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Autonomy support during adolescence has been associated with greater self-efficacy, while parental control has been associated with diminished self-efficacy. Few studies have examined the independent influence of conformity to parental expectations (a need thwarting practice) on adolescent outcomes or how it influences the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy. The current study's sample was drawn from the Adolescent Resiliency in Multi-Cultural Communities (ARMCC) dataset (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). A sample of 134 Armenian and Latino 9th-through 12th-grade adolescents was used to examine the individual effects of autonomy support and conformity on adolescent reports of general self-efficacy. The moderating effect of conformity to parental expectations on the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy was also examined. Adolescent reports of autonomy support, conformity to parental expectations, and general self-efficacy were measured using self-reports. Results indicated that autonomy supportive parenting led to increased reports of general self-efficacy, while conformity to parental expectations led to diminished reports of general self-efficacy. Moreover, the interaction term revealed that as conformity increased to moderate and high levels the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy weakened. These findings raise important questions regarding the impact of autonomy and conformity on adolescent outcomes via their impact on self-efficacy.

THE MODERATING EFFECT OF CONFORMITY TO PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS ON THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN AUTONOMY SUPPORT AND ADOLESCENT SELF-EFFICACY

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Autonomy is defined as a sense of choice, initiative, and endorsement of one's activities (Véronneau, Koestner, & Abela, 2005). The development of autonomy during adolescence is linked to positive youth outcomes (e.g., self-worth, social well-being, and decreased feelings of depression) and has been labeled a key developmental milestone (Marbell-Pierre, Grolnick, Stewart, & Raftery-Helmer, 2017). The process by which autonomy development is promoted is labeled autonomy support. Autonomy support is defined as the "promotion of volitional functioning and encouragement of adolescents to behave based on personal interests" (Deci & Ryan, 2000) and has been linked with greater adolescent well-being (e.g., greater life satisfaction and self-esteem and lower depressive symptoms) (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Nonetheless, despite the benefits associated with the development of autonomy, parents struggle with supporting adolescents' autonomy. (Jensen & Dost-Gözkan, 2015). Conformity, a process by which parents stifle autonomy development, is defined as the tendency to comply with standards, rules, or laws and has the opposite effect of autonomy support on adolescent outcomes. Specifically, differing from autonomy support, conformity has been linked to adolescent illbeing (i.e., increased avoidance, self-derogation, etc.). Together, autonomy support and conformity independently influence adolescent outcomes, but rarely are they included in one model to examine their combined impact.

In this thesis, I seek to examine the independent and combined impact of parental autonomy support and conformity to parental expectations on the adolescent outcome, general self-efficacy. Moreover, I seek to include conformity as a moderator to examine its impact on the relationship between autonomy support and adolescent's general self-efficacy.

Self-Determination Theory

Three Basic Needs

According to Self Determination Theory (SDT), humans have three basic psychological needs that must be independently fulfilled to achieve well-being: competence, relatedness, and autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2006). Competence is the need to be effective in dealing with the environment, relatedness is the need to have close and affectionate relationships with others, and autonomy is the need for independent thought, emotion, and behavior, allowing one to control the course of one's life (Hodgins, Koestner, & Duncan, 1996). As an organicist theory, autonomy is considered the "master" need because it emphasizes greater integration and self-regulation over time (Sheldon, Williams, & Joiner, 2003).

Within SDT it is asserted that the fulfillment of these three basic needs leads to greater autonomous functioning. Specifically, increasing autonomy, competence, and relatedness across the adolescent developmental period should also lead to increases in self-efficacy and well-being. As such, the theory posits that autonomy is critical for optimal functioning, allowing individuals to experience psychological benefits (Ryan & Deci, 2000). While important at every age, Soenens and colleagues (2007) contend that

autonomy may be especially important during adolescence when individuals seek to establish independent identities. Thus, as adolescents strive to differentiate from their parents it may be more important for them to engage in activities that they perceive as self-endorsed. Consequently, SDT asserts that adolescents who perceive their parents to be autonomy supportive feel freer to engage in behaviors that are meaningful and experience greater wellbeing and growth (Ferguson, Kasser, & Jahng, 2010). In sum, autonomy supportive environments provide the context for adolescents to freely and gradually develop autonomy, leading to positive outcomes.

Perceived Locus of Causality: Three Extrinsic Motives

According to SDT, the main indicator of autonomous functioning is perceived internal locus of causality. Perceived locus of causality refers to the perception of an actions' initiation being driven by internal or external forces (Ryan & Connell, 1989). As such, individuals exhibiting external locus of causality, perceive their actions as being initiated by external forces (e.g., family, friends, teachers, etc.). On the other hand, individuals exhibiting internal locus of causality, perceive their actions as being initiated by themselves. Put simply, autonomous functioning is represented by how much control a person feels they have over their behaviors (Sheldon et al., 2003). With autonomy being labeled the master need that emphasizes greater self-regulation over time (Sheldon et al., 2003), the need to feel in control of one's actions, exhibiting internal locus of causality, has implications for adolescents' well-being. For instance, adolescents experiencing little to no control may report greater internalizing or externalizing symptomology due to poor self-regulatory abilities. Moving on to discuss the three extrinsic motives influencing

perceived locus of causality, self-determination theory contends that perceived locus of causality is influenced by external, introjected, and identified motivation, each varying in their degree of self-integration and authenticity.

External Motivation. External motivation is driven by a perceived external locus of causality and based on concrete rewards. This motive lacks in authenticity (ownership) and is not integrated into the self, influencing the perceived internal locus of causality. Thus, when individuals employ external motivation, they perform activities due to external pressure (e.g., parental commands), do not perceive these activities as self-endorsed, and gain little to no value from the activity. Further, individuals who continue to complete tasks while employing external motivation, will never incorporate the task into their sense of self (driven by a perceived internal locus of causality), will never feel that the task is self-endorsed, and will eventually begin to show diminished wellbeing.

Take for example the task of homework completion in an adolescent's least favorite subject. Undesirable, an adolescent with external motivation may report completing the assignment to avoid being punished by their parents. However, considering the lack of self-endorsement in completing the activity, the adolescent may also report less desire to complete the activity in the future. Hence, parenting eliciting this form of motivation lacks in autonomy support because it encourages adolescents to behave based on conformity (external pressure) and does not promote the internalization of values and behaviors.

Introjected Motivation. Introjected motivation, also lacking in authenticity and self-integration, is driven by an internal sense of pressure and guilt. As such, individuals

employing this form of motivation, perform tasks to relieve themselves of negative affect. Seeking to conform to environmental expectations, individuals employing introjected motivation may not experience performed activities as pleasurable but complete them because they benefit from the alleviation of negative emotions they would feel if they choose not to. However, these activities are never incorporated into the individuals' sense of self (driven by a perceived internal locus of causality) and the person does not decrease or increase in overall wellbeing.

Revisiting the homework completion task, an adolescent with introjected motivation may report completing the assignment to conform to rules or norms and relieve the anxiety they would feel if they did not. Thus, completing the assignment would lead to a reduction in negative affect but no meaningful increase in positive emotions. Similar to external motivation, parenting eliciting introjected motivation lacks in autonomy support because it does not promote the internalization of values and behaviors.

Identified Motivation. Identified motivation, is driven by an internal locus of causality and aligns best with autonomy supportive contexts (Sheldon et al., 2003). Individuals who employ identified motivation believe their activities to be self-endorsed; hence, these individuals would be equally as likely to report value in pleasurable and unpleasurable activities. Further, individuals with identified motivation would also experience enhanced well-being as a result of the activities performed being incorporated into their sense of selves.

Returning to the homework completion task, an adolescent with identified motivation may report completing the assignment because being a good student and excelling academically is important, therefore leading to increased motivation to complete the assignment in the future. Parenting eliciting this form of motivation embodies autonomy support by encouraging internalization of values and behaviors. Accordingly, SDT posits that identified motivation represents maturity by allowing an individual to take a disliked necessity and make it feel like a choice. As such, the theory asserts that mature people learn to authentically own their extrinsically motivated behavior, relating to the ultimate goal of the phenomenal self. The phenomenal self is defined by an individual's ability to integrate every action performed with their sense of self (Sheldon et al., 2003). Thus, exhibiting successful autonomy development, the phenomenal self-endorses every action performed and demonstrates complete volition. Those who do not achieve the phenomenal self are said to be working towards successful autonomy development and lack full autonomy, choice, and self-endorsement.

Is Autonomy Support Universally Important?

Moving beyond the core features of SDT, there has been debate on whether the concept of autonomy support is universally important, with some researchers positing that autonomy support may be less beneficial in collectivistic societies (Marbell-Pierre et al., 2017). As Marbell-Pierre and colleagues emphasize, autonomy development is a universal concept, although associations with youth outcomes vary across cultures based on the form of autonomy encouraged. As mentioned previously, the meaning and development of autonomy varies as a function of four different mechanisms: perspective

taking, allowance of open exchange, allowance of decision making, and provision of choice. While *perspective taking* occurs through the empathetic acknowledgement of a child's point of view, *allowance of open exchange* occurs through engagement of the child in dialogues where they are encouraged to express their opinions, *decision making* through engagement of the child in self-endorsed decisions, and *provision of choice* through engagement of the child in choices concerning their lives.

In discussing cultural differences, provision of choice and allowance of decision-making have been linked with greater autonomy in individuals with independent self-construals (a key feature of individualistic societies where individuals are encouraged to view themselves as separate from others) and as such have been labeled *promotion of independence* (Marbell-Pierre et al., 2017). On the other hand, allowance of open exchange and perspective taking have been linked to greater autonomy in individuals with both independent and interdependent self-construals (a key feature of collectivistic societies where individuals are encouraged to view themselves as intertwined with the in-group) and as such these two forms of autonomy have been labeled *promotion of volition* (Marbell-Pierre, 2017). Thus, while promotion of independence (comprising decision-making and provision of choice) does not exhibit cross-cultural relevance, promotion of volition (comprising perspective taking and allowance of open exchange) has been shown to be a universally important.

Control of Volitional Functioning

While promotion of volition has been identified as universally important, in cultures that are characterized by less parental provision of autonomy support and that

ostensibly control adolescents' volition, SDT posits that the extent to which adolescents internalize such values as conformity will influence their wellbeing. Revisiting the concept of perceived internal locus of causality, adolescents in autonomy controlling environments who internalize cultural values of conformity, may perceive themselves as freely relinquishing their autonomy to their environment. As such, these adolescents would employ identified motivation, their behaviors would align with their self-concept, and they would experience increased wellbeing. Providing an example, in cultures where arranged marriage is common, adolescents who embrace those cultural values may freely relinquish their autonomy related to selecting a spouse. In doing so, they would have come to see themselves as personally endorsing their culture's values and would be expected to experience greater wellbeing. However, adolescents in the same cultures who do not personally endorse the cultural value of conformity will experience the same practice of arranged marriage as something they are forced into, as a result of external pressure, and would be expected to experience decreased wellbeing.

In sum, when adolescents in controlling environments internalize cultural values (e.g., control and conformity) and self-endorse them, their need for autonomy is met. In such cases, while autonomy is not externally supported, adolescents perceive themselves to be in control of their behaviors, freely relinquishing their autonomy to fulfill environmental goals and uphold cultural values. This perceived choice provides adolescents with a perceived internal locus of causality and contributes to greater wellbeing.

Pawns and Origins

Extending the concept of perceived internal locus of causality, self-determination theory incorporates the notion of origins and pawns. According to the theory, people are naturally "origins" exhibiting choice (Sheldon et al., 2003). Origins are defined as beings who feel in control of themselves and their behaviors, choosing what they do (DeCharms, 1968). In contrast, the theory asserts that under certain circumstances the environment can obscure the idea of agency, making people feel controlled (Sheldon et al., 2003). An example of this concept is German police officers during the holocaust. Under the rule of Hitler, officers who felt controlled by political parties, relinquished their individual freedom due to contextual pressures. In said environments, people who are controlled may stop exercising choice, relinquishing free-will to the environment, causing them to feel like pawns. Pawns are defined as beings who feel regulated by environmental forces, causing their sense of self to be disengaged from their behaviors and preventing them from taking full responsibility for their actions (Sheldon et al., 2003).

Relating the concepts of origins and pawns to cultures that offer less autonomy support, if individuals in these environments internalize their cultural values and believe themselves to freely relinquish their autonomy and self-endorse cultural values, they would be considered origins because they feel in control of and responsible for their behaviors. However, individuals in these environments who do not internalize their cultural values and feel forced to relinquish their autonomy would be considered pawns because they do not feel in control of or responsible for their behaviors. In sum, people are naturally born agents but in certain environments may relinquish their agency to

appease environmental standards. As such, it is only when the individuals in these environments feel that they have no choice over their behaviors that their well-being begins to suffer. Moreover, if an individual is to satisfy their three basic needs and function autonomously, they must also have control over and feel in control of their behaviors. Accordingly, the theory indicates that autonomous functioning enables us to self-regulate and strive for greater self-regulation, leading to more successful functioning (Sheldon & Elliot, 1998). With more experience, this process is thought to strengthen with age. According to Sheldon, Elliot, Kim, & Kasser (2001), the older that people get, the more autonomously they should function, providing them with more choice and responsibility over their behaviors; however, not everyone follows this pattern.

Autonomy Support, Conformity, and Self-Efficacy: Are they Related?

Extending from the previous literature, I contend that autonomy supportive parenting can serve to increase adolescent's general self-efficacy by decreasing parental control and conformity and providing adolescents with a foundation on which to confidently navigate new experiences and challenges (Peterson, 2005). As such, relating this concept back to SDT, individuals who are encouraged by environmental forces to develop autonomy and be origins of their behaviors will be more likely to reach their phenomenal self, integrating all actions performed with their self-concept. Moreover, these individuals will have the tools necessary for effective self-regulation. This increased efficacy will allow adolescents to engage in processes, such as future orientation or career decisions, that will influence their quality of life and enhance their

well-being. Hence, I now provide an overview of the literature on parental autonomy support, conformity, and general self-efficacy.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Autonomy Development

Autonomy is the innate human need for choice, initiative, and endorsement of one's activities (Marbell-Pierre et al., 2017; Véronneau et al., 2005). A key developmental milestone during adolescence, autonomy develops via autonomy support (Hare, Szwedo, Schad, & Allen, 2014). Within the literature, autonomy support has been defined as the promotion of volitional functioning (Hare et al., 2014 & Pedersen, 2017), the acknowledgement of one's feelings and support of decisions (Ferguson et al., 2010), and the attempt to acknowledge a child's perspective, provide choice, and use minimal controls to foster behavior (Brauer, 2016; Costa et al., 2016).

Mechanisms of Autonomy Support

According to Marbell-Pierre, Grolnick, Stewart, & Raftery-Helmer (2017) parents who engage in autonomy support do so through four mechanisms: perspective taking, allowance of decision-making, allowance of open exchange, and provision of choice. *Perspective taking* acknowledges children's perspectives, thoughts, and feelings; *decision making* allows children to make decisions that influence daily experiences; *open exchange* allows children to express their perspectives; and *provision of choice* allows children to engage in choice about daily experiences.

Autonomy development supported through the perspective-taking and provision of open exchange mechanisms are defined as *promotion of volitional functioning*, centering around a child's perceived internal locus of causality and ability to act based on self endorsement when completing an activity (Diseth & Samdal, 2014; Marbell-Pierre et al., 2017). Contrastingly, autonomy development supported through the allowance of decision-making and provision of choice mechanisms are defined as *promotion of independence*, centering around a child's ability to make decisions and think without being influenced by outside perspectives (Pedersen, 2017). Although promotion of volitional functioning and independence vary substantially and can lead to different outcomes, the two forms are used interchangeably within the literature on autonomy support, sometimes with definitions combining both into one definition of autonomy support.

Parental Autonomy Support

Autonomy supportive environments serve to encourage the internalization of values and behaviors (Marbell-Pierre et al., 2017), thus influencing the development of autonomy. Autonomy development, is generally fostered by authority figures (mainly parents), via mechanisms of autonomy support. Practices of autonomy support are studied within the family because parenting characteristics influence the mechanism of support employed and the development of autonomy, which has been linked with greater adolescent well-being (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Further, development of autonomy within the family influences instances of autonomy outside the family (Collins & Repinski, 1994). As such, research demonstrates that autonomy development within the

family has a major influence on relationship dynamics outside of the family and a lack thereof can lead to negative outcomes.

The Influence of Parent Characteristics

The behaviors and personalities of parents are important factors that shape the development of autonomy (Perez & Cumsille, 2012). Particularly, parents influence the amount and form of autonomy that youth engage in. For example, Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan (1997) asserted that empathic parents, who exert less obedience and conformity-based control, allow their children to act by themselves and as a result foster the development of autonomy. Further, as behaviors and relationships within the family translate to interactions outside the family (Collins & Repinski, 1994) autonomy in the family sets the stage for autonomy in other contexts. For instance, adolescents who exhibit less autonomy within the family are also expected to exhibit less autonomy with peers (Berndt, 1979). As such, research demonstrates that autonomy development within the family is a major contributor to relationship dynamics within and outside of the family and can lead to positive and negative youth outcomes.

Autonomy Across Contexts

While there is debate on whether autonomy is a universal concept, researchers have found that the development of autonomy via autonomy support is equally beneficial to adolescents from individualistic and collectivistic societies. For example, using a sample of 322 adolescents from Denmark, South Korea, and the United States, Ferguson, Kasser, & Jahng (2010) set out to examine the impact of perceived autonomy support on life and school satisfaction and found that differences in outcomes was mediated by

perceptions of autonomy support from authority figures. Thus, adolescents in all three societies who perceived authority figures to provide autonomy support showed increased life and school satisfaction. As such, autonomy support was concluded to be universally important (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003).

Moreover, revisiting the work of Marbell-Pierre and colleagues (2017), the authors examined the influence of parental autonomy support in an individualistic (the U.S.) and collectivistic (Ghana) culture on adolescent outcomes. In doing so, the authors differentiated between two forms of autonomy support (*promotion of independence*: choice and decision-making and *promotion of volition*: open dialogue and perspective-taking) and factored in the influence of adolescents' self-construals (independent vs. interdependent). As such, the authors found that in both the individualistic society (the U.S.), where adolescents demonstrated independent self construals, and the collectivistic society (Ghana), where adolescents demonstrated interdependent self construals, promotion of volition (perspective taking/open exchange autonomy) predicted positive outcomes, whereas promotion of independence was only associated with positive outcomes in the individualistic society (the U.S.). Thus, showing that autonomy is valued in both individualistic and collectivistic societies, although the form of autonomy support valued may differ based on the culture.

The Opposite of Autonomy Support: Control

Researchers have indicated that psychological control is the opposite of autonomy support. Psychological control uses intrusive tactics to make children think, behave, or feel in parentally approved ways (Costa et al., 2016). Differing from autonomy support,

psychological control does not encourage identified motivation but promotes external motivation. In turn, studies suggest that psychological control leads to youth illbeing. For example, examining the impact of parental overcontrol in the personal academic domain, Lins-Dyer (2003) found that children reporting the most parental control also reported learning the least, receiving poorer grades, as well as reporting more internalizing disorders (e.g., depression, anxiety). However, studies have found that parental control is not the culprit, it is parental overcontrol that leads to negative outcomes. For example, Amato & Fowler (2002) reported that adolescents reared by parents exhibiting high support, firm control, and low punitiveness experienced increased positive outcomes (e.g., academic achievement, positive self-image, and risk avoidance), compared to adolescents reared by parents exhibiting overcontrol in the adolescent's personal domain. Thus, it is not control but overcontrol that interferes with autonomy development during adolescence.

Control in the Personal Domain

Overcontrol in the personal domain has been linked with negative adolescent outcomes. According to Nucci, Hasebe, & Lins-Dyer (2005) the personal domain consists of private areas in one's life, such as the content in one's diary, friendship selection, music choice, and hairstyle variation, as compared to topics such as morality (right vs. wrong). Accordingly, Nucci and colleagues assert that adolescents and parents view parental control as legitimate when it pertains to health, safety, and societal conventions (Smetana, 1989; 1995) but adolescents particularly reject parental control in the personal domain. Moreover, Nucci (1996) posits that establishment of control in the personal

domain by adolescents is critical to the development of personal autonomy and individual identity. Similarly, Nucci and colleagues (2005) contend that the establishment of autonomy in the personal domain is critical to healthy child development.

Autonomy in the Personal Domain

Examining the impact of autonomous regulation on wellbeing across cultures and domains, Ryan, Deci, Grolnick, & La Guardia (2006) found that autonomy-supportive parenting leads to better academic achievement and fewer externalizing and internalizing symptoms. Moreover, in her book *The Culture of Morality: Social Development, Context, and Conflict*, Turiel (2002) asserted that the concept of a personal domain transcends culture, indicating that autonomy (specifically volitional autonomy) in the personal domain is developmentally significant in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Hence, research on autonomy supportive parenting has emphasized the benefits of such parenting on adolescents' development and the detriment when such parenting is absent. Again, emphasizing Self-Determination Theory's concept of internalization, if adolescents are reared in environments that lack autonomy support and have internalized their cultural values of control, the lack of autonomy should not have detrimental effects.

Barriers to Autonomy Support

While autonomy supportive parenting has been linked to positive adolescent development, researchers have detailed barriers that stifle parental autonomy support. For example, Erikson (1968) and Smetana (2005) note that adolescents tend to wish for more autonomy than parents are inclined to grant. Thus, despite the positive benefits associated with autonomy supportive parenting, parents struggle with granting autonomy due to

their concern with maintaining order and protecting adolescents from harm. (Jensen & Dost-Gözkan, 2015)

Despite this barrier, Deci, Eghrari, Patrick, & Leone (1994) detail that when autonomy is supported in adolescence, youth are encouraged to share their perspectives and provide a rationale for their positions. I now turn to discuss the limitations of including autonomy support in the literature: measurement and operationalization.

Measuring and Operationalizing Autonomy Support

With a focus on measurement limitations, studies examining autonomy support generally rely on adolescent reports, without considering parental accounts or completing observations. Moreover, regarding the operationalizations, the concept has been defined differently across studies. For example, a few measures used to examine autonomy support include behavioral control, psychological control, decision-making, communicative, expectations, harsh parenting, and revealed-difference task. While behavioral control measures examine parental monitoring, psychological control measures examine parental pressure (i.e., manipulation and guilting the extent to which adolescents are encouraged to communicate their opinions (detailed in Deci and colleagues (1994)). In sum, the majority of studies measuring autonomy support do so with questionnaires completed by adolescents, using different operationalizations of the concept and few observations.

Conformity to Parental Expectations

Conformity is defined as the tendency to comply with standards, rules, or laws. In the family domain, high conformity features parental resistance to change, the desire to

maintain hierarchical roles, and pressure by adolescents for increased autonomy and shared authority (Sillars, Holman, Richards, Jacobs, Koerner, & Reynolds-Dyk, 2014). As such, families high in conformity engage in high levels of parental pressure, more confrontation, and less conciliatory behaviors (Sillars et al., 2014). Children in these families tend to be less analytic and more likely to withdraw in response to parental demand. Thus, in high conformity families, parents maintain control at a time when adolescents should be gaining control. Moreover, during conflict adolescents in high conformity families are more likely to withdraw during dialogue, as compared to participating and sharing their perspectives.

Conformity and Psychological Control

Compared to autonomy supportive environments, where children are encouraged to negotiate differences in opinions (Hare et al., 2014), environments valuing conformity resemble psychologically controlling spaces. As such, similar to psychologically controlling spaces, in high conformity environments children are encouraged to take on the opinions of authority figures. While the literature on conformity in the family domain is sparse, conformity shares many similarities with psychological control, for which the literature is ample; hence, I draw on psychological control, the commonalities between psychological control and conformity, and the impact of both to discuss the impact on adolescent outcomes.

Psychological control is defined as a conditionally approving attitude towards children that involves parents engaging in intrusive tactics to make children think, behave, or feel in parentally approved ways (Barber, 1996). As such, psychological

control is a tactic often present in families demonstrating high conformity, delineating similar effects. For example, similar to children in high conformity environments, children in psychologically controlling families tend to take on a passive, nonautonomous role, eventually refraining from voicing their opinions when experiencing parent-child disagreements (Hare et al., 2014). This is similar to children in high conformity contexts who withdraw to parental demand during conflict (Sillars et al., 2014). In their work examining the influence of conversation and conformity orientations on middle school children's conflict tactics in parent-adolescent discussions, Sillars, Holman, Richards, Jacobs, Koerner, & Reynolds-Dyk (2014) found that children in high conformity families exhibited greater avoidance. As such, it appears that both children in high conformity and psychologically controlling family contexts take on passive roles during parent-child disagreements.

Similar to the negative outcomes associated with psychological control during adolescence, studies have also demonstrated that conformity is linked to negative adolescent outcomes. For instance, Ghazarian, Supple, & Plunkett (2008), in their study using a sample of 97 Armenian American immigrants, set out to examine familism as a predictor of parent-adolescent relationships and developmental outcomes. The authors found that adolescents reporting higher levels of conformity also indicated higher levels of self-derogation. Thus, relating these findings to Hare et al. (2014)s, children who experience high conformity in the family context are just as likely as children who experience psychological control to take passive, nonautonomous roles in the family, which could translate negatively to the peer context. Moreover, these findings have grave

implications for adolescent outcomes, as conformity in the family and peer context has been associated with negative communication patterns (e.g., resisting, demand/withdraw, mutual negativity) in adult romantic relationships (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002). In summary, conformity, having similar effects as psychological control, undermines the development of autonomy during adolescence by stifling expression, directly influencing adolescent outcomes.

General Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy, the view of oneself as "competent and able to deal with normal life challenges" (Bandura, 1977), has been deemed a central developmental task of adolescence (Greve, Anderson, & Krampen, 2001). In general, self-efficacy refers to an individuals' confidence in their ability to navigate and overcome the daily trials of life. Hence, self-efficacy would ideally be measured via daily activities in which an individual is involved. With adolescents, specifically, normal life challenges would entail school assignments, extracurricular activities (i.e., sports, dance, etc.,), and career or occupational decisions; hence, self-efficacy during adolescence is typically measured in these normative domains in which adolescents experience life challenges. As these activities are generally consistent and reoccurring within the adolescents' lives, the extent to which an adolescent feels competent to deal with challenges in these domains could detail important information about adolescent trajectories. For example, an adolescent who exhibits low self-efficacy in the academic domain may be at-risk for falling behind or dropping out, if they do not receive support, as they lack confidence in their ability to preserve when content or assignments become a challenge. As such, self-efficacy is

shown to be associated with adolescent's academic performance, behavior problems, and mental health disorders (Bandura, 1986; Hoeltje, Zubrick, Silburn, & Garton, 1996).

Examining the importance of self-efficacy, control, responsibility, and identity development in a rural African American sample, Kerpelman & Mosher (2004) found that adolescents higher in self-efficacy reported higher levels of future orientation. Self-efficacy, defined by the authors as "the belief in one's personal capabilities", appeared to be a by-product of SDT's competence. Defined as the need to be effective in dealing with the environment (Ryan & Deci, 2006), competence motivates people to find things to do and do them well (Kennon et al., 2003) and appears to be the pathway by which individuals become self-efficacious. In other words, to believe in one's ability to master a certain task (self-efficacy) a person must think that they are capable (competence), which will provide them with the confidence needed to engage in the task they wish to master. Hence, if a person does not believe in their ability to complete a task they will fail at it or avoid it altogether, leading to negative outcomes. This is precisely what Kerpelman & Mosher (2004) found. Adolescents who perceived their future goals as accomplishable were more confident in their ability to attain them and showed increased future orientation; on the other hand, adolescents who did not perceive their goals as feasible were less likely to begin the process of creating a strategy to accomplish them, decreasing their future orientation in these domains (Nurmi, 1991). In conjunction with SDT, these findings indicate that adolescents reporting low levels of general self-efficacy should also report low levels of competence, decreasing their overall wellbeing by way of internalizing and externalizing symptomology.

Understanding the importance of parents in developing adolescent's general self-efficacy, Peterson (2005) asserted that parents are social agents who teach, model, and influence the development of young people and, as such, are important in helping their children to develop self-efficacy (Yomtov, Plunkett, Sands, & Reid, 2015). Thus, through supportive parenting strategies, parents can assist their children in developing their competence, leading to greater self-efficacy and overall greater well-being.

Autonomy and Conformity's Influence on Self-Efficacy

With autonomy support and conformity employing conflicting extrinsic motivators (autonomy employing identified motivation based on self-endorsed values and behaviors and conformity employing external motivation based on external values and behaviors), leading to different outcomes (autonomy support leading to wellbeing and conformity to illbeing) it appears that they are competing factors that differentially influence self-efficacy. Emphasizing the differential impact of autonomy support and conformity on youth outcomes, Ryan and colleagues (2006) found that autonomy-supportive parenting leads to better academic achievement and fewer externalizing and internalizing symptoms, while Sillars et al. (2014) found that in high conformity families children are less analytic. As such, I contend that autonomy support and conformity influence adolescent outcomes by way of their influence on self-efficacy. For example, adolescents reporting high levels of autonomy support may also report increases in general self-efficacy, leading to positive outcomes (i.e., academic performance, self-esteem, etc.,). Contrastingly, adolescents reporting high levels of conformity may

decrease in general self-efficacy, leading to negative outcomes (i.e., academic performance, self-esteem, internalizing symptomology).

Despite the implications of general self-efficacy on adolescent development, very few studies have been conducted to examine the concept in relation to autonomy support and conformity to parental expectations. In fact, one of the only studies on this topic, used a sample of 662 ninth grade Latino students to examine the relationship between perceived parental support, psychological control, and general self-efficacy. Although conformity was not included, Yomtov, Plunkett, Sands, & Reid (2015) found that adolescent boys and girls who perceived their mothers and fathers as being supportive had higher levels of general self-efficacy, whereas adolescent boys and girls who perceived their mothers and fathers to be psychologically controlling had lower levels of general self-efficacy. Thus, it appears that when adolescents' autonomy is supported they become more efficacious but when it is stifled they experience less efficacy. In other words, parenting strategies influence the extent to which adolescents meet their basic needs, which determines the extent to which they function efficaciously. Hence, Yomtov et al. (2015)s findings indicate that adolescents who receive parental support develop a foundation on which to confidently set and work towards achieving goals despite challenges (Peterson, 2005), whereas adolescents who experience psychological control may feel less confident in their ability to set and work towards achieving goals, hindering their engagement in this process of goal setting and achievement (Yomtov et al., 2015).

Moreover, another study examining the impact of helicopter parenting and emerging adult self-efficacy, using a sample of 461 college students between the ages of

18 and 25, found that college students reporting more autonomy support from their parents also indicated higher levels of self-efficacy and lower levels of anxiety and depression (Reed, Duncan, Lucier-Greer, Fixelle, & Ferraro, 2016). Combined, Yomtov et al. (2015)s and Reed et al. (2016)s results display the importance of parental autonomy support on adolescent's general self-efficacy.

Additionally, discussing the impact of autonomy on child outcomes, Diseth & Samdal (2014) examined the impact of autonomy support and achievement goals on school performance and life satisfaction, and found that children's experience of autonomy support, motivation, academic achievement, and life satisfaction are interrelated factors. Hence, the authors concluded that autonomy support predicted achievement, motivation, and life satisfaction and satisfaction and achievement were considered important indicators of life adjustment. Relating the concept of life adjustment to future orientation, how people envision their futures based on goals and expectations (Nurmi, 1991), Kerpelman & Mosher (2004) found that if people lack confidence in their ability to succeed in life, their future orientation will be minimal. With future orientation being linked with positive outcomes during adolescence (Nurmi, 1991), it is imperative that adolescents are provided with the autonomy necessary to establish goals as well as the self-efficacy needed to achieve them.

Aside from the impact of autonomy support on adolescents' general self-efficacy, research has also demonstrated how autonomy support and self-efficacy work together to influence adolescent outcomes. For example, in their study delineating the impact of self-efficacy, autonomy, and social support on adolescent developmental and chronic career

indecision, Guay, Ratelle, Senécal, & Deschênes (2006) assert that autonomy may have affected indecision indirectly through self-efficacy beliefs. In other words, high levels of autonomy may lead to increased information seeking in specific career domains, thus impacting adolescents' self-efficacy in these domains. However, less autonomy could decrease activity in career domains, hindering the growth of their efficacy in such areas, which is specifically problematic considering that career decisions influence health, access to resources, friendships, and overall life trajectory.

On the other hand, aside from the positive impacts of parental autonomy support, parental control has been shown to have the opposite effect on adolescent outcomes. For example, in their longitudinal design studying the relationship between parental control, autonomy support, and adolescent delinquency with youth starting at age 10 and ending at age 17, Brauer (2016) found that adolescents reporting psychological control also showed immediate and long-term engagement with delinquency via lower levels of self-control and increased delinquent peer associations. Connecting this finding to the work of Perez & Cumsille (2012) who examined the impact of adolescent temperament and parental control in the development of adolescent decision making with a Chilean sample of eighth through eleventh graders, the authors concluded that psychological control in the personal domain of children's lives may be especially detrimental to their self-development, as it may limit their opportunities for self-determination and efficiency and impede in the self-defining process inherent during adolescence (Barber, 1996).

In sum, research examining the impact of parental autonomy support on adolescent's general self-efficacy has consistency validated self-determination theory's

assertion that autonomy support results in positive developmental outcomes. On the other hand, research examining the impact of parental control has also validated self-determination theory's assertion that a lack of autonomy support can have detrimental effects on adolescent's development.

Future Directions

While research has examined the individual influence of parental autonomy support and psychological control on adolescents' general self-efficacy, studies tend to exclude conformity to parental expectations, let alone examine the moderating influence of conformity on adolescents' reports of general self-efficacy. Moreover, while studies have examined familial patterns of conformity, few have examined its impacts on adolescent outcomes (i.e., efficacy) and none to my knowledge have examined it in a model with autonomy support and adolescent general self-efficacy. Future research should seek to include conformity in a model with psychological control to test if they are distinct processes or if conformity is a result of psychological control. For example, research should examine if children can report high levels of conformity to parental expectations and low levels of psychological control. Moreover, future research should seek to include conformity in a model with autonomy support and adolescent self-efficacy to examine the independent influences of the constructs on adolescents' self-efficacy, the moderating influence of conformity, as well as to test whether autonomy support and conformity are distinct concepts with different patterns of behaviors or if conformity is simply the result of an environment lacking autonomy support. For example, research should examine if children who report high levels of conformity to

parental expectations can also report high levels of autonomy support. As autonomy support and general self-efficacy have been labeled key developmental tasks during adolescence and conformity to parental expectations and psychological control as factors that hinder these developmental processes, research should seek to understand how these constructs influence and are influenced by one another in order to safeguard the developmental trajectories of adolescents at a time when they are most vulnerable.

Current Study

The proposed study examines the impact of parental autonomy support and conformity to parental expectations on adolescent's general self-efficacy, with conformity to parental expectations serving as a moderator. The primary goal of this study is to examine the independent effects of autonomy support and conformity to parental expectations on general self-efficacy. Second, the moderating effect of conformity to parental expectations on the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy will be examined. I hypothesize adolescents reporting high levels of autonomy support will also report high levels of general self-efficacy. However, as conformity to parental expectations increases, I hypothesize that the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy will weaken.

The following hypothesis will be tested (see figure 3 for a summary of simple slopes).

Main effects:

Hypothesis1. High levels of autonomy support will predict high levels of general self-efficacy.

Hypothesis 2. High levels of conformity will predict low levels of general self-efficacy.

Interaction effect:

Hypothesis 3. The relationship between autonomy and self-efficacy will decrease as conformity to parental expectations increases.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Participants

The participants from this study were drawn from the Adolescent Resiliency in Multi-Cultural Communities (ARMCC) dataset, a cross-sectional study of contextual influences on adolescent outcomes (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). Participants were recruited from three high school in southern California. Self-report data was collected from 1,200 9th- through 12th-grade students in a required course (Education, Career & Planning (ECP) at two participating schools and Health Science at the other). Administrators at the participating schools provided written consent for researchers to collect data. During the class, students were informed about the study, provided with parental consent forms, and allowed to ask questions. Students who chose to participate were required to return signed parental consent and adolescent participant assent forms. After parental consent and adolescent assent forms were submitted, self-report questionnaires were distributed to participating students during the class session and were due one week later. While most students completed the surveys in class, some completed questionnaires at home. Members of the research team returned to the schools to collect completed surveys. Students were given extra credit for participation. As the required class, where participants were administered surveys, was generally taken in ninth grade, the final sample was heavily comprised of ninth-grade students (i.e., 55%).

The current study included a total of 96 Armenian and 38 Latino adolescents for whom data were available for the key variables (see table 1 for demographic characteristics and descriptive statistics for the complete sample). Adolescents consisted of 60% girls with ages ranging from 14 to 18 (M = 14.81). Of the sample, 76% of the Latino adolescents were born in the U.S. whereas 10% of the Armenian adolescents were born in the U.S., with the majority born in Armenia or Iran. The Latino adolescents' self-reported ethnic identifications consisted of Hispanic, Mexican American, Cuban, Salvadorian, Guatemalan, Belizean, central American, Chilean, south American, Nicaraguan, or Mexican and Guatemalan. Further, 8% of Latino mothers and 18% of Latino fathers were college graduates, whereas, 46% of Armenian mothers and 42% of Armenian fathers were college graduates.

Procedures

Adolescents were part of a cross-sectional study examining contextual influences on adolescent outcomes. The current analyses focus on data collected on autonomy support, conformity to parental expectations, and general self-efficacy by adolescents in 9^{th} through 12^{th} grade in a required course.

Measures

Adolescent Autonomy Support

Adolescent autonomy support was measured with 10-items assessing the extent to which mothers and fathers allowed adolescents to make their own decisions and engage in activities without excessive parental intrusion in the following domains: friendships, lifestyle preferences, clothing selection, educational goals, and career plans. Sample

items are as follows: “This parent allows me to decide what clothes I should wear without interfering too much”, “This parent has confidence in my ability to make my own decisions”, and “This parent allow me to be my “own person” in enough situations.” Response items were on a four-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly Agree” (4) to “Strongly Disagree” (1). The correlation between mothers and fathers reports of autonomy was r=.800; thus, mother and father autonomy items were summed for a total score of parental autonomy support with higher scores indicating higher reports of parental autonomy support (a=.897).

Conformity to Parental Expectations

Conformity to parental expectations was assessed with 9-items measuring whether adolescents conformed to mothers’ and fathers’ values, beliefs, and expectations about leisure time activities, friends, dating, education, and careers (Peterson, Bush & Supple, 1999). Sample items include “If this parent wanted me to go around with a particular group of friends, then I would do as this parent wanted me to”, “If this parent did not like me to talk in certain ways, then I would stop talking that way”, “If this parent wants me to marry a particular person in the future, then I would marry that person” and “Generally speaking, I believe that I do most things in the way this parent wants me to” Response items were on a four-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly Agree” (4) to “Strongly Disagree” (1). With negative valence items reverse coded, the items were summed for a total score for each parent with higher scores indicating higher levels of conformity (a=.947). The correlation between reports of conformity to mothers and fathers expectations was r=.901; thus, conformity was combined into one measure.

General Self-Efficacy

General self-efficacy was measured using a general subscale of the Self-Efficacy Scale (Sherer, Maddux, Mercandante, Prentice-Dunn, Jacobs, & Rogers, 1982). 15-items assessing mastery expectations based on past experiences were used with sample items as follows: “I feel insecure about my ability to do things”, “I am a self-reliant person”, and “If I can’t do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can.” Response choices ranged from “Strongly disagree” (1) to “Strongly agree” (4). 10 items are reverse-coded (a=.812).

Analytic Strategy

First descriptive statistics were calculated for each of the key variables. Next, correlations were generated to examine the associations among variables. Finally, a series of hierarchical multiple regression models were computed to identify significant predictors of general self-efficacy. In the first step, control variables (gender and age) were included as predictors. In the second step, independent variables (autonomy and conformity) were entered to examine their independent effects. Lastly, in the third step, the interaction term was entered to examine the moderating effect of conformity.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics were completed that included the means, standard deviations, and correlations among key variables (see Table 1). An examination of significant correlations revealed that being male was significantly and negatively correlated with self-efficacy. Thus, males reported lower levels of general self efficacy than female participants. Moreover, gender was significantly and positively related to conformity. As such, males reported higher levels of conformity than female participants.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to evaluate the hypotheses, assessing main effects and the interaction term in three steps. Main effects assessed the relationship between autonomy support and reports of general self-efficacy and conformity to parent expectations and reports of general self-efficacy. The interaction term assessed the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy when conformity was included as a moderator. Prior to creating the interaction term, autonomy and conformity were centered, to prevent multicollinearity and help with the interpretation of intercept and main findings

Model 1: Control Variables

In the first step of the hierarchical multiple regression, control variables (gender and age) were entered as predictors that would later be controlled in models testing variables of interest (i.e., autonomy and the interaction term). In completing this step, the independent impact of gender and age on self-efficacy was examined, to ensure that in later models the shared variability between these controls and variables of interest would be acknowledged. Hence, model one accounted for the independent effects of the control variables (gender and age) on reports of general self-efficacy. Gender (β=-.320) had a larger beta weight than age (β=.007), indicating that gender explained more of the variance in self-efficacy. However, this model, accounting for the combined impact of age and gender on self-efficacy, only explained 12% (R^2=.117) of the variance in reports of self-efficacy (analysis results presented in table 2).

Model 2: Independent Variables

In the second model the two independent variables (conformity and autonomy) were included to examine their combined impact, along with controls (age and gender) on reports of self-efficacy. In completing this step, the potentially confounding impact of the independent variables (autonomy and conformity) on reports of general self-efficacy was examined. Conformity had a larger beta weight (β=-.288) than any of the other variables, indicating that conformity and self-efficacy were significantly correlated, above and beyond the other variables. The beta weight indicated that as conformity increased self-efficacy decreased. Together, model 2 explained 26% of the variance in self-efficacy scores (R^2=.262) (analysis results presented in Table 2).

Model 3: Interaction Term

Finally, the third model included the addition of the interaction term (conformity as a moderator) to examine the combined impact of the control variables (age and gender), the independent variables (autonomy and conformity), and the interaction term (conformity as the moderator) on reports of general self-efficacy. The interaction term was created by multiplying together mean-centered scores for autonomy and conformity. The interaction term indicated that the positive association between autonomy and self-efficacy decreased, becoming nonsignificant, as conformity increased, b = -.263, β = -.211, $t(116)$ = -2.585 p =.011 (see Figure 1 for simple slope values). Overall, including the interaction term significantly improved the model's fit, with model 3 explaining 30% (R2=.304) of the variance in reports of self-efficacy (analysis results presented in Table 2).

Finally, exploratory analyses were tested to examine differences in the moderating effect by ethnicity (Armenian and Latino) and gender (male and female). These analyses were nonsignificant suggesting that ethnicity and gender do not serve as moderators to the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The current study sought to examine the extent to which parental autonomy support influences adolescent reports of general self-efficacy, with conformity to parental expectations serving as a moderating variable. Drawing on self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2006), this study predicted that autonomy supportive parenting would positively predict adolescent reports of general self-efficacy but this relationship would weaken with increasing reports of conformity to parental expectations. Overall, the results were supported in that adolescents reporting higher levels of autonomy support also reported higher levels of general self efficacy, but only in the context of low reports of conformity to parental expectations. As conformity to parental expectations increased to moderate and high levels, the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy became nonsignificant. Thus, autonomy support and general self-efficacy were positively related but conformity in moderate to high levels diminished this relationship (see Figure 1). Perhaps this finding indicated that the relationship between autonomy support and self-efficacy, with the current sample, was statistically weak; thus, the inclusion of the moderator may have helped to attenuate a relationship that was already lacking in statistical power.

In support of SDT, this study demonstrated that autonomy supportive parenting leads to positive outcomes (i.e., increased general self-efficacy) by assisting youth in

meeting basic psychological needs, while conformity prevented youth from satisfying basic psychological needs and was related to ill-being (Costa et al., 2016). As such, this study supports the work of Vansteenkiste & Ryan (2013) who examined the impact of autonomy support and psychological control on child outcomes and found that the different styles of parenting predicted different outcomes. Specifically, Vansteenkiste & Ryan found that autonomy led to increased child well-being, similar to the current findings that autonomy support led to increased general self-efficacy which diminished as conformity, similar to psychological control, increased. Hence, similar to the work of Vansteenkiste & Ryan (2013) this study adds to the literature by emphasizing the positive effects of autonomy support on adolescent outcomes, with a specific focus on reports of general self-efficacy. Further, this study supports SDT by demonstrating the positive outcomes (i.e., increase psychological outcomes and wellbeing) associated with the development of autonomy via mechanisms of autonomy support (the promotion of volitional functioning).

Focusing specifically on the findings for general self-efficacy, studies have found that parental support is positively related to adolescents' general self-efficacy while parental control is negatively related to adolescents' general self-efficacy (Yomtov et al., 2015). Specifically, in their study examining the impact of parenting on ninth graders' self-efficacy and relational self-esteem, using a sample of Latino Immigrant families, Yomtov et al. (2015) found that mothers' and fathers' support was positively related to boys' and girls' general self-efficacy while psychological control was negatively related to general self-efficacy. As such, with conformity sharing similar characteristics with

psychological control (i.e., withdrawal to parental demand, increased refrain from voicing opinions), it makes sense that conformity in the current study was related to decreased general self-efficacy. Relating the current study's findings to SDT, adolescents who are forced to take on the values of their parents are also discouraged from acting based on volition. In such circumstances, it makes sense that adolescents who feel forced to conform to parental expectations would also begin to feel like pawns (employing external motivation), causing them to negatively evaluate themselves and decreasing their self-efficacy.

Further, the current study also supports the work of Sillars et al. (2014), who examined family communication patterns during adolescence, with a specific focus on conformity orientation, and found that communication patterns influence adolescent outcomes. Particularly, similar to Sillars et al. (2014)s work, the current study demonstrated the impact of conformity on negative adolescent outcomes. While Sillars et al., examined the impact of conformity on negative communication patterns the current study examined the impact of conformity on diminished self-efficacy. Moreover, the current study is also consistent with the work of Ghazarian et al. (2008) who examined parent-adolescent relationships and developmental outcomes in Armenian Immigrant families and found that increased conformity to parent expectations predicted increased negative feelings towards the self (i.e., self-derogation). Specifically, the work of Ghazarian and colleagues provides an explanation for the moderating effect of conformity on the relationship between autonomy support and general self-efficacy. Particularly, despite the positive impact of autonomy support on general self-efficacy, as

conformity increased to moderate and high levels, adolescents' feelings of authenticity may have decreased leading to increased negative feelings towards the self and in turn decreasing their self-efficacy.

Limitations

This study had several limitations. First, as different mechanisms of autonomy support (i.e., allowance of decision-making, allowance of open dialogue, provision of choice, and perspective taking) differentially impact adolescent outcomes, it would have been beneficial for the autonomy support survey, focused on promotion of independence, to independently capture the different forms of support. Specifically, while research has demonstrated that autonomy supportive parenting is related to positive youth outcomes, studies have found that what is considered autonomy support differs across cultures and youth outcomes vary as a function of the form of autonomy supported (Marbell-Pierre et al., 2017). For example, Marbell-Pierre et al. (2017) found that while autonomy support was associated with positive youth outcomes in the United States and Ghana, youth with independent notions of selves (more common in the United States) were more likely to experience promotion of independence (decision-making and choice) as autonomy support and show increased wellbeing when this form of autonomy was supported than individuals with interdependent notions of selves (more common in Ghana). Additionally, Marbell-Pierre et al. (2017) found that both youth with independent and interdependent notions of selves were equally as likely to experience promotion of volition (perspective taking and allowance of open exchange) as autonomy support and show increased wellbeing when this form of autonomy was supported. Moreover, aside

from capturing the different forms of autonomy support, it would have also been beneficial for the autonomy support measure to capture how these forms change across contexts. Specifically, studies have indicated that different contexts influence individuals' need for autonomy as well as what they experience as autonomy support (Marbell-Pierre et al., 2017).

The second limitation of this study relates to the measure of conformity. Particularly, this study would have benefited from using a measure of conformity that better captured the daily experiences of youth (i.e., instances of conformity during conflict). However, instead, the measure broadly captured conformity in various areas of youths' lives (i.e., school, friendship, romantic relationships, leisure activities, etc.,). By taking a broad approach the items on the measure may have been interpreted by youth as extreme and failed to accurately capture their daily experiences of conformity. Moreover, this measure may have been better suited to accurately capture conformity in certain cultures over others.

Another limitation of this study relates to the sample. Specifically, while this study included Armenian and Latino adolescents, there were almost two times as many Armenian adolescents in the sample than Latino adolescent (i.e., 38 Latino and 96 Armenian). Additionally, aside from the unequal sample size, Latino participants reported 11 different ethnicities compared to Armenian participants that reported 2. These differences in ethnicities could influence the adolescents' views on what is considered autonomy support as well as the amount and form of autonomy support their parents provide.

Moreover, another limitation pertaining to the sample involves differences in reports of parental education. Particularly, 8% of Latino mothers and 18% of Latino fathers were college graduates, whereas, 46% of Armenian mothers and 42% of Armenian fathers were college graduates. These differences in reports of parental education could influence reports of parental autonomy support and conformity in the family via socioeconomic status. Specifically, Perez-Brena, Updegraff, & Umaña-Taylor (2012) found that mothers with higher socioeconomic statuses allowed their children to engage in less autonomous decision-making while fathers from higher socioeconomic statuses allowed their children to make more joint decisions. Unfortunately, capturing the fifth limitation, the dataset used did not include income information and I was unable to examine the relationship between socioeconomic status and autonomy support. In sum, the differences in reports of parental education could have indicated differences in socioeconomic statuses, which has been shown to influence parental autonomy support. However, the dataset did not include income information.

Another limitation of this study was the absence of a self-construal measure. As Marbell-Pierre et al. (2017) demonstrated, self-construals (independent self vs. interdependent self) influence perceptions of autonomy support. Thus, it would have been beneficial for this study to examine how adolescents' self-construals influenced their perceptions of autonomy support and how these perceptions then went on to influence their self-efficacy. Additionally, the seventh limitation of this study focuses on the cross-sectional nature. Specifically, autonomy support, conformity, and general self-efficacy were measured at one time point during the adolescents' development. It would have

been helpful for the researchers to measure these constructs at different timepoints, as autonomy support has been shown to vary as a function of age, with parents indicating more support of older adolescents' autonomy (Ruck et al., 2002 & Mann et al., 1989). Similarly, self-efficacy may increase with age and conformity may decrease with age; thus, it would have been advantageous for the researchers to measure these constructs at different time points throughout the adolescents' development.

Conclusion

The current study provides support to SDT by demonstrating the positive outcomes associated with parental support of adolescents' needs (autonomy support). Moreover, this study demonstrates that in need-thwarting (conformity) contexts, adolescents may begin to feel like pawns, leading to negative perceptions of the self and increasing illbeing (decreased general self-efficacy). Future research should seek to include youth outcomes (i.e., academic performance, internalizing symptomology, externalizing symptomology, peer interactions, etc.,) to examine the individual impact the findings have on adolescent functioning. Particularly, research should examine if autonomy support and conformity influence adolescent outcomes by way of impacting self-efficacy.

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APPENDIX A

DATA TABLES

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
Male	1				
Armenian	0.069	1			
Self Efficacy	-.275**	0.011	1		
Autonomy	0.010	-0.062	0.108	1	
Conformity	.250**	0.160	-.401**	.197*	1
Means	0.40	0.7164	2.7158	3.0372	2.6294
Standard Deviations	0.491	0.45243	0.44743	0.56251	0.60964

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Note. Male; Male=1, Female=0

Table 2

Regression Analyses Predicting Adolescents' Self Efficacy from Autonomy Support, Conformity, and the Interaction Term

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Variable	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Age	.007	.051	.013	.000	.048	-.001	.000	.047	.000
Gender	-.320	.083	-.343**	-.232	.080	-.249*	-.224	.078	-.241
Conformity				-.288	.065	-.384**	-.288	.063	-.383**
Autonomy				.151	.068	.186*	.113	.068	.139
Interaction							-.263	.102	-.211*
R2		.117			.262			.304	
F for change in R2		7.472			10.934			6.68	

Note. Autonomy and conformity were centered at their means.
†*p<.05. **p<.01

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

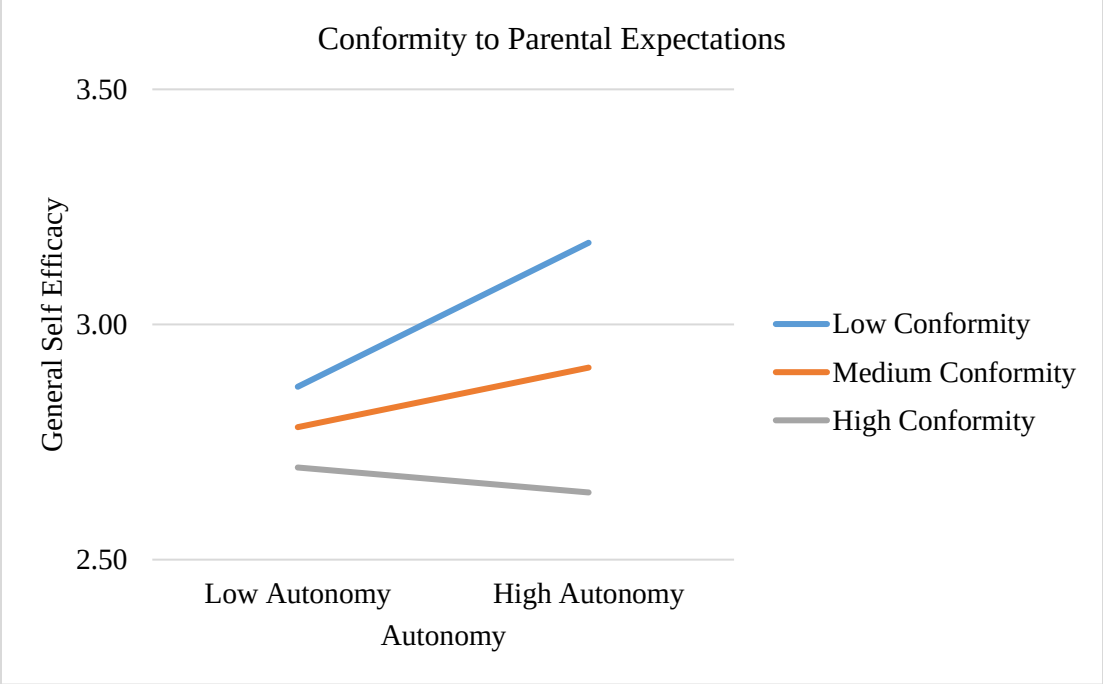

Figure 1. Associations between Autonomy Support and General Self-Efficacy.