

Parenting, Adolescent-Parent Relationships in Different Domains
And Adolescent Adjustment

Judi Smetana

University of Rochester

Paper presented at a symposium entitled “The Development of Parenting Behaviors and of Parent-Child Relationships in Adolescence: The Origins of Autonomy” presented at the Biennial Meetings of the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, MD, March, 2004. I am grateful to the many families who participated in this research, to Nicole Campione-Barr and Christopher Daddis for their input on this paper, and to the William T. Grant Foundation for their generous support of this project.

In my research over the last 20 years, I have examined transformations in parent-adolescent relationships. More specifically, I have focused on how variations in parenting and adolescent-parent conflict influence the development of adolescent autonomy. My approach has been primarily social-cognitive, with a focus on adolescents' and parents' understanding, interpretation, and beliefs about their relationships. Guided by social domain theory, I have examined how adolescents and parents conceptualize and negotiate autonomy in different conceptual domains, including the moral (defined as acts that have consequences for others' rights and welfare), conventional (defined as arbitrary, agreed on uniformities, like manners and etiquette, that structure interactions in different social systems), prudential (defined as acts that acts one's safety, comfort, or health), and personal (defined as personal preferences and choices pertaining to privacy, control over one's body, styles, activities, and friends) domains and their overlap in multifaceted issues.

Several findings have emerged from this research. For instance, we have found that among adolescents and parents from different ethnic backgrounds, adolescents' appeals to personal jurisdiction over issues that parents consider social-conventional lead to conflict (Smetana, 1989; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003; Smetana & Gaines, 1999), which in turn, leads to greater autonomy. We also have found that different parenting styles can be described in terms of variations in how broadly parents construct the boundaries of parental authority (Smetana, 1995). Authoritative parents draw clear boundaries among issues in different domain;s they grant adolescents personal jurisdiction over personal issues and view moral, conventional, and multifaceted issues as legitimately subject to parental control. In contrast, authoritarian parents tend to view multifaceted and personal issues as legitimately controlled by parents, whereas permissive parents treat both multifaceted and

personal issues as legitimately within adolescents' arena of personal freedom. Finally, we have found that adolescents report feeling psychologically controlled when their parents exert control over their personal domains (Smetana & Daddis, 2002).

These studies have demonstrated that the boundaries of adolescents' personal jurisdiction expand with age and are linked to adolescent development. We have also asserted that those changes should be linked to adjustment, but this assertion has received less empirical attention. In a recent study of US and Japanese middle adolescents, Hasabe, Nucci, and Nucci (in press) have shown that adolescents' perceptions of overcontrol of the personal domain is associated with internalizing symptoms. However, more research is needed to examine how changing boundaries of authority relate to both healthy and unhealthy adjustment across adolescence.

The research to be presented here expanded on recent research by Dornbusch et al. (1990), Fuligni and Eccles (1993), and Lamborn, Dornbusch, and Steinberg (1996) by examining adolescents' decision-making autonomy in different conceptual domains. The past research has shown that joint decision-making generally predicts less deviance, whereas youth-alone decision-making is associated with more negative outcomes, but these findings also are moderated by ethnicity and community context (Lamborn et al., 1996). While consistent findings have been obtained for European American youth, youth involvement in decision-making (Brody, Moore, & Gleib, 1994), joint decision-making (Lamborn et al., 1996), and parent-unilateral decision-making (Lamborn et al., 1996) all have been associated with healthy adjustment for African American adolescents, perhaps because research has not specified the domains where joint decision-making may be beneficial or where youth-alone decision-making may be harmful, particularly for African American youth. Thus, our research had three aims.

First, we examined changes over time in decision-making autonomy in different domains. Second, we attempted to identify healthy decision-making autonomy for middle class African American adolescents of different ages by examining concurrent associations between decision-making autonomy in different domains and adjustment, including deviance, academic performance, self-worth, and depression. Finally, we examined longitudinal influences of decision-making autonomy on adjustment in late adolescence.

The original sample for this study consisted of 95 families, but for the present analyses, the sample consisted of 76 African American adolescents and their mothers who participated in three waves of the University of Rochester Youth and Family Project, a multi-method, multi-informant 5-year longitudinal study of adolescent-parent relationships in middle class African American families. The adolescents were, on average, 13, 15, and 18 years of age at the three assessments.

We assessed decision-making autonomy using procedures developed by Dornbusch et al. (1990). Adolescents and mothers rated family decision-making for 20 conventional, prudential, personal, and multifaceted issues. Each issue was rated on a 5-point scale, with higher scores indicating more adolescent decision-making autonomy. Mothers' and adolescents' mean ratings of family decision-making were either uncorrelated or very moderately correlated at each time, so they were examined separately in the analyses.

Four measures of adjustment were examined. *Academic performance* was assessed by parents' reports of adolescents' current grade point average, and at Time 3, adolescents' and parents' combined reports. At Time 1 and Time 2, *deviance* was assessed using adolescents' ratings of their own and their friends' involvement problem behaviors on the Problem Behavior Survey (PBS; Mason, Cauce, Gonzales, & Hiraga, 1996), a 19-item report of problem behavior

assessing drug and alcohol use, gang activity, vandalism, stealing, truancy, precocious sexual activity, and fighting. Items are rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (never happens) to 7 (happens very often). At Time 2, adolescents also rated their alcohol and drug use (Winters & Henley, 1989). At Time 3, the measure of deviance consisted of adolescents' ratings of their involvement in problem behaviors on the PBS. At each time, adolescents also rated their *self-worth* on Harter's 7-item global self-worth scale, drawn from Harter's (1982, 1985, 1988) Rating Scales of Perceived Competence. (The Child version was used at Time 1 and Time 2, and the Adolescent version was used at Time 3.) Finally, at Time 3, adolescents rated their *depressed mood* on the 20-item CES-D (Radloff, 1977). All adjustment measures had good to excellent reliability.

The first aim of the study was to examine over-time changes in decision-making at each domain. Overall, as expected, at each wave, African American mothers and adolescents both viewed adolescents as having more autonomy over personal issues than over all other issues and over multifaceted than prudential and conventional issues. Moreover, consistent with Hasabe et al. (in press), ratings of decision-making autonomy regarding conventional and prudential issues did not differ significantly at each wave, except that at Time 3, adolescents viewed themselves as having more autonomy over prudential than conventional issues.

The first figure shows changes over time in decision-making autonomy over conventional and prudential issues. Adolescents rated themselves as having more autonomy over conventional issues at Time 3 than at earlier times, but mothers' ratings of conventional issues did not change significantly over time. On average, mothers consistently viewed parents as deciding these issues with some adolescent input, while adolescents shifted from viewing conventional issues as decided by parents with some adolescent input in early adolescence to jointly made decisions in

late adolescence. Both adolescents and mothers viewed adolescents' decision-making autonomy over prudential issues as greater at Time 3 than at earlier times. On average, mothers also viewed these as decisions made by parents with some adolescent input, while on average, adolescents increasingly viewed these decisions as made jointly or by adolescents with some parental input.

As shown in the next figure, there were significant increases from Time 1 to Time 3 in both adolescents' and mothers' ratings of adolescents' decision-making autonomy over personal and multifaceted issues. Adolescents shifted from viewing these as adolescent decisions with some parental input (for personal issues) or joint decisions (for multifaceted issues) to decisions made by adolescents with (increasingly less) parental guidance in late adolescence. Although there were significant increases in mothers' ratings of adolescent autonomy over these issues as well, mothers typically viewed these as jointly made rather than as adolescent decisions.

The second aim of the study was to identify healthy decision-making autonomy for African American adolescents of different ages. As ratings of conventional and prudential issues mostly did not differ, we combined these scores for the next set of analyses. Then, based on Lamborn et al. (1996), we examined the concurrent associations between family decision-making autonomy for prudential/conventional, multifaceted, and personal issues and the different measures of adjustment.

As can be seen in the table, at Time 1, early adolescents who rated themselves as having more decision-making autonomy over (combined) conventional and prudential issues had lower self-worth. Furthermore, in early adolescence, more autonomous decision-making regarding multifaceted issues was associated with poorer adjustment, including poorer academic performance, greater deviance, and lower self-worth.

At Time 2, middle adolescents who rated themselves as having more autonomy over conventional and prudential issues also reported more problem behavior. In contrast, adolescent deviance was greater among adolescents whose mothers who rated their adolescents as having more autonomy over both multifaceted and personal issues.

At Time 3, late adolescents' ratings of more decision-making autonomy over multifaceted issues were significantly associated with more problem behavior and less depression. More autonomy over personal issues was marginally associated with better academic performance and less depression.

The final aim of the study was to examine the influence of decision-making autonomy on late adolescent adjustment. We used hierarchical regression analyses to examine whether adolescents' changing boundaries of autonomy would influence adjustment in late adolescence. The analyses controlled for the effects of adolescents' sex, and as in previous research (Dornbusch et al., 1990; Lamborn et al., 1996), adolescents' age and mothers' education as a proxy for socioeconomic status. Additionally, Lamborn et al. (1996) found that adjustment for African American youth varied as a function of whether they were growing up in a predominately white community or not, so we also controlled for the effects of neighborhood composition. Using census tract data, neighborhood composition was defined here as the percentage of white families in their census tract. In addition, Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein (2000) have asserted that in examining outcomes, it is important to control for preexisting differences among adolescents. Therefore, in each of the analyses (except for depressed mood, which was not assessed prior to Time 3), we also controlled for Time 1 adjustment. The control variables were included in the first step of the analyses. Then, decision-making autonomy at Time 1 was added in the second step, followed by successive steps adding first Time 2 and then Time 3

decision-making autonomy. These latter steps assessed the influence of change over time in decision-making autonomy on later adjustment.

The analyses were performed separately on deviance, academic performance, self-worth, and depressed mood. To examine changes in the boundaries of the personal domain, the analyses were performed separately on decision-making autonomy over multifaceted issues and personal issues. (As would be expected conceptually, decision-making autonomy over personal and multifaceted issues were significantly and positively associated, but we examined them in separate analyses rather than combining them to determine whether they had different effects on adjustment.)

Only adolescents' gender influenced deviance at Time 3, with boys engaging in more problem behavior than girls. Decision-making autonomy had no significant effects. Likewise, although demographic variables and Time 1 academic performance accounted for 23% of the variance in African American late adolescents' academic performance, decision-making autonomy (or changes in autonomy over time) also did not have significant effects. As the table shows, there were significant effects for gender, neighborhood composition, and Time 1 academic performance. Girls, adolescents who lived in neighborhoods with more White families, and (not surprisingly) students who had better grades in early adolescence had better academic performance five years later. The findings for neighborhood composition could be because White neighborhoods were more likely to be in suburbs, with better quality schools. However, these findings also could reflect the influence of the peer group on academic achievement. Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992) reported that peer support for academic success is very limited for high achieving African American youth. African American adolescents who go to primarily White schools may escape the conflict that high achieving African American students

often feel between performing well in school and being popular with their African American peers (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

Adolescents' age (in the analysis of personal issues) and Time 1 self-worth (in both analyses) had a significant influence on late adolescents' self-worth. Younger adolescents and adolescents who reported better self-worth at Time 1 rated themselves as higher in self-worth five years later. There were also trends in both analyses toward better self-worth among higher SES families and among adolescents living in neighborhoods with fewer White families—an effect that was in the opposite direction from the analyses of academic performance. Controlling for these effects, the analyses revealed that increased decision-making autonomy over both multifaceted and personal issues from Time 2 to Time 3 led to better self-worth in late adolescence, accounting for 6% and 13% of the variance on those models.

Finally, none of the background variables had a significant effect on late adolescents' depression. We also found that more decision-making autonomy over personal issues in early adolescence predicted more depressed mood five years later. However, increases in decision-making autonomy -- over both multifaceted and personal issues from Time 2 to Time 3 -- led to less depression at Time 3, with changes accounting for 14% and 7% of the variance in the analyses of decision-making over multifaceted and personal issues, respectively.

What can we conclude from these findings? Previous research has suggested that parent-unilateral decision-making is beneficial for African American youth, because it protects poor youth from high-risk environments and dangerous neighborhoods. However, similar effects have been found for middle class African American youth as well (Lamborn et al., 1996). Our findings indicate that continued parent decision-making is associated with healthy adjustment, but only for prudential and conventional issues.

The findings also suggest that across adolescence, continued parental involvement --in the context of joint decision-making over multifaceted issues -- is optimal for African American adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. Along with others (Dornbusch, 1990; Lamborn et al., 1996), our findings demonstrate that too much autonomous decision-making regarding multifaceted issues is associated with more negative outcomes in early adolescence, including greater deviance, poorer self-worth, and lower academic performance. Moreover, mothers' ratings of middle adolescents' more autonomous decision-making over multifaceted issues was associated concurrently with greater deviance. However, the picture for late adolescence is more mixed. Greater (adolescent-reported) autonomy over multifaceted issues was associated concurrently with greater deviance but also less depression, and the longitudinal analyses confirmed that increased autonomy over multifaceted issues from middle to late adolescence predicted both less depression and better self-worth.

In contrast to the findings for multifaceted issues, the present results indicated that granting African American early adolescents limited autonomy (with parental guidance) over a clearly specified set of personal issues (like choice of music, choice of clothes and hairstyles, and how to spend money) does not have deleterious effects on adjustment. However, the findings from the longitudinal analyses are consistent with previous research (Dornbusch et al., 1990; Lamborn et al., 1996) in suggesting that too early autonomy (e.g., youth-alone decision-making) over personal issues has negative effects on late adolescent adjustment. It is important to note that family decision-making over personal issues typically entailed youth-supported decision-making (where adolescents made decisions with parental input) rather than youth-alone decision-making (where adolescents make decisions without parental involvement). The findings are consistent with Maccoby's (1984) theorizing that parental guidance and parent-adolescent co-

regulation may facilitate healthy development, at least until adolescents have acquired the competence to make mature and safe decisions about these issues.

My colleague Larry Nucci (1996; 2001) and I (Smetana, 2002) have proposed that defining a domain of personal discretion is necessary for psychological well-being and the healthy development of self and identity. Our results are consistent with that notion in that longitudinal effects of decision-making autonomy over personal and multifaceted issues were found primarily for depression and self-worth, the two outcomes most closely tied to self and identity development.

The present findings suggest the need for allowing adolescents personal jurisdiction, but in the context of parental input and guidance. This may seem to contradict the notion that having a domain of personal freedom is a psychological need that is essential for the development of agency and effectance (Nucci, 1996, 2001), but in my view, it is not. The previous research has focused on adolescents' desires for greater autonomy, through their claims for greater personal jurisdiction, while the present research focuses on how those needs are instantiated and negotiated in the context of family decision-making. Changes over time in autonomous decision-making may be partly due to parents' assessment of adolescents' abilities and competence to assume more privileges and responsibilities. For African American parents, judgments about adolescents' decision-making competence may be based on their assessment of adolescents' developing maturity, as well as their awareness of the everyday realities of living in a social environment where racism and discrimination remain pervasive (Spencer & Dupree, 1996) and thus, where the consequences of rash or immature decisions loom large. In such a context, parental involvement and guidance in decision-making over personal issues may be especially important for healthy psychosocial development.

Our study builds on previous research examining family decision-making by examining autonomous decision-making in different conceptual domains, by following families longitudinally for five years, by examining within-culture differences in African American families, and by examining adolescents' and mothers' (rather than just adolescents') perceptions of family decision-making autonomy. It should be noted that we found little agreement in mothers' and adolescents' ratings of family decision-making, and with only a couple of exceptions, only adolescents' perceptions were associated with adjustment. This could reflect an informant bias, although it should be noted that academic performance was reported by parents, not by adolescents. In my view, however, this finding is consistent with previous research indicating that adolescents and parents have different views of family relationships (Noller & Callan, 1986; Smetana, 1989). There may be more convergence in adolescents' and parents' perceptions of decision-making over multifaceted issues because, as my previous research (Smetana, 1989; Smetana & Gaines, 1999) has shown, these are issues that are often negotiated with parents in the context of conflict. In contrast, prudential or personal issues are likely to occur outside of parents' purview; thus, adolescents' perceptions of decision-making autonomy over these issues may be more accurate than mothers' views.

The research presented here today demonstrates the importance of considering changes in autonomy in different social-cognitive domains. However, we have come to realize that studying autonomy in family decision-making provides an incomplete picture of how autonomy proceeds, because this research focuses on what is overt and negotiated in adolescent-parent relationships. In my lab, we have become increasingly interested in the covert aspects of adolescent-parent relationships, and we are currently investigating adolescents' and parents' conceptions of disclosure, nondisclosure, and secrecy in adolescent-parent relationships in

different social -cognitive domains. We hope that this research will provide a more complete picture of parenting, adolescent autonomy development, and adolescent adjustment.

References

- Brody, G. H., Moore, K., & Gleib, D. (1994). Family processes during adolescence as predictors of parent-young adult attitude similarity. *Family Relations, 43*, 369-373.
- Collins, W. A., Maccoby, E. E., Steinberg, L., Hetherington, E. M., & Bornstein, M. H. (2000). Contemporary research on parenting: The case for nature and nurture. *American Psychologist, 55*, 218-232.
- Daddis, C., & Smetana, J. G. (2004). *Middle class African American families' expectations adolescents' behavioral autonomy*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Rochester.
- Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P. L., Mont-Reynaud, R., & Chen, Z. (1990). Family decision-making and academic performance in a diverse high school population. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 5*, 143-160.
- Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the burden of "acting White." *Urban Review, 18*, 176-206.
- Fulgini, A. J., & Eccles, J. (1993). Perceived parent-child relationships and early adolescents' orientations toward peers. *Developmental Psychology, 29*, 622-632.
- Harter, S. (1982). The Perceived Competence Scale for Children. *Child Development, 53*, 87-97.
- Harter, S. (1985). *Manual for the Self-Perception Profile for Children*. Unpublished manual, University of Denver.
- Harter, S. (1988). *The self-perception profile for adolescents*. Unpublished manual, University of Denver, Denver, CO.
- Hasabe, Y., Nucci, L., & Nucci, M. S. (in press). Parental control of the personal domain and adolescent symptoms of psychopathology. *Child Development*.

- Lamborn, S. D., Dornbusch, S. M., & Steinberg, L. (1996). Ethnicity and community context as moderators of the relations between family decision making and adolescent adjustment. *Child Development, 67*, 283-301.
- Maccoby, E., E. (1984). Middle childhood in the context of the family. In W. A. Collins (Ed.), *Development during middle childhood: The years from six to twelve* (pp. 184-239). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Mason, C. A., Cauce, A. N., Gonzales, N., & Hiraga, Y. (1996). Neither too sweet nor too sour: Problem peers, maternal control, and problem behavior in African American adolescents. *Child Development, 67*, 2115-2130.
- Noller, P., & Callan, V. J. (1986). Adolescent and parent perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability. *Journal of Adolescence, 9*, 97-106.
- Nucci, L. P. (1996). Morality and personal freedom. In E. S. Reed, E. Turiel, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Values and knowledge* (pp. 41-60). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Nucci, L. P. (2001). *Education in the moral domain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Radloff, L. (1977). The CES-D scale: A self-report depression scale for research in the general population. *Applied Psychological Measurement, 1*, 385-401.
- Smetana, J. G. (1989). Adolescents' and parents' reasoning about actual family conflict. *Child Development, 60*, 1052-1067.
- Smetana, J. G. (1995). Parenting styles and conceptions of parental authority during adolescence. *Child Development, 66*, 299-316.
- Smetana, J. G. (2000). Middle-class African American adolescents' and parents' conceptions of parental authority and parenting practices: A longitudinal investigation. *Child Development, 71*, 1672-1686.

- Smetana, J. G. (2002). Culture, autonomy, and personal jurisdiction in adolescent-parent relationships. In H. W. Reese and R. Kail (Eds.), *Advances in Child Development and Behavior, Vol. 29* (pp. 51-87). New York: Academic Press.
- Smetana, J. G., & Asquith, P. (1994). Adolescents' and parents' conceptions of parental authority and adolescent autonomy. *Child Development, 65*, 1147-1162.
- Smetana, J. G., & Daddis, C. (2002). Domain-specific antecedents of psychological control and parental monitoring: The role of parenting beliefs and practices. *Child Development, 73*, 563-580.
- Smetana J. G., Daddis, C., & Chuang, S. S. (2003). "Clean your room!" A longitudinal investigation of adolescent-parent conflict and conflict resolution in middle class African American families. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 18*, 631-650.
- Smetana, J. G., & Gaines, C. (1999). Adolescent-parent conflict in middle-class African American families. *Child Development, 70*, 1447-1463.
- Spencer, M., & Dupree, D. (1996). African American youths' ecocultural challenges and psychosocial opportunities: An alternative analysis of problem behavior outcomes. In D. Cicchetti & S. L. Toth (Eds.), *Adolescence: Opportunities and challenges* (pp. 259-282). Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Steinberg, L., Dornbusch, S. M., & Brown, B. (1992). Ethnic differences in academic achievement. *American Psychologist, 47*, 723-729.
- Winters K. C. & Henly, G. G. (1989) *Personal Experience Inventory Test & Manual*. Los Angeles: Western Psychological Services.

Table 1:

Associations Among Decision-Making Autonomy In Different Domains and Adolescent Adjustment

	Time 1			Time 2			Time 3			
	Self-			Self-			Self- Depres:			
	GPA	Deviar	Worth	GPA	Deviar	Worth	GPA	Deviar	Worth	Mood
<u>Adolescents</u>										
Conventional/Prude	.02	.14	-.32**	.04	.31**	.02	-.14	-.03	-.06	-.10
Multifaceted	-.25*	.34**	-.34**	-.09	.18	-.03	-.17	.26*	.09	-.24*
Personal	.00	.19+	-.13	.15	.12	.01	.18+	.12	.16	-.18+
<u>Mothers</u>										
Conventional/Prude	.01	.03	-.07	-.07	.09	-.03	-.12	.13	-.06	-.02
Multifaceted	.02	.10	-.17	-.05	.32**	-.11	.02	.15	.03	-.00
Personal	-.12	.06	-.07	-.03	.27*	-.02	.13	.10	.02	-.04

Note. + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Regressions of Adolescent Adjustment on Decision-Making about Multifaceted Issues

	Academic GPA			Self-Worth			Depressed Mood		
	<i>F</i> Δ	<i>R</i> ² Δ	Beta	<i>F</i> Δ	<i>R</i> ² Δ	Beta	<i>F</i> Δ	<i>R</i> ² Δ	Beta
<i>Step 1</i>	4.07**	.23		1.17	.08		.97	.05	
Adolescent Age			.03			-.21			.21
Adolescent Sex			.23*			-.06			.15
Moms' Educ			.05			.21+			-.20+
Neighborhood			.25*			-.19+			.03
Time 1 Control			.23*			.30*			--
<i>Step 2- T1 AutM</i>	1.41	.02	-.19	3.20+	.04		.02	.00	.19
<i>Step 3 -T2 AutM</i>	1.65	.02	.18	1.15	.02	-.18	.22	.00	-.02
<i>Step 4 -T3 AutM</i>	.65	.01	-.11	4.72*	.06	.32*	11.18***	.14	-.48***
Total <i>R</i> ²		.27			.19			.19	

Note. T1 = Time 1, T2 = Time 2, T3 = Time 3, AutM = Autonomy over Multifaceted issues . Beta's are for the final step in the model. + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 3:

Regressions of Adolescent Adjustment on Decision-Making about Personal Issues

	GPA			Self-Worth			Depressed Mood		
	<i>F</i> Δ	<i>R</i> ² Δ	Beta	<i>F</i> Δ	<i>R</i> ² Δ	Beta	<i>F</i> Δ	<i>R</i> ² Δ	Beta
<i>Step 1</i>	4.07**	.23		1.17	.08		.97	.05	
Adolescent Age			-.12			-.30*			.12
Adolescent Sex			.25*			-.11			.17
Moms' Educ			.08			.22*			-.26*
Neighborhood			.18			-.20+			.08
Time 1 Control			.26*			.28*			---
<i>Step 2 – T1 AutP</i>	.09	.001	-.03	.97	.01	.08	2.48	.03	.25*
<i>Step 3 – T2 AutP</i>	1.47	.02	.10	.48	.01	-.01	1.02	.01	-.04
<i>Step 4 – T3 AutP</i>	1.89	.02	.18	11.25**	.13	.46***	6.20*	.08	-.35*
Total <i>R</i> ²		.27			.23			.18	

Note. T1 = Time 1, T2 = Time 2, T3 = Time 3, AutP = Autonomy over Personal issues. Beta's are for the final step in the model + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Figure 1:

Changes in Decision-Making Autonomy over Conventional and Prudential Issues

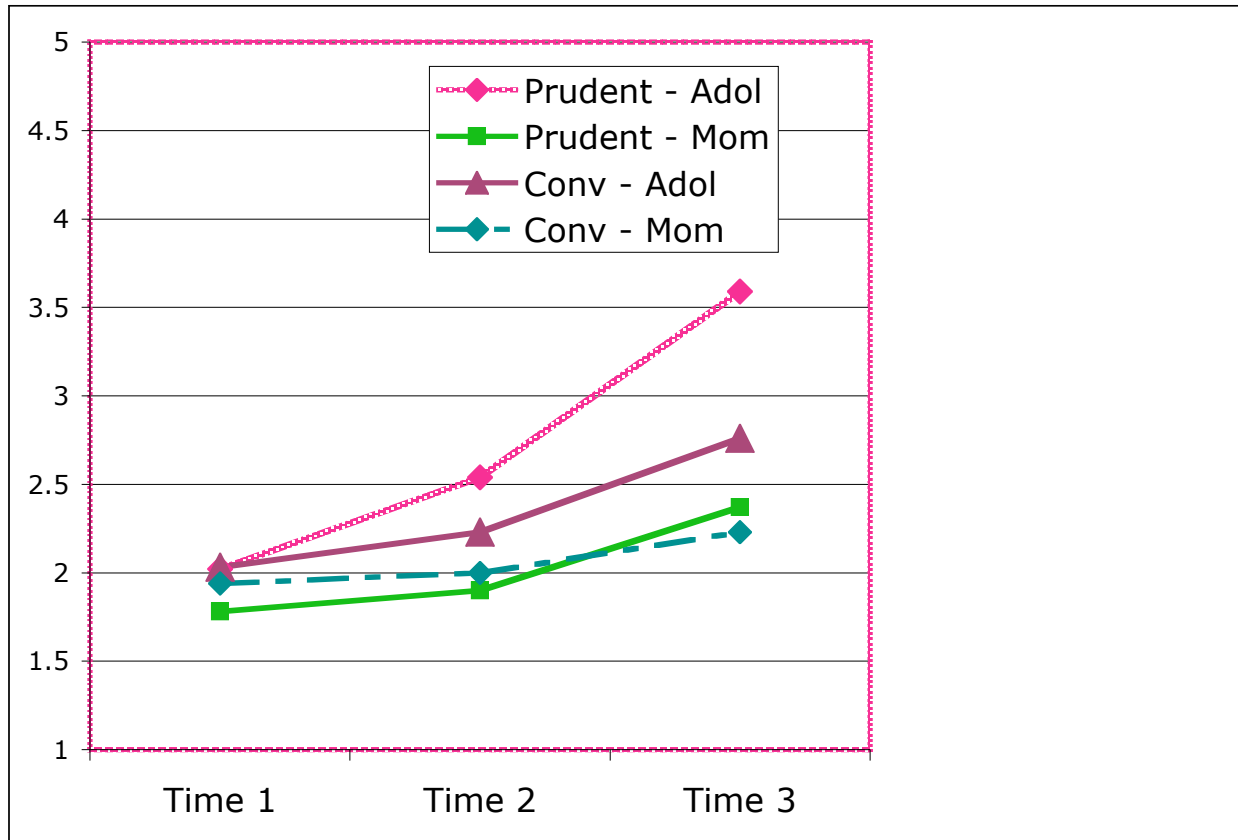


Figure 2;

Changes in Decision-Making Autonomy over Conventional and Prudential Issues

