

Fernanda Cross ORCID iD: 0000-0002-0770-9464

Academic Socialization, Parental Educational Expectations, and Academic Self-Efficacy among Latino Adolescents

Fernanda L. Cross

Aixa D. Marchand

Michael Medina

Andrea Villafuerte

Deborah Rivas-Drake

University of Michigan

Author Note:

Fernanda L. Cross, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan; Aixa D. Marchand, Combined Program in Psychology and Education, University of Michigan; Michael Medina, Combined Program in Psychology and Education, University of Michigan; Andrea Villafuerte, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan; Deborah Rivas-Drake, Department of Psychology and School of Education, University of Michigan.

Andrea Villafuerte is now at Stanford University Graduate School of Business.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Fernanda L. Cross, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48103. Contact: flcross@umich.edu.

This is the author manuscript accepted for publication and undergone full peer review but has not been through the copyediting, typesetting, pagination and proofreading process, which may lead to differences between this version and the [Version of Record](#). Please cite this article as [doi: 10.1002/pits.22239](https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22239).

This article is protected by copyright. All rights reserved.

Abstract

This study examined the direct association between parental educational expectations and adolescents' academic self-efficacy, as well as the moderating influence of parental academic socialization messages. Participants were 148 Latino parent-adolescent dyads with the majority of Mexican origin (80.4%). Most of the parent participants were mothers (85.8%). Adolescents were 13 (46%) or 14 (54%) years of age, and 53% identified as female. Adolescents reported their academic self-efficacy and perceptions of their parents' educational expectations; parents reported on their academic socialization messages of shame/pressure and effort regarding academics. The results suggest that, after accounting for parents' level of education and immigrant status, parental educational expectations were positively associated with adolescent academic self-efficacy. This association was stronger among adolescents whose parents reported transmitting fewer messages of shame/pressure and academic effort. These results point to the importance of nuances in the content and type of academic socialization messages within Latino families.

Keywords: academic socialization, Latino adolescents, parent school involvement, educational expectations, academic self-efficacy

The academic achievement of Latino youth is of fundamental importance to their future educational, occupational, and life outcomes (Hill & Torres, 2010). Due to the lower overall academic achievement of Latinos, finding ways to improve their educational outcomes is paramount (Eamon, 2005). Parents exert an important influence on their adolescents' schooling through both their school-based and home-based

involvement (Jeynes, 2016). School-based parent involvement includes volunteering in the classroom, chaperoning field trips, attending school events, communicating with teachers and other school personnel, and being involved in decision-making at school through participation in parent-teacher organizations. Home-based parental involvement, on the other hand, encompasses support with homework, expectations for their children's education, and messages about the value of an education (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; López, 2001).

Researchers have noted that Latino parents, in particular, play a critical role in their children's academic success by providing them support and discussing the importance of obtaining an education (Hill & Torres, 2010; Hill & Tyson, 2009). For instance, in a recent meta-analysis, Jeynes (2016) explained that Latino parents seem to be more persistent than other ethnic groups in their school involvement throughout the entire duration of their children's schooling. The pattern of involvement among Latinos thus contrasts with the overall decline in parental school involvement typically observed as children age (Hill & Tyson, 2009). However, as children progress through adolescence, parents are likely to rely more on home-based school involvement and less on school-based actions to support their children's schooling, including conveying messages emphasizing the importance of school and their educational expectations (Hill & Tyson, 2009).

Studies on parental involvement have shown that Latino students benefit from parents' participation in these educational activities (Jeynes, 2003; Lee & Bowen, 2006; Zellman & Waterman, 1998). These benefits are reflected in adolescents' increased academic achievement (López, Sanchez & Hamilton, 2001), decreased dropout rates and

reduced behavioral problems (Zellman & Waterman, 1998), as well as positive academic experiences in general (Hill & Taylor, 2004). However, there has been little research that simultaneously examines parents' and adolescents' understanding of home-based parent involvement efforts and their implications for adolescents' academic outcomes. One such outcome—academic self-efficacy—may be especially relevant to this relationship.

Academic self-efficacy refers to students' perceptions of their ability to understand and master their school work (Patrick, Hicks, & Ryan, 1997) and is potentially influenced by academic socialization messages they receive from significant others. The current study investigated the role of three facets of parental involvement on adolescents' academic self-efficacy: 1) adolescents' perceptions of parents' educational expectations for them; 2) parental use of messages of shame/pressure to promote conformity to a particular academic standard; and 3) parental messages urging youth to apply effort to their school work.

Theoretical Frameworks

In order to better understand the experiences of Latino adolescents using a strengths-based perspective, we drew upon the expectancy-value theory (EVT) of Eccles and Wigfield (2002) and the integrative model developed by García Coll and colleagues (1996) as theoretical frameworks for this study. These frameworks help us to further understand the relationship between parents' academic socialization and their children's academic outcomes. The EVT explains that parents, as their children's primary academic socializers, impact their school performance and self-efficacy through the messages and expectations they express and the behaviors they exhibit, with the children's perception of these messages, behaviors, and expectations influencing their academic outcomes.

Furthermore, the EVT explains that the social and cultural aspects of children's lives, as well as their demographic characteristics, influence their goals, motivations, and beliefs about their abilities to succeed in school. Similarly, García Coll and colleagues (1996) underscored the importance that research be conducted in ways that view the diversity of minority populations as a strength. Their model recognizes the efforts that parents make as potential buffers against the hardships these families may face due to living in a society that often devalues the groups they belong to. This model posits the family unit as its own sphere of influence that supports and promotes positive normative development among adolescents through adaptive culture, which is understood as the collective history of a group, reflecting the family's cultural, political, and religious traditions and generally rooted in a parent's country of origin. Migration and acculturation patterns (including reasons for migration, length of time in the host country, and ease of migration) are also specifically identified as influences within adaptive culture.

These models are ideal for understanding how the current study constructs relate to one another because they take into account the interplay of parents, children, and cultural background on children's academic outcomes. Since our population of interest is Latino and the large majority of parents were foreign-born, we must consider the families' cultural context and past experiences as minorities raising children in the U.S.

Parental Educational Expectations

Parental educational expectations for their children's future academic achievement have been found to positively influence their children's schooling (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). When parents hold high expectations, it often translates

to higher motivation and achievement for their children (Davis-Kean, 2005). Several studies examining the effects of parental involvement on children's school outcomes have identified parental expectations as one of the strongest components of parent involvement that drive improved academic outcomes (Jeynes, 2005; Redd, Guzman, Lippman, Scott & Matthews, 2004; Trusty, Plata, & Salazar, 2003). Meta-analyses have found that the influence of parental expectations on academic achievement is even stronger than parental participation at school functions or checking homework (Jeynes, 2005, 2007).

Among Latinos in particular, research suggests that parents communicate their educational expectations and instill the notion of responsibility toward school by relating their own experiences or by taking their children to their workplace so they can see first-hand the rigors of manual labor (Ryan, Casas, Kelly-Vance, Ryalls, & Nero, 2010). Parents often share their personal stories of hard work and lack of educational opportunities in conversations with their children thereby conveying that they are expected to surpass their parents in educational attainment. For example, López (2001) interviewed migrant parents that taught their children to value education by taking them to the fields to work alongside them, pointing out that their options were "to either work hard at school or work hard in the fields" (López, 2001, p. 420). Similarly, Ceballo (2004) discussed Latino parents' nonverbal support and high expectations for their children's educational future, with some participants explaining how their parents shielded them from other responsibilities to allow them to focus on their schoolwork. Since research on parent-child relationships has found that parents and children have their own distinct perspectives on family processes (Janssens et al., 2014), understanding how

adolescents perceive such parental messages is essential.

Parental Academic Socialization

Parent school involvement encompasses academic socialization, which refers to the messages they convey to their children about schoolwork and the importance of school for their future (Hill & Tyson, 2009). The various types of messages that parents send to their children include the importance of making good efforts in school, pressure to perform, and shame for not achieving the standards that have been set (Bempechat, Graham, & Jimenez, 1999; Suizzo & Soon, 2006; Ross, 2017).

One way immigrant parents may attempt to express high academic expectations is to pressure their children to do well in school and shame them if they do not. For instance, Bempechat and colleagues (1999) explored parents' academic socialization practices in a sample of African American, Latino, Indo-Chinese, and Caucasian fifth graders. Their results indicated that both Latino and Indo-Chinese children reported stronger feelings of shame than their African American or Caucasian peers for poor academic performance, which suggests that either these children felt ashamed or their parents led them to feel ashamed for poor performance (see also Fung, 1999). Furthermore, Ross (2017) found negative associations between students' feelings of shame and their self-reported classroom engagement, suggesting that parents' messages of shame lead to deleterious outcomes for youth.

Parental messages of academic pressure have been defined as those urging children to reach or exceed the expectations and standards that parents set forth (Ross, 2017). In a study exploring the relationship between parents' educational involvement

and their child's school achievement, the researchers concluded that parental use of academic pressure—commands, punishment, or coercive interactions—was negatively related to school achievement as measured by the child's GPA, overall math and reading competence, and self-concept in reading and math (Rogers, Theule, Ryan, Adams, & Keating, 2009).

The overwhelming majority of studies that explore parental messages of shame (Bempechat et al., 1999; Ross, 2017) and pressure (Bempechat, 1992; Rogers et al., 2009) have found that these messages have a negative effect on adolescents' academic outcomes. Although messages of shame and pressure have generally been shown to undermine, rather than support, positive academic outcomes, a small number of studies did not find negative associations between parental academic socialization messages of pressure (Suizzo & Soon, 2006) and shame (Holodynski & Kronast, 2009; Turner, Husman, & Schallert, 2002) and their adolescents' academic motivation and achievement. Such discrepancies signal the need for more research in this area, with this current study aimed at further exploring the role of shame and pressure in academic socialization by Latino parents.

To this end, we have revised the conceptualization of parental academic socialization messages. In a study of African American parents and children, messages of shame and pressure were found to load onto the same factor, which indicates that parents were not differentiating between the two types of messages or that they were likely to transmit both types of messages together; when considered as a single measure, shame/pressure were negatively associated with academic outcomes (Ross, 2017). Therefore, based on conceptual and empirical reasons, in the current study, we

considered messages of shame/pressure as a unified, potentially negative parental academic socialization category.

Another way that parents socialize their children with regard to academics is by encouraging them to try hard to do well in school, which is referred to as effort socialization (Bempechat et al., 1999). Socialization messages related to effort include parents' communications regarding the value of being hard-working and exerting effort in their studies (Bempechat et al., 1999; Paulson, 1994; Suizzo et al., 2012). Unlike messages that shame/pressure children, parents' messages of effort have been shown to relate to positive academic outcomes. Bempechat and colleagues (1999) hypothesized that parents' messages of effort might instill in their children a desire to excel in school. Suizzo and colleagues (2012) found more recently that Latino adolescents who reported that their parents communicated messages about the importance of hard work, which can be conceptualized as messages of effort, also reported higher levels of academic motivation.

The Current Study

The current study examines how adolescents' perceptions of parental educational expectations and their parents' academic socialization messages (i.e., shame/pressure and effort) relate to adolescents' academic self-efficacy. We focus on academic self-efficacy because youths' confidence in their educational skills and ability to master the material presented to them is related to both adolescents' relationships with their parents and their school outcomes (e.g., Yuan, Weiser, & Fischer, 2016). We hypothesize that parental educational expectations would be positively associated with greater academic self-

efficacy among adolescents. Drawing from the existing literature, we also expect that parents' messages of shame/pressure would constitute a harmful type of academic socialization and thus would undermine the positive link between educational expectations and academic self-efficacy among adolescents. We further expect that parental messages encouraging youth to exert effort in their studies, on the other hand, will enhance the link between educational expectations and academic self-efficacy among adolescents.

In our analyses, we adjusted for the roles of parental education and immigrant status. Research suggests that parents' education level and immigrant status are associated with their involvement with their children's schooling (Hill et al., 2004). For example, Shumow and Miller (2001) found that parents who did not graduate from high school were less likely to engage in home-involvement behaviors, whereas college-educated parents were more involved. Furthermore, parents who were born outside of the United States may not realize that it is an unspoken expectation that they are to be involved with their child's schooling, as the expectations may be different in their home country (Turney & Kao, 2009).

Method

Participants

Data for this study were drawn from the first wave of a longitudinal study of 148 Latino parent-adolescent dyads in southeastern Michigan aimed at better understanding the extent to which cultural resources and challenges are linked to the adolescents' outcomes over time. Data were collected annually, starting when the adolescents were

either in the 8th or 9th grade, an age when adolescents have greater awareness of, and are actively exploring, their ethnic-racial identity (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), which was one of the focal cultural resources examined in the larger study. Of the 148 dyads, 81.1% were from two-parent households, with 71.6% married and 9.5% unmarried but living together. The large majority of parents were of Mexican origin (80.4%), with the others from various countries such as Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Perú, Honduras, and Argentina. Most of the parents surveyed were foreign-born (90.5%; $M_{age} = 40.45$ years, $SD = 5.08$) and the large majority were mothers (85.8%). Of the foreign-born parents, the average length of residence in the United States was 17.21 years ($SD = 6.16$).

With regard to level of education, 43.2% of parents reported completing less than high school, 29.7% reported having a high school diploma, 22.4% reported having studied beyond high school, and 4.7% did not answer the question. Seventy-eight percent of parents completed their education abroad, 16% reported completing their education in the United States and 6% did not respond. About 60% of parents reported annual household income below \$30,000, 24.3% between \$30,000 and \$60,000, and 8% reported incomes above \$60,000. The remaining 7.4% of parents did not respond to the question inquiring about their yearly household income. However, of the 148 parents, the majority (83.8%) reported that their child received free or reduced-price lunch at school.

With regard to the adolescents, 46% were 13 years old and the remainder were 14 years old at the time of data collection. Of the 148 adolescents, 73% were in 8th grade and 27% were in 9th grade. Adolescent participants were nearly evenly distributed by gender, with 47% reporting being male and 53% reporting being female. A large majority of the

adolescents were born in the United States (78%), and the remainder reported being born abroad.

Procedure

To recruit participants for this study, research staff posted flyers (in both English and Spanish) in and around community centers, recreation areas, shopping malls, youth centers, and churches throughout southeastern Michigan. These flyers included information about the study and provided phone numbers and emails for potential participants to contact the research team. A brief pre-screening protocol was administered to determine if the child and his/her primary parent/guardian qualified for the study. Eligible adolescents had to be 13 or 14 years of age and enrolled in either 8th or 9th grade. Additionally, both adolescents and parents had to self-identify as Latino or Hispanic.

Eligible participants then completed self-report surveys at a location of the parents' choosing to ensure confidentiality and maximize participants' comfort. Informed consent was obtained from the parents for their own participation as well as that of their child, and informed assent was obtained from the adolescents. Data were collected by a Spanish-fluent research staffer or a community liaison who was well-versed in community outreach in southeastern Michigan. Given the option of completing the survey in either English or Spanish, 90% of parents chose Spanish, whereas all adolescents chose English. Upon completion of the survey, parents were compensated with a \$30 gift card and adolescents with a \$20 gift card. This project received the approval of the Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board from the authors' university.

Measures

Perceived parental educational expectations. To assess perceived parental educational expectations, adolescents were asked to respond to six items from the perceived parental academic support scale (Chen, 2005) on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha reliability for these items was .82. This scale includes questions such as, "My parents have high expectations for me to do well in school."

Parent academic socialization. Parental academic socialization was assessed in two ways. Shame/pressure socialization was assessed with a measure developed by Ross (2017). A sample item that captures the shame subscale is, "I make my child feel ashamed if he/she does badly in school," and an item that represents the pressure subscale is, "I have very high standards for my child's school performance." In the present study, the shame and pressure items also loaded together forming a single factor, which led us to consider them as a single construct. Effort socialization was assessed using items from the effort subscale of the Educational Socialization Scale (Bempechat, Graham, & Jimenez, 1999; Ross, 2017). A sample item of the effort subscale is, "I tell my child that he/she can get smarter and smarter as long as he/she tries hard." Parents were asked to respond to these items on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). Cronbach's alpha reliability was .70 for the three shame/pressure items, and it was .76 for the three effort items.

Adolescent academic self-efficacy. Academic self-efficacy was measured using Patrick, Hicks, and Ryan's (1997) scale. Students were asked to report on their confidence in their ability to tackle academic challenges (e.g., "I'm sure I can master the skills being taught"). Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) and the items were coded such that higher values on this scale indicate higher academic self-efficacy. Cronbach's alpha reliability for this four-item scale was .89.

Covariates. Parents were asked about their highest level of education completed, which was coded as a dichotomous variable with 0 representing less than a high school diploma and 1 representing a high school diploma or more. Parents were also asked about their place of birth, which was coded as a dichotomous variable with 0 representing a person born in the U.S. and 1 representing an immigrant.

Analysis Plan

Multiple hierarchical regressions were conducted to test the relationship between perceived parental educational expectations and adolescents' academic self-efficacy, accounting for parental immigrant status and education level. At step 1, the covariates, independent variable (i.e., perceived parental educational expectations) and moderator variables (i.e., parent shame/pressure socialization or parental effort socialization) were entered. At step 2, multiplicative interactions of the independent and moderator variables were entered; these variables were centered prior to creating interaction terms to prevent multicollinearity issues. Significant interactions were probed by plotting values for those with low and high levels of perceived parental educational expectations at low (-1 SD)

and high (+1 SD) levels of parental academic socialization. Tests of simple slopes analysis were also performed to determine which slopes were significantly different from zero.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

All variables in the analyses were tested for outliers, skewness, and kurtosis. The skewness results were all within an absolute value of 2, while kurtosis results were all well within an absolute value of 7. These results suggest that all variables of interest were normally distributed. We also explored the means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of the primary study variables (see Table 1). Adolescents reported that their parents had, on average, high expectations for their educational outcomes. The mean for effort socialization indicates that parents often transmitted these types of messages to their children, whereas the mean for shame/pressure indicates that parents seldom transmitted these types of messages. Both aspects of parental academic socialization examined—shame/pressure and effort—were significantly and positively correlated ($r = .32, p < .001$). Also, adolescents' perceived parental educational expectations significantly and positively correlated with academic self-efficacy ($r = .57, p < .001$).

Primary Analyses

Our first set of analyses examined the moderating role of parent shame/pressure socialization on the link between perceived parental educational expectations and adolescents' academic self-efficacy. At step 1, perceived parental educational

expectations was significantly and positively associated with academic self-efficacy ($b = .58, SE = .08, p < .001$), adjusted for parent education and immigrant status. At step 2, the interaction of perceived parental educational expectations and parent shame/pressure socialization was significant ($b = -.18, SE = .08, p = .036$). The simple slopes analysis of this interaction indicated that the slope for less ($\beta = .75, t = 6.90, p < 0.001$) and more ($\beta = .43, t = 3.96, p < 0.001$) use of shame/pressure socialization by parents were both significantly different from zero. The slope for less shame/pressure socialization was steeper (i.e., significantly more positive) than that for engaging in more shame/pressure socialization (see Figure 1). Thus, consistent with our hypothesis, the positive association between perceived parental educational expectations for youth was enhanced when parents engaged in less pressuring and shaming regarding their academic performance.

Our second set of analyses examined the moderating role of parent effort socialization on the link between perceived parental educational expectations and adolescents' academic self-efficacy. At step 1, as before, perceived parental educational expectations was significantly and positively associated with academic self-efficacy ($b = .58, SE = .08, p < .001$), adjusted for parent education and immigrant status. At step 2, the interaction of perceived parental educational expectations and parents' effort socialization was marginal ($b = -.16, SE = .09, p = .062$). The test of the simple slopes for this marginal interaction indicated that the slopes for perceived parental educational expectations were significantly different from zero at both low parent effort socialization ($\beta = .75, t = 6.45, p < 0.001$) and high parent effort socialization ($\beta = .46, t = 4.58, p < 0.001$), with a steeper slope for lower parent effort socialization. Therefore, contrary to our prediction, perceiving higher educational expectations from parents was associated

with greater academic self-efficacy when those expectations were coupled with lower levels of parent effort socialization messages.

Discussion

The current study sought to elucidate the relationship between Latino youths' academic self-efficacy, their perceptions of parental educational expectations, and their parents' reports of their academic socialization messages. We tested three hypotheses. First, we argued that Latino youths' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations would be positively related to their own academic self-efficacy. This hypothesis was confirmed; youth who reported higher levels of parental educational expectations about their schooling also reported higher levels of self-efficacy. This relationship falls in line with the expectancy-value theory (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002), which argues that parents serve as major academic socializers for their children, and that their messages and behaviors regarding their children's schooling will influence their academic performance. In this case, we drew from the youths' rather than the parents' perspectives about the receipt of these messages, which may further explain the direct relationship we found with youths' feelings of efficacy in schools.

Second, we hypothesized that the relationship between youths' perceptions of parental educational expectations and academic self-efficacy would be undermined by their exposure to parental academic socialization messages of shame/pressure. Our results supported this hypothesis as well. Among youth who reported higher levels of parental academic expectations, those whose parents reported low levels of shame/pressure messaging had significantly higher levels of academic self-efficacy than those whose

parents reported high levels of shame/pressure. These findings are intuitive; given the potentially harmful connotations of shame/pressure socialization as well as previously reported associations with negative academic outcomes (e.g., Kim et al., 2013; Rogers et al., 2009), it stands to reason that youth exposed to more of these types of messages may report feeling less personally efficacious in school.

Third, we hypothesized that unlike shame/pressure, parents' academic socialization messages pertaining to effort in school would yield a positive relationship between youths' perceptions of parental educational expectations and academic self-efficacy. This hypothesis was not supported. In fact, the results for parental socialization messages of effort mirrored those of shame/pressure, with the highest reports of academic self-efficacy messages coming from those youth who reported high parental academic expectations and low socialization messages of effort. This finding is surprising; the socialization items used in the effort subscale emphasize the importance of academic attainment and achievement, and previous research has found a positive link between adolescent perceptions of parental academic socialization generally and youth's school engagement (Rivas-Drake & Marchand, 2016).

We have speculated about a number of explanations for this unexpected negative moderation of parental socialization messages of effort. One possibility is that adolescents in the current sample were not able to distinguish the nuances between parental socialization messages of shame/pressure and those of effort. However, parents were aware of the differences in the messages they were giving as they reported transmitting messages of effort much more often than messages of shame/pressure. Additionally, effort messages may have a curvilinear relationship where a certain level is

beneficial, but in greater amounts they become maladaptive, exerting a negative influence on adolescents' academic self-efficacy. Further, such messages may communicate negative or stressful expectations to youth as do shame/pressure messages, thus resulting in a similar dampening of youths' academic self-efficacy. It is possible that older adolescents may be able to better identify differences in these messages and thus display differing levels of benefit or detriment when receiving them. It is important to also consider how such individual factors as temperament, personality traits, age, and gender may also influence how parental academic socialization messages impact adolescents' academic outcomes.

Measurement error may also contribute to our results. Specifically, because of the distinctive manner in which Latino parents often interact with their youths' schooling (e.g., Lee & Bowen, 2006; Nzinga-Johnson, Baker & Aupperlee, 2009), it is possible that the questions in the effort socialization scale did not accurately capture the culturally-grounded methods with which they attempt to socialize their children regarding effort in school. For instance, Latina mothers and children tend to value respect for parental authority (Dixon, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008) with this respect playing an important role in further understanding parental involvement in Latino adolescents' education (Ceballo, Maurizi, Suarez, & Aretakis, 2014). Alternative scale items that attempt to recognize the role of familial deference and respect, common among Latino families, may help capture such culturally-salient attitudes and expectations (e.g., "Because of my parents' sacrifices, I should try my best in school," or "It is my responsibility as a member of my family to do well in school"). Messages about documentation status, and sacrifices made by parents moving into a new country may also influence Latino youth's

academic performance (Ceballo et al., 2014). Similarly, parental messages of shame/pressure may be culturally relevant and adaptive for this population and age group in particular, as Latino adolescents may normalize them by, for example, discussing them with peers. Teens might perceive these messages as common ways that their parents express concern for their academic future in general. Additionally, although frequent use of messages of shame/pressure does not produce outcomes as positive as infrequent use, the association of those messages on adolescent academic self-efficacy is minimal when compared to the differential association of low versus high use of shame/pressure messages.

It is also quite possible that parents do not use the different types of socialization messages in isolation. Rather, parents may intermingle both shame/pressure and effort messages in their discussions with adolescents, thereby conflating the two. In this case, any potential merits of effort messages may be compromised by the shame/pressure statements. Parents may also underreport their rate of shame/pressure message use and/or over report effort message use to better coincide with social expectations towards positive versus negative socialization messages. Similarly, as the current measures of socialization are not culturally-informed, it is possible that culturally-relevant messages of shame/pressure, and/or effort are not being accurately teased apart in this examination. Without the cross-validation of adolescent reports of parents' socialization messages, the inclusion of more qualitative reports on socialization exposure, and measures that have been informed by culturally-specific means of parental socialization, we could not address such potential reporting errors in the current study.

In light of these points, a few additional issues should be mentioned. First, the

mean value of parental reports of effort messages exceeded that of shame/pressure. However, the similar moderating trend of both shame/pressure and effort messaging suggest that the two constructs operate in a potentially negative way. Even though parents may be more inclined to use effort-based socialization messages (perhaps because of their more positive connotations) this distinction may be lost on their youth. Second, among the current study variables, the most influential factor affecting youths' academic self-efficacy was their self-reported levels of perceived parental educational expectations, which may be due to their internalization of these expectations. Adolescents with high parental academic expectations reported higher levels of academic self-efficacy than their peers with low parental academic expectations, regardless of the level of parental socialization messaging.

It is particularly important for Latino adolescents that their parents have high expectations for their academic achievement. In adolescence, youth are increasingly aware of others' perceptions of themselves and their life chances (e.g., DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006); accordingly, the beliefs and attitudes they internalize about school may be particularly attuned to the nuances in messages they receive from their parents at this age. Such messages may also help to buffer youth from less supportive teachers, whose negative perceptions about Latino adolescents' abilities or aptitude can negatively affect their academic outcomes (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Educators may be able to support Latino youth's academic outcomes by recognizing and appreciating the great variation in the experiences that families bring with them into the classroom. Some efforts toward this end could include engaging in culturally responsive teaching, developing more meaningful connections to parents, and integrating the families' culture, language, and

ethnic-racial experiences into the curriculum (Aceves & Orosco, 2014). Such efforts might well foster trust with students and help parents feel more comfortable interacting with school personnel (Aceves & Orosco, 2014; Bower & Griffin, 2011).

Equipped with a greater understanding of the different manner in which Latino parents transmit academic relevance to their children, schools could communicate to parents--e.g., via parent-teacher conferences, phone calls, emails, letters to parents in their native language, curriculum night--how, through the nature and frequency of school-related messages, they can help students feel more efficacious. Additionally, schools may host workshops for parents that work to strengthen the home-school relationship and perhaps encourage them to adopt a growth mindset--or the belief that intelligence is not fixed and can be improved upon--for their children's academic achievement (Yeager & Dweck, 2012).

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the current study contributed to research on Latino parents' academic socialization, several limitations should be mentioned. For one, this study was constrained by exploring only shame/pressure and effort as dimensions of the broader construct of academic socialization. Prior research suggests that parents discuss matters of education and promote its importance to their children through other cultural processes not fully captured by the current measures (Bempechat et al., 1999). As mentioned above, parents may interweave their use of shame/pressure and effort messages with their children. As such, exploring the possibility of a three-way interaction between the two socialization types and adolescents' academic self-efficacy may capture a more nuanced

dimension of familial socialization processes not explored in the current study. Alternatively, it is possible that these dimensions operate differently across time; for example, youth may begin to believe as they mature that academic-based pressure messages from parents are normative but shame messages are not. Thus, researchers interested in the distinct influence of these two individual dimensions of parental socialization messages would do well to analyze each independently and across adolescence. It is likewise important to acknowledge that youth may be used to experiencing socializing messages of shame and pressure in their household. As such, they may be interpreted as harmful, but they may also be interpreted as their parents' means of expressing their investment in their academic success. Future work using diverse methodologies (e.g., daily diary, qualitative) may illuminate youth's perceptions of parental socialization messages, including their frequency and the extent to which they are interpreted as appropriate or useful.

In addition, although we relied on data from multiple sources, this study was based on cross-sectional data, and therefore we cannot infer causality. A longitudinal study is also necessary to determine whether the associations of parental academic socialization and parent school involvement with adolescent efficacy change or remain stable over time. Additionally, most of the participants were immigrants of Mexican origin residing in communities of close geographic proximity, which limits the extent to which we can extrapolate our findings to people of other national origins or to Latinos living elsewhere in the United States.

An additional limitation of our study is that our measures of parent involvement relied on adolescent perceptions of their parent's educational expectations and parental

report of their socialization messages. It may be worthwhile to invert this reporting pattern by probing adolescents' perceptions of parental academic socialization messages and parents' reports of their educational expectations. Combined with empirical results like those in the current study, such research may help to provide a more holistic view of the socialization processes involved and the resulting outcomes. In a similar vein, given the varied family structures of minority families and the roles of extended family members in these communities (Hernandez, Nguyen, Casanova, Suárez-Orozco, & Saetermoe, 2013), garnering input from the non-parent adults residing in the household could provide us with a more complete picture. As mentioned previously, future studies on this topic should make use of qualitative data, which could increase our understanding of how the interplay of culture and context influence parents' decision to use various types of academic socialization messages. Finally, future studies might also take into account the gender of the child since this could well influence a parent's decision to use a specific type of message.

Conclusion

Our study helps to advance the understanding of the various ways in which parents' messages might promote adolescents' academic success within a sample of Latino parent-adolescent dyads. The examination of these processes helps to identify promising influences on Latino adolescents' academic achievement. This study sheds light on how these varying types of messages impact outcomes and calls for a more nuanced approach to explore different types of academic socialization messages. It also holds promise in that it can help researchers devise strategies to positively influence Latino youths' academic outcomes.

References

- Aceves, T. C., & Orosco, M. J. (2014). *Culturally responsive teaching* (Document No. IC-2). Retrieved from University of Florida, Collaboration for Effective Educator, Development, Accountability, and Reform Center website: <http://cedar.education.ufl.edu/tools/innovation-configurations/>
- Bempechat, J., Graham, S. E., & Jimenez, N. V. (1999). The socialization of achievement in poor and minority students: A comparative study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 30*(2), 139-158. doi: 10.1177/0022022199030002001.
- Bempechat, J. (1992). The role of parent involvement in children's academic achievement. *The School Community Journal, 2*(2), 31-41.
- Bower, H., & Griffin, D. (2011). Can the Epstein model of parental involvement work in a high minority, high-poverty elementary school? A case study. *Professional School Counseling, 15*(2), 77-87.
- Ceballo, R., Maurizi, L. K., Suarez, G. A., & Aretakis, M. T. (2014). Gift and sacrifice: Parental involvement in Latino adolescents' education. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 20*(1), 116.
- Ceballo, R. (2004). From barrios to Yale: The role of parenting strategies in Latino families. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 26*(2), 171-186. doi: 10.1177/0739986304264572
- Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style:

Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development*, 65(4), 1111-1119. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.1994.tb00806.x

Chen, J. J. L. (2005). Relation of academic support from parents, teachers, and peers to Hong Kong adolescents' academic achievement: The mediating role of academic engagement. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, 131(2), 77-127. doi: 10.3200/MONO.131.2.77-127

Cutrona, C. E., Cole, V., Colangelo, N., Assouline, S. G., & Russell, D. W. (1994). Perceived parental social support and academic achievement: An attachment theory perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66(2), 369-378. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.66.2.369

Davis-Kean, P. E. (2005). The influence of parent education and family income on child achievement: The indirect role of parental expectations and the home environment. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 19(2), 294-304. doi: 10.1037/0893-3200.19.2.294

DeGarmo, D. S., & Martinez, C. R. (2006). A Culturally Informed Model of Academic Well-Being for Latino Youth: The Importance of Discriminatory Experiences and Social Support. *Family Relations*, 55(3), 267-278. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2006.00401.x>

Dixon, S. V., Graber, J. A., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2008). The roles of respect for parental authority and parenting practices in parent-child conflict among African American, Latino, and European American families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 22(1), 1-10.

- Eamon, M. K. (2005). Social-demographic, school, neighborhood, and parenting influences on the academic achievement of Latino young adolescents. *Journal of youth and adolescence, 34*(2), 163-174.
- Eccles, J. S., & Wigfield, A. (2002). Motivational beliefs, values, and goals. *Annual Review of Psychology, 53*(1), 109-132. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135153
- Eccles, J. S. (1994). Understanding women's educational and occupational choices. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18*(4), 585-609. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.1994.tb01049.x
- Epstein, J. L. (1991). Effects on student achievement of teachers' practices of parent involvement. In S. B. Silvern (Ed.), *Advances in reading/language research: A research annual, Vol. 5. Literacy through family, community, and school interaction* (pp. 261-276). US: Elsevier Science/JAI Press.
- Fung, H. (1999). Becoming a moral child: The socialization of shame among young Chinese children. *Ethos, 27*(2), 180-209. doi: 10.1525/eth.1999.27.2.180
- García Coll, C., Lamberty, G., Gontran, J., McAdoo, R., Pipes, H., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & Vazquez Garcia, H. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development, 67*, 1891-1914. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x
- Grolnick, W. S., & Ryan, R. M. (1989). Parent styles associated with children's self regulation and competence in school. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 81*(2), 143-154. doi: 10.1037/0022-0663.81.2.143

Hernández, M. G., Nguyen, J., Casanova, S., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Saetermoe, C. L. (2013). Doing no harm and getting it right: Guidelines for ethical research with immigrant communities. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2013(141), 43-60. doi: 10.1002/cad.20042

Hill, N. E. & Torres, K. (2010). Negotiating the American dream: The paradox of aspirations and achievement among Latino students and engagement between their families and schools. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66, 95–112. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01635.x

Hill, N. E. & Tyson, D. F. (2009). Parental involvement in middle school: A meta-analytic assessment of the strategies that promote achievement. *Developmental Psychology*, 45(3), 740-763. doi: 10.1037/a0015362

Hill, N. E. & Taylor, C. L. (2004). Parental school involvement and children's academic achievement: Pragmatics and issues. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 13 (4), 161-164. doi: 10.1111/j.0963-7214.2004.00298.x

Holodynski, M., & Kronast, S. (2009). Shame and pride: Invisible emotions in classroom research. In *Emotions as bio-cultural processes* (pp. 371-394). Springer, New York, NY. doi: 10.1007/978-0-387-09546-2

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Walker, J. M. T., Sandler, H. M., Whetsel, D., Green, C. L.,

Wilkins, A. S., & Closson, K. E. (2005). Why do parents become involved?

Research findings and implications. *Elementary School Journal*, 106(2), 105–130. doi: 10.1086/499194

Janssens, A., Goossens, L., Van Den Noortgate, W., Colpin, H., Verschueren, K., & Van Leeuwen, K. (2015). Parents' and adolescents' perspectives on parenting: Evaluating conceptual structure, measurement invariance, and criterion validity. *Assessment*, 22(4), 473-489. doi: 10.1177/1073191114550477

Jeynes, W. H. (2016). A Meta-Analysis: The relationship between parental involvement and Latino student outcomes. *Education and Urban Society*, 49(1), 4-28. doi: 10.1177/0013124516630596

Jeynes, W. H. (2007). The relationship between parental involvement and urban secondary school student academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Urban education*, 42(1), 82-110. doi: 10.1177/0042085906293818

Jeynes, W. H. (2005). Effects of parental involvement and family structure on the academic achievement of adolescents. *Marriage & Family Review*, 37(3), 99-116. doi: 10.1300/J002v37n03_06

Jeynes, W. H. (2003). A meta-analysis: The effects of parental involvement on minority children's academic achievement. *Education and Urban Society*, 35(2): 202-218. doi: 10.1177/0013124502239392

Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Orozco-Lapray, D., Shen, Y., & Murtuza, M. (2013). Does "tiger parenting" exist? Parenting profiles of Chinese Americans and adolescent developmental outcomes. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 4(1), 7. doi: 10.1037/a0030612

Lee, J., & Bowen, N. K. (2006). Parent involvement, cultural capital, and the achievement gap among elementary school children. *American Educational Research*

Journal, 43(2), 193-218. doi: 10.3102/00028312043002193

Levine, E. B., & Trickett, E. J. (2000). Toward a model of Latino parent advocacy for educational change. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, 20(1-2), 121-137. doi: 10.1300/J005v20n01_09

Lopez, G. R. (2001). The value of hard work: Lessons on parent involvement from an (im)migrant household. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(3), 416-437. doi: 10.17763/haer.71.3.43x7k542x023767u

Lopez, L. C., Sanchez, V. V., & Hamilton, M. (2000). Immigrant and native-born Mexican American parents' involvement in a public school: A preliminary study. *Psychological Reports*, 86(2), 521-525. doi: 10.2466/pr0.2000.86.2.521

Nzinga-Johnson, S., Baker, J. A., & Aupperlee, J. (2009). Teacher-parent relationships and school involvement among racially and educationally diverse parents of kindergartners. *The Elementary School Journal*, 110(1), 81-91. doi: 10.1086/598844

Okagaki, L., & Frensch, P. A. (1998). Parenting and children's school achievement: A multiethnic perspective. *American Educational Research Journal*, 35(1), 123-144. doi: 10.3102/00028312035001123

Patrick, H., Hicks, L., & Ryan, A. M. (1997). Relations of perceived social efficacy and social goal pursuit to self-efficacy for academic work. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 17(2), 109-128. doi: 10.1177/0272431697017002001

Paulson, S. E. (1994). Relations of parenting style and parental involvement with ninth

grade students' achievement. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 14(2), 250-267. doi: 10.1177/027243169401400208

Redd, Z., Guzman, L., Lippman, L., Scott, L., & Matthews, G. (2004). Parental expectations for children's educational attainment: A review of the literature. Report to National Center for Education Statistics.

Rivas-Drake, D., & Marchand, A. (2016). Academic socialization among Latino families: Exploring the compensatory role of cultural processes. *Research in Human Development*, 13(3), 225-240. doi: 10.1080/15427609.2016.1194708

Rivas- Drake, D., Syed, M., Umaña- Taylor, A., Markstrom, C., French, S., Schwartz, S. J., & Lee, R. (2014). Feeling good, happy, and proud: A meta- analysis of positive ethnic-racial affect and adjustment. *Child Development*, 85(1), 77-102. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12175

Rogers, M. A., Theule, J., Ryan, B. A., Adams, G. R., & Keating, L. (2009). Parental involvement and children's school achievement: Evidence for mediating processes. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology*, 24(1), 34-57. doi: 10.1177/0829573508328445

Ross, L. (2017). Perspective matters: Concordance in parental academic socialization in Black parent-adolescent dyads. (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/handle/2027.42/137098>

Ryan, C. S., Casas, J. F., Kelly-Vance, L., Ryalls, B. O., & Nero, C. (2010). Parent Involvement and views of school success: The role of parents' Latino and White American cultural orientations. *Psychology in the Schools*, 47(4), 391-

405.doi:10.1002/pits.20477

Shumow, L., & Miller, J. D. (2001). Parents' at-home and at-school academic involvement with young adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *21*(1), 68-91. doi: 10.1177/0272431601021001004

Suizzo, M. A., Jackson, K. M., Pahlke, E., Marroquin, Y., Blondeau, L., & Martinez, A. (2012). Pathways to achievement: How low-income Mexican-origin parents promote their adolescents through school. *Family Relations*, *61*(4), 533-547. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3729.2012.00727.x

Suizzo, M. A., & Soon, K. (2006). Parental academic socialization: Effects of home-based parental involvement on locus of control across US ethnic groups. *Educational Psychology*, *26*(6), 827-846. doi: 10.1080/01443410600941961

Tenenbaum, H. R., & Ruck, M. D. (2007). Are teachers' expectations different for racial minority than for European American students? A meta-analysis. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *99*(2), 253. doi: 10.1037/0022-0663.99.2.253

Trusty, J., Plata, M., & Salazar, C. F. (2003). Modeling Mexican Americans' educational expectations: Longitudinal effects of variables across adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *18*(2), 131-153. doi: 10.1177/0743558402250345

Turner, J. E., Husman, J., & Schallert, D. L. (2002). The importance of students' goals in their emotional experience of academic failure: Investigating the precursors and consequences of shame. *Educational Psychologist*, *37*(2), 79-89. doi: 10.1207/S15326985EP3702_3

Turney, K., & Kao, G. (2009). Barriers to school involvement: Are immigrant parents disadvantaged? *The Journal of Educational Research*, *102*(4), 257-271. doi:

10.3200/JOER.102.4.257-271

U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). *Newsroom Archive*. Retrieved from

<https://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb12-243.html>.

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2013).

Characteristics of public and private elementary and secondary schools in the United

States: Results from the 2011–12 schools and staffing survey. Retrieved from

<https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=55>.

Usher, E. L., & Pajares, F. (2006). Sources of academic and self-regulatory efficacy beliefs of entering middle school students. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *31*(2),

125-141. doi: 10.1016/j.cedpsych.2005.03.002

Yamamoto, Y., & Holloway, S. D. (2010). Parental expectations and children's academic performance in sociocultural context. *Educational Psychology Review*, *22*(3), 189-214.

doi: 10.1007/s10648-010-9121-z

Yeager, D. S., & Dweck, C. S. (2012). Mindsets that promote resilience: When students believe that personal characteristics can be developed. *Educational psychologist*, *47*(4),

302-314. doi. 10.1080/00461520.2012.722805

Yuan, S., Weiser, D. A., & Fischer, J. L. (2016). Self-efficacy, parent–child relationships, and academic performance: A comparison of European American and Asian

American college students. *Social Psychology of Education*, *19*(2), 261-280. doi:

10.1007/s11218-015-9330-x

Zellman, G. L. & Waterman, J. M. (1998). Understanding the impact of parent school involvement on children’s educational outcomes. *The Journal of Education Research*, 91(6), 370-380. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0022067980959756612fv>.

Table 1 : *Summary of Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Primary Study Variables*

	1	2	3	4	
1. Perceived Parental Educational Expectations	--	-.06	-.04	.57***	
2. Parent Shame/Pressure Socialization		--	.32***	.01	
3. Parent Effort Socialization			--	-.07	
4. Academic Self-Efficacy				--	
	M	4.19	1.87	4.25	4.14
	SD	.65	.91	.91	.66

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2 : *Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Academic Self-Efficacy on Perceived Parental Educational Expectations and Parent Shame/Pressure Socialization (N=148)*

Variable	<i>b</i>	SE	β	ΔR^2	R^2
Step 1				.33	.33
Parent Education	.05	.10	.04		
Parent Immigrant	-.14	.17	-.06		
Perceived Parent Educ. Expectations	.58***	.08	.57		
Parent Shame/Pressure Socialization	.03	.05	.05		
Step 2				.02	.35
Parent Education	.02	.10	.02		
Parent Immigrant	-.14	.17	-.06		
Perceived Parent Educ. Expectations	.59***	.08	.58		
Parent Shame/Pressure Socialization	.00	.05	.00		
Parent S/P Soc. X Perceived Parental Educ.	-.18*	.08	-.16		

Expectations

Note. S/P = Shame/Pressure; Soc. = Socialization; Educ. = Educational

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3 : *Hierarchical Multiple Regression of Academic Self-Efficacy on Perceived Parental Educational*

Expectations and Parent Effort Socialization (N=148)

Variable	<i>b</i>	SE	β	ΔR^2	R^2
Step 1				.33	.33
Parent Education	.05	.10	.03		
Parent Immigrant	-.12	.17	-.05		
Perceived Parent Educ. Expectations	.58***	.08	.57		
Parent Effort Socialization	-.03	.05	-.04		
Step 2				.02	.34
Parent Education	.05	.10	.04		

Parent Immigrant	-0.08	.17	-0.04
Perceived Parent Educ. Expectations	.61***	.08	.59
Parent Effort Socialization	-0.04	.05	-0.05
Parent Effort Soc. X Perceived Parental Educ. Expectations	-.16†	.09	-.14

Note. Soc. = Socialization; Educ. = Educational

† $p = .062$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figures

Figure 1. Interaction of Perceived Parental Educational Expectations and Parental Shame/Pressure Socialization predicting Academic Self-Efficacy

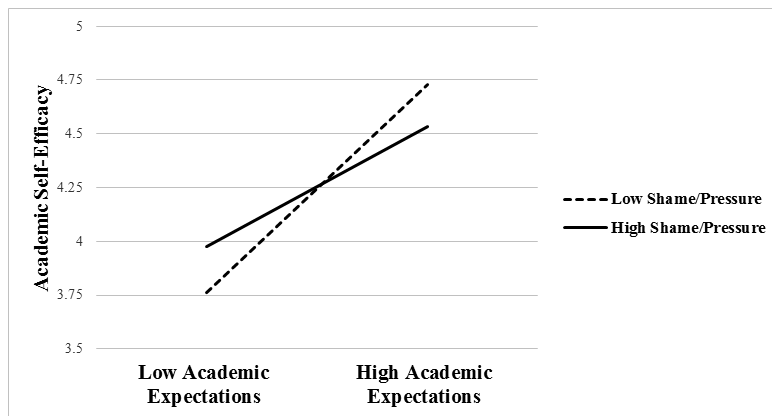


Figure 2. Interaction of Perceived Parental Educational Expectations and Parental Effort Socialization predicting Academic Self-Efficacy

