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THE ROLE OF SUPPORT FROM PARENTS, FRIENDS, AND ROMANTIC
PARTNERS IN MEXICAN-ORIGIN FEMALE ADOLESCENTS' POSITIVE
ADJUSTMENT

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Abstract

This study examined the contribution that social support from various significant others (i.e. mothers, fathers, friends, and romantic partners) had in predicting female adolescents' global self-esteem and academic motivation. The data were taken from two waves of a longitudinal study focusing on the experiences of Mexican-origin female adolescents. A total of 338 Mexican-origin female adolescents participated in the initial study, while 153 adolescents also participated in the follow-up. The final sample for the current study consists of 93 Mexican-origin female adolescents ranging from 14 to 19 years of age. After controlling for global self-esteem and academic motivation at Wave 1, findings revealed that parents were the most salient source of support in predicting adolescent adjustment, followed by support from friends. Support from fathers was significant in the prediction of global self-esteem, while support from mothers approached significance. Support from friends emerged as a significant predictor only for older adolescents. Only support from mothers proved to be a significant predictor of academic motivation. Support from romantic partners did not emerge as a significant predictor for any outcome variables. Further investigation is warranted to explore the outcomes associated with friend and romantic partner support at various developmental stages.

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The Role of Support from Parents, Friends, and Romantic Partners in Mexican-origin Female Adolescents' Positive Adjustment

The Latino population in the U.S. is growing rapidly. Between the years 2000 and 2006, the Latino population increase was three times that of the total population (US Census Bureau, 2006). Further, this population is predicted to increase from 16% of the total population in 2010 to 30% percent of the total population in 2050 (US Census Bureau, 2008). Of this population, it is projected that approximately 16.4% will be Latino youth between 10 and 19 years of age (US Census Bureau, 2008). Due to their contribution to the social and economic well-being of the United States as they move into adult roles (Fuligni & Hardway, 2004; McLoyd, 1998), this burgeoning youthful Latino population deserves more attention than it is currently receiving.

Adolescents' academic achievement and mental health are two key indicators of a successful transition to adulthood (Fuligni & Hardway, 2004), areas in which Latino youth struggle. Research indicates that Latinos have lower rates of high school completion than other ethnic/racial groups (Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004). In 2008 the status dropout rate (i.e., the percentage of students aged 16-24 not in high school and without a high school credential) was 18.3% for Hispanic/Latino students, compared to 9.9% for Blacks and 4.8% for whites (National Center of Education Statistics, 2010). In addition, a report from the surgeon general that examined mental health problems (i.e. depression, anxiety, and suicidal behavior) across ethnic groups indicated that in almost all cases, Latinos experienced more problems than white adolescents (US Department of Health and Human Services [DHHS], 2001). The particular reason that Latinos experience more mental health problems is unclear, but they are definitely at risk and

should be at the forefront of upcoming research on adolescent development (US DHHS, 2001). Further, Latinos are less likely to utilize support from mental health services, so support from family and other significant others becomes even more important (US DHHS, 2001).

Unfortunately, Latinos are less likely to utilize support from mental health services due to availability and accessibility to adequate resources and personnel. A large proportion of Latinos (39%) don't speak English well or at all, which can make finding a mental health professional with whom they can properly communicate very difficult (US Census Bureau, 2010). In addition, approximately 30 percent of Latinos are uninsured; a great barrier for seeking the services people may need (US Census Bureau, 2009/2010). This combination of higher rates of problems and lower rates of formal service utilization make it especially important to study informal sources of support such as that from family and other significant others and their contribution to the well-being of Latino youth.

The level of perceived social support from significant others is consistently associated with positive adjustment for adolescents (Colarossi & Eccles, 2003; Demaray & Malecki, 2002a). Research focusing specifically on Latino adolescents also indicates that significant others can contribute positively to their adjustment (Demaray & Malecki, 2002b; Rodriguez, Mira, Myers, Morris, & Cardoza, 2003). A majority of the work with Latino youth, however, has focused on support from parents, likely due to the salience of Latino cultural values that placed the family as central to the individual (Roosa, Zeiders, Knight, Gonzales, & Tein, 2011; Rodriguez, Mira, Paez, & Myers, 2007; Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, & Marín, 1987). Examining the role that support from significant others

outside the family (peers, romantic partners) has during adolescence is imperative as this is a time when individuals' social worlds widen and more intimate relationships with friends and romantic partners begin to develop (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992).

In an effort to contribute to the current literature on Latino adolescent adjustment, the current study examined the extent to which support from three sources (i.e., parents, friends, and romantic partners) was associated with positive adjustment among a group of Mexican-origin female adolescents. Specifically, the current study examined whether support from these sources, when examined concurrently, was related to self-esteem and academic motivation. Further, due to developmental differences related to prominent sources of social support (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992), age was examined as a possible moderator that may contribute to the role that these sources have in predicting self-esteem and academic motivation.

Self-esteem and Academic Motivation in Mexican-origin Female Adolescents

Self-esteem is an extremely important factor when it comes to adolescent development in general, as well as to individual well-being. Latino youth tend to report lower levels of self-esteem than their non-Latino and African American peers (Greene & Way, 2005), sometimes due to the increased presence of perceived discrimination (Armenta & Hunt, 2009; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Smokowski, Bacallao, & Buchanan, 2009; & Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2010), and problems associated with acculturation (Smokowski, et. al, 2009). Further, female adolescents report lower self-esteem than males (Birndorf, Ryan, Auinger, & Aten, 2005; Carlson, Uppal, & Prosser, 2000; Greene & Way, 2005), due to concerns about puberty, dating (Simmons, Blyth, Van Cleave & Bush, 1979), peer acceptance, physical attractiveness, and other factors

associated specifically to the development of female adolescents (Harter, 1996). More specifically, some literature reports prevalence of low self-esteem in Latina adolescents when compared to their African American (Greene & Way, 2005), as well as non-Hispanic white counterparts (Carlson, Uppal, & Prosser, 2000). It has also been found that Latina adolescents' self-esteem decreases more significantly than other groups during the transition from elementary to high school (American Association of University Women, 1994).

Research also points to the importance of academics as an indicator of positive youth adjustment, with academic motivation being an extremely important aspect of an adolescent's academic success. In fact, according to a meta-analysis conducted by Robbins, Lauver, Le, Davis, & Langley (2004), academic motivation was the second highest predictor of college GPA. Studies also suggest that academic motivation decreases with age and that students lose interest in learning the older they get (Eccles, Midgley & Adler, 1984; Epstein & McPartland, 1976, Hustinx, Kuyper, van der Werf, & Dijkstra, 2009). Due to the tendency for this to occur, it is important to determine protective factors to help maintain and improve adolescents' attitudes toward school.

In general, studies have demonstrated a strong link between academic motivation and academic success for both male and female adolescents (Freudenthaler, Spinath & Neubauer, 2008; Robbins et al., 2004; Wentzel & Wigfield, 1998). These results have been replicated with ethnic minority samples as well, including Latinos, some suggesting that student motivation is an especially important predictor of academic achievement for those students who are at risk academically, many of which are minority students (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, Bámaca, & Zeiders, 2009; Anderson & Keith, 1997).

Interestingly, some work suggests that girls have higher motivation than boys (Anderson & Keith, 1997), and particularly that Latina adolescents demonstrate more academic motivation than their male counterparts (Plunkett and Bámaca-Gómez, 2003).

In sum, research on Latino adolescents consistently demonstrates that these adolescents are at risk for academic and psychological adjustment, highlighting the importance to advance our knowledge on the factors linked to their successful adaptation. The current study aims to contribute to the current literature by examining whether social support from significant others in the family (i.e., parents) and outside the family (i.e., friends and romantic partners) predict the self-esteem and the academic motivation of Mexican-origin female adolescents.

The Role of Social Support

Researchers have established a direct association between social support and positive psychological outcomes. The main-effect model suggests that support, regardless of stress, has positive benefits for the recipient in the form of an increase in overall well-being (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Mitchell, Billings & Moos, 1982; Turner, 1981), self-esteem, and stability (Cohen & Syme, 1985). Access to a large social network gives an individual access to support and resources that are associated with positive outcomes, as well as the avoidance of negative ones (Cohen, Gottlieb & Underwood, 2001; Cohen & Wills, 1985). Some research suggests that this model has a circular aspect to it because a behavior is only defined as supportive if it seems to be benefitting the individual; thus suggesting that all supportive behavior would have positive outcomes (Hammer, 1981). With respect to adolescents, those perceiving a high level of support are more likely to demonstrate positive psychosocial behaviors as measured by self-esteem and adaptive

skills (Demaray & Malecki, 2002a), as well as academic behaviors such as increased attendance, time studying, and ability to overcome difficulties that arise in school (Rosenfeld, Richman, & Bohlen, 1998). Despite the fact that support has been found to have an overall positive effect, it is important to consider the possibility that different relationships between the provider and the receiver could affect the outcomes associated with this support (Cohen & Syme, 1985).

Friends vs. Peers. Problematic differences exist in the literature when it comes to operationalizing and distinguishing between support from friends and support from classmates or peers, making it difficult to interpret and compare results across studies. For instance, in one study, support from peers was reported to help alleviate symptoms associated with anxiety and depression, but the questions in the peer support measure actually asked about friends (Wall, Covell & MacIntyre, 1999). In other studies, the measures for peers and close friends are examined separately (Lifrak, McKay, Rostain, Alterman, & O'Brien, 1997; Rueger, Malecki, & Demaray, 2008; Ystgaard, Tambs, & Dalgard, 1999), but in one case, the two were later combined into one measure called "peer support" for further analysis (Ystgaard et al., 1999). Along these lines, some investigators use questions referring to both peers and friends as sources of support, but they report their results by only referencing peers (Kerr, Preuss, & King, 2006).

All of these inconsistencies make it very difficult to generalize results regarding the effects of support from these two very important sources. Further, some research has demonstrated that these two sources provide differing amounts of support (Demaray & Malecki, 2002a), as well as are associated with different outcomes for adolescents (Rueger et al., 2008). Despite the vagueness associated with these labels, support from

these sources is extremely important for adolescents, especially as they get older and increasingly rely on their peers for support (Wall et al., 1999). Yet, distinguishing between peer and friend support is important given that recent work indicates that girls perceive more support from their close friends than they do from other sources, including that from classmates (Rueger et al. 2008). In the current study, support from friends was assessed, specifically. Throughout the remainder of this background section, articles referencing support from friends and peers as one source will be referred to as peer support unless the study being discussed individually evaluated support from friends.

Friends vs. romantic partners. The existing research examining the role of social support on academic motivation generally focuses on support from parents, peers, and teachers. Less is known about the role of romantic partners. However, in the past, studies have included adolescent romantic partners as a part of the overarching peer group (Wentzel & Wigfield, 1998), suggesting that their influence is similar to that of peers. This generalization is not necessarily good considering that the relationships that adolescents have with their romantic partners can differ from those that they have with their peers (Seiffge-Krenke, 2000; Laursen, 1995). Further, research indicates that Latina adolescents' romantic partners tend to be older than they are (Raffaelli, 2005), suggesting that romantic partners may not even be in the peer group and may be in a different grade, if attending school.

Others have left out relationships with romantic partners from research that examines source of support because these relationships tend to be short-term, suggesting that their contribution would be minimal (Giordano, Phelps, Manning, & Longmore, 2008). However, lengths of romantic relationships vary, with some adolescents reporting

relationships averaging between 4 months (Feiring, 1996) and 8.6 months, and also those lasting more than a year (Zimmer-Gembeck, 1999). A study whose sample included boys and girls whose average age was 17 years old, for example, found that the average length of romantic relationships was 9.5 months for boys and 13.2 months for girls (Levesque, 1993). This difference in the duration of romantic relationships in adolescence is partially explained by a finding that within a sample of 13-19 year-old adolescents, those in the older group (as defined by a median age split of 16.17 years) were more likely to have romantic relationships that lasted longer than 11 months than those in the younger group (Connolly & Johnson, 1996). Those adolescents in longer romantic relationships tend to have better quality relationships and receive more social support from their partners when compared to other sources of support (i.e. parents and peers) than those in short-term relationships (Connolly & Johnson, 1996), so it is important that the role of support from romantic partners is examined in studies focusing on sources of support.

Social Support and Mexican-origin female adolescents' Self-esteem

Studies have consistently found a relation between social support and self-esteem (Hirsch & DuBois, 1990; Moran & DuBois, 1991; Rosenfeld et al., 1998). Adolescents who lack support from others are more likely to have lower self-esteem and be at risk for negative psychological outcomes (Ryan, Stiller & Lynch, 1994). As children move from childhood and into adolescence, the people from whom they seek support changes as their experiences do (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). In general, children seek support from their parents, but as they go through adolescence, they start to seek and receive support from their friends and romantic partners (Arslan, 2009; Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). In fact, research has found that support from parents, teachers, classmates, and

close friends is significantly associated with self-esteem (Demaray & Malecki, 2002a; Hoffman, Ushpiz & Levy-Shiff, 1988). Given that support from significant others appears to be positively linked to adolescents' self-esteem, including Latinos (Way & Robinson, 2003; Greene & Way, 2005), it is important to examine their unique contributions to Latino adolescents' overall well-being.

Support from parents. Family support and family conflict have been found to contribute to self-esteem, suggesting that an overall positive relationship with family is critical for one's psychological well-being (Siyez, 2008). Specific to one's relationship with parents, studies have found a positive relation between social support from parents and self-esteem (Arslan, 2009; Greene & Way, 2005; Way & Robinson, 2003). Further, one study specifically found that support from mothers was more strongly associated to self-esteem than support from fathers and peers, although all three relationships contributed to self-esteem (Hoffman, Ushpiz & Levy-Shiff, 1988).

Although fewer studies have focused on the role of parental support on Latino adolescents' self-esteem, findings are consistent with studies on white adolescents. For instance, a study found that parental support contributed to self-esteem in Latino adolescents, regardless of family form (Plunkett, Williams, Schock, & Sands, 2007). In a sample of Latino adolescents, a positive relation was found between both maternal and paternal support and self-esteem among males and females (Bámaca, Umaña-Taylor, Shin, and Alfaro, 2005). Another study that focused on Mexican American adolescents who were on probationary status also found a positive association between parental support and adolescents' self-esteem (Caldwell, Silverman, Lefforge, & Silver, 2004). In sum, the literature consistently finds positive associations between parental support and

self-esteem, but as adolescents get older, they begin to increasingly seek support from their peers (Dayan, Doyle & Markiewicz, 2001). However, little is known about the role of friends in Latino youth's self-esteem.

Support from friends. Although parents are an important provider of support throughout development, adolescents turn to their friends for support increasingly more as they go through high school (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). As children get older, there is an increasing importance placed on peer relationships and being accepted by others (Arslan, 2009). As a result, those who have positive relationships with peers and perceive themselves as a part of the peer group are found to have higher self-esteem than those who do not (Arslan, 2009).

Interestingly, a study by Harter (1996) that distinguished social support from classmates and close friends found that support from classmates was associated more strongly with self-esteem than all other sources (i.e., classmates, teachers, close friends, and parents). This may be a result of adolescents constantly being faced with the opinions of their peers so these opinions become critical to their self-esteem (Harter, 1996). In fact, support from close friends actually had the smallest association with self-esteem, but the author suggests that close friends still serve as an important source of support, providing a “psychological base from which one can reemerge to meet the challenges of the [peer group]” (Harter, 1996, pg. 27). It has also been found that support from friends had the most significant effect on self-esteem when compared to support from teachers and parents (Colarossi & Eccles, 2003). These differences in the literature make it important to investigate further the specific sources of social support and their association to predicting self-esteem.

Further, there is a dearth of research on the role that friends and peers have on Latino adolescents' psychological adjustment. In a study with a Latino sample, it was found that friends provided significantly more support to adolescents than their parents, and this support contributed to better psychological well-being (Rodriguez et al., 2003). Results from a study with a mixed ethnicity sample showed that female Latina adolescents were most likely to have positive same-sex friendships, which was related to lower levels of depressive symptoms and higher levels of self-esteem (Way et al., 2001). Finally, some research suggests that as Latino youth get older, support from friends is a more important predictor of well-being than support from family, particularly in college (Rodriguez et al., 2003). In addition to peers' contribution to adolescents' psychological well-being, it is important to study other sources of social support that are present in their lives, including the potential role of romantic partners.

Support from romantic partners. Starting in seventh grade, the shift of support begins to move from parents to peers, while romantic partners become more important as individuals enter late adolescence and emerging adulthood (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). In a study with a Latino sample, it was found that adolescent females started out going on group dates at an average age of 14.7 and progressed to their first serious relationship at an average age of 16.5 (Raffaelli, 2005). Romantic partners can serve as a very important part of one's social network, thus, having a significant influence on an individual's self-esteem. When these partners are perceived as being supportive and committed, the adolescent's self-esteem is likely to be affected in a very positive way (Rill, Baiocchi, Hopper, Denker, & Olson, 2009). There is also a direct association between more romantic partner support and decreased levels of loneliness in females (Eshbaugh, 2010).

Due to the positive outcomes associated with more support from romantic partners, it is important to study the role that romantic partners have on Latina adolescents.

Research examining the role of romantic partners on Latino adolescents' well-being is limited. Most of this work has focused on sexual behavior and aggression in relationships. Yet, one study that included a substantial Latino subsample (67%) suggests that for Latino adolescents in particular, those adolescents in a romantic relationship were less likely to report social anxiety (La Greca & Harrison, 2005). The same study found an association between the quality of romantic relationships and negative adjustment outcomes, such that negative interactions with romantic partners were related to depression and higher social anxiety (La Greca & Harrison, 2005). Another study with about ¼ of the sample comprised of ethnic minority youth, including Latinos, found that adolescents who reported their relationship with their romantic partner to be close and characterized by sharing were more likely to perceive themselves as more socially accepted and romantically appealing (Zimmer-Gembeck, Siebenbruner, & Collins, 2001). Although the research focusing on the romantic relationships with Latina adolescents is limited, the mainstream literature reports a clear relation between support from this source and positive psychological well-being. Therefore, studying the role of support from romantic partners in Latina adolescents' lives is warranted. Towards this goal, the present study examined the possible contribution of romantic partner support in predicting self-esteem among Mexican-origin female adolescents.

Social Support and Mexican-origin female adolescents' academic motivation

Social support is a significant predictor of academic-related outcomes such as grades (Levitt, Guacci-Franco, & Levitt, 1994; Richman, Rosenfeld, & Bowen, 1998;

Rosenfeld et al. 1998), attendance, amount of time spent studying, and an overall satisfaction with school (Richman et al. 1998; Rosenfeld et al. 1998). Similar findings have been reported among Latino youth. For example, support from significant others has been found to be associated with academic-related outcomes such as achievement (Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992; Neseth, Savage & Navarro, 2009). Whereas social support in general has been associated with positive academic outcomes, there is a lot of variation on the outcomes specifically related to academic motivation depending on the significant other providing support to the adolescent.

Support from parents. There is solid evidence that social support from family and parents, specifically, is associated with academic outcomes such as grades and attendance (Dunn, Putallaz, Sheppard, & Lindstrom, 1987; Newman, Lohman, Newman, Myers, & Smith, 2000; Wall et al. 1999). In general, research demonstrates that less support from family can lead to lower academic confidence (Wenz-Gross, Siperstein, Untch, & Widaman, 1997) and achievement (Steinberg et al. 1992). Of particular interest to the current study is the fact that support from parents is often associated with academic motivation (Ryan, Stiller, & Lynch, 1994; Steinberg et al., 1992). Findings by Wentzel (1998) demonstrated that parental support was positively related to motivational outcomes, measured by interest in school and goal orientations.

Despite Latino adolescents' greater challenges in academic and psychological domains, research has shown that the encouragement of parents is one way to help alleviate some of the negative academic outcomes for Latino adolescents (Martinez et. al, 2004). For instance, a study focusing on academic achievement of adolescents from immigrant families, including Latinos, reported that support from parents with regard to

education was a greater predictor of adolescent achievement than socioeconomic status (Fuligni, 1997). More specifically, research focusing on Latino adolescents has shown a positive relationship between parental support and involvement regarding aspects of education and academic outcomes, including academic motivation (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor & Bámaca, 2006; Plunkett & Bámaca-Gomez, 2003; Ibañez, Kuperminc, Jurkovic, & Perilla, 2003). Unlike other youth, Latino adolescents appear to be influenced more by their parents than their peers when it comes to school performance (Steinberg et al. 1992). However, peers may still have a particular contribution on their motivation and achievement in school.

Support from friends. Although it is acknowledged that parents play a great role on their adolescents' academics, peers have an even greater influence on each other's daily behavior in school (Steinberg et al., 1992). Although there are some contradicting findings with respect to the contribution of peer support on academic outcomes, for the most part, peers are seen to be a positive influence. For example, findings demonstrate that peer support (Dubow, Tisak, Causey, Hryshko, & Reid, 1991), peer acceptance, and group membership (Wentzel & Caldwell, 1997) are all positively related to grade-point-average.

In addition to academic achievement, peer support has also been shown to predict academic motivational outcomes. A study, for example, found that the majority of peer support measures predicted student motivation, as measured by student interest in class (Wentzel, Battle, Russell & Looney, 2010) and school (Wentzel, 1998). Further, positive peer relationships were associated with academic motivation, which was found to be an integral factor for school success (Wentzel & Wigfield, 1998). Similarly, another study

found that supportive peer relationships were linked to adolescents' math achievement due to the increased development of motivation (Ahmed, Minnaert, Van der Werf, Greeje, & Kuyper, 2010).

It is especially important to look at peer support when it comes to Latino adolescents because they tend to receive less support from this source when compared to others (Steinberg et al. 1992). Yet, when available, peers can play a larger role in the academic lives of immigrant children, including Latinos, due to parents' lack of knowledge and understanding when it comes to the way that schools work in the United States (Fuligni, 1997). For instance, multiple studies with Latino samples found that in addition to support from parents, support from peers was also a significant predictor of adolescent academic achievement (Azmitia & Cooper, 2001; Fuligni, 1997; Gonzalez & Padilla, 1997). More specifically, Latina adolescents who reported greater support from their friends were more engaged in school (Garcia-Reid, 2007), and more likely to earn higher grades (Azmitia & Cooper, 2001). In addition to a positive association to achievement, research has also found that supportive and accepting relationships with peers lead Latino students to have a sense of belonging to their school and classroom (Goodenow, 1992), as well as an increased feeling of motivation to do well in school (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, & Bámaca, 2006; Goodenow, 1992).

Support from romantic partners. Despite the lack of research regarding the role of romantic partners on academic outcomes, some have suggested that romantic partners pose a negative influence, particularly for female adolescents, due to a preoccupation about the relationship that overtakes time and attention from academics (Giordano et al., 2008). A study focusing on female college students, for instance,

suggested that concerns dealing with dating did not have a positive effect on academics, and particularly, that boyfriends sometimes curtailed females' aspirations by putting them down rather than offering their support (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990). In particular, negative relationships with romantic partners could lead to academic issues because females are forced to spend a lot of time trying to work out their problems (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990).

There are some differing views about the effects of romantic partners on academic outcomes, especially as adolescents grow older and enter emerging adulthood (ages 18-24), at which point they tend to place more value on their relationships with romantic partners than on those with their peers (Manning, Giordano, Longmore, & Hocevar, 2011). For instance, romantic partners who have similar academic aspirations and goals actually provide support and encouragement for their partner's academic performance, with the only negative implication being that a romantic relationship could take up a lot of time that could otherwise be spend on school and work (Manning et al. 2011). Little is known about the role that romantic partners have on Latino adolescents. In fact, the limited existing research on romantic partners among this population has largely focused on deviant behavior, such as examining whether having a romantic partner who participate in deviant behavior predicts an individual's own deviant behavior (Lonardo, Giordano, Longmore, & Manning, 2009) and sexual behavior such as the progression from holding hands and kissing to sexual touching and intercourse (O'Sullivan, Mantsun, Harris, Brooks-Gunn, 2007). In the current study, the aim was to fill in this gap in the literature by exploring the possible contribution that support from romantic partners may have on the academic motivation of Mexican-origin females.

Developmental Differences in the Role of Sources of Support

As stated earlier, there are developmental differences in the role of various sources of support. More specifically, adolescents begin to seek support from sources other than their parents as they move through school (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). Peers begin to gain importance in the lives of adolescents when they first enter middle school, and romantic partners become influential when they enter later adolescence (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992; Manning, Giordano, Longmore & Hocevar, 2011).

As children get older, they want to be in integral part of the peer group and to be accepted, so when this happens, their self-esteem is affected in a positive way (Arslan, 2009). In addition, peers are the ones who are actually in school influencing their behavior and participation, and thus have a great impact on their academic motivation (Steinberg et al., 1992). When romantic partners gain importance in late adolescence, positive, supportive relationships can also have a positive influence on academic outcomes (Manning et al. 2011) as well as on self-esteem (Zimmer-Gembeck, Siebenbruner, & Collins, 2001). Thus, in the present study, the possible moderating role that age of female adolescents would have in the contribution that different sources of support would have in predicting self-esteem and academic motivation was examined. It was expected that for older female adolescents, the role of friends and romantic partners would emerge as stronger predictors of self-esteem and academic motivation than for younger ones, and that the predictive value of support from parents would be lower for older female adolescents.

Sociocultural Factors Associated with Self-esteem and academic Outcomes

There is evidence that family factors (e.g., nativity, family structure) other than parental support are related to both self-esteem and academic outcomes (Wentzel, Battle, Russell, & Looney, 2010; Plunkett et al., 2007; Fuligni, 1997). With Latino adolescents specifically, it has been found that those students born outside the US actually outperform their US-born counterparts in the classroom (Fuligni, 1997; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). However, there is still a tendency for Latino students to perform poorly in school, which is partially due to the likelihood that they come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than their native counterparts (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). Interestingly, adolescents born outside the US are more likely to have low self-esteem (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). Further, family structure (e.g., single vs. two-parent households) appears to contribute to the relation between parenting and adjustment. Specifically, parental support was a stronger significant predictor of self-esteem among adolescents who lived with both birth parents compared with those living in single-mother or stepfather families (Plunkett et al., 2007). Parent interest in school and monitoring was also found to be higher for two-parent families than one-parent families (Rosenfeld, et al., 1998), which could also contribute to the academic outcomes of adolescents. Given that these sociocultural factors (i.e., nativity and family structure) have been found to be associated with academic outcomes and self-esteem, it was considered that these variables be controlled for when found to be significantly related to the variables of interest among the current sample.

Methods

Participants

Participants for this study were Mexican-origin female adolescents living in an urban southwestern area in the United States. The data were obtained from 153 female adolescents who participated in the second wave of a longitudinal study, out of the original 338 adolescents at wave 1. Of 338 possible participants from Wave 1, 318 indicated interested in participating in a follow-up study. A total of 203 were reached at Wave 2. Of those, 194 agreed to participate in Wave 2 of the study, but 41 failed to return the survey within the necessary time frame. Of the potential follow-up participants not reached at the Wave 2 recruitment phase, some failed to return contact information because they no longer wished to participate or because they had moved residence and mailed was returned to us as “unable to send” or “unable to forward”. Phone numbers for many of the participants were incorrect or disconnected, and other phone calls were simply left unanswered. Because two and a half years passed between the two waves, this potentially was a contributing factor to the 45% retention rate of participants for this study.

Wave 2 data was used for this study because support from peers and romantic partners was only assessed during wave 2. Support from parents, in addition to academic motivation and global self-esteem, was assessed during both waves. Of the adolescents who participated in wave 2, 88% were enrolled in school, and their ages at wave 2 ranged from 14 to 19 years of age ($M = 16.3$, $SD = 1.57$). More specifically, 43% of the girls were in 9th grade at the time of wave 2, 15% in 10th grade, 41% in 12th grade, and 2% were enrolled in college. Seventy percent of the adolescents from Wave 2 were born in

the United States. After accounting for missing data on the variables of interest (e.g., a number of adolescents did not respond to the questions on support from romantic partner), the final sample size for the current study was 93 participants.

Further analysis was done in order to determine whether significant differences were present between those 234 adolescents who only participated at wave 1 and those 153 adolescents who participated in both wave 1 and wave 2. ANOVAs revealed that there were no significant differences between the two samples on any of the variables of interest (support from parents, academic motivation, and self-esteem). Chi-square analyses were conducted in order to determine whether there were differences in family structure and birth country in the two samples, and nothing significant was found. The same analysis was conducted to determine whether there were differences between the initial wave 1 sample of 338 adolescents and the 93 participants who were included in the final regression analysis. The only significant difference was found regarding family structure. The proportion of adolescents living with both birth parents increased, while the proportion of adolescents living with only their birth mother decreased. This is not surprising because our final sample ($n = 93$) only included those adolescents who answered questions on support from their mother and their father.

Procedure

At Wave 1, participants were recruited from middle and high schools in an urban area of the Southwest. Within these schools, principals gave their permission for Latina female students to be recruited to be a part of the study. In order for adolescents to be considered eligible for the study, they had to be in either 7th or 10th grade, and both of their parents had to be of Mexican descent (please see Bámaca-Colbert & Gayles, 2010

for a detailed description of the recruitment procedure). During data collection at Wave 1, female adolescents who completed the survey were asked to complete a contact information sheet at the end of the survey that included a space for their indication of interest in a follow-up study.

In order to recruit participants for the second wave of the study, only those adolescents who expressed interest in their continuing participation were contacted. At this time, potential participants were contacted by phone in order to obtain verbal agreement as well as verbal parental consent, if the adolescent was under age 18, to participate in the follow-up. Once adolescents expressed interest in further participation, surveys were mailed home for completion along with prepaid envelopes and an incentive to encourage a faster return. Upon receiving their completed surveys, participants were mailed \$20 as a token of appreciation for the completion of the survey.

Measures

Global Self-Esteem. Global self-esteem was measured by the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1979). The measure assessed adolescents' feelings about themselves with questions such as "I have a positive attitude toward myself" and "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." The items were scored on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *Strongly Disagree* to (4) *Strongly Agree*. Those items that were negatively worded were reverse scored so that higher scores indicated higher self-esteem. Then, all items were averaged in order to obtain a global self-esteem score in which higher scores indicated higher self-esteem. This measure has obtained alpha coefficients ranging from .80 to .88 in studies that included Latino adolescent participants (Armenta &

Hunt, 2009; Schwartz, Samboagna, & Jarvis, 2007). With the current sample, this scale obtained a .84 alpha coefficient.

Academic Motivation. Academic motivation was assessed using a five-item measure that was created for use in a study focusing on resiliency in multicultural communities (Plunkett & Bámaca-Gómez, 2003). The items were scored on a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from (1) *Strongly Disagree* to (4) *Strongly Agree*, where higher scores indicated higher motivation. The individual items measured adolescents' effort and general feelings toward school with items including "Education is so important to me that it's worth it to put up with things about school that I don't like." In the initial study utilizing this scale, a coefficient alpha of .71 was obtained. When this measure was used in a later study with Latino participants, alpha coefficients of .82 and .83 were obtained for U.S. born and non-U.S. born, respectively (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor and Bámaca, 2006). With the current sample, this scale obtained a .75 alpha coefficient.

Support from Parents. For the current study, adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' supportive parenting was assessed through a reduced 9-item version of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Although the items came from a scale aimed to measure adolescent attachment with parents, the items assessed the comfort that adolescents feel toward their parents when it comes to worries, problems (e.g., "This parent has helped me talk about problems and difficulties") and trust (e.g., "This parent helps me understand myself better"), which is more reflective of the emotional and supportive quality of the relationship with parents. Participants responded to each item on a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from (1) *Almost Never or Never* to (4) *Almost Always or Always*. Alpha coefficients of .90 for adolescents'

reports on their mothers' support were obtained using this reduced scale with a sample of Mexican participants (Gonzales, Deardorff, Formoso, Barr, & Barrera, 2006). With the current sample, this measure obtained alphas of .94 and .94 for adolescents' reports of mothers and fathers, respectively.

Support from Friends. Supportive friendships were also measured utilizing the reduced scale from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Similar to the measure assessing support from parents, this measure assesses the degree to which the relationship between adolescents and their friends is supportive (e.g., "I can count on my friend when I need to talk" and "I trust my friend."). The items were rated on a Likert scale with responses ranging from (1) Almost Never or Never to (4) Almost Always or Always. From our read of the literature, no studies other than Armsden and Greenberg's (1987), which obtained an alpha coefficient of .86, have reported the use of this measure to assess support from peers. With the current sample, this measure obtained a .90 alpha coefficient.

Support from Romantic Partners. An adapted version of the 9-item Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment scale (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was used to assess emotional support from a romantic partner. Specifically, the word "parent" was replaced by "romantic partner" in each question. For example, questions included "My romantic partner respects my feelings" and "I trust my romantic partner." For the current sample, this scale obtained a .94 alpha coefficient.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table A1 summarizes the bivariate correlations between the variables of interest. Due to the homogeneity in the sample, nativity did not emerge as a significant predictor of self-esteem and academic motivation so this variable was not included in the regression models as a control. As expected, self-esteem and academic motivation at Wave 1 were significantly correlated with the respective variables at Wave 2. Further, an examination of the correlations at the bivariate level suggests that support from significant others was positively and significantly associated with self-esteem and academic motivation. Specifically, higher levels of parental (i.e., maternal and paternal) and friend support were associated with higher levels self-esteem and academic motivation (see Table A1). The relation between support from romantic partners and self-esteem approached significance ($p = .053$).

Main Analyses

Two separate hierarchical linear regressions were conducted (one for each outcome variable) to determine the relative contribution of support from mothers, fathers, friends, and romantic partners in predicting Mexican-origin female adolescents' self-esteem and academic motivation, after controlling for family structure. The variables were entered in sets and in 6 steps with the entry order of the predictors guided by previous work that suggests that parents are important sources of support throughout adolescence, with mothers being more of a stronger predictor than fathers, and that peers and romantic partners begin to be more salient as adolescents grow older. Thus, support from mothers was entered first, followed by fathers, friends, and romantic partners.

Possible interactions between each of the sources of support and age of adolescent were also tested in order to determine whether the predicted value of each source of support would differ as a factor of adolescent age.

Following the procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991), scores for the independent variables (i.e., sources of support) and age were centered and these centered scores were used to create product terms. In step 1, self-esteem at Wave 1 and family structure were entered as control variables. Step 2 included adolescent age. In step 3, support from mothers was entered as well as the interaction between maternal support and adolescent age. Step 4 included support from fathers and the interaction between paternal support and adolescent age. In step 5, friend support and the interaction between friend support and adolescent age were both entered, followed by romantic partner support and the interaction between romantic partner support and adolescent age as the final step (step 6). A similar regression was conducted with academic motivation at Wave 2 being the dependent variable, with academic motivation at Wave 1 being controlled for. Overall, Models 1, 3, 4, and 5 were significant when global self-esteem was the dependent variables, but models 2 and 6 were not (see Table B1). With academic motivation as the dependent variable, only models 1, 2, and 3 were significant (see Table B1). Below, the specific significant findings for the regressions predicting global self-esteem and academic motivation are described.

Social Support and Global Self-esteem

The overall regression equation for predicting global self-esteem accounted for 26.5 % of the variance $F(11, 81) = 4.011, p < .001$. Not surprisingly, self-esteem at Wave 1 significantly predicted self-esteem at Wave 2 in all six models. In steps 1 and 2,

contrary to expectations, family structure and age were not significant predictors of self-esteem. In step 3, support from mothers was significant in predicting self-esteem, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 87) = 4.231, p < .05$, accounting for 7.5% of the variance. In step 4, with the addition of support from fathers, mothers' support was no longer significant, but support from fathers emerged as a significant predictor, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 85) = 4.242, p < .05$, and accounted for 7.0% of the variance. In step 5, with the addition of friend support, support from fathers remained statistically significant, but support from friends was not a significant predictor. However, there was a significant interaction between friend support and adolescent age $F_{\text{change}}(2, 83) = 3.138, p < .05$, which account for an additional 4.9% of the variance in global self-esteem. Finally, step 6 showed that the addition of romantic support did not significantly predict global self-esteem. In this final step, when all four sources of support were included, support from fathers and the interaction between support from friends and age remained significant in predicting global self-esteem.

We graphed the interaction between age and friend support following the guidelines outlined by Aiken & West (1991) by obtaining simple slopes to graph the interaction and testing for the significance of these lines. In order to do so, all of the variables involved in the analysis were centered. Three groups of friend support were created by identifying the friend support mean and splitting the sample one standard deviation below the mean (low friend support), one standard deviation above the mean (high friend support), and the rest in between (middle friend support). The same was done in order to split the sample by age (youngest, middle, and older groups). The simple slope analysis indicated that the only significant slope was for the older adolescent group. More specifically, as friend support increased among older adolescents, their self-esteem

increased as well. See Figure C1 for the graph of the interaction for all three age groups, noting that the solid line is representing the only significant relation.

Social Support and Academic Motivation

The overall regression equation for predicting academic motivation accounted for 21.1% of the variance $F(11, 81) = 3.234, p < .01$. In the model for academic motivation, all three control variables (academic motivation at wave 1, family structure, and age) were significant in all six models. Specifically, academic motivation at wave 1 predicted academic motivation at wave 2, female adolescents in stepparent households reported higher levels of academic motivation than those in single-mother households, followed by those living with both birth parents. In addition, the older female adolescents were, the more academic motivation they reported. In step 3, the relation between support from mothers was significant in predicting academic motivation, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 87) = 3.559 p < .05$. In step 4, when support from fathers was entered, support from mothers only approached significance and that from fathers was not significant at all. With the addition of friend support in step 5, support from mothers continued to only approach significance, but in step 6, with the addition of support from romantic partners, mother support emerged again as a significant predictor of academic motivation. Overall, these results suggest that mothers are the only source of support that contributed uniquely to the prediction of academic motivation above and beyond the control variables.

Discussion

Past work has clearly demonstrated that social support from significant others has a positive effect on adolescents' well-being. However, most of this work has examined either parents or peer support, with less known about the role of romantic partners.

Further, previous work focusing on Latino youth has, for the most part, focused on the role of parents. Thus, the aim of the current study was to explore whether distinctions among different sources of support (i.e. mothers, fathers, friends, and romantic partners) existed in predicting self-esteem and academic motivation when examining all sources of support concurrently. In general, the current findings suggest that parents were more important than friends and romantic partners in predicting both global self-esteem and academic motivation. As expected, age of adolescent appeared to play a role in the contribution that different sources of support had in predicting positive adjustment pointing to possible developmental differences in the importance of different sources of support.

With respect to self-esteem, results indicated that Mexican-origin female adolescents' reports of father support and friend support were important predictors of their global self-esteem, after controlling for prior levels of self-esteem. Interestingly, although support from mothers was statistically significant when first entered into the regression, once father support was included, support from mothers was no longer significant. Due to this unexpected result, the regression was run again in the reverse order so that support from fathers was entered before support from mothers. This made no difference in the significance of the model, and in both cases only support from fathers emerged as a significant predictor. It is possible that the high correlation between support from mothers and support from fathers that is evident at the bivariate level (see Table A1) contributed to the lack of significance of mother support, especially given that maternal support was a significant predictor when father support was not included in the model. Thus, this finding should be considered with caution as support from mothers has been

found to predict self-esteem among Latino adolescents in several studies (Hoffman, Ushpiz & Levy-Shiff, 1988), including those with Latino samples (Bámaca, Umaña-Taylor, Shin, and Alfaro, 2005; Caldwell, Silverman, Lefforge, & Silver, 2004).

Importantly, the main effect of friend support was not a significant predictor of self-esteem, but the interaction between friend support and adolescent age was significant. Specifically, friend support was only a significant predictor of self-esteem for older adolescents, not younger ones. This finding is not surprising and, in fact, is in line with previous literature consistently stating that peers and friends gain importance in adolescents' lives as they get older (Arslan, 2009; Dayan, Doyle & Markiewicz, 2001; Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). It is evident from our findings that developmental period (e.g., age of adolescent) needs to be included as a possible moderator that shapes the contribution that different sources of support from within the family (parents) and outside the family (peers) may have in predicting adolescent adjustment.

In the model for academic motivation, prior academic motivation, adolescent age, and family structure were all significant predictors of current academic motivation. Interestingly, female adolescents living in step-parent families reported the highest academic motivation, followed by those living with only their birth mother, with those living with both birth parents reporting the lowest academic motivation. This is contrary to previous work (Plunkett et al., 2007) that has found that adolescents living in a two-parent household report better academic outcomes. It is possible that this pattern is unique to the current sample, as some researchers have found that family structure is unrelated to academic outcomes (Entwisle & Alexander, 1996; Marsh, 1990).

Furthermore, adolescent age was positively associated with academic motivation, which contradicts previous literature that has found that academic motivation decreases as adolescents progress through school (Eccles, Midgley & Adler, 1984; Epstein & McPartland, 1976, Hustinx, Kuyper, van der Werf, & Dijkstra, 2009). Hustinx et al. (2009) attributed this decrease in motivation to the tendency for secondary peers to devalue high academic performance. In our sample, results suggest that friends become more supportive as adolescents get older, so this is a possible reason why this previously established trend did not hold in our sample. It is also possible that motivation only decreases for certain academic subjects, as one study found this trend to hold for mathematics but not for English (Eccles, Midgley & Adler, 1984). Epstein & McPartland (1976) suggest that student ability becomes more diverse as they get older, making it more difficult for schools to meet the needs and interests of all students and to keep the quality of education high.

Of all sources of support, support from mothers was the only source that was significant in predicting academic motivation. This is consistent with previous work (Alfaro, et al., 2006), which found that mothers' (and not fathers') academic support predicted Latina female adolescents' academic motivation. This is perhaps due to the tendency for mothers to spend more time with their daughters than fathers (McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 1999), which may translate into support from mothers being more significant than that from fathers (Alfaro et al. 2006).

The lack of significance of friend support on academic motivation was surprising. It was expected that friends would have a positive influence on academic motivation as several studies have found an association between peer support and academic motivation

(Ahmed et al., 2010; Azmitia & Cooper, 2001; Fuligni, 1997; Gonzalez & Padilla, 1997; Wentzel & Wigfield, 1998). However, these studies were looking at the influence that academic support from peers had on academic motivation, whereas the current study examined the role of emotional support from friends. Further, the lack of distinction between friends and peers in previous studies may also have played a part in the results found with respect to academic motivation. In fact, when looking at friend support specifically, Ryan, Stiller, and Lynch (1994) found that close friends had the least influence on academic motivation when compared to other sources of support. However, our results seems consistent with the finding that parents have been known to be the most important influence on adolescents' long-term educational plans (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992), motivating them to meet their goals and aspirations.

In this study, the role that support from romantic partners may have in predicting self-esteem and academic motivation was also examined, but surprisingly, this source of support did not emerge as a significant predictor. Because some of the females in our sample reported that they had romantic relationships that lasted a significant amount of time, it was initially expected that romantic relationships, and most particularly the emotional support perceived from these relationships, to be important to female adolescent self-esteem and academic motivation. More specifically, 23.7% of participants reported that their romantic relationships over the past couple of years typically lasted more than a year, and 16.1% reported those lasting between 7 and 12 months. However, according to Connolly and Johnson (1996), romantic relationships become important supportive figures when the relationships last longer than 11 months. In our sample, only

a little over 1/3 met this criteria, which could have contributed to the lack of significant findings when examining the role of support from romantic partners.

Limitations and Future Directions

This brings up a limitation of our study. Female adolescents in this study reported romantic relationship time intervals between 7 and 12 months and longer than a year. It is possible that those adolescents who reported relationships in the 7-12 month range had shorter relationships than 11 months; thus not significant related to their well-being. Thus, it is possible that the majority of adolescents who answered the questions regarding romantic partners had relationships lasting less than 11 months, making the role of other sources of support more important. Another limitation related to this measure of support is the fact that adolescents were asked to report on support they received from romantic partners whether they were currently in a relationship or a relationship in the last six months. Thus, it is unclear how long their relationships had lasted (if reported on their last relationship) or how long they have been in the relationship of the romantic partner they were responding about for the items on emotional support.

Another limitation of the study is the fact that teachers were not considered as a significant source of support for academic motivation. The literature consistently finds that teachers play a significant role on adolescents' academic outcomes. When teachers are supportive, their students are more likely to be academically motivated (Alfaro et al., 2006; Ryan, Stiller, & Lynch, 1994) and adjusted (Ryan, Stiller, & Lynch, 1994). Further, support from teachers has an impact on class and school interest as well as social responsibility goal pursuit, which are considered to be motivational measures (Wentzel,

1998). It is possible that the results would have varied slightly with the addition of support from teachers as a predictor of academic motivation.

Additionally, our small sample size of only 93 participants could have affected our results. While there was originally 153 participants for wave 2, there was not complete data for all variables of interest. For example, only 124 participants answered the questions concerning romantic partner support, perhaps because the remainder of the sample had not been in a relationship in the last six months. Further, only 127 participants answered questions about support from fathers, although only about 24% of the sample reported that they lived with only their birth mothers. Because the regressions were run by including all variables in the model, the final sample with complete data was reduced to 93.

Another limitation of this study is the fact that the current sample was comprised only of female adolescents. This makes generalizability to all adolescents difficult, as gender differences have been found in the role that support from others has on development (Alfaro et al. 2006; Rueger, Malecki, & Demaray, 2008). Further, the female participants were all of Mexican descent, which limits generalizability to Latina adolescents from other Latino origins. Future studies on Latino populations should focus on a broader population of both males and females to further explore the role of social support on positive development among this population.

A final limitation is the correlational nature of the study. Although there is a clear correlational association between the social support and positive adjustment variables, it is not possible to make definite inferences about the directionality of these relations. Although social support may be the cause of positive adjustment in

adolescents, there are other possible explanations for these relations as well. Specifically, adjustment may contribute to the levels of social support perceived. For instance, Greenberg et al. (1983) suggested that adolescents who struggle with adjustment may have a tendency to perceive their personal relationships as less supportive. It is also possible that positive social and academic adjustment leads to more supportive behaviors from significant others (Wentzel, 1998). Therefore, whereas our findings suggest that social support is significantly associated with positive adjustment, the specific nature of this relation needs to be confirmed with studies that examine the prospective associations across time.

Nevertheless the noted limitations, the goal of this study was to contribute to the current knowledge regarding the development of Latina adolescents. The results provide important insight into how multiple sources of support can contribute to both academic and psychological development. It is essential that the role of support from these various sources continue to be examined concurrently, so that the implications can be specifically utilized in programs aimed to improve the everyday lives of Latina adolescents.

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Appendix A

Table A1

Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations between variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	M	SD
1. Support from mothers		.354**	.194+	-.068	.178+	.323**	.139	.297**	-.073	.008	.077	2.92	.90
2. Support from fathers			.154	.229*	.200+	.380**	.125	.246**	.005	-.062	.179	2.38	.90
3. Support from friends				.122	-.003	.174+	.177	.108	.058	.095	-.049	3.30	.58
4. Support from romantic partners					.138	.197+	.026	.074	.116	.000	-.019	3.29	.67
5. Self-esteem Wave 1						.386**	.279**	.264*	-.288**	-.040	.322**	3.06	.46
6. Self-esteem Wave 2							.316**	.356**	-.080	-.075	.064	3.05	.46
7. Academic Motivation Wave 1								.355**	-.106	-.062	-.025	3.16	.54
8. Academic Motivation Wave 2									.140	-.054	.226*	3.21	.55
9. Family Structure										-.014	-.061	1.52	.79
10. Birth Country											.034	1.32	.470
11. Age												16.29	1.564

+. $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Appendix B

Table B2

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Self-esteem from Social Support from Parents, Friends, and Romantic Partners

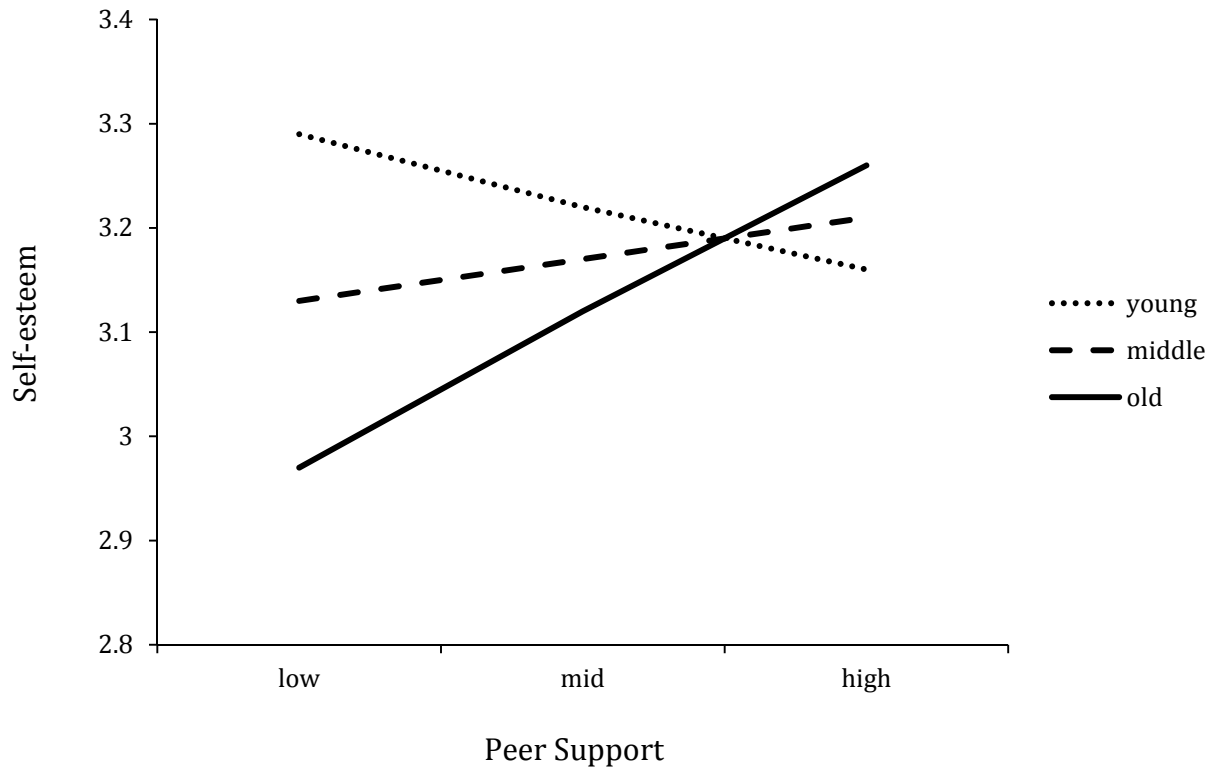
Predictor	Source of social support			
	Global Self-esteem (GSE)		Academic Motivation (AM)	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.131**		.139***	
Family Structure		.034		.179
GSE Wave 1		.396***		
AM Wave 1				.373***
Step 2	.126		.192*	
Age		-.069		.248*
Step 3	.185*		.236*	
Mother		.267**		.247**
Age \times Mother		.085		.001
Step 4	.242*		.235	
Father		.293**		.098
Age \times Father		-.038		-.108
Step 5	.278*		.224	
Friend		.085		.014
Age \times Friend		.214*		.084
Step 6	.265		.211	
Partner		.068		.046
Age \times Partner		-.019		-.068

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

Note: values represent adjusted R squares and Adjusted betas.

Appendix C

Figure C1. Two-way Interaction with Age by Friend Support (the solid line is significant at $p < .05$, all other lines are not significant).



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