I have discovered that our accomplishments depend more on passion and perseverance than our innate talent--grit may matter more than talent. Each year at West Point from 14,000 applicants, 4000 are nominated, 2500 meet the academic and physical standards, and 1200 are admitted. Nearly all are varsity athletes; most are team captains. Yet 1 of 5 cadets will drop out before graduation, many in the 1st 7-week training program named Beast. The most important challenges exceed current skills.

What matters is a "never give up" attitude and personal direction. It is this combination of passion and perseverance that make high achievers special. In a word, *grit.* What emerged from my work was the Grit Scale—a test that measures the extent to which you approach life with grit. Among cadets who ultimately make it through Beast, the Whole Candidate Score (of which grit was a major part) is a marvelous predictor of every metric West point tracks.

We also tested grit's power in sales, a profession in which daily, or hourly, rejection is normal. Grit predicted who stayed and who left. Grittier adults also were more likely to get further in their formal schooling. Adults who'd earned an MBA, PhD, MD, JD, or another graduate degree were grittier than those who'd only graduated from 4-year colleges, who were in turn grittier than those who'd accumulated some college credits but no degree. It also predicted dropouts from Green Beret training. In the Scripps National Spelling Bee, grittier kids went further in competition by studying many more hours and by competing in more spelling bees. Ivy League undergraduate SAT scores and grit were *inversely* correlated. Our potential is one thing. What we do with it is another.

Talent x effort = skill
Skill x effort = achievement

Effort counts twice as much as talent, which is how quickly your skills improve when you invest effort. Achievement is what happens when you take your acquired skills and use them. Effort builds skill *and* makes it productive. Doing one thing better and better may be more satisfying than staying an amateur at many different things.

At 84 years-old, George Vaillant at Harvard has conducted the world's longest continuous study of human development. He said, "The reason the Harvard study works is that I have been doing it constantly and persistently. It's the one ball I've kept my eye on because I'm totally fascinated by it. There is nothing more interesting than watching people grow."

Grit comes from doing what you love, but not just falling in love—*staying* in love. The Grit Scale consists of a 1 to 5 grade on 10 questions: 1 New Ideas and projects sometimes distract me from previous ones. 2 Setbacks don't discourage me. I don't give up easily. 3 I often set a goal but later choose to pursue a different one. 4 I am a hard worker. 5 I have difficulty maintaining my focus on projects that take more than a few months to complete. 6 I finish whatever I begin. 7 My interest changes from year to year. 8 I am diligent. I never give up. 9 I have been obsessed with a certain idea or project for a short time but later lost interest. 10 I have overcome setbacks to conquer an important challenge. Total the points and divide by 10. The grittiest score is 5.

Grit is composed of passion and perseverance. Enthusiasm is common. Endurance is rare. Passion is a compass. Envision goals in a hierarchy of top, mid, and low-level. At the bottom are our most concrete, specific, and short-term goals—*means* to *ends*. The higher the goal the more abstract, general, and important it is—the more it's an end in itself, and the less it's merely a *means* to an end.

Hall of Fame pitcher Tom Seaver said, "I'm happy when I pitch well, so I only do things that help me be happy." I've met many young people who can articulate a dream and vividly imagine how wonderful that would be, but they can't point to the mid-level and lower-level goals that will get them there. Their goal hierarchy has a top-level goal but no supporting mid-level or low-level goals.

Warren Buffett advised his personal pilot regarding his dreams. Write down a list of 25 career goals. Circle the 5 highest-priority goals. Take a look at the 20 that you didn't circle. Avoid these at all costs. They're what distract you; they eat away time and energy, taking your eye from the goals that matter more. Face the fact that time and energy are limited. You need *one* internal compass---not 2, 3, or more.

The highest-level goal gets written in ink, once you've done enough living and reflecting to know what it is, and the lower-level goals get written in pencil, so you can revise and sometimes erase them altogether, and then find new ones to take their place.

You should give up a lower-level goal when it can be swapped for another that is more feasible. The higher-level the goal, the more it makes sense to be stubborn. My compass, once I found all the parts and put it together, keeps pointing me in the same direction, week after month after year.

Researchers have been studying identical and fraternal twins raised in the same family or raised in different families. They administered the Grit Scale to more than 2000 pairs of teenage twins living in the UK. This study estimated the heritability of perseverance to be 37% and passion to be 20%. This means that some of the variation in grit in the population can be attributed to genetic factors and the rest to experience.

We *develop* the capacity for long-term passion and perseverance as we get older. Most of us become more conscientious, confident, caring, and calm with life experience. A lot of that happens between the ages of 20 and 40, but there's no

epoch in the human life span where personality stops evolving. Collectively, data demonstrate what personality psychologists call "the maturity principle." Personality change is a function of life experience.

One reason we change is that we learn something we simply didn't know before. I learned that being a "promising beginner" is fun, but being an actual expert is infinitely more gratifying. I also learned that years of hard work are often mistaken for innate talent. We learn to appreciate that, in doing something over and over again, something that was never natural becomes almost second nature.

We change when we need to. Lectures don't have the effect of consequences. Over time, we learn life lessons and adapt in response to the growing demands of our circumstances. Eventually, new ways of thinking and acting become habitual. There comes a day when we can hardly remember our immature former selves. We've adapted, those adaptations become durable, and finally, our identity—the sort of person we see ourselves to be—has evolved. We've matured.

Two stories are true. One story says that our grit changes as a function of the cultural era in which we grow up. The other story says that we get grittier as we get older. When people drop out of things, they do so for one of 4 reasons. I'm bored. The effort isn't worth it. This isn't important to me. I can't do this, so I might as well give up. Paragons of grit tend *not* to utter these statements and they don't swap compasses.

Mature paragons of grit have common psychological assets developed in a particular order. First comes *interest.* Passion begins with intrinsically enjoying what you do. Next comes the capacity to *practice.* One form of perseverance is the daily discipline of trying to do things better than we did yesterday. Third is *purpose.* What ripens passion is the conviction that your work matters. Interest without purpose is nearly impossible to sustain for a lifetime. For many, the motivation to serve others heightens *after* the development of interest and years of disciplined practice. "My work is important—both to me and to others." And, finally *hope.* Hope is a rising-to-the-occasion kind of perseverance. It defines *every* stage.

Like calculus and piano, you can learn the psychology of grit on your own, but a little guidance can be a great help. These 4 psychological assets of interest, practice, purpose, and hope can all be nurtured. You can learn to discover, develop, and deepen your interests. You can acquire the habit of discipline. You can cultivate a sense of purpose and meaning. And you can teach yourself to hope. You can grow your grit from the inside out.

The most common statement from 200 mega successful people is 'I love what I do.' In a 2014 Gallup poll of 141 nations, only 13% of adults call themselves engaged at work and many were "actively disengaged." Every country but Canada has higher numbers of both than the US.

I begin advice to young people with *foster a passion.* Most grit paragons I've interviewed told me they spent years exploring several different interests, and the one that eventually came to occupy all of the waking thoughts wasn't recognizably their life's destiny on first acquaintance. It was a *succession* of interest-stimulating experiences.

Unrealistic expectations prevent many young people from developing a serious career interest. It's really the same problem a lot of young people have finding a romantic partner. A similar mythology is that falling in love with a career should be sudden and swift: There are a lot of things where the subtleties and exhilarations come with sticking with it for a while, and getting elbow-deep into something. Finding a mate is the perfect analogy. Meeting a potential match—not the one-and-only perfect match, but a promising one—is only the beginning. Passion for your work is a *discovery*, followed by a lot of *development*, and then a lifetime of *deepening.*

Most people only *begin* to gravitate toward certain vocational interests, and away from others, around middle school. Interests are triggered by interactions with the outside world. One mistake people make is to try to *force* an interest on themselves. Without experimenting, you can't figure out which interest will stick and which won't. The initial triggering of a new interest must be followed by subsequent encounters that retrigger your attention—again and again and again. Early interests are fragile, vaguely defined, and in need of energetic, years-long cultivation.

Nobody works doggedly on something they don't find intrinsically interesting. Most people stink at things they love. [i.e. sports]. Most people stink even *more* at what they *don't* love. For parents of all ages, *before hard work comes play.* At the earliest stage, novices *aren't* obsessed with getting better. More than anything else, they're having fun. Even the most accomplished of experts start out as unserious beginners.

Encouragement during the early years is crucial, because beginners are still figuring out whether they want to commit or quit. Overbearing parents and teachers erode intrinsic motivation. Shortcutting this stage of relaxed, playful interest, discovery, and development has dire consequences. Sampling also provides an opportunity to "cross-train" muscles and skills that eventually complement more focused training. Experts and beginners have different motivational needs. At the start of an endeavor, we need encouragement and freedom to figure out what we enjoy. We need small wins and applause. Rush a beginner and you'll bludgeon their budding interest. It's very, very hard to get that back once you do.

Jeff Bezos was born to a 17-yearl-old mother, followed by a younger brother and sister. His mother said her moniker at the house was 'Captain of Chaos,' as she sought to help her children implement their childish notions and experiments. This approach helped her oldest son bloom into a world-class problem solver. She said, "It's not important that I understand everything. It's important that I listen."

The grittier an individual is, the fewer career changes they're likely to make. Grit paragons don't just discover something they enjoy and develop that interest—they also learn to *deepen* it. Novelty for the beginner comes in one form, and for the expert in another. For the beginner, novelty is anything

that hasn't been encountered before. *For the expert, novelty is nuance.* An expert has the accumulated knowledge and skill to see what a beginner cannot.

If you'd like to follow your passion but haven't yet fostered one, you must begin at the beginning: discovery. Ask yourself a few simple questions: *what do I like to think about? Where does my mind wander? What do I really care about?* Trigger your nascent interests by going out into the world and *doing* something. *Experiment! Try! You'll certainly learn more than if you don't!* Begin with the answers you're surest of and build from there. Don't be afraid to guess. You don't have to find just one thing to develop into a passion or even the "best" one—just a direction that feels good. Don't be afraid to erase an answer that isn't working out.

Interest must be triggered again and again and again. Find ways to make that happen. And have patience. The development of interests takes time. Keep asking questions, and let the answers to those questions lead to more questions. Continue to dig. Seek out those who share your interests. Sidle up to an encouraging mentor. If you want to stay engaged for more than a few years in *any* endeavor you'll need to find a way to enjoy the nuance that only a true aficionado can appreciate. The old in the new is what claims the attention.

The major advantage of grit is *more time on task. Kaizen* is Japanese for "continuous improvement." All grit paragons I interviewed exude kaizen and log thousands and thousands of hours of *deliberate practice.* Experts strive to improve specific weaknesses--working on their Achilles' heal. This means that they are more interested in what they did *wrong*—so they can fix it—than what they did *right.* For the best spellers at the National Spell Bee, *deliberate practice predicted advancing to further rounds in final competition far better than any other kind of preparation.* This was above reading for pleasure, word games like scrabble, getting quizzed by another person or computer program. This deliberate practice was unassisted and solitary, memorizing new words from the dictionary, reviewing words in a spelling notebook, and committing to memory Latin, Greek, and other word origins. Deliberate practice was significantly *more effortful* and *less enjoyable* than any other preparations for competition. Many athletes and musicians take naps after their most intensive training sessions, suggesting that the mental work, as much as the physical stress, makes deliberate practice quite strenuous.

The signature experience of experts is *flow,* a state of complete concentration "that leads to a feeling of spontaneity." Flow is performing at high levels of challenge and yet feeling effortless, like "you don't have to think about it, you're just doing it." These states are, however, incompatible with deliberate practice. Deliberate practice is carefully planned while flow is spontaneous. Grittier adults reported experiencing *more* flow, not less. In other words, flow and grit go hand in hand. *Gritty people do more deliberate practice* and *experience more flow.* Deliberate practice is a behavior, and flow is an experience. Deliberate practice is for preparation, and flow is for performance. They rarely go together.

I hated practice, but I had an overall passion for swimming. Grittier kids reported working harder than other kids when doing deliberate practice but, at the same time, said they enjoyed it more than other kids, too. In other words, there are *different kinds* of positive experience: the thrill of getting better is one, and the ecstasy of performing at your best is another.

The requirements of deliberate practice: a clearly defined stretch goal; full concentration and effort; immediate and informative feedback; repetition with reflection and refinement. It's not hours of brute-force exhaustion you're after. It's high-quality, thoughtful training goals pursed. Make it a habit. Routines are a godsend when it comes to doing something hard. The experts in this book consistently put in hours and hours of solitary deliberate practice. They follow routines, They're creatures of habit. There is no more miserable human being than the one for whom the beginning of every bit of work must be decided anew each day.

Infants and toddlers spend most of their time trying to do things they can't, again and again—and yet they don't seem especially embarrassed or anxious. Very young children don't seem tortured while they're trying to do things they can't yet do. Teachers should *model* emotion-free mistake making.

There is a general model of learning that applies to all fields. What they're pursuing has *purpose.* The long days and evenings of toil, the setbacks and disappointments and struggle, the sacrifice—all this is worth it because, ultimately, their efforts pay dividends to *other people.* At its core, the idea of purpose is the idea that what we do matters to people other than ourselves. Higher scores on purpose correlate with *higher* scores on the Grit Scale.

People don't realize they need to play an active role in *developing and deepening* their interests. You can continually look at what you do and ask how it connects to other people, to the bigger picture, how it can be an expression of your deepest vales. The same individual in the same occupation may at different times think of it as a job, career, or calling. Writing this book made me realize that I'm someone who had an inkling about my interests in adolescence, then some clarity about purpose in my twenties, and finally, in my thirties, the experience and expertise to say that my top-level, life-organizing goal is, and will be until my last breath: *Use psychological science to help kids thrive.*

For many of the grit paragons I've interviewed, the road to a purposeful, interesting passion was unpredictable. Aurora, the owner of a cleaning company, said, "It's not about the cleaning. It's about building something. It's about our clients and solving their problems. Most of all, it's about the incredible people we employ—they have the biggest souls, and we feel a huge responsibility toward them."

There's a pattern. Everyone has a spark, and that's the very beginning of purpose. That spark is something you're

interested in. Next, observe someone who is purposeful. What matters is that *someone* demonstrates that it's possible to accomplish something on behalf of others. Ideally, the child really gets to see how difficult a life of purpose is—all the frustrations and the obstacles—but also how gratifying, ultimately, it can be. What follows is a revelation, a problem in the world that needs solving. And that *I personally* can make a difference. You might dub it "rags to riches," but if you lean in and pay attention you'll hear a different theme: *from poverty to purpose*.

Dave Paunesku asked high school students, "How could the world be a better place?" and then to draw connections to what they were learning in school. This simple exercise, which took less than a class period to complete, dramatically energized student engagement. Compared to a placebo control exercise, reflection on purpose led students to double the amount of time they spent studying for an upcoming exam. Work harder on tedious math problems when given the option to watch entertaining videos instead, and, in math and science classes, bring home better report card grades.

Amy Wrzesniewski recommends *thinking about how, in small but meaningful ways, you can change your current work to enhance its connection to your core values.* Customize what you do to match your interests and values. She tested this idea at a Google job-crafting workshop. Employees came up with their own ideas for tweaking their daily routines, each making a personalized "map" for what would constitute more meaningful and enjoyable work. Six weeks later, managers and coworkers rated the employees who attended this workshop as significantly happier and more effective.

Experiments on animals proved that it isn't suffering that leads to hopelessness. It's suffering you think you can't control. What didn't kill young rats, when by their own efforts they could *control* what was happening, made them stronger for life. Rewiring happens when you experience mastery at the same time as adversity.

Optimists habitually search for temporary and specific causes of their suffering, whereas pessimists assume permanent and pervasive causes are to blame. Permanent and pervasive explanations for adversity turn minor complications into major catastrophes. Optimistic undergraduates tend to earn higher grades and are less likely to drop out of school. Optimistic young adults stay healthier throughout middle age and live longer than pessimists. Grit paragons overwhelmingly explain setbacks optimistically. We can practice interpreting what happens to us and responding as an optimist would. There is a growing body of scientific evidence that happiness isn't just the *consequence* of performing well at work, it might also be an important *cause.* Optimistic teachers were grittier and happier, and grit and happiness in turn explained why optimistic teachers got their students to achieve more during the school year. As Henry Ford often said, "Whether you think you can, or think you can't—you're right." A growth mindset and grit go together.

Praising effort and learning over natural talent is an explicit target of teacher training in the KIPP (knowledge is power program) schools. KIPPsters, as they proudly refer to themselves, almost all graduate from high school, and more than 30% go on to college. Children have never been very good at listening to their elders, but they have never failed to imitate them.

In companies with *growth-mindset* cultures, employees were 47% more likely to say their colleagues were trustworthy, 49% more likely to say their company fosters innovation, and 65% more likely to say their company supports risk taking. People develop theories about themselves and the world, which determines what they do. A growth mindset leads to optimistic ways of explaining adversity, and that, in turn, leads to perseverance and seeking out new challenges that will ultimately make you even stronger.

IQ scores are not entirely fixed over a person's life span. Like a muscle that gets stronger with use, the brain changes itself when you struggle to master a new challenge. In fact, there's never a time in life when the brain is completely "fixed." Practice optimistic self-talk, which leads to the development of "resilience training."

What can I do to encourage grit in the people I care for? There is an underlying selflessness to tough love which includes support as much as control. Children carry within them the seeds of their own future. Their own interest will emerge if we trust them. A balance between affection and respect on the one hand, and firmly enforced expectations on the other is optimum. **Wise** parenting is both supportive and demanding; **neglectful** is neither; **permissive** is supportive but undemanding; **authoritarian** is demanding but unsupportive. What matters more than the messages parents aim to deliver are the messages their children receive. Wise parenting encourages children to *emulate* their parents. When our parents are loving, respectful, and demanding, we not only follow their example, we revere it. We not only comply with their requests, we understand why they're making them. Paragons of grit have told me, with pride and awe, that their parents are their most admired and influential role models. If you want to bring forth grit in your child, first ask how much passion and perseverance you have for your own life goals.

Psychologically wise teachers can make a huge difference in the lives of their students. They seem to promote competence in addition to well-being, engagement, and high hopes for the future. In one test, student responses to essay feedback compared normal to wise feedback with the words: *I'm giving you these comments because I have very high expectations and I know that you can reach them.* Those students receiving the wise feedback made twice as many edits to their essays as the control group. Every grit paragon pointed to *someone* in their life who, at the right time and in the right way, encouraged them to aim high and provided badly needed confidence and support. Cody Coleman was born in prison to a 'crack mother' and went on to graduate from MIT when challenged by his older brother with the words, "You're doing

all right in school. If you work harder, if you keep pushing yourself, you can get to Princeton. You have nothing to lose by trying." A switch flipped in his head. "I went from 'why bother?' to 'Why not?' Compared to what he'd experienced growing up, MIT was a haven of attention. He added "You don't need to be a parent to make a difference in someone's life if you just care about them and get to know what's going on in their life and help them through that. That's something I experienced first-hand. It made the difference."

Outside activities have 2 important features that are hard to replicate in any other setting. There's an adult in charge—ideally, a supportive and demanding one—who is *not* the parent. And the pursuit is *designed* to cultivate interest, practice, purpose, and hope. The ballet studio, recital hall, dojo, basketball court, gridiron—these are the playing fields of grit. Kids thrive when they spend at least some of their week doing hard things that interest them. When kids are playing sports or music or rehearsing for the school play, they're *both* challenged and having fun. Those more involved in extracurriculars fare better on just about every conceivable metric—grades, self-esteem, less likely to get in trouble and so forth. Longitudinal studies conclude that more participation in activities predicts better outcomes. *Overdosing* on extracurriculars is pretty rare. They are especially beneficial when done *for more than a year*. Follow-through in high school extracurriculars predicted graduating from college with academic honors better than any other variable. It also predicted notable accomplishments for young adults in all domains, from the arts and writing to entrepreneurism and community service. "Follow-through" sounds a lot like grit.

The dropout rate for 2- and 4-year colleges in the US is among the highest in the world. A Gates Foundation study of 1200 seniors scored them on the Grit Grid, which graded grit by counting the number of grades 9-12 spent in activities plus achievements, awards, leadership positions. 69% of students who scored 6/6 were still in college. In contrast, just 16% of students who scored 0/6 were still on track to get their college degrees. Novice teachers who, in college, demonstrated productive follow-through in extracurricular commitments were more likely to stay in teaching and were more effective in producing academic gains in their students. In contrast, persistence and effectiveness in teaching had absolutely no measurable relationship with SAT scores, college GPAs, or interviewer rating of their leadership potential.

Following through on our commitments while we grow up both *requires* grit and, at the same time, *builds* it. Energy, drive, and commitment developed through athletics can also always be transferred to something else. Following through on hard things teaches a young person powerful, transferable lessons.

This raises worries about kids denied the opportunity to practice grit in extracurricular activities. There is a worrisome correlation between family income and Grit Grade scores. Poor kids need all the things we give to our own children. *Without* directly experiencing the connection between effort and reward, rats and people default to laziness,

In our family, we live by the Hard Thing Rule. It has 3 parts. First, everyone—including Mom and Dad—has to do a hard thing. I do yoga. Dad runs. My daughters Amanda and Lucy do piano and ballet. Second, you can quit, but not until the season is over, the tuition payment is up, or some other natural stopping point has arrived. Last, *you* get to pick your hard thing. I recommend the Hard Thing Rule.

If you want to be grittier, find a gritty culture and join it. If you're a leader, and you want the people in your organization to be gritter, create a gritty culture. The real way to become a great swimmer is to join a great team. The arrow of causality between a great team and a great individual performer goes both ways. There's a hard way to get grit and an easy way. The hard way is to do it by yourself. The easy way is to use conformity—the basic human drive to fit in—because if you're around a lot of people who are gritty, you're going to act grittier. Over time and under the right circumstances, the norms and values of the group to which we belong become our own. Often, the critical gritty-or-not decisions we make-to get up one more time; to stick it out through this miserable, exhausting summer; to run 5 miles with our teammates when on our own we might only run 3—are a matter of identity more than anything else.

"Culture building," coach Anson Dorrance said, "is a matter of continuous experimentation." He now makes sure the entire team scores themselves on grit each spring so that they have a deeper appreciation for the critical qualities of successful people.

Forty years ago, 12% of cadets who started Beast quit before it was over. Last year, attrition was down to less than 2%. The average grit score of incoming cadets haven't changed, but there has been a deliberate change in culture. When only the survivalists succeed, that's an *attrition model.* There's another kind of leadership. I call it a *development model.* When cadets now fall short of meeting the academy's extraordinarily high standards, it means figuring out the support they need to develop. The academic, physical, and military standards for graduating from West Point have, if anything, grown more stringent over time—and young men and women today don't respond to yelling and screaming.

The magic of culture is that one person's grit can provide a model for others. If each person's grit enhances grit in others, then, over time, you might expect what social scientist Jim Flynn calls a "social multiplier" effect. Deep and rich support and relentless challenge to improve promote excellence in individuals and in teams. Supportive and demanding parenting is psychologically wise and encourages children to emulate their parents. About why it's important to be early: "It's about respect. It's about the details. It's about excellence."

What we accomplish in the marathon of life depends tremendously on our grit—our passion and perseverance for long-term goals. An obsession with talent distracts us from the

simple truth--you can grow your grit "from the inside out." You can cultivate your interests. You can develop a habit of daily challenge-exceeding-skill practice. You can connect your work to a purpose beyond yourself. And you can learn to hope when all seems lost. You can also grow your grit "from the outside in." Parents, coaches, teachers, bosses, mentors, friends—developing your personal grit depends critically on other people. Even if you're discontinuing one activity and choosing different lower-order goals, you're still holding fast to your ultimate concern. In the entire sample for this book, there wasn't a single person who, upon reflection, aspired to be *less* gritty.

Intrapersonal character includes *grit*. Interpersonal character includes *gratitude*, *social intelligence*, and *self-control* over emotions like anger. Intellectual character includes virtues like *curiosity* and *zest*. These 3 virtue clusters predict different outcomes. For academic achievement, including stellar report card grades, the cluster containing grit is the most predictive. But for positive social functioning, including how many friends you have, interpersonal character is more important. And for a positive, independent posture toward learning, intellectual virtue trumps the others.

Journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates said, "Failure is probably the most important factor in all of my work. Writing *is* failure. Over and over and over again—until you get it right." Journalism, he says, lets him keep asking the questions that interest him. If you define genius as working toward excellence, ceaselessly, with every element of you being—then, in fact, my dad *is* a genius, and so am I, and so is Coates. And, if you're willing, so are you.

[Effort builds skill *and* makes it productive. You can grow your grit from the inside out. Passion for your work is a *discovery*, followed by a lot of *development*, and then a lifetime of *deepening*. Routines are a godsend when it comes to doing something hard. Children have never been very good at listening to their elders, but they have never failed to imitate them. **Wise** parenting is both supportive and demanding; **neglectful** is neither; **permissive** is supportive but undemanding; **authoritarian** is demanding but unsupportive.]