to peer pressure.

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Introduction

Erikson (1968) defined adolescence as a developmental stage where youths were asking themselves the question 'who am I and what do I stand for'. At this point, peers emerged as the main social reference group and had significant influence on attitudes and behaviors of adolescents (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026). Moreover, adolescents were shown to be more susceptible to peer influence than people at other developmental stages (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026). The resistance to peer influence was only slowly found to grow throughout the adolescent years (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007).

Peer pressure was defined as feeling pressured, urged or dared to engage in certain behaviors by others, or actually engaging in behaviors because a peer urged them to (Santor et al., 2000). The role of susceptibility to peer pressure on substance use, school skipping and academic performance among adolescents was linked (Santor et al, 2000). It was also found to be a social determinant that facilitated adolescents' tendency to engage in risky behaviors (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026). Therefore, it was believed that it was important to identify the factors that could make some adolescents more susceptible than others to peer pressure (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026).

This was the case of parents, as their behavior continued to influence adolescents' reactions to peers, despite the growing influence of peers (Milić et al., 2025). Parental psychological control was defined as parenting practices that intruded into the child's psychological and emotional development, including guilt induction, love withdrawal and invalidation of feelings (Barber, 1996). It was different from the behavioral control, which was defined as supervising, limiting and enforcing children's behavior (Barber, 1996). Psychological control was perceived as detrimental because it forced adolescents to think, feel and act in a manner that ran against their will, thereby thwarting the adolescent's need for autonomy (Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010).

Identity commitment was defined as lasting decisions within meaningful developmental areas (e.g., education) and self-confidence resulting from the decisions (Crocetti et al., 2010). Adolescents with high commitment demonstrated greater and more consistent self-concept (Crocetti et al., 2010). Luyckx et al., (2007) found that over time, parental psychological control negatively affected progress in identity commitments. Conversely, an enhanced resistance to peer pressure was correlated with a firm and personally endorsed sense of self (Houthuys et al., 2026). The results indicated that psychological controlling adolescents may have adopted a sense of themselves from others in their peer groups since their own sense of self was weak (Field et al., 2024; Luyckx et al., 2007). Thus, the present study investigated the role of identity commitment as a mediator between psychological control and commitment among adolescents in Punjab, Pakistan, building on the evidence that psychological control undermines adolescent commitment (Luyckx et al., 2007) and enhances adolescents' susceptibility to peer pressure (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026).

Literature Review

Erikson (1968) suggested that during adolescence, the major psychosocial crisis is that of identity versus role confusion. Adolescents that did not deal with this crisis were said to suffer from role confusion, or a "confused sense of identity" with regard to their roles, values, and goals (Erikson, 1968). Marcia (1966) further developed the concept of identity with the idea that identity formation occurred in two stages: exploration of alternatives and commitment to selected alternatives. Later Crocetti et al. (2008) further broke down this model into three processes: commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment. According to self-determination theory, humans had the basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, which must be met for healthy development (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In this theory, parental psychological control was seen as a need-thwarting behavior that pushed the adolescent to think and feel what the parent desired rather than what he/she wanted. (Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010). Combined, these theories implied that self-chosen commitments might not be developed by controlled adolescents, and that they might be shaped by others, like their peers, rather (Eriksen, 1968; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010).

Crespo-López and Koning (2026) conducted a study on 2,156 adolescents in the Netherlands and concluded that psychological control was positively correlated with susceptibility to peer pressure. In the same study, this association was mediated by autonomy and relatedness, and was stronger for boys than girls (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026). Likewise, Milić et al. (2025) reported that psychological control by mothers positively related to susceptibility to peer pressure in 410 eighth-graders from Croatia ($\beta = .32$, $p < .001$). The association between maternal psychological control and mild externalizing risk behaviors also partly mediated by peer pressure susceptibility (Milić et al., 2025). The results of the longitudinal data indicated that Chinese adolescents with unilateral-control parents had the highest levels of internalizing and externalizing problems and the lowest levels of flourishing (Luo et al., 2025). The positive association found between parents' psychological control and anxiety among 320 adolescents was partly mediated by self-esteem in Pakistan (Altaf et al., 2025).

Luyckx et al. (2007) conducted a five-wave longitudinal study and found that psychological control of the parents was negatively related to commitment making and identification with commitment among emerging adults. The same study found that higher levels of psychological control were associated with lower levels of commitment in both dimensions, and that psychological control over time hampered the development of commitment (Luyckx et al., 2007). In contrast, Houthuys et al. (2026) studied 377 Flemish families, and found that adolescents who felt they had an authentic inner compass were more likely to feel identified with commitment and study choice commitment, both of which were predicted by autonomy-supportive parenting. For the 909 rural Chinese adolescents, parental psychological control had a direct and negative relationship with future planning in education and career (Wang et al., 2024). The study of Saleem et al. (2026) correlated maladaptive identity styles to the authoritarian and permissive parenting styles of 300 secondary school students in Lahore.

Ruiz and Yabut (2024) characterized healthy identity commitment as the one that is based on a self-evaluation rather than on others' feedback and expectations. Among 454 Filipino adolescents, identity commitment was positively associated with psychological well-being and buffered the negative effect of emotional autonomy on well-being (Ruiz & Yabut, 2024). Adolescents with positive markers of their inner compass were able to better resist peer influence (Houthuys et al., 2026). In an experimental study of 250 adolescents, boys who behaved in line with the high status peers had higher levels of self-esteem, and the association between the two was accounted for by their identification with popular peers (Field et al., 2024). The results showed that adolescents who lacked clear identities may find it easier to rely on peers as an alternative identity source and thus were more vulnerable to peer influence (Field et al., 2024; Houthuys et al., 2026).

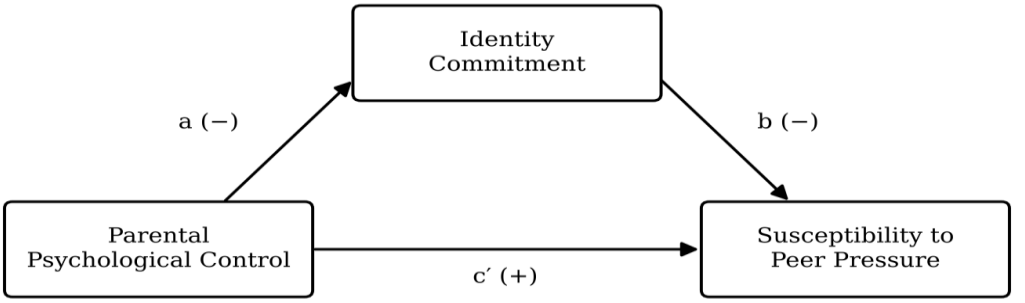
Rationale of the Study

The results of the previous studies showed that parental psychological control was related to increased susceptibility to peer pressure (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026; Milić et al., 2025). These studies, however, were able to provide an explanation of this connection using autonomy, relatedness and self-esteem as mechanisms and did not look at identity commitment as a mechanism (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026; Milić et al., 2025). Surprisingly, research on parenting and outcomes of parenting mostly focused on autonomy-supportive parenting and well-being, rather than susceptibility to peer pressure (Houthuys et al., 2026; Ruiz & Yabut, 2024). In Pakistan, studies on parental psychological control focused on outcomes such as anxiety and self-esteem (Altaf et al., 2025), whereas studies on parenting and identity focused on identity styles and cognitive flexibility (Saleem et al., 2026). Therefore, no Pakistan study tested parental psychological control, identity commitment and susceptibility to peer pressure within a single model (Altaf et al., 2025; Saleem et al., 2026). The gap was significant because in the collectivist societies, adolescents' connections with the family were strong and their expectations with respect to conformity were also strong, whereas the influence of peers grew significantly (Milić et al., 2025; Ruiz & Yabut, 2024). The results would inform parenting programmes aimed at fostering autonomy and enabling adolescents to make commitments of their own, to avoid being subsumed by peer influence (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026; Houthuys et al., 2026).

Conceptual Framework

Based on identity theory (Erikson, 1968) and self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000), parental psychological control was taken as the independent variable, identity commitment as the mediator, and susceptibility to peer pressure as the dependent variable (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Conceptual Model of the Study



Hypotheses

H1: Parental psychological control will be positively associated with susceptibility to peer pressure among adolescents.

H2: Parental psychological control will be negatively associated with identity commitment among adolescents.

H3: Identity commitment will be negatively associated with susceptibility to peer pressure among adolescents.

H4: Identity commitment will mediate the relationship between parental psychological control and susceptibility to peer pressure among adolescents.

Method

Research Design

The research design was quantitative, cross sectional correlational survey. Given this purpose, this design was felt to be suitable since no variable was manipulated in the study.

Population and Sample

The study population consisted of secondary and higher secondary (class 9 to 12) school students and college students of government and private schools and colleges in Punjab, Pakistan whose age ranged from 13 to 18 years. Using G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2009), the minimum sample size for linear multiple regression was calculated with a medium effect size ($f^2 = .15$), $\alpha = .05$, power = .95 and four predictors (parental psychological control, identity commitment, age, and gender) yielding a minimum sample size of 129 participants. This minimum number of 250 adolescents exceeds the number of adolescents that were recruited through convenience sampling from Lahore government

schools and private schools/colleges. Adolescents were included who were between the ages of 13 and 18, attending classes 9-12, were living with at least one biological parent, could read English, and gave written consent, as well as written assent from a parent, guardian, or school head. If a boy or girl lived away from both parents (e.g., in a hostel with other relatives), had a reported psychiatric or developmental diagnosis or had lost a parent within the past six months, then the boy or girl was excluded. Those that did not have a complete set of answers were also omitted. Seven adolescents who were residing with other relatives were excluded and 243 adolescents remained in the final sample (see Table 1).

Measures

Informed Consent and Demographic Information Sheet

An informed consent letter was provided that covered the voluntary nature of the study, right to withdraw at any point, the purpose of the study and confidentiality. A demographic data sheet was completed which included details of age, sex, class, type of institution, previous exam grade, decision to study or not, family system, birth order, housing status, marital status of parents, education of parents, mother's occupation, family income per month, how many friends they have and their type, how much time they spend with friends, social media usage, and whether they own a mobile phone or not.

Psychological Control Scale – Youth Self-Report (PCS-YSR)

Parental psychological control was measured with the 8-item Psychological Control Scale – Youth Self-Report (Barber, 1996). The scale measured adolescents' perceptions of parent behaviours that intruded into their thoughts and feelings, including constrain, invalidation, personal attack and love withdrawal (Barber, 1996). Responses were scored on a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (not like my parent) to 3 (a lot like my parent), and total score ranged from 8 to 24 with higher scores reflecting higher psychological control. The scale did not have scales or reverse-scored items. The scale has been found to have good internal consistency in both the mother ($\alpha = .83$) and father ($\alpha = .82$) forms reported by Barber (1996) and is .87 in the present study.

Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale (U-MICS) – Commitment Subscale

The commitment in the educational domain was assessed using the 5-item commitment subscale of the Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale (Crocetti et al., 2008). The definition of commitment was choices that last and self-confidence obtained from choices that last in a developmental domain (Crocetti et al., 2010). Items were rated on a 5-point scale (1 = completely untrue, 5 = completely true), with the total score ranging from 5 to 25, with higher scores reflecting greater identity commitment. The full U-MICS contained 13 items and three subscales (commitment, in-depth exploration and reconsideration of commitment) but only commitment subscale was used and no items on this subscale were reverse scored (Crocetti et al., 2010). The commitment subscale

had good reliability in Italian adolescents (α = .82) and in Dutch adolescents (α = .89; Crocetti et al., 2010) and for the present study the alpha was .84.

Peer Pressure Scale

The 11-item Peer Pressure Scale (Santor et al., 2000) was used to assess susceptibility to peer pressure. The scale measured the degree to which the adolescents felt pressured, urged, or dared to do certain things, or had done things because of pressure from peers (Santor et al., 2000). The items were rated on a five-point scale (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) for the current study, and the total scores ranged from 11 to 55, with higher scores representing higher susceptibility to peer pressure. There were no subscales, and no reverse-scored items on the scale. The internal consistency was good in the present study (α = .87) and was reported as .84 by Santor et al. (2000).

Procedure and Ethical Considerations

Once the research proposal was approved and ethical approval was granted by the departmental research and ethics committee of Bahria University, Lahore campus, permission was granted to use the scales by their authors. Then, the head of the participating schools and colleges was asked for permission to collect the data. Since participants were minors, written consent from a parent, guardian or school head was obtained and written assent from each adolescent was obtained. Adolescents were contacted in their classrooms, given information about the study, and assured they could choose not to answer any question or they could stop answering at any time without losing points. The participants took about 10-15 minutes to complete the paper and pencil booklet, that included the demographic information sheet, the PCS-YSR, the U-MICS commitment subscale, and the Peer Pressure Scale. No identifying data were gathered, all data were confidential and used solely for research, and those individuals who were distressed were directed to counselling services.

Data Analysis Plan

IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 27) and the PROCESS macro (version 5.0; Hayes, 2022) were used to analyse the data. All scales were given descriptive statistics, skewness, kurtosis, and Cronbach's alpha scores to test the hypotheses (1-3). The PROCESS Model 4 was used to test Hypothesis 4 with 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples, and the significance of the indirect effect was determined by whether the 95% CI for this number did not include zero (Hayes, 2022).

Results

Demographic Characteristics

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants (N = 243)

Variable	f	%
Age (years)		
13–14	59	24.3
15–16	111	45.7
17–18	73	30.0
Gender		
Male	115	47.3
Female	128	52.7
Class		
9th	60	24.7
10th	59	24.3
1st Year	65	26.7
2nd Year	59	24.3
Type of institution		
Government	131	53.9
Private	112	46.1
Family system		
Nuclear	152	62.6
Joint	91	37.4
Living with		
Both parents	220	90.5
Mother only	21	8.6
Father only	2	0.8
Monthly family income (PKR)		
Below 50,000	41	16.9
50,000–100,000	99	40.7
100,001–200,000	83	34.2
Above 200,000	20	8.2

Note. f = frequency.

The majority of the participants were girls (52.7%), between 15 – 16 years old (45.7%) and living with both parents (90.5%). The distribution of students across the four classes was fairly even (Table 1).

Descriptive Statistics and Reliability

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics and Reliability of the Study Variables (N = 243)

Variable	K	M	SD	Actual range	Potential range	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
Parental psychological control	8	15.93	3.57	8–24	8–24	−.04	−.33	.87
Identity commitment	5	14.01	2.82	6–20	5–25	−.04	−.58	.84
Susceptibility to peer pressure	11	14.58	3.87	11–32	11–55	1.92	4.05	.87

Note. k = number of items; α = Cronbach's alpha.

The internal consistency for all three scales was good (α = .84 ~ .87). For the three constructs of parental psychological control and identity commitment, skewness and kurtosis scores were within ±1, while for susceptibility to peer pressure the scores were positive skewness (1.92) and positive kurtosis (4.05) indicating that most of the adolescents indicated a low level of peer pressure (Table 2). Therefore, bootstrapped confidence intervals were used to test the indirect effect as these intervals do not rely on a normal distribution (Hayes, 2022).

Correlation Analysis

Table 3: Pearson Correlations among the Study Variables (N = 243)

Variable	1	2	3
1. Parental psychological control	—		
2. Identity commitment	−.48***	—	
3. Susceptibility to peer pressure	.41***	−.42***	—

Note. ***p < .001 (two-tailed).

This was the case for the relationship between parental psychological control and susceptibility to peer pressure, which was positively correlated (r = .41, p < .001), supporting Hypothesis 1. To test Hypothesis 2, parental psychological control was found to be negatively correlated with identity

commitment ($r = -.48$, $p < .001$). The negative correlation between identity commitment and susceptibility to peer pressure ($r = -.42$, $p < .001$) lent support to Hypothesis 3 (Table 3).

Mediation Analysis

Table 4: Mediating Role of Identity Commitment between Parental Psychological Control and Susceptibility to Peer Pressure (PROCESS Model 4, N = 243)

Outcome and predictor	B	SE	t	p	95% CI
Identity commitment ($R^2 = .23$, $F(1, 241) = 71.70^{***}$)					
Parental psychological control (a)	−0.38	0.04	−8.47	< .001	[−0.47, −0.29]
Susceptibility to peer pressure ($R^2 = .24$, $F(2, 240) = 37.52^{***}$)					
Parental psychological control (c′)	0.30	0.07	4.26	< .001	[0.16, 0.43]
Identity commitment (b)	−0.40	0.09	−4.58	< .001	[−0.58, −0.23]
Total effect model ($R^2 = .17$, $F(1, 241) = 49.89^{***}$)					
Parental psychological control (c)	0.45	0.06	7.06	< .001	[0.32, 0.57]

Note. B = unstandardized coefficient; SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval. $^{***}p < .001$.

Table 5: Indirect Effect of Parental Psychological Control on Susceptibility to Peer Pressure through Identity Commitment

Indirect path	Effect	Boot SE	95% Boot CI	Standardized effect [95% CI]	% of total
Psychological control → Identity commitment → Peer pressure	0.15	0.05	[0.07, 0.25]	0.14 [0.06, 0.23]	34.0

Note. Based on 5,000 percentile bootstrap samples; a confidence interval that excludes zero indicates a significant indirect effect. Total effect = 0.45; direct effect = 0.30.

Furthermore, when controlling for parental psychological control, identity commitment was negatively predicted by susceptibility to peer pressure ($B = -0.40$, $p < .001$; Table 4); and parental psychological control negatively predicted identity commitment ($B = -0.38$, $p < .001$). The indirect effect of parental psychological control on susceptibility to peer pressure via identity commitment was significant ($B = 0.15$; 95% Boot CI [0.07, 0.25]) with the CI not containing zero. The direct effect continued to be significant as well ($c' = 0.30$, $p < .001$), thereby providing partial mediation, accounting for approximately 34% of the total effect. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was confirmed.

Discussion

This study explored the relationship between parental psychological control and susceptibility to peer pressure among the adolescents in Lahore, Pakistan, with the intermediation of identity commitment. The four hypotheses were all confirmed. The association between psychological control of parents and adolescents's susceptibility to peer pressure and identity commitment partially mediated.Greater perception of psychological control by parents was associated with lower identity commitment and weaker association between identity commitment and susceptibility to peer pressure.

For Hypothesis 1, the results supported the hypothesis, that parental psychological control was positively related to susceptibility to peer pressure. This finding was similar to Crespo-López and Koning (2026) who found the same relationship in 2,156 Dutch adolescents and Milić et al. (2025) who reported that psychological control by parents predicted susceptibility to peer pressure among Croatian adolescents. It also was consistent with self-determination theory, which claimed that if parents controlled, adolescents' need for autonomy was frustrated (Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2010). But not every research indicated that psychological control was always bad. Among Chinese adolescents, Zhu et al. (2023) discovered that "relational induction" (a type of control based on relationships) was a positive predictor of well-being, while harsh control and social comparison shame were negative predictors of well-being. This implied that the impact of psychological control might be affected by its type and its cultural significance, which could account for the moderate nature of the correlation observed in this study.

Results confirmed hypothesis 2, which stated that parental psychological control is negatively related to identity commitment. This study is consistent with Luyckx et al. (2007) who demonstrated that psychological control reduced commitment-making and delayed commitment to identification with commitment over time and with Houthuys et al. (2026) who showed that the other parenting style, autonomy-supportive parenting, increased identification with commitment and study choice commitment. This was also consistent with Saleem et al. (2026) which found a relationship between the authoritarian parenting styles and maladaptive identity styles among adolescents in Lahore. Wang et al. (2024) reported that PSYCON had a direct negative effect on future plan, whereas PSYCON had a positive indirect effect via the construct of meaning in life in Chinese rural adolescents. Furthermore, Luyckx et al. (2007) discovered reciprocal effects: broader exploration also resulted in an increase in psychological control by the parents. Therefore, a cross-sectional design would not have been able to determine if the control and identity relation is one-directional.

The results did support hypothesis 3, which predicted that identity commitment would be negatively related to susceptibility to peer pressure. The finding aligned with that of Houthuys et al., (2026) who reported that adolescents who were more resilient to peer pressure had a stronger authentic inner compass and also with that of Ruiz & Yabut, (2024) in the finding that adolescents' identity commitment was a protective factor for their well-being. It also lent support to Erikson's (1968) theory that adolescents who lack a clear identity would suffer from role confusion. Field et al. (2024) showed, however, that the relationship between identity and conformity proved to be stronger for

boys than for girls, suggesting that the relationship between identity and conformity may be different for boys compared to girls. Moreover, Milić et al. (2025) found that, besides identity commitment, the self-related factor of self-esteem also predicted lower peer pressure susceptibility.

The results confirmed Hypothesis 4 that identity commitment partially mediated the relationship between parents' psychological control and susceptibility to peer pressure. Psychologically controlling parenting seemed to have an effect on adolescents' selfmade commitments, leading them to be more susceptible to peer pressure. The partial mediation pattern was similar to the one reported by Crespo-López and Koning (2026), who reported indirect effects of autonomy and relatedness on the link, and was similar to the one reported by Milić et al. (2025) in their models, which also showed partial mediation by self-esteem and peer pressure susceptibility. These studies collectively suggested that psychological control can impact peer pressure in several ways, with identity commitment being one of them, but not the sole pathway in the present study's findings (Crespo-López & Koning, 2026; Milić et al., 2025).

Implications

The results indicated that parenting programs in Pakistan should focus on changing the guilt inducing, love withdrawals, and invalidation behaviors of parents to be more autonomy supportive (taking adolescent's perspective, giving choices and reasons for rules; Crespo-López & Koning, 2026; Houthuys et al., 2026). Adolescents might also be better supported in schools and counselors to explore and align their own education goals and values, which could prevent adolescents from being pressured by peers (Houthuys et al., 2026; Ruiz & Yabut, 2024).

Strengths and Limitations

It was one of the first studies in Pakistan to test identity commitment as a mediator between parental psychological control and susceptibility to peer pressure, and had reliable measures (α = .84 to .87) along with bootstrapped confidence intervals. The cross-sectional design precluded causal inferences, though, and all measures were self-reported, which could have led to over-estimated associations from shared method variance. The study was conducted with convenience sampling of Lahore only and may not be representative for the rural or other areas of Punjab. Measures of psychological control were not separately measured for mothers and fathers, and measures of identity commitment were only measured in the educational domain. Lastly, the scores on the Peer Pressure Scale were positively skewed, perhaps due to the cultural sensitivity of some of the items related to alcohol, drugs and sexual behaviors which might have been under-reported in Pakistan.

Suggestions for Future Research

Longitudinal studies should be conducted to examine the directionality of relationships between parental control, identity commitment and peer pressure. Future research should include rural adolescents, measure maternal and paternal control separately, measure identity commitment in

interpersonal domain, and test gender as moderator. It is important to create and validate a Urdu version of the Peer Pressure Scale culturally adapted to Pakistani adolescents.

Conclusion

The current study revealed that adolescents who experienced higher levels of psychological control by their parents had lower levels of identity commitments and higher levels of vulnerability to peer influence. This effect was mediated in part by identity commitment, which indicated that controlling parenting would result in less strong identity and thus less strong sense of self, which would subsequently be filled by following peers. This may help to protect adolescents from peer pressure by decreasing their psychological control and helping them to make their own decisions.

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