Positive Parenting
As Defined in the Academic Literature:
Issues and Recommendations

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Introduction

Children are highly dependent on their parents from birth through childhood to develop their capacities and potentials (Greenough et al., 1987; Shore, 1997). Although children can grow and develop under adverse circumstances, optimal development requires a foundation of high-quality parental care and interaction (Rutter, 1985; Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012). In addition to the influences of temperament and environment, the quality of parenting is a major predictor of key child outcomes, including but not limited to language and communication, executive function, self-regulation, sibling and peer relationships, academic success, and mental and physical health (e.g., Knauer et al., 2019; Lee et al, 2006; Sanders & Turner, 2018).

Suboptimal or problematic parenting is associated with a host of negative outcomes for children, including delinquency, externalizing problems (directed outward, such as defiance and aggression), mental
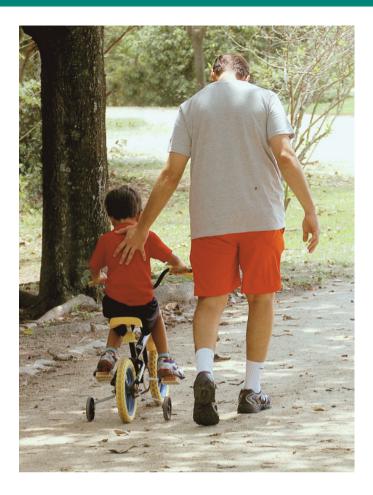
health issues, and social problems (Bayer et al., 2006; Enns et al., 2002; Hoeve et al., 2009). Many types of sub-optimal parenting can negatively affect children's development and well-being. Harsh parenting, for example, is associated with higher levels of externalizing problems and delinquency in children (Hoeve et al., 2009), and inattentive parenting such as emotional neglect is associated with impaired brain development (e.g., Teicher, 2000) as well as childhood depression and social isolation (e.g., Egeland, 2009).

Two common types of sub-optimal parenting—both with strong research evidence of their harm—are corporal punishment (CP) and psychological maltreatment (PM). *Corporal punishment*, defined as "the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain, but not injury, for the purpose of correction or controlling the child's behavior" (Straus, 2001, p. 4), is a commonly used disciplinary strategy in the United States, with about

nine of 10 parents reporting having used it at least once (Straus, 2010). About one-fourth of the respondents in a recent survey reported that they "pop" or "swat" their child a few times a week (Zero to Three, 2016), and two-thirds of respondents from another survey agreed that children sometimes need to be spanked (Child Trends, 2015). Despite its popularity, corporal punishment is often ineffective at reducing a child's misbehavior, can cause physical injury, and can increase children's mental health and behavioral problems (Gershoff, 2010, 2013; Sege, 2018).

Another highly concerning form of sub-optimal parenting is a set of behaviors that, when persistent or severe, may cause profound harm to children. These behaviors have been organized into a theoretical taxonomy called *psychological maltreatment* (PM), and this taxonomy has been endorsed by the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (Hart et al., 2017). There is a vast, high-quality, international body of evidence establishing a causal relationship between severe and persistent PM and a wide range of negative developmental outcomes that can undermine children's physical health, mental health, cognitive development, and social-emotional functioning (e.g., Abajobir et al., 2017; Brassard, 2019; Norman et al., 2012; Spinazzola et al., 2014), even when these parenting behaviors are implemented at low levels (Yeung et al., 2023). PM has been identified in the ACES study as an adverse childhood experience (Felitti et al., 1998). In spite of the potential harm to children, researchers have found that PM behaviors such as yelling, shaming, ignoring, and threatening to abandon a child are frequently used parenting practices (Cuartas et al., 2019; Regaldo et al., 2004; Vissing et al., 1991; Finkelhor et al., 2014). Given the profound impact of poor parenting on children's development, helping parents replace harmful practices, including CP and PM, with more effective strategies remains a policy and programmatic goal for both the scientific and practice communities.

Effective parenting has been a robust and active field of scientific research for several decades. This work has produced valuable findings and conceptual frameworks to help define and describe effective parenting, including attachment theory (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1969); the taxonomy of authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles (Baumrind, 1971; Dornbusch, et al., 1987); and

acceptance/rejection theory (Rohner, 1975). Almost twenty years ago Skinner and colleagues (2005) summarized the consensus in parenting science around the importance of three core concepts: (1) acceptance versus rejection, (2) structure versus chaos/permissiveness, and (3) support of autonomy versus psychological control and coercion. These concepts are reflected in what is popularly referred to as *positive parenting*, an often-used term in the parenting practices literature. The term was coined by parenting expert Jane Nelsen in her seminal book, *Positive Discipline*, first published in 1981. Nelsen credits the writings of Rudolf Dreikurs (1964) and Alfred Adler (1957, 1963, 1992) as having provided the foundational concepts of the positive parenting philosophy.

The term positive parenting also frequently appears in the academic literature. However, the degree to which a consensus definition of positive parenting exists in this literature is largely unknown. This lack of information was the impetus for the current study, emerging from discussions at the National Initiative to End Corporal Punishment (NIECP) and the

Psychological Maltreatment Alliance (PMA) and among professionals in child welfare and maltreatment about which parenting programs should be recommended to parents and professionals as an alternative to corporal punishment and psychological maltreatment. Both NIECP and PMA have recommended the development of a resource directory to steer professionals and parents to empirically supported positive parenting programs as an alternative to spanking or engaging in practices considered psychological maltreatment. Articulating the elements of positive parenting was considered a necessary first step in the creation of this resource directory, as well as it being an important contribution to the parenting science field.

We set out to examine how the term positive parenting was being conceptualized and measured in the scientific academic parenting literature. The specific research questions addressed in this study were as follows: (1) What percentage of studies referred to the original work of the seminal leaders in this field—Alfred Adler, Rudolf Dreikurs, and Jane Nelsen? (2) How many of the studies provided a conceptual definition of positive parenting, and what was the definition? and (3) How was the concept of positive parenting operationalized, i.e., what measures were used and what did the measures actually assess?

Methods

Identification of the Literature

The authors conducted two PsychInfo searches for the years from 1986 to 2023. The first search accessed papers written in the English language that (a) had been published in peer-reviewed journals and (b) contained the term positive parenting in the article's title. This resulted in 164 articles. We read the abstracts of these articles to identify three possible criteria that would exclude a study from this analysis: (1) the study sample consisted of children with autism and/or other developmental disabilities; (2) the paper did not report findings from an actual research study (they were theoretical papers, policy papers, clinical descriptions, program descriptions, case studies, literature reviews, scoping reviews, feasibility studies, or meta analyses); or (3) positive parenting was not a study variable. These three criteria eliminated 24 of the 164 studies, leaving

140 studies to be included in the final sample.

The second search focused on papers in which the term positive parenting had been mentioned in the article abstract. This resulted in a pool of almost 2,000 papers (as of January 2023). The first 600 abstracts from peer-reviewed papers written in English were consecutively read, and the same three exclusion criteria were applied. Two hundred twenty-three papers were eliminated because the work was not an empirical study (n=87); because the sample consisted of a special, targeted population (n=26); because the study was qualitative (n=49); or because positive parenting was not a measured variable in the study (n=61). The final sample consisted of 517 peer-reviewed articles, including 140 from the first search and 377 from the second search. These papers were all written in the English language with the term positive parenting in the title and/or abstract, and the concept of positive parenting was a variable that was measured in the study.

Data Extraction

Each study was read by one author (AB) and 7% of the studies were also read by the second author to extract data on the following 13 variables:

- From what country was the sample drawn? (open-ended)
- Was there a conceptual definition provided of the term positive parenting in the introduction to the paper? (0= No, 1= Yes)
- If yes, what was the conceptual definition? (open-ended)

- Was the positive parenting variable the independent variable, dependent variable, or both? (1= IV, 2=DV, 3= Both)
- Was the term positive parenting operationalized as participation in a specific parenting program? (0= No, 1= Yes)
- If so, what was the name of the parenting program? (open-ended)
- Was positive parenting operationalized through observations? (0= No, 1= Yes)
- Was positive parenting operationalized through questionnaires/surveys? (0= No, 1= Yes)
- Was positive parenting operationalized through interviews? (0= No, 1= Yes)
- Was positive parenting operationalized through parent data? (0= No, 1= Yes)
- Was positive parenting operationalized through child data? (0= No, 1= Yes)
- What was the name of the positive parenting measure? (open-ended)
- Which, if any, of the three leaders in the field were cited in the paper: Alfred Adler, Rudolf Dreikurs, and Jane Nelsen? (open-ended)

Inter-rater reliability was calculated using five test articles prior to beginning the coding, which resulted in 95% agreement. We then double-coded 35 articles, resulting in 93.9% agreement. All disagreements were resolved through discussion and consensus.

The 517 articles in the study sample were published between 1986 and 2023. Roughly half were written by researchers in the United States studying families in the United States, while the remaining half were written by researchers from over 20 countries studying samples of families from around the world. To be clear, there were potentially hundreds more studies that were not included in this project, but it was deemed beyond the scope to code all published papers on the topic to describe general trends in the parenting science field.

Results

The first research question was to determine how often the three leading creators of the positive parenting philosophy were cited in the studies. To do this, we computed the percentage of articles in which Adler, Dreikurs, and Nelsen were mentioned. Only six of the studies (1.2%) cited any of the three, while the vast majority of the studies (n=511, 98.8%) did not mention any of the three seminal leaders in the field of positive parenting.

We then assessed whether and how the concept of positive parenting was conceptually defined in the introduction of each paper. We found that two-thirds of the studies (n=347, 67.1%) did not provide a definition of positive parenting anywhere in the introduction. In most of these studies, the term positive parenting was used in a general way with positive being a synonym for good (e.g., Dvorsky et al., 2021; Feinberg et al., 2021; Ziegler et al., 2020). In other studies, the word positive had been included in the name of the program, such as Triple P (Positive Parenting Program) (e.g., Bor et al., 2002; Clarke et al., 2014; Ozyurt et al., 2019), Video-Feedback Intervention for Positive Parenting (e.g., Hodes et al., 2017; Mendelsohn et al., 2018), or Rational Positive Parenting Program (David, 2014; David et al., 2014). Most of the studies that did not conceptually define the term used the term positive parenting in the title and/or abstract but replaced it with a more general term later in the article, so the term positive parenting simply meant effective or quality parenting practices.

We then examined the 170 studies (32.9% of the total sample) that provided a conceptual definition of positive parenting and we compiled a list of all the individual parenting behaviors included in these definitions. We identified 39 different parenting behaviors (such as providing affection, encouraging, monitoring, and supporting children.) Two authors (AB and GH) then sorted these behaviors into seven categories with 95% agreement. The categories were as follows: (1) warmth and positive regard (e.g., affection, sensitivity, nurturance, acceptance), (2) investment of time and attention (e.g., engagement, involvement, monitoring), (3) reliability (e.g., consistency), (4) discipline strategies (e.g., positive reinforcement, non-violent discipline, setting limits and clear expectations, understanding misbehavior), (5) specific parenting behaviors (e.g., eating meals together, listening to children), (6) teaching and education (e.g., reading to the child, providing a safe learning environment),
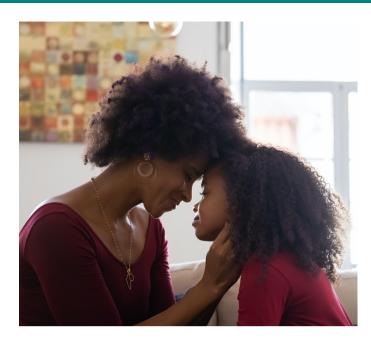
Table 1: Frequency Distribution of the Categories of Parenting Behaviors Included in the Studies' Conceptual Definition for the Studies That Offered One (n=170)

Category of Parenting Behavior	N	%
Warmth/Positive Regard	146	85.9
Involvement/Engagement	87	51.2
Reliable and Consistent Interactions	10	05.9
Specific Behaviors (e.g., reading to the child)	11	06.5
Discipline Related	30	17.6
Teaching and Education	09	05.3
Miscellaneous	28	16.5

and (7) miscellaneous. These categories were derived solely from the list of 39 parenting behaviors and were not based on any a priori notion of what positive parenting should be. Each study was then coded to determine which of the seven categories was represented in that study's conceptual definition of positive parenting. The frequency distribution of each of the categories is presented in Table 1. Many of the study definitions included behaviors from more than one category, so the percentages add up to more than 100%.

Showing warmth and positive regard was the most frequently included category in study definitions of positive parenting. Specific parenting behaviors included showing acceptance, affection, sensitivity, encouragement, and approval; being kind and nurturing; showing positive affect; and being positive, such as giving praise and support. One or more parenting behaviors in the category of warmth/positive positive regard were included in more than four-fifths of the 170 study definitions (n=146, or 85.9%).

Parenting behaviors in the category of investing time and attention and being engaged with a child were included in almost half of the 170 study definitions (n= 87, 51.2%). This included behaviors such as being actively involved and interacting with children, spending time with them, listening, monitoring, and knowing the child's friends and whereabouts. Parenting behaviors related to the category of discipline were included in only about one-sixth of the 170 studies, specifying behaviors such as setting clear behavioral expectations, being firm with rule-setting, using non-violent strategies, providing guidance, setting and enforcing limits, and staying calm while disciplining. Reliable and consistent interactions were included in 10 of the 170 studies (5.9%). Other behaviors such as sharing meals were included in 11 of the 170 studies (6.5%) and providing an educational and learning environment was included in nine of the 170 studies (5.3%). Twenty-eight studies (16.5%) offered definitions that did not fit into any of the seven categories and in some cases were not clear as to their meaning. These included behaviors such as empowering the child, parenting efficacy beliefs, child's need to feel belonging, responsible parenting, self-care, self-talk, and respect for the rights of the child. We computed the total number of categories included in each study's definition. This data is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of Categories in Each Study's Conceptual Definition (n=170)

Number of Categories in Definition		
#	N	%
1	60	35.3
2	75	44.1
3	28	16.5
4	5	02.9
5	1	0.06

Mean=1.9, SD=.83

About one-third of the 170 study definitions included parenting behaviors from only one of the seven categories. More than 40% of the studies included behaviors from two categories; about 17% included behaviors from three categories, and only a handful of studies included behaviors from more than three categories. The average number of categories included in these studies was 1.9 (SD=.83). Of the studies that included behaviors from two categories (75 studies, 15% of the total sample), almost all of them had defined positive parenting as a combination of warmth/positive regard and investment of time and attention.

We then examined the specific methods used to operationalize the concept of positive parenting in the entire sample of 517 studies. Studies could use more than one form of measurement so the total adds up to more than 100%. This information is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Methods for Measuring Positive Parenting (n=517)

Methods for Measuring		
Measure	N	%
Participation in a Program	69	13.3
Standardized Instrument	333	64.4
Observation	129	25.0
Interviews	10	01.9

In two-thirds of the studies (n=333, 64.4%), the measure was a standardized questionnaire. In one-fourth of the studies, parenting was measured through observations, and in 1.9% of the studies, parenting was measured by interviews with parents. In 69 (13.3%) of the studies, positive parenting was measured by parents' participation in a positive parenting program.

With respect to which measures were used, in 95 (18.4%) of the studies, researchers reported use of a measure but did not provide a name or description of the measure. Ninety-two studies (17.8%) used the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire (Frick, 1979), although some used the total score while others used only a subset of the scales. Twenty-four studies (4.6%) used The Parenting Scale (Arnold et al., 1993). Seventeen studies (3.3%) used The Dyadic Parent-Child Interaction Coding System (DPICS) (Eyberg, 2005). Twelve studies (2.3%) used The HOME (Caldwell & Bradley, 1984), and nine studies (1.7%) used the Parenting Style and Dimension Questionnaire (Robinson et al., 1995).

The majority of studies (n=443, 85.7%) used only one measure of positive parenting (including participation in the program); 44 (8.5%) used two measures; 24 (4.6% used three measures; and six (1.2% used four or more measures. Table 4 gives an example of the wide diversity of instruments used for measurement purposes.

Table 4: Positive Parenting Measuring Instruments

# of Studies	Names of Measures
8	Child Report of Parent Behavior Inventory (Schaefer, 1965) Parenting Practices Scale (Strayhorn & Weidman, 1988) Parenting Young Children (McEachern et al., 2012)
7	Egma Minnen av Bardndosna Uppforstran (childhood memories) (Perris et al., 1980) Iowa Family Interaction Rating Scale (Melby et al., 1993) NICHD Early Child Care Research Network (NICHD, 1999)
6	Parent Child Interaction Rating System (Belsky et al., 1995) Parenting Practices Interview (Webster-Stratton, 2001)
5	Child Rearing Practices Report (Block, 1981) Parent Child Interaction System (PARCHISY) (Deater-Decker et al., 1997) Parental Acceptance Rejection Questionnaire (Rohner, 2005)
4	Child Report of Parent Behavior Inventory (Schluderman & Schluderman, 1988) Emotional Availability Scale (Biringen, 2008) Parent Interaction Inventory (Dumas et al., 2009) Parenting Sense of Competence (Gilbaud-Wallston & Wandersman, 1978)

We then determined which of the seven categories of parenting behaviors in a study's definition were actually measured in that study. Many of the measures—such as the Parent Behavior Checklist (Fox, 1994), the Child Parent Relationship Scale (Pianta, 1992), or the Scale of Parenting Styles (Gafoor & Kurukkan, 2019)—had vague titles, and it was not clear what parenting behaviors were actually being measured. Moreover, even if better-known measures were used, such as the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire (Frick, 1979), some studies used all the scales, while others used only a subset. It was thus necessary to examine each study's measures to determine what parenting behaviors were actually being assessed. We coded the items on each measure into one of the seven parenting behavior categories: (1) warmth/positive regard, (2) involvement/engagement, (3) reliability, (4) discipline, (5) teaching skills, (6) specific behaviors, and (7) miscellaneous. These data are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Categories of Parenting Measured for Studies Using a Measure (not including participation in the program as a measure) (n=443)

Category	N	%
Warmth/Positive Regard	401	90.5
Involvement/Engagement	287	64.8
Reliable and Consistent Interactions	54	12.2
Specific Behaviors (e.g., reading to the child)	25	05.6
Discipline Related	166	37.5
Teaching and Education	33	07.4
Miscellaneous	125	28.2

Almost all (n=401, 90.5%) of the studies measured warmth/positive regard when assessing positive parenting. About two-thirds (n=287, 64.8%) measured involvement/engagement, and one-third (n=166, 37.5%) measured parental disciplinary behaviors. The remaining elements of parenting were measured much less often. Table 6 shows the number of categories measured per study.

Table 6: Categories of Parenting Measured for Studies Using a Measure (not including participation in the program as a measure) (n=443)

# of Categories Measured	N	%
1	103	23.3
2	144	32.5
3	107	24.2
4	71	16.0
5	13	02.9
6	5	01.1

With respect to the number of categories of parenting behaviors measured, about one-fifth of the studies (n=103, 23.3%) assessed just one category; almost 30% (n=144, 32.5%) measured two categories; about one-fourth (n=107, 24.2%) measured three categories; and only a handful of studies measured four or more categories. The average number of categories measured was 2.5 (SD=1.2). A Pearson correlation was conducted between the number of categories included in the conceptual definition and the number of categories actually measured, which was found to be not statistically significant (r=.14, p=.06). In summary, we

found no relationship between the number of categories included in the conceptualization of positive parenting and how many of these categories were actually measured in the study.

Our final analysis examined the extent to which the studies demonstrated concordance between the content of the conceptualization of positive parenting and how positive parenting was actually measured. These data are presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Consistency Between Conceptualization and Measurement

Category	N	%
Warmth (n=146)	133	91.1
Involvement (n=87)	71	81.6
Reliability (n=10)	1	10.0
Behaviors (n=11)	3	27.3
Teaching (n=9)	3	33.3
Discipline (n=30)	18	60.0
Miscellaneous (n=28)	12	42.9

Ninety-one percent of the studies that conceptualized positive parenting as involving warmth and positive regard actually did measure some aspect of warmth/positive regard. About eight in 10 of the studies that conceptualized positive parenting as involvement/engagement measured it that way. Fewer than two-thirds of the studies conceptualizing positive parenting as discipline actually measured discipline. None of the other elements were measured with any degree of concordance.
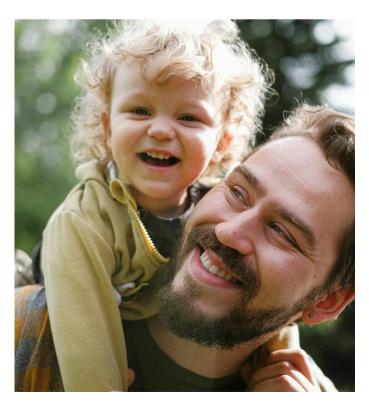

Discussion

Psychological maltreatment and corporal punishment are two forms of sub-optimal parenting that are widely used, in spite of being damaging to children's development and their capacity to thrive. Helping parents who engage in PM and/or CP learn to use more effective and nurturing parenting practices is a way to constructively intervene to ensure children's safety and promote their well-being. The constructive parenting strategies promoted through positive parenting can offer parents the kind of support and guidance they need to avoid PM and CP. The theory of positive parenting as originally conceptualized is based on fundamental principles of healthy child development (such as the importance of parental warmth and involvement and the use of non-punitive discipline). In addition, the term positive parenting is widely endorsed and promoted in both academic and direct practice literature.

However, although positive parenting is a widespread and popular term, until recently, we haven't known how it was being conceptualized and measured, especially in academic literature. This was currently missing from the parenting skills knowledge base. If professionals are to guide families toward certain parenting programs and practices, it is important not only to know what is being promoted but also to ensure that a recommended approach has a strong empirical base to confirm its effectiveness.

The authors undertook this study to assess how the term positive parenting was being defined and operationalized in the academic research literature. This was a necessary first step in identifying practices and resources that accurately reflected the positive parenting approach.

To that end, this study examined 517 academic articles that had used the term positive parenting in the title and/or the abstract, indicating that the term and the concept it embodied were important to the study. A number of striking findings emerged from this endeavor. The first is that with only a few exceptions, none of the more than 500 academic peer-reviewed scholarly articles using the term positive parenting in the title and/or abstract referenced any of the seminal works in the field (i.e., Adler, 1957; 1963; 1992; Dreikurs, 1964, or Nelsen, 1981). This suggests that in the academic community, the term positive parenting has no specific meaning related to the philosophy developed by Adler, Dreikurs, and Nelsen.

The second notable finding is that only one-third of the studies in the sample included a conceptual definition of the term positive parenting, even though the concept was central enough to the article to be included in the title and/or abstract. This suggests that the term is being used in a generic, non-specific way.

Third, of the studies that *did* conceptually define the term, most focused on warmth/positive regard for the child. Only half referenced parental involvement/engagement, and fewer than one in six mentioned the category of discipline, despite the fact that the original conceptualizations of positive parenting focused extensively on the importance of parental responses to children's perceived or real misbehavior (e.g., Nelsen, 1981). This is significant since a primary goal of our work is to reduce parents' use of corporal punishment and psychological maltreatment, which are often intended to discipline children and shape their behavior.

Most of the core elements of positive parenting theory —such as mutual problem-solving, using mistakes as opportunities to learn, and family meetings—were not included in the conceptual definitions offered in these research studies. It is clear that for the vast majority of the more than 500 empirical studies included in this review, the term positive parenting is simply a stand-in for something akin to good, sensitive, and involved parenting. The concept of positive parenting per se does not refer to a specific type of good parenting as was intended by the creators of the philosophy. In most of the sampled studies, the word *positive* could be replaced with any synonym, including good, sensitive, or caring, without changing the intended meaning.

A fourth notable finding is there was no consensus in this body of work regarding measurement of positive parenting. Over 200 different named measures were used in addition to 95 unnamed measures. Moreover, 69 studies did not measure positive parenting at all and, instead, used participation in a parenting program as the independent variable representing positive parenting. While many studies did use the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire (Frick, 1979), there was considerable variation in how it was used. We can conclude that there is virtually no consistency across these studies in what is really being measured when authors reference positive parenting as being a variable in their study.

Finally, there was a notable lack of concordance between how a study conceptually defined positive parenting and how this concept was actually operationalized and measured. For example, while 30 studies defined positive parenting as pertaining to discipline, only 18 of these studies actually employed a measure with items related to discipline.

Implications for Research and Practice

This study has identified a significant concern in the field of parenting science. Positive parenting is a widely used term, and it has a strong theoretical base. However, the empirical literature is not coherent in either its conceptualization or its measurement of positive parenting. Neither the essential elements of positive parenting nor their effectiveness in helping parents improve their parenting has been adequately identified.

Based on this finding, we suggest several next steps. First, when researchers use the term positive parenting, they need to clarify whether they are referencing a specific parenting philosophy or are using the term synonymously with good parenting. Second, researchers must be more intentional in ensuring concordance between their definitions of positive parenting and the measures they use to assess it—a foundational principle of research to ensure study validity. Third, practitioners who endorse the positive parenting framework as developed by Adler, Dreikurs, and Nelsen should always reference the origins of the approach to clarify their frame of reference.

To achieve our original intent for this study— developing a directory of positive parenting interventions to help reduce parents' reliance on corporal punishment and psychological maltreatment —we also recommend undertaking a longer-term agenda.

A first step would be to create a consensus definition of positive parenting based on the extraction of the key elements from historically seminal sources, a review of evidence-based positive parenting programs, and contributions from current leaders in the field. Potential essential parenting elements could include promoting secure attachment, engaging in reflective parenting, using positive discipline strategies, practicing emotion coaching, and other factors identified by Dreikurs, Adler, and Nelsen as foundational to positive parenting.

The next step would be to establish the scientific basis for these essential elements by reviewing data from child development and parenting science literature. Once empirically supported essential elements of positive parenting have been identified, parenting interventions and model programs could be evaluated to determine whether they incorporate these elements, as well as to determine each program's overall effectiveness. The data could be used to create a resource directory of positive parenting programs and practices that could be made available to parents and professionals.

If we want to help parents avoid sub-optimal and harmful parenting practices such as corporal punishment and psychological maltreatment, we need to offer resources and programs that reflect a theoretically sound and empirically supported set of principles and practices. The parents and children we work with deserve nothing less.

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