Les styles parentaux

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Petit avertissement : n'importe quelle approche, concernant la discipline ou l'éducation, reflète nécessairement un système de valeurs et des principes bien spécifiques concernant les relations parents-enfants. Par exemple, le seul fait de vouloir promouvoir l'obéissance et la soumission d'un enfant peut être questionnable. De même, l'idée de vouloir éduquer un enfant n'est pas sans poser de problèmes. Par exemple, peut-on éduquer sans endoctriner ?

J'ai essayé d'être le plus neutre possible. C'est ensuite à chacun selon ses valeurs d'utiliser les informations présentées pour évaluer au mieux les avantages et les risques de ses comportements, ainsi que les avantages et les risques des alternatives existantes.

Le style parental

Les chercheurs distinguent traditionnellement deux dimensions : l'écoute face aux besoins émotionnels de l'enfant et l'exigence quant au respect des règles. Cela les conduit à caractériser quatre styles parentaux[1,2] :

- **le style parental démocratique** (ou directif). Il est très à l'écoute des émotions et des besoins de l'enfant, mais il est très strict quant au respect des règles. Il encourage aussi les enfants à être responsables, à penser par eux-mêmes et à considérer les raisons des règles existantes ;

- **le style parental autoritaire**. Il est peu à l'écoute des besoins de l'enfant, mais il est très strict quant au respect des règles. Il privilégie l'obéissance absolue et la punition ou la menace pour contrôler l'enfant ;

- **le style parental permissif** (ou indulgent). Il est très à l'écoute des besoins de l'enfant, mais très peu strict, voire laxiste. Autrement dit, les parents ici sont peu enclins à faire respecter les règles ;

- **le style parental désengagé**. Il n'est ni à l'écoute des besoins de l'enfant ni strict quant au respect des règles. Il n'offre que peu de soutien émotionnel et ne fixe pas de limites.

Petit point méthodologique : bien sûr, comme toute tentative de catégoriser le comportement humain, **ces types de style restent controversés**. Pour commencer, **ils sont basés sur des questionnaires qui diffèrent parfois d'une étude à l'autre pouvant causer des résultats contradictoires[3]**. Ensuite, **le style du parent est identifié selon où il se situe par rapport aux autres parents étudiés. Un même parent peut donc tomber dans une catégorie ou une autre, selon où il se situe par rapport à la moyenne des autres participants**. Il faut noter aussi qu'**un même parent, au cours d'une journée, peut adopter plusieurs styles parentaux selon le contexte, le problème rencontré, son état de fatigue**, etc.

Il faut noter aussi que **ces questionnaires ont été à l'origine conçus et mis au point avec des parents américains, de classe moyenne. Le type de questions posées, les dimensions analysées et les styles parentaux en résultant n'ont peut-être que peu de pertinence pour d'autres cultures[4,5].** Par exemple, dans certaines cultures, les enfants pourraient interpréter un style autoritaire comme le signe que leurs parents se font du souci pour eux[5,6].

Enfin, **comme souvent sur ces questions de parentalité, il est difficile d'établir des liens de causalité absolument fiables. Pour des raisons éthiques, aucune expérience ne peut créer deux groupes de parents au hasard, leur demander d'adopter un style parental puis mesurer les conséquences sur l'enfant à long terme.** La plupart des études à disposition se basent donc sur des corrélations, qui sont ajustées en contrôlant les autres facteurs pouvant jouer un rôle comme le niveau d'éducation ou le statut socioéconomique.

Qu'a-t-on appris quant aux conséquences de ces différents styles parentaux ?

- **Concernant les enfants exposés au style parental démocratique** (parents très stricts mais aussi très à l'écoute), **ils ont globalement moins de problèmes comportementaux, s'intègrent mieux socialement et ont de meilleures performances scolaires.** Ce style parental est celui associé aux conséquences les plus positives dans la très grande majorité des études sur le sujet[7–9].

En savoir plus :

Les enfants exposés à un style démocratique sont moins susceptibles de consommer des drogues et de l'alcool, de délinquance juvénile, ou d'autres comportements antisociaux[10–14]. Ce style permet aussi de prévenir les problèmes d'agressivité et de conflit chez les enfants d'âge préscolaire[15,16].

Ainsi, les enfants exposés à ce style sont considérés comme plus sociaux, plus gentils et plus populaires par leurs enseignants et leurs camarades[17]. Ils ont aussi plus tendance, comparés à ceux exposés à d'autres styles parentaux[18], à dire qu'ils écouteraient l'avis de leurs parents s'ils faisaient face à un problème moral. Sans surprise, ce style parental est celui associé aux conséquences les plus positives dans la très grande majorité des études sur le sujet[7–9].

Une des caractéristiques du style parental démocratique est qu'il est sensible et réceptif aux besoins de l'enfant. Cette approche est connue pour favoriser un attachement dit « sécure »[19], et l'on sait que ce type d'attachement favorise en retour les capacités de l'enfant à réguler ses émotions[20–22], à être plus social et empathique[22], et à être globalement moins stressé[23,24]. Ainsi, les enfants exposés à des parents réceptifs et chaleureux sont moins susceptibles de développer des troubles du comportement[25–29] et ont de meilleures performances scolaires[30–35].

Une réceptivité aux besoins de l'enfant peut aussi favoriser d'autres comportements bénéfiques, comme le fait de parler avec eux de leurs pensées et de leurs émotions. Ce type de « coaching émotionnel »[29,36,37] lors duquel l'état émotionnel de l'enfant est reconnu, accepté, verbalisé et pris au sérieux aide l'enfant à se calmer et à être moins agressif et provocateur[38–40], et a aussi été corrélé à de meilleures compétences sociales[19,41–44]. Le fait d'éviter de réprimander les enfants pour leurs erreurs intellectuelles semble aussi les rendre plus résilients face aux problèmes qu'ils rencontrent et plus susceptibles d'apprendre de leurs erreurs[45–47].

Enfin, **une autre caractéristique du style démocratique est le fait d'expliquer les raisons des règles existantes. Ce type de pratique appelé aussi « discipline inductive » semble aider les enfants à se montrer plus empathiques, consciencieux et sociaux[15,48–51]. Elle a aussi été liée à de meilleures capacités de raisonnement sur les sujets moraux[49,52].**

- **Concernant les enfants exposés au style parental autoritaire** (parents très stricts et peu à l'écoute)**, ils ont globalement plus de chance d'être agressifs et provocateurs. Ils ont aussi plus de chance de souffrir d'anxiété, de dépression ou de faible estime de soi.**

En savoir plus :

Au niveau comportemental, les enfants européens exposés à des styles parentaux autoritaires ont plus de chance d'abuser de l'alcool à l'adolescence[53,54]. Un travail récent, analysant plus de 1400 études scientifiques publiées sur le sujet, montre clairement qu'**un contrôle sévère de l'enfant au moyen de punitions physiques ou verbales, ou par un contrôle psychologique** (culpabiliser, humilier ou faire du chantage affectif) **prédit le mieux le développement de comportements agressifs, provocateurs ou impulsifs sur le long terme**[8].

Globalement, **le style autoritaire est souvent corrélé à de faibles performances scolaires**[11,55,56]. Du fait qu'il s'agit d'une corrélation, certains ont tenté d'argumenter que ce seraient plutôt les faibles performances scolaires qui feraient opter les parents pour un style autoritaire. Une expérience intéressante s'oppose à cette interprétation. Dans cette expérience, la critique personnelle à la suite d'une mauvaise performance lors d'une tâche (une tactique souvent employée par les parents autoritaires) diminue les capacités de l'enfant à résoudre les tâches suivantes[45]. D'autres expériences ont par ailleurs démontré que l'on apprend mieux à la suite de feedbacks positifs que négatifs[46,47], notamment si ceux-ci sont dirigés sur le processus plutôt que sur la personne (par exemple : « tu as très bien étudié ! » plutôt que « tu es très doué ! »[45,57]).

À un niveau plus social, quels que soient les pays étudiés (US, Chine, Chypre, Turquie, Amérique du Sud, Espagne, Pays-Bas….), **ces enfants semblent moins doués socialement**, ils sont moins bien acceptés et appréciés par leurs camarades, et ils ont plus de chance d'être impliqués dans des conflits aussi bien en tant qu'agresseurs que victimes[10,11,17,58–65].

À un niveau plus émotionnel, ce style parental semble augmenter les chances de souffrir de troubles psychiatriques[66], émotionnels[67,68], anxieux[69], dépressifs[70–75] et d'estime de soi[76,77].

- **Concernant les enfants exposés au style parental permissif** (parents peu stricts mais très à l'écoute)**, ils sont globalement moins susceptibles d'avoir des problèmes comportementaux, scolaires, ou émotionnels que les enfants exposés à des styles désengagés ou autoritaires. Ils ont cependant plus de problèmes que les enfants exposés au style démocratique.**

En savoir plus :

Il existe des résultats contradictoires concernant les liens entre le style parental permissif et certains troubles du comportement chez l'enfant. Ces études doivent donc être interprétées avec prudence[8]. Le style permissif semble globalement avoir moins d'effets négatifs que le style autoritaire, mais moins d'effets positifs que celui démocratique. En effet, plusieurs études sur des enfants ou des adolescents avec des parents permissifs montrent une excellente estime d'eux-mêmes, un plus grand bien-être et moins de symptômes dépressifs que les enfants exposés à des styles désengagés ou autoritaires[10,74,78].

Toutefois, d'autres études montrent une relation entre le style permissif et de plus faibles capacités d'autorégulation, telles que la capacité à se concentrer ou à contrôler ses émotions[79], et de plus hauts niveaux d'agressivité[80,81], de consommation d'alcool[10,82,83], de problèmes scolaires[10] et d'obésité[84].

Ces résultats contradictoires pourraient s'expliquer de plusieurs manières. **D'un côté, une des caractéristiques du style parental permissif est qu'il est sensible et réceptif aux besoins de l'enfant. Cette approche est connue pour favoriser un attachement sécure[19], ce qui, on l'a déjà mentionné, favorise en retour le développement cognitif, social et émotionnel.** Néanmoins, ce qui caractérise le style permissif, c'est aussi le laxisme. Alors, même si d'un côté, certaines études suggèrent qu'encourager les enfants à être indépendants, favorise leur autonomie, leur capacité à résoudre des problèmes et globalement une meilleure santé mentale[10,14,45,74,78,85] ; **d'autres études soulignent que les enfants exposés au style permissif ont plus de chances de regarder la télévision plus de quatre heures par jour[86,87] et d'avoir des carences de sommeil[88].** Or regarder la télévision plus de trois heures par jour a été associé à des effets négatifs sur le développement intellectuel[89–92], les résultats

scolaires[92–94], le langage[95–99], l'attention[92,100], les comportements alimentaires[101–109], l'obésité[110–128], les risques cardiovasculaires[86,129–131], la santé mentale[132–138], l'apparition de conduites sanitaires à risques telles que le tabagisme[139–145] et l'alcoolisme[146–153], et enfin le sommeil[154–160] (voir la section dédiée aux écrans pour plus de détail). Ce dernier point n'est pas à prendre à la légère, car un manque même léger de sommeil peut avoir des conséquences négatives importantes sur la santé physique[161–173] et mentale[168,174–181].

- **Concernant les enfants exposés au style parental désengagé** (parents peu stricts et peu à l'écoute), **ils présentent globalement les pires résultats, aussi bien du point de vue comportemental qu'émotionnel**. La plupart des délinquants juvéniles ont été exposés à ce style parental[182,183].

Que se passe-t-il si les deux parents n'ont pas le même style ?

Une étude réalisée dans un lycée américain s'est intéressée à l'effet de la cohérence entre les styles éducatifs des parents. Dans cette étude, avoir au moins un des parents adoptant un style démocratique a un effet positif même si l'autre adopte un style permissif ou autoritaire[184]. Autrement dit, **avoir un des parents adoptant un style démocratique est donc plus bénéfique que d'avoir deux parents adoptant ensemble un autre style.**

Que se passe-t-il si l'environnement social n'a pas le même style éducatif que celui des parents ?

Certaines incohérences dans la littérature scientifique ont amené les chercheurs à se poser la question. En effet, concernant le style autoritaire, plusieurs études sur des adolescents aux États-Unis et au Moyen-Orient n'ont pas trouvé certaines des conséquences émotionnelles négatives habituelles[10,185–187]. De même, dans les milieux socioéconomiques moins favorisés, la différence entre les effets du style parental autoritaire ou démocratique semble être atténuée[188,189], voire inversée. Ainsi, si le style autoritaire aboutit à de plus faibles performances scolaires à Pékin[61] et à Taiwan[190], il aboutit à de meilleures performances chez les Chinois à Hong Kong[191] et les Chinois ayant immigré en Amérique du Nord[192].

L'environnement social pourrait expliquer ces inconsistances. Par exemple, certains chercheurs suggèrent que **si l'enfant perçoit l'autorité comme étant la norme, il peut moins en souffrir**[186]. **La pression sociale provenant des camarades de classe pourrait aussi annuler les effets du style parental.** En effet, certains groupes de camarades peuvent encourager la réussite scolaire et d'autres la diminuer. Par exemple, dans une étude américaine les étudiants asiatiques testés avaient des camarades encourageant la réussite scolaire et ils s'en sortaient effectivement mieux, même avec des parents autoritaires. À l'inverse, les étudiants afro-américains testés tendaient à avoir des camarades rejetant les bons élèves. Ces enfants avaient alors de moins bons résultats, même avec des parents éduqués adoptant un style démocratique[11].

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