

The Relationship Between Parenting Behaviors and Adolescent Achievement and Self-Efficacy in Chile and Ecuador

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Abstract:

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the perception of parenting behaviors (positive induction, monitoring, autonomy granting, punitiveness, and permissiveness) on adolescent achievement orientation and self-efficacy among samples of Chilean and Ecuadorian adolescents. Hierarchical regression analyses indicated that parental positive induction significantly predicted a greater achievement orientation for Ecuadorian youth. Achievement orientation and self-efficacy was positively predicted by the perception of Chilean mothers' and fathers' monitoring of behaviors. By contrast, a perception of greater parental punitiveness by Chilean youth negatively predicted self-efficacy and achievement orientation. Similarly, parental punitiveness and permissiveness negatively predicted self-efficacy among Ecuadorian youth. This study yields important insights into the diversity of Latin American culture and parenting behaviors that foster greater adolescent competency.

Keywords: Achievement orientation, Chile, Ecuador, parenting, self-efficacy

Article:

The purpose of this study is to examine the predictability of key dimensions of parental behaviors on the achievement orientation and self-efficacy of adolescents attending public schools in large urban cities in Chile and Ecuador. Although numerous investigations have examined the relationships between parental influences and adolescent academic achievement, few studies have examined parental influences on the development of adolescent self-efficacy (Hoeltje, Zubrick, Silburn, & Garton, 1996). Moreover, no studies to date have examined these relationships among adolescents living in Chile and Ecuador.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A considerable body of research has investigated the importance of parenting styles and behavior in relation to adolescent development, with Baumrind's (1966) typology being quite useful. Authoritarian parents demand obedience and conformity from their children, and favor punitive methods in gaining compliance. Permissive parents have few standards and avoid control. They tend to indulge rather than force or guide their children into acceptable behaviors. Authoritative parents have firm limits but are warm and nurturing in their approach. They prefer reasoning to coercion. Research tends to confirm that the latter approach is most likely to result in children who manifest social competence and responsibility, achievement, and friendliness (Heath, 1995).

Another way of examining the relationship between parenting influences and adolescent development is to divide parenting styles into its major components. Three broad dimensions of parental behavior have been identified as significant contributors to healthy adolescent development: parental support/connection, parental firm control, and punitive or harsh control (Barber, 1997; Barber & Olsen, 1997; Peterson & Hann, 1999). Adolescents reared by parents using high levels of support and firm control (e.g., monitoring), and low levels of

punitiveness have typically been found to experience more positive developmental outcomes such as academic achievement, positive feelings toward the self, and avoidance of risky behavior (Amato & Fowler, 2002; Barber, Chadwick, & Oerter, 1992; Peterson & Hann, 1999).

While studies have consistently identified aspects of parenting behaviors and styles that are optimal in promoting social competence among adolescents in the U.S., controversy exists regarding the applicability of this body of research to adolescents in other cultures. Research findings examining parent-adolescent relationships in diverse samples of adolescents in the U.S., for example, suggest the positive influence of authoritative parenting may not be as positive for African and Asian American adolescents (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Differences in the influence of parenting on adolescent development may be related to parental style approaches, but this methodological focus on styles may not fully capture parenting processes for non-European American groups (Chao, 1994; Chao & Sue, 1996). Moreover, few studies have examined parent-adolescent relationships among non-western or collectivist cultural groups outside of US samples, especially in families from South America. Thus, little is known about the potential generalizability of current research findings to the parental socialization of adolescents across countries or ethnic groups within a nation.

Academic Achievement Orientation

Because of the increasingly complex and competitive nature of the modern world, academic achievement has become extremely important to adolescent psychosocial competence. As technological advances are made, fewer jobs will be available for less educated people. Therefore, it is important for researchers to identify the predictors of adolescent academic achievement and develop prevention programs to target those at risk for poor academic achievement.

Little data is available relating to the family and school experiences of young people in Chile and Ecuador. However, considering the high dropout rate and poverty levels in Latin American countries (Maddaleno & Silber, 1993), it is useful to examine factors that influence adolescent academic achievement and self-efficacy. Moreover, it is important to identify influential parenting behaviors that can be targeted by intervention efforts.

Studies done in the U.S. have consistently demonstrated the importance of parents in facilitating academic achievement among children and adolescents (e.g., Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1992; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). However, the findings across diverse ethnic groups are not as clear since it appears that the patterns of relationships between parenting styles/behaviors and adolescent academic achievement vary across cultural groups (Asakawa & Csikszentmihalyi, 1998; Chao, 1996; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1992). For example, Dornbusch et al. (1987) did not find the same positive effects of authoritative parenting for ethnic minority adolescents. In addition, authoritarian parenting was more strongly associated with poor school performance in Hispanic females than it was for Hispanic males, even though both sexes were equally likely to experience it. Dornbusch et al. (1987) also concluded that the benefits of authoritative parenting in relation to adolescent school performance were stronger for European Americans and Hispanics than for Asian Americans and African Americans.

In a subsequent study of the same data, Steinberg et al. (1991) examined the benefits of authoritative parenting compared to non-authoritative parenting across 16 ecological niches defined by SES, family structure, and ethnicity. The authors found that across each of the 16 niches, an authoritative parenting style was related to fewer problem behaviors of adolescents and higher academic achievement and self-reliance. In addition, they concluded that the benefits of authoritative parenting were stronger or more apparent among European American adolescents, middle-class adolescents, and adolescents in intact families. Similar to the findings of Dornbusch et al. (1987), authoritative parenting was less beneficial for academic achievement among African Americans and Asian Americans.

Herman, Dornbush, Herron and Herting (1997) disaggregated parenting styles and found that parental support, firm parental control, and punitive parenting predicted academic achievement for Anglo, African, Asian, and Hispanic Americans. Results from this study suggest the importance of examining specific dimensions of parental behavior when investigating parent-adolescent relationships among non-European American samples.

In summary, research has consistently found significant positive relationships between authoritative parenting and adolescent academic achievement. However, these results are less consistent across cultural groups. When specific dimensions of parental behavior are operationalized separately, parental support, firm control, and punitiveness appear to be consistent predictors of adolescent academic achievement across ethnic minority groups in the US. Therefore, parental support, induction, monitoring, and autonomy granting are hypothesized to be significant positive predictors of academic orientation among adolescents in Chile and Ecuador. In contrast, parental punitive behavior and permissiveness is expected to be a negative predictor across both groups.

Adolescent Self-Efficacy

The extent to which adolescents view themselves as competent and able to deal with normal life challenges refers to adolescents' sense of general self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977; Hoeltje et al., 1996). The development of a sense of general self-efficacy is viewed as a central developmental task of adolescence (Greve, Anderson, & Krampen, 2001). Self-efficacy enhancement is one method of promoting successful adaptation for children and adolescents living in adversity (Rutter, 1990). Self-efficacy has been found to be significantly related to academic performance and various mental health disorders and problem behaviors among adolescents (Bandura, 1986; Hoeltje et al., 1996). Considering the high levels of poverty and school dropout rates in Latin America, understanding how parents help facilitate the development of adolescent self-efficacy could be an important mechanism for improving educational outcomes among youth in these countries. Another useful outcome is increased knowledge about potential ways to reduce mental health disorders and problem behaviors by adolescents through learning how to enhance youthful feelings of self-efficacy.

Although few studies have examined the relationships between parenting influences and adolescent self-efficacy, the work that does exist demonstrates consistent results across diverse cultural groups. Hoeltje et al. (1996) examined the family and adjustment correlates of self-efficacy among Australian adolescents. Results from this study indicated that parental nurturance was a positive predictor of adolescent self-efficacy, while parental rejection was a negative predictor. Similarly, Whitbeck, Simons, Conger, Wickrama, Ackley, and Elder (1997) found that parental induction was a positive predictor while harsh parental behaviors negatively predicted self-efficacy among a US sample of European American adolescents. Moreover, in a study examining the longitudinal impact of supportive parenting, Juang and Silbereisen (1999) reported that adolescents in East and West Germany who experienced consistent supportive parenting had higher levels of self-efficacy and school achievement over a three-year period.

In summary, the available research suggests that parental support, induction, and punitive parenting are predictive of adolescent self-efficacy development. Although previous research has not been conducted among Hispanic or Latin American samples, the following general predictions are made regarding adolescents living in Chile and Ecuador:

- (1) It is expected that parental support, induction, monitoring, and autonomy granting will be positive predictors of adolescent self-efficacy;
- (2) Parental punitiveness and permissiveness will be negative predictors of adolescent self-efficacy.

This study contributes to the literature by exploring the hypothesized relationships within and across two countries for which little empirical research currently exists. Because of the exploratory nature of this study, differences between the Chile and Ecuador samples were not hypothesized. The present investigation improves upon previous studies by examining the relationship between specific parental behaviors and adolescent

outcomes versus the reliance on parental styles that may not generalize across cultures. Additionally, the current study improves upon previous research by including adolescent perceptions of fathers' parenting. Previous research suggests that differences may exist in the patterns of influence between mothers and fathers on developmental outcomes of boys and girls (Block, 1983; Demo, Small, & Savin-Williams, 1987). Therefore, we examine models separately by gender of the parent to examine potential differences in adolescent perceptions of paternal versus maternal influence on adolescent outcomes for youth in Ecuador and Chile.

METHODS

Sample

The sample consisted of 185 adolescents from Ecuador and 245 adolescents from Chile. The ages ranged from 11 to 18 years (mean age = 15.15; sd = 1.08) and were nearly even in distribution of gender (50.4% female, 49.6% male). Self-administered questionnaires were distributed in the classroom setting by teachers trained in research protocols and the principal investigator. Schools of mostly middle class students in Cuenca allowed the investigators to take class periods for data collection for the Ecuador sample. Two public schools in Santiago Chile allowed teachers (trained in the standardized protocol) to recruit potential students and administer surveys to student volunteers during normal class periods.

Given that these samples were generated using a convenience strategy, they may not be representative of Ecuador or Chile as a whole. Moreover, we do not claim that these two countries are representative of Latin America as a whole, or that there are reasons to consider them to be especially similar or distinctive in reference to other Latin American countries.

Survey Instrument

The questionnaire consisted of scales and items that measure a variety of social psychological variables that are relevant to the characteristics of parents, social outcomes of adolescents, and the parent-adolescent relationship. All of the items and scales measuring maternal and paternal parenting behaviors and family dynamics are from the perspective of the adolescent. Likert-type responses were used for all the scale items, in the form of 4-point responses (0 indicating never to 4 indicating always, or 1 corresponding to strongly disagree and 4 corresponding to strongly agree). Items were recoded so that higher scores on scales indicate greater frequency of behaviors or more agreement on the part of the adolescent on each statement. Back translation procedures were applied to the survey instrument in the translation of the questionnaire from English to Spanish.

The survey consists of scales and items which measure sociodemographic variables, self-efficacy, autonomy granting, educational aspirations, parenting behaviors, grade point average, and academic orientations.

Measures

It was hypothesized that the various indicators of parenting would predict the adolescent's achievement orientation and self-efficacy. Parental monitoring, positive induction, punitiveness, permissiveness, and autonomy granting were measured by items from the Parent Behavior Measure (PBM), a shortened version of the Rollins and Thomas Parent Inventory resulting from previous factor analytic studies (Henry, Wilson, & Peterson, 1989; Peterson, Bush, & Supple, 1999). Six items measured parental monitoring and captured the extent to which the parents know how the adolescent spends free time, money, and who his or her friends are. Results of factor analyses, using a maximum likelihood analysis with a direct oblimin rotation, indicated that all six items reflecting parental monitoring for both mothers and fathers in Chile and Ecuador loaded well onto this construct and were retained for subsequent analyses (Cronbach alpha ranged from $\alpha = .83$ to $\alpha = .89$).

Parental positive induction was assessed by eleven items that were intended to measure the extent to which mothers and fathers are perceived as explaining to adolescents how their behavior affects other people, and

being accepting, warm, approving, and nurturant. Factor analyses, with a maximum likelihood analysis and a direct oblimin rotation, indicated that three items reflecting positive induction should be dropped due to poor factor loadings for perception of Ecuadorian mothers' positive induction (e.g., parent shares activities; parent does things with me; parent approves of me and things I do). This resulted in eight items reflecting positive induction ($\alpha = .92$). Four items were dropped due to poor factor loadings for perception of Chilean mothers' positive induction (parent made me feel she would be there if needed; parent approves of me and things I do; parent enjoys doing things with me; parent shares activity with me). Seven items reflected maternal positive induction for the Chilean youth ($\alpha = .85$). Perceptions of paternal positive induction for Ecuadorian youth were best represented by seven items with four items dropped due to poor factor loadings (parent made me feel she would be there if needed; parent approves of me and things I do; parent enjoys doing things with me; parent shares activity with me; $\alpha = .90$). Paternal positive induction for the Chilean youth was best represented by six items with five items dropped due to poor factor loading (parent made me feel she would be there if needed; parent approves of me and things I do; parent enjoys doing things with me; parent shares activity with me; parent explained I should feel good when I share with other family members; $\alpha = .87$).

Parental punitiveness was measured by 14 items that tap into the adolescents' perceptions that mothers and fathers use of verbal and physical threats and behaviors. Factor analyses, using a maximum likelihood analysis and direct oblimin rotation, indicated that four items should be dropped due to poor factor loadings for perception of Ecuadorian mother's punitiveness (parent will not talk when displeased; parent avoids looking at me when disappointed; parent tells me about things he/she has done for me; parent tells me all things she has done for me; $\alpha = .91$). Maternal punitiveness as perceived in Chile was best represented by 12 items and two items were dropped (parent will not talk when displeased; parent tells me about things he/she has done for me; $\alpha = .92$). Paternal punitiveness in Ecuador is best represented by 12 items, and two items were dropped from this construct due to poor factor loadings (parent punished me by not letting me do what I enjoy; parent tells me about things he/she has done for me; $\alpha = .93$). Paternal punitiveness in the Chilean data was best reflected by 11 items, and three were dropped due to poor factor loadings (parent will not talk when displeased; parent avoids looking at me when disappointed; parent tells me about things he/she has done for me; $\alpha = .93$).

Parental permissiveness was reflected by three items intending to show how much the parent permits the adolescent to do things on his/her own. Factor analyses with a maximum likelihood analysis and direct oblimin rotation indicated all items load well in representing this construct for both mothers and fathers in the Chilean and Ecuadorian data. Reliability (measured by Cronbach's alpha) ranged from .73 to .74 for the permissiveness measure. A full list of the measurement items are listed in Table 1.

Adolescent reports of behavioral autonomy granted by the parents were measured by a scale of 10 items based on previous studies of youthful development of autonomy (see Peterson et al., 1999). These items measure the extent to which the young person make decisions and engages in activities without excessive parental intrusion or control regarding choices about friendships, dating, clothing selection, educational goals, and career plans.

Factor analyses, using a maximum likelihood analysis and direct oblimin rotation of the Ecuadorian data, show that five items best represent this construct for mothers. The retained items are: parent allows me to make decisions about career; parent allows me to make decisions about education; parent allows me to be my own person; parent has confidence in my ability to make decisions; parent encourages me to help make family decisions. The resulting reliability as measured by the Cronbach Alpha was .73. Five items also represented this construct for perception of mothers in Chile (parent allows me to make decisions about career; parent allows me to make decisions about education; parent gives me enough freedom; parent has confidence in my ability to make decisions; parent encourages me to help make family decisions; $\alpha = .78$).

Six items best represented paternal autonomy granting for youth in Ecuador (parent gives me enough freedom, parent allows me to choose own friends, parent allows me to choose right from wrong, parent has confidence in my ability to make own decisions, parent encourages me to make decisions about family matters, parent lets me be my own person; $\alpha = .71$). Four items best represented paternal autonomy granting for the Chilean youth

(parent allows me to choose own dating partners, parent allows me to decide what clothes to wear, parent allows me to decide right from wrong, parent allows me to choose own friends; $\alpha = .70$).

Self-reported academic orientations of the teenaged respondents also were measured. Academic orientation was assessed by a five-item scale

TABLE 1. Hypothesized Factor Structure of Parenting Items

Positive Induction (11 items)	
Explains how good I should feel when I do something that he/she liked	Parent would be there for me
Explains how good I should feel when I share things	Parent approves of me
Explains how good I should feel when I do what is right	Parent tells me how much she/he loves me
Explains that when I share with other family members, that I am liked by other family	Parent says nice things about me
Tells me how good others feel when I do what is right	Parent enjoys doing things with me
Parent shares many activities with me	
Punitiveness (14 items)	
Hits me when he/she thinks I am doing something wrong	Is always finding fault with me
Does not give me any peace until I do what he/she says	Punishes me by sending me out of the room
Punishes me by not letting me do things that I really enjoy	Punishes me by hitting me
Yells at me a lot without a good reason	Tells me if I loved him/her, I would do what he/she wants me to do
Punishes me by not letting me do things with other teenagers	Tells me about all the things he/she has done for me
Tells me that I will be sorry I wasn't better behaved	This parent will not talk to me when I displeased him/her
Tells me someday I will be punished for my behavior	This parent avoids looking at me when I have disappointed him/her
Monitoring (6 items)	
Knows where I am after school	Knows the parents of my friends
I tell this parent who I am going to be with when I go out	Knows who my friends are
When I go out, this parent knows where I am	Knows how I spend my money
Autonomy Granting (10 items)	
Gives me enough freedom	Has confidence in my ability to make my own decisions
Allows me to choose my own friends	Encourages me to help in making decisions about family matters
Allows me to decide what is right and wrong without interfering	Allows me to make my own decisions about career goals without interfering
Allows me to decide what clothes to wear without interfering	Allows me to make my own decisions about educational goals without interfering
Allows me to choose my own dating partner	Lets me be my own person in enough situations
Permissiveness (3 items)	
Allows me to do anything I want to do	Allows me to have any friends I want without questioning me
Allows me to be out on my own as often as it pleases me	

Achievement Orientation (5 items)	
I try hard in school	Education is so important that it's worth it to put up with things about school I don't like
Grades are very important to me	In general, I like school
I usually finish my homework on time	
Self-Efficacy (15 items)	
I cannot get down to work when I should	When unexpected problems occur, I don't handle them well
If I can't do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can	I avoid trying to learn new things when they look too difficult
When I set important goals for myself, I rarely achieve them	Failure just makes me try harder
I give up on things before completing them	I feel insecure about my ability to do things
I avoid facing difficulties	I am a self-reliant person
If something looks complicated, I will not bother to try	I give up easily
When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it until I finish it	When I decide to do something, I go right to work on it
When trying something new, I soon give up if not initially successful	

that taps into effort exerted at school, the importance of education, whether assignments are completed on time, and whether the adolescent likes school. A sample item for this scale is: I try hard in school. Factor analyses, using a maximum likelihood analysis and direct oblimin rotation, indicated all five items loaded well together for both the Ecuadorian ($\alpha = .81$) and Chilean ($\alpha = .85$) youth. Self-efficacy was measured by 15 items (with several items reversed coded), to reflect the adolescent's perception of perceptions of competency and initiative. Factor analyses showed that nine items best reflected this item, and six items were dropped due to poor factor loadings for both the Ecuadorian ($\alpha = .87$) and Chilean ($\alpha = .88$) youth (I cannot get down to work when I should, If I can't do the job the first time, I keep trying, When I have something unpleasant, I stick to it until finished, When decide to do something, I go right to work, Failure makes me try harder, I am a self-reliant person).

Analyses

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to test the hypotheses that parenting behaviors would predict greater self-efficacy and achievement orientation among adolescents. Separate statistical models were tested for mothers' and fathers' parental behaviors as predictors of adolescent self-efficacy and achievement orientation to help prevent multi-collinearity among adolescent perceptions of the same parental behaviors for each parent. Also, separate statistical models were tested among the Chilean and Ecuadorian data. An initial inclination to merge the data files was rejected because many differences were identified between the two countries in the item composition of the parental measures. Furthermore, the smaller sample sizes from each country prohibited the use of structural equation modeling procedures, which led to the choice of hierarchical multiple regression analyses.

RESULTS

The demographic variables of age of adolescent, gender of adolescent, and father's educational attainment were included as a control variable block in the hierarchical regression models. Results are presented separately for adolescents' perceptions of mothers and fathers, and by country of origin.

Achievement Orientation

Ecuador, Maternal Model. Standardized regression coefficients indicated that age and father's education failed to attain statistical significance (see Table 2). Standardized regression coefficients indicated that gender significantly predicted achievement orientation ($\beta = .248$; $p < .05$), indicating that female adolescents scored higher on achievement orientation. Parenting variables significantly predicting an achievement orientation were maternal autonomy granting ($\beta = -.208$; $p < .10$) and positive induction ($\beta = .487$; $p < .001$). Thus, it appears

that Ecuadorian adolescents who perceive their mothers as granting a high degree of autonomy reported a lowered achievement orientation, whereas, maternal positive induction was a positive predictor of achievement orientation.

Ecuador, Paternal Model. As with the perception of Ecuadorian mothers, standardized regression coefficients for fathers showed gender to significantly predict achievement orientation ($\beta = .226$; $p < .05$), indicating female adolescents scored higher on achievement orientation, while age and father's education were not significantly related to achievement orientation (see Table 2). Paternal monitoring of behaviors demonstrated a positive association with achievement orientation ($\beta = .263$; $p < .05$) as did positive induction ($\beta = .418$; $p < .001$). This indicates that greater paternal monitoring and positive induction had a positive effect on the achievement orientation of adolescents from Ecuador.

TABLE 2

Ecuadorian Model: Multiple Regression Analysis for Ecuadorian Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting Behaviors as Predictors of Achievement Orientation

Predictor Variables	b (father in parentheses)	SE β (father in parentheses)	β (father in parentheses)
Demographic Variables			
Age of Adolescent	-.268 (-.161)	.220 (.270)	-.116 (-.069)
Gender of Adolescent	1.129 (1.181)	.506 (.609)	.248** (.226**)
Father's Education	-.003 (-.009)	.086 (.096)	-.038 (.012)
Paternal Behaviors			
Monitoring	.036 (.149)	.064 (.069)	.064 (.263**)
Autonomy Granting	-.153 (.052)	.091 (.130)	-.208* (.060)
Punitiveness	-.032 (.009)	.033 (.033)	-.098 (.032)
Positive Induction	.297 (.259)	.070 (.078)	.487*** (.418***)
Permissiveness	-.095 (-.124)	.140 (.158)	.077 (-.110)

Multiple Correlation R .558 (.604)
F-Value 4.635 (4.665)
n = 185 (185)

R-Square .311 (.365)
Significance F .000*** (.000***)

Chilean Model: Multiple Regression Analysis for Chilean Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting Behaviors as Predictors of Achievement Orientation

Predictor Variables	b (father in parentheses)	SE β (father in parentheses)	β (father in parentheses)
Demographic Variables			
Age of Adolescent	.363 (.322)	.289 (.292)	.096 (.088)
Gender of Adolescent	.799 (1.117)	.514 (.531)	.124* (.175**)
Father's Education	.062 (.057)	.122 (.121)	.038 (.037)
Paternal Behaviors			
Monitoring	.346 (.258)	.089 (.076)	.343*** (.313***)
Autonomy Granting	-.038 (-.118)	.105 (.123)	-.032 (-.089)
Punitiveness	-.060 (-.083)	.034 (.032)	-.145* (-.216***)
Positive Induction	.061 (.004)	.080 (.087)	.071 (.005)
Permissiveness	-.021 (-.187)	.147 (.145)	-.013 (.124)

Multiple Correlation R .475 (.239)
F-Value 5.096 (5.186)
n = 245 (245)

R-Square .226 (.193)
Significance F .000*** (.000***)

b = unstandardized betas; β = standardized betas; SE β = standard error of standardized beta
* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$

Chile, Maternal Model. Gender significantly predicted achievement orientation ($\beta = .124$; $p < .10$; see Table 2) meaning that Chilean female adolescents score higher than males on this measure. Maternal monitoring of behaviors had a significant and positive effect on achievement orientation ($\beta = .343$; $p < .001$), whereas,

punitiveness had a negative effect ($\beta = -.145$; $p < .10$). This indicates that Chilean adolescents who perceived their mothers as monitoring their behaviors were more likely to have a positive achievement orientation. Furthermore, those who perceived their mothers as being punitive were less likely to have a positive achievement orientation.

Chile, Paternal Model. The gender of the adolescent was related to achievement orientation ($\beta = .175$; $p < .05$). This indicates that Chilean females, on average, have a higher achievement orientation than males. Paternal monitoring demonstrated a positive association with achievement orientation ($\beta = .313$; $p < .01$) while paternal punitiveness was a negative predictor ($\beta = -.216$; $p < .01$; see Table 2). This indicates that greater monitoring by Chilean fathers predicts a higher achievement orientation among Chilean adolescents, whereas greater punitiveness predicts a lower achievement orientation. These results are similar to those that were found in the Chilean maternal model.

Self-Efficacy

Ecuador, Maternal Model. The demographic variables failed to predict self-efficacy. Ecuadorian youth perceived that maternal punitiveness had a negative impact on self-efficacy ($\beta = -.469$; $p < .01$) as did permissiveness ($\beta = -.172$; $p < .10$), while induction was positively related ($\beta = .245$; $p < .05$; see Table 3). This indicates that adolescents who perceived their mothers as being punitive and permissive reported lower levels of self-efficacy, and that experiencing their relationship as rational and supportive resulted in higher levels of self-efficacy.

Ecuador, Paternal Model. Fathers educational attainment had a significant and positive impact on the self-efficacy of the adolescent ($\beta = .237$; $p < .05$), whereas age and gender did not impact self-efficacy. Greater paternal punitiveness negatively predicted self-efficacy ($\beta = -.459$; $p < .01$) as did greater paternal permissiveness ($\beta = -.303$; $p < .05$; see Table 3). This indicates that adolescents who perceived their fathers (as they did with their mothers) as being punitive and permissive reported lower levels of self-efficacy.

Chile, Maternal Model. The father's level of education significantly predicted self-efficacy ($\beta = .165$; $p < .05$). This indicates that a higher level of father's education predicted greater self-efficacy. Greater maternal monitoring of behaviors also predicted self-efficacy ($\beta = .177$; $p < .05$). Maternal punitiveness negatively predicted self-efficacy ($\beta = -.545$; $p < .01$; see Table 3). This indicates that greater monitoring of behaviors had a positive effect on self-efficacy and punitiveness had a negative impact on the adolescent's self-efficacy.

Chile, Paternal Model. Father's level of education significantly predicted self-efficacy ($\beta = .173$; $p < .05$). Paternal monitoring of behaviors also had a significant and positive impact on self-efficacy ($\beta = .267$; $p < .05$) and punitiveness had a negative impact on self-efficacy ($\beta = -.493$; $p < .01$; see Table 3). These results are similar to those found for Chilean mothers, where greater monitoring had a positive impact on self-efficacy and greater punitiveness had a negative impact.

DISCUSSION

Based on the review of the literature, we hypothesized that adolescents in Chile and Ecuador, as in the U.S., would have a higher achievement orientation (educational effort) and experience greater self-efficacy (sense of competence and initiative) when their parents interact with them using strategies of positive induction (reasoning and support), monitoring (keeping track of the child's activities), and autonomy (freedom granting). Parental punitiveness (punishing behaviors) and permissiveness (lack of control) were expected to result in lower levels of achievement orientation and self-efficacy.

A total of 430 students from urban areas in Ecuador and Chile responded to a self-report survey designed to assess their perceptions of a wide-range of parenting behaviors and their own academic orientation and feelings

of self-efficacy. The sample consisted of nearly equal numbers of males and females, whose average age was fifteen. Analyses were run separately for mothers and fathers and by country, as factor analyses revealed a number of apparent gender and cultural differences in how the measures were conceptualized by the respondents. This was expected to some degree, as differences in attitudes and understandings are an important part of being a separate and identifiable culture or society.

TABLE 3

Ecuadorian Model: Multiple Regression Analysis for Ecuadorian Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting Behaviors as Predictors of Self-Efficacy

Predictor Variables	b (father in parentheses)	SE β (father in parentheses)	β (father in parentheses)
Demographic Variables			
Age of Adolescent	.032 (-.226)	.503 (.584)	.006 (-.040)
Gender of Adolescent	.079 (.371)	1.229 (1.134)	.002 (.028)
Father's Education	.273 (.489)	.204 (.222)	.140 (.237**)
Paternal Behaviors			
Monitoring	-.002 (-.158)	.182 (.197)	-.002 (-.101)
Autonomy Granting	-.330 (.063)	.223 (.346)	-.181 (.029)
Punitiveness	-.365 (-.342)	.084 (.084)	-.469*** (-.459***)
Positive Induction	.355 (.241)	.178 (.214)	.245** (.151)
Permissiveness	-.528 (-.844)	.336 (.406)	-.172* (-.303**)

Multiple Correlation R .581 (.644)
F-Value 4.843 (5.229)
n = 185 (185)

R-Square .338 (.415)
Significance F .000*** (.000***)

Chilean Model: Multiple Regression Analysis for Chilean Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting Behaviors as Predictors of Self-Efficacy

Predictor Variables	b (father in parentheses)	SE β (father in parentheses)	β (father in parentheses)
Demographic Variables			
Age of Adolescent	.292 (.193)	.428 (.458)	.047 (.031)
Gender of Adolescent	-1.143 (-.659)	.766 (.840)	-.108 (-.061)
Father's Education	.434 (.452)	.180 (.187)	.165** (.173**)
Paternal Behaviors			
Monitoring	.291 (.365)	.130 (.118)	.177** (.267**)
Autonomy Granting	-.192 (.194)	.154 (.189)	-.098 (-.088)
Punitiveness	-.364 (-.312)	.049 (.048)	-.545*** (-.493***)
Positive Induction	.125 (-.096)	.119 (.139)	.089 (-.065)
Permissiveness	-.089 (-.092)	.218 (.229)	-.035 (-.004)

Multiple Correlation R .620 (.599)
F-Value 10.601 (8.938)
n = 245 (245)

R-Square .384 (.358)
Significance F .000*** (.000***)

b = unstandardized betas; β = standardized betas; SE β = standard error of standardized beta
*p < .10; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Achievement Orientation. Overall, examination of the findings suggests differences in the development of achievement orientation across gender of adolescent and across cultural group. Female adolescents tended to manifest a higher level of achievement orientation than did males. These findings are consistent with similar research among US samples of European American adolescents. For example, Pomerantz, Altermatt, and Saxon (2002) reported that early adolescent girls performed higher than boys in their school grades (i.e., language arts, social studies, science, and math). Moreover, within an ethnically diverse US sample of adolescents, Miller and Byrnes (2001) found that girls in the 1 1th grade reported higher levels of achievement orientation than boys in the 1 1th grade.

Interesting differences across Chilean and Ecuadorian samples were also found. Consistent with research among European American samples (e.g., Herman et al., 1997), parental positive induction, as well as monitoring (by fathers) predicted achievement orientation in Ecuador. Autonomy granting, on the other hand, was associated with lowered achievement orientation, which is contrary to previous empirical and theoretical work among US samples (e.g., Herman et al., 1997; Peterson & Hann, 1999). This finding also contrasts with recent empirical work, suggesting that Mexican American adolescents expect behavioral autonomy at similar levels to European American adolescents (Fuligni, 1998). Therefore, it seems autonomy granting, at least as conceptualized and measured in this particular study, is not as important to the development of academic orientation (or self-efficacy) among these Chilean and Ecuadorian adolescents.

In Chile, similar to studies of European American adolescents (e.g., Herman et al., 1997), monitoring from both parents had a positive effect while punitiveness had a negative effect. In general, the most consistent predictors of a high achievement orientation for Chilean and Ecuadorian adolescents was being female and having parents who are rational or supportive (in Ecuador) and monitor their behaviors without being punitive.

Self-Efficacy. Overall, the development of self-efficacy among Chilean and Ecuadorian adolescents were similar across age and gender of adolescent, with a few differences found across gender of parent, SES, and cultural group. Father's education served as our measure of family SES, and the findings suggest that higher levels of paternal education predict greater feelings of self-efficacy among boys and girls in Chile and Ecuador.

In Ecuador, punitiveness and permissiveness resulted in lower self-efficacy, while positive induction from mothers was connected to greater self-efficacy. In Chile, monitoring resulted in greater self-efficacy, and punitiveness had the opposite effect. These significant findings are in the expected directions and consistent with previous studies among US (Whitbeck et al., 1997) and Australian (Hoeltje et al., 1996) samples. However, similar to the findings for academic orientation, there were some differences across the two cultural groups.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, our results are similar to those found in the US. Parental induction and monitoring contribute to positive outcomes for adolescents, while being overly permissive or punishing have the opposite effect. Being female and from higher SES families are also helpful in attaining higher levels of academic orientation and self-efficacy.

It is intriguing that autonomy granting only appears as significant one time (with Ecuadorian mothers and achievement orientation) and that it is a negative predictor. It seems that for the most part it is simply not important either way. There is some evidence that Hispanic parents do not grant their children as much freedom as do parents in the US, and that, therefore, it loses its predictive value.

The most powerful parental behavior seems to be monitoring. Knowing where their children are and what they are doing has a positive impact on achievement motivation in both countries and on self-efficacy in Chile. The biggest surprise was that positive parental induction was not as powerful as it has tended to be in other studies. The research reviewed from Chile points to significant behavioral, health, and educational problems in that country (Urzua, 1993). It may be, therefore, that their situation calls for a firm (though not punitive) hand in guiding youth so that they will have a successful educational experience.

Overall, these findings underscore the diversity of adolescent socialization experiences and development in Latin America. Many culture differences (i.e., across gender of parent, gender of adolescent, age of adolescent, and SES) were found within both the Chilean and Ecuadorian samples, highlighting intriguing differences within, and well as between Ecuadorian and Chilean families. For example, parental induction and permissiveness show up in Ecuador more often as significant variables, and monitoring less often. In Chile, it is clear that it is important for parents to monitor their children's activities and avoid punitive responses.

Ecuadorian adolescents seem to have a special relationship with their mothers not found with other samples. While our samples were neither huge nor truly random (a practical impossibility in most cross-cultural research), they were sufficient for our statistical analyses. It seems likely that a more sensitive, perhaps qualitative approach is needed in future research in order to tease out these likely societal and gender differences in parenting approaches and their impact on adolescent outcomes.

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