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# Adolescence social competence in Sub-Sahara Africa:

# The relationship between adolescents' perceptions of parental behaviors and adolescents' self-esteem in Kenya

A Dissertation

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Degree

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Michael N. Mbito

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## Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Wambui, for her understanding, unconditional love, and tremendous support and for holding the family together during my graduate studies and to my three children, Kiguru, Mbito (Jr.), and Wanjiku, for their little sweet hugs of love, many times undeserved.

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**Abstract**

There is a lack of studies addressing aspects of parent/adolescent relationships in the Sub-Sahara African region. It has been assumed, due to closely knit Sub-Sahara African family and kin networks, adolescents' respect for elders, and ancestor reverence, that adolescents in that culture may function differently compared to those reared in European/American societies; they instead may be more similar to adolescents in the collectivistic societies of Asia. The purpose of this study is to examine perceptions of youth in Kenya regarding their parents' parenting behaviors and the adolescents' development of self-esteem. The study is part of a larger cross-national project examining parent/adolescent relationships and adolescents' social competence that has been conducted at specific sites within several countries. The analysis in the present study used self-report data that were acquired from 630 Kenyan adolescents. Participants, both females and males, were recruited using a convenience strategy from four high schools in three administrative provinces in Kenya that were targeted in order to minimize differences across ethnic and cultural groups. Hierarchical regression analysis revealed parental guidance (i.e., providing support and reasoning) from both parents to be a positive predictor of adolescents' self-esteem, whereas parental punitiveness (especially mothers') was found to be a negative predictor. Although parental monitoring and autonomy granting had been identified as likely viable constructs to include in this study, they failed to be significant predictors of adolescents' self-esteem for our sample. Despite the fact that the results of this study show a similar pattern for both parental guidance (support and reasoning) and punitiveness as that demonstrated among both European/American and Asian societies, possible explanations for the Kenyan results

may differ from those of both European/American and Asian societies. The results of this study point to unique differences in how Kenyan adolescents' perceptions of their parents' behaviors relate to the adolescents' self-esteem. This study highlights the need for initiating culture-specific studies in Sub-Sahara Africa in order to find clues to existing parenting styles and behaviors and their influence on adolescents' self-esteem in the region.

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

This study examines adolescents' perceptions of parental behavior and adolescent's self-esteem in Sub-Sahara Africa with a particular emphasis on Kenya in East Africa (see Appendix A for list of Sub-Sahara African countries) (Gannon, 1987). The purpose of the study, which uses data that were collected in Kenya, is to examine East African adolescents' perceptions of how their mothers' and fathers' behaviors in their everyday interactions influence the development of their self-esteem. I investigated relationships between the adolescents' reports of specific dimensions of their parents' behaviors (i.e., parental support, reasoning, punitiveness, autonomy granting, and love withdrawal) and the construct of self-esteem, which is one primary component of social competence. My interest in this study arose out my thesis project, a qualitative study that involved a sample of Kenyan Kikuyu men who have settled in the U.S. describing their rites of passage into manhood (Mbito, 2001).

### Background

In conducting this study, I am aware of both the extensive diversity of Sub-Sahara African cultures and of African response to Western cultures that present some major obstacles to understanding contemporary Africa families and how they socialize their children. Just as in other regions in the African continent, Sub-Saharan Africa consists of multiple cultural variations that pose a phenomenal challenge to any family researcher, particularly when the focus is on how parents socialize and rear their children (Herskovits & Bascom, 1959). Within Sub-Sahara Africa, the only available records that provide clues about mechanisms parents employ in the socialization of their children are those

articulated within anthropological, sociological, and historical accounts or health and demographic reports (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1987; Frank & McNicoll, 1978; Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Mbiti, 1969; Mbito, 2001; Price & Mbito, 1992; Price, 1996). Except for some ethnographic and biographical reports, there exists no empirical research on parenting practices, including parenting behaviors and their influences on the development of children and adolescents in Sub-Sahara Africa (Mbito, 2001; Mboya, 1995; Wilson & Ngigi, 2003).

The traditional East African concept of the family is known to encompass a broader scheme--the past, present, and future—than does the European/American concept. The traditional African concept of family extends to a wider group than the Western nuclear family (composed of husband, wife, and their children) to include children, parents, siblings, grandchildren, grandparents, aunts, and uncles all as immediate relatives related by blood, marriage, or adoption. In addition to living relatives, East African families also include all remembered dead relatives and all those waiting to be born in the family as a continuum of the family lineage (Mbiti, 1969; Wilson & Ngigi, 2003). The extended family system is an interdependent, multidimensional network of relationships that bind many relatives together for mutual support in a system encompassing privileges, obligations, and shared identity (Wilson & Ngigi, 2003). By pooling resources for the common family good, family members support one another both economically and emotionally, so that the strength of the family as a basic social unit provides protection against uncertainties and problems individuals face in a harsh economic environment and serves to tackle the challenge of the social welfare burden for the aged (Kenyatta, 1938; Price, 1996; Rappa & Tan, 2003).

## Adolescents' Socialization in Sub-Sahara Africa

Socialization, the process by which children are educated into the attitudes, values, and behaviors of their society, exists in every culture of the world. Due to the influences of cultural history and social systems, characteristics valued in children in one society may not be valued in another. Also, ecological factors that are linked closely to the particular child socialization values in one culture may not be associated with a similar value in another culture (Xiao, 1999). Deterministic or social mold conceptions of socialization suggest that children are passive recipients of parental influence. In contrast, others suggest that it is through a dynamic, transactional process that children "develop social identities defined in terms of their cultural context, and use these self-conceptions as a means to assign meaning, divine goals that guide their behavior, and act back upon society in a creative, individualistic manner" (Peterson, Steinmetz, & Wilson, 2003, pp. 9-10).

Traditional societies of East Africa prepared children in variety of ways to take their eventual place in adult social life within their communities. The nature of formal instructions were determined by adult expectations, and the socialization needs were comprehensive and introduced to the young person not only as mere knowledge and skills appropriate for adulthood as a person of a particular gender, but also to inculcate strict values and beliefs of the society, levels of identity, and necessary loyalties tying one to the community (Kenyatta, 1938; LeVine et al., 1994; Mbiti, 1969).

At different stages in an East African child's development, he or she traditionally was educated by community members when exposed to influence of different relatives and not exclusively first to that of his/her own immediate parents. This form of education

aided the child to develop greater self-assurance and establish a wide network of personal links (Kenyatta, 1938; Shorter, 1974). The child spent extensive periods in the households of relatives other than his/her own parents and did not, as a consequence, experience the frustration of emerging from the state of childhood freedom only with people with whom he/she was primarily emotionally involved. The socialization system of family education centered on the different facets of social life to which the child was to be introduced. For instance, grandparents and other members of the older generations had an automatic mandate to introduce children to religious beliefs and practices and to the basic values of their society (Shorter, 1974).

Sub-Sahara African indigenous religions are known to include ancestor cults. Misfortunes in such cultures (e.g., infant or child deaths, subfecundity, barrenness, miscarriages, famine, failure to marry, widowhood or widowerhood) were interpreted to varying degrees as retribution from ancestral spirits who were disaffected by the failure of the living to honor them in some way (Price, 1996; Price & Mbito, 1992). Thus, family lineage is very crucial to the meanings construed from social interaction.

East African peoples traditionally had communitywide life-crisis transition rituals at puberty or before marriage for both boys and girls. Young people were secluded in batches for instruction and trial. They were taught the essential loyalties to family, clan, community, and ethnic groupings, and they were prepared for their duties as adults and as parents. Their initiation, whose climax was a physical operation on the sex organ, symbolized the changed personality of the initiates emerging into adulthood and, in some cases, was a test of courage and the ability to sublimate pain (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977). This type of circumcision initiation is still widespread among the peoples of East

Africa, such as the Gisu of Uganda; the Kikuyu, Samburu, and Masai of Kenya; the Kimbu and Tare of Tanzania; and so on (LeVine et al., 1994).

Among the Sonjo of Tanzania, from infancy onwards, there is marked differentiation of activities according to the child's gender, and boys and girls are seldom seen playing together. Daughters live with their parents until marriage, but they frequently visit their grandparents, both paternal and maternal, and may stay with them for extended periods of time. The relationship between Sonjo brothers and sisters is usually warm and cordial throughout life. After his initiation, a Sonjo boy has little contact with his sister, or for that matter with other girls, except of a formal or chaperoned nature. The eldest son inherits the largest share of his father's wealth and may succeed to his father's position of authority until his brothers all are established in their own homes. A father is his son's own tutor up to the age of initiation while a mother plays a similar role with her daughter. The authority of Sonjo parents, particularly fathers, over their children is great and lasts until the parents' deaths. For girls, parental authority lasts until their marriage. A son is subject to his father's authority as an uninitiated boy and again as a young elder, and a father is allowed to discipline his sons for disrespect or disobedience. He can even strike a grown son who is himself head of a family, and the latter must submit. A Sonjo father retains ultimate ownership of all the goats and beehives in the family until his death.

Traditionally among the Kikuyu of Kenya, children, prior to their initiation, received intensive instruction from their parents on behaviors pertaining to the adult roles they were expected to fill (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977). Both girls' and boys' education was considerably augmented at the time of initiation, and they continued to

learn into adult life. Kikuyu children were subject to strict discipline much different from that given to European/American children and were brought up to regard the orders of parents and other adults as absolutes. Any boy or girl who failed to comply was punished either by being whipped or by being made to sleep without a meal. (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977)

Among contemporary East African elites, the care of children by siblings and maids has taken root as a mode of infant/child care. Although East African working mothers have maternity leave entitlement of 30 to 60 days, they recruit untrained, poor, young school drop-outs (mostly girls as maids) for general household and childcare work. The maids play the role of mothers' assistants in the homes, performing (in addition to childcare roles) diverse domestic chores, such as making grocery purchases. Some maids are known to have caused marriage break-ups following the diffusion of boundaries between maid's and mother's roles. Institutional infant care as found in the U.S. and other parts of the West has not infiltrated the Kikuyu culture, and many parents cannot imagine leaving an infant in an institution at 5 or so weeks of age. Interestingly, Western-educated Sub-Sahara Africans adopt this model of sibling and maid childcare without inhibition. In the absence of Child Registrations in the region (Kibwana, 1996), child abuse in situations where underage children are left alone in the care of either their older siblings or an underage maid is rampant. With such traditional background, perceptions of parental behaviors by contemporary Kenyan children, particularly adolescents, may differ considerably from those found in modern European/American systems.

## Background Thesis Project

The current project follows on an earlier phenomenological Master's thesis study that I conducted. The thesis addressed perceptions of Kikuyu men who were residing in the U.S. at the time of the study about the role of the Kikuyu circumcision ritual in Kenya that transforms adolescents into privileged young adults. I interviewed 18 men about their retrospective perceptions of the effects of the circumcision rite of passage during their adolescent years. I conducted personal, audiotaped interviews of the men and identified eight themes that emerged from interview transcripts. A major finding was the pivotal nature the ceremony's conferral of adult privileges to the youth after the circumcision ritual. The new privileges included autonomy of decision-making and freedom to construct their own life within the context of family, the extended family, and other close kin (Mbito, 2001). Specific major privileges earned following the ritual included (a) freedom to choose, court, and marry a woman; (b) the right to inherit and to own property; and (c) automatic placement in the hierarchical social leadership structure of their communities. Both the parents and the larger society appeared to lend the ritual credence as a means for the adolescent to acquire and live according to a new code of behavior required of newly graduated youths. I further learned that, before the ritual experience, boys were socially invisible to the adult community except as insignificant entities, subordinated in their mother's domain and "bundled up" with other children in the family.

Cultural rituals are known to define when children become adults in the eyes of the culture, as with the *bar* or *bat mitzvah* or, in the East African case, the distinctive circumcision ritual of the Masai of Kenya and Tanzania, the Samburu of Kenya, or the

Kikuyu of Kenya (Mbito, 2001). These rituals still are used to confer adult status on youths in contemporary societies in which the exercise still is practiced (Gullotta, Adams, & Montemayor, 1990). The ritual is used as a device to force adolescents to consider their place in the social order—adopting new roles and new rules to govern the actions that stem from their new sense of adult selfhood.

The findings in my thesis study demonstrated that the circumcision ritual serves to connect the novice with the larger social group in time, place, and existential concept (i.e., that which serves as defining the meaning of life and one's place in it) (Osotsi, 2002), subsequently according the youth with a redefined sense of self-hood. There was compelling evidence that newly graduated male adults earned privileges, rights, and resources for navigating adult life with redefined vitality. According to the study's findings, the new man earned a high degree of self-worth/esteem as well as autonomy from his parents following his successful ritual process. Perhaps the most important finding of the study, however, was the existence of a profound covert ritual whose influence seemed to override background/historical and developmental influences in parent/child interaction before the ritual. According to the men interviewed in the study, the ritual facilitated the evolution of a new self, opening hitherto unknown avenues for them to function as an adult.

Uncircumcised Kikuyu boys were considered lesser humans--nyamu, or animals--and treated without any respect. I also found that a majority of Kikuyu boys were reported to still value the ritual and feel compelled to go through the circumcision rite of passage before entering high school (Mbito, 2001), which has turned out to be the demarcating line between childhood and adulthood. Circumcised new men were reported

to experience enhanced self-esteem, exercised autonomy, and governed their affairs freely without parental interference. After going through the ritual and the subsequent induction into the cultural responsibilities of being an adult, the East African young adult will have earned new roles in his society and become equipped to gradually become a nurturer, protector, mentor, adviser, role model, authority figure, and romantic partner (Booth & Crouter, 1998).

## Theoretical Perspective

In the conceptualization of the present project to reflect as closely as possible the culture and traditions of Sub-Sahara African families, I draw from two family theories: (a) symbolic interactionism and (b) family systems theory. Symbolic interactionism purports that human beings use symbols to construct all forms of social reality; friendships, marriages, families, and whole societies are equally the products of symbolic interaction. On the other hand, systems theory suggests that the family is a composite unit that behaves as an organismic (emotional) unit. All members appear to be tied together in ways that make it impossible to understand each other without understanding the whole family.

## Symbolic Interactionism and Adolescents' Social Competence

Adolescents' social competencies, when viewed from a symbolic interactionist perspective, are conceptualized as the degree to which youth are perceived as being adaptive, portray propriety, or are effective within the parent/youth relationship (Henry, Peterson, & Wilson, 1997; Peterson & Hann, 1999b). Symbolic interactionists hold the belief that how people view themselves is strongly influenced by how significant others view them; this constitutes the process by which people build their own self-image/self-

esteem because "people see themselves through the eyes of others" (Cook & Douglas, 1998, p. 299). By sharing common symbols, people can adapt to and survive in their environments (Mead, 1929). The flexible, adaptive youth, for example, comes to share the conventional understanding of her/his society. According to Goffman (2001), humanness is not universal but rather a phenomenon acquired through socialization; thus, every individual can be viewed as a kind of construct built up from moral rules and values impressed upon him from his family and culture. Overt and covert rules govern the distribution of feelings and practices that individuals regularly employ to maintain specific and obligatory ritual equilibrium within their society (Goffman, 2001).

Socialization is, therefore, the process by which individuals acquire symbols, belief systems, and attitudes from their culture (Mead, 1929). White and Klein (2002) have suggested two stages to the process of child socialization: (a) the play stage and (b) the game stage. Children become involved in a complex social game played by adults in their different roles in society. In reflective role taking, individuals ascertain what others' expectations for them are. The family can be viewed as a system of role relationships between constituent members, including adolescents, where role is earned through engendering expectations for its members by the other members (Peterson, 2003).

Observations of mores and relationships such as those between fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, daughters- or sons-in-law and mothers- or fathers-in-law, husbands and wives, children and parents, and children and the wider community within the African peoples (for example, the Kikuyu) reflect the complementarities of different parties that bind each member in an interdependent way (because a person cannot be, for instance, a parent unless there is a someone to be cared for) (Winton, 1995). Adolescents

within the Kikuyu, the Masai, the Samburu and the Kamba of Kenya; the Tonjo of Tanzania; and the Ganda of Uganda (among other communities) fit within their societies in the endeavor to play the roles defined by their reflection and perceptions of their seniors who model behavior for them. In East Africa, for example, children are prepared in a variety of ways for their place in the social life of the adult community—with numerous occasions for formal instruction provided and also opportunities for the experiences and voluntary associations of childhood. Socialization and education for social life in Sub-Sahara Africa is wholly adequate for the relatively self-sufficient among different ethnic groups, introducing children and adolescents not only to the knowledge and skills appropriate for an adult of his or her sex, but also to the deeper mores, values, and beliefs of the society and to the various levels of identity and loyalty within the community (Shorter, 1974).

## Family Systems Theory and Adolescents' Social Competence

The emergent quality of a system is emphasized not simply in the sum of its parts but by bearing qualities that must be deduced from more than the combined characteristics of each constituent part (Broderick, 1994; Whitechurch & Constantine, 1993). The family, for example, has synergistic wholeness about interactions between all its members. The definition of most family roles depends upon the existence of another. For example, one cannot be a mother without an offspring, a husband without a wife, a sibling without a brother or sister. The family is viewed as a coherent composite entity that behaves as an irreducible organismic unit. The wholeness characteristic of a family is captured by the idea of an emotional unit (Burr, Day, & Bahr, 1993; Bodman & Peterson, 1995; White & Klein, 2002).

The East African family is extensive, including among the significant others for adolescents the immediate family--the siblings, cousins, aunts/uncles, and grandparents--that constitute the networks for each particular set of related individuals. A uniquely interesting facet of the study of African adolescents is the role ancestors play in predicting propriety among family and kin membership that governs how, for example, children are nurtured and provided for and how children respond to these efforts. The Sub-Sahara African family process viewed from the systems perspective is a complex set of interconnected positive and negative feedback loops that combine to provide opportunities for both stability and change (Day, 1995).

Evidence comparing, for example, Japan and the U.S. indicates that Japanese mothers are expected to form extremely close, even symbiotic relations with their adolescents; the Japanese value behavior that, by U.S. standards, may be described as overinvolvement, intrusion, and overindulgence of dependency needs (Rothbaum, Rosen, Ujiie, & Uchida, 2002). Further, Japanese children are expected to exhibit extreme expressions of need for care and attention, extensive clinging and proximity seeking, helpless dependency, passivity, blurring of boundaries between self and other, and other behaviors associated with ambivalent attachment in the West. Despite a manifest similarity in overt behavior with some ethnic groups in Sub-Sahara Africa, the underlying meaning of the behavior is very different between the two cultures. To illustrate this difference, the Japanese phenomenon of Ittikan refers to extremely close relationships characterized by an absence of boundary between self and other and is seen in Japan as a sign of maturity (Rothbaum et al., 2002). In comparison, in Kenya, ukoo (Kiswahili) refers to close family blood or marriage relationship characterized by strong

interdependence and mutuality between members. Looking at this illustration, one notices that behaviors that are relatively rare and maladaptive in one culture may be prevalent and acceptable in another culture, especially if such behaviors are serving different functions in the two contexts.

Behaviors generally are imbedded within a large network of relationships such as extended family, community, social institutions, family, and (in the case of Sub-Sahara Africa) reverence for ancestors, as well as in other institutions--educational, religious, economic, political, and so on--that support a particular experience of closeness (Broderick, 1994; Goffman, 2001; Rothbaum et al., 2002). For example, while Western practices and beliefs related to family relationships are best organized around the theme of romance, Chinese-American practices and beliefs are best organized around the theme of harmony. I would speculate that the attribute of valuing harmony is found to exist within the Sub-Sahara African societies as well, not only within the immediate family but also including extended kin.

The family traditionally has served as the primary child socialization agency for fostering social competence in adolescents (Bush, 2000; Peterson & Hann, 1999b). Traditional socialization theory adopts a functional perspective, arguing that socialization serves to produce social values and societal norms (Cheng & Kuo, 2000) in the young. Parents take an active role in projecting and shaping children's ethnic concepts and social identities within their own families. Parents play a crucial role in defining and interpreting symbols for the meaning of culture and ethnicity to their children, as well as providing social reinforcement through a system of supporting, rewarding, and punishing to shape the children's behavior.

From a collectivist point of view, Sub-Sahara African families attach a great value to their children. Children are seen as a valuable asset, especially in one's old age, for major psychological and sociological reasons (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1985, 1987). I would suggest that such high regard covertly dictates tangible investments of time and resources in nurturance for the benefit of the child within the dictates of the child socialization system of each cultural group. I am suggesting that Kenyan parental referent power over their adolescents and its extensive influence on parent/adolescent interactions may hold important clues to parental behaviors and their influences on the adolescents' self-esteem.

## Sub-Sahara African Adolescents

Sub-Sahara African adolescents must be prepared to tackle harsh conditions in their day-to-day lives at home and in their communities. In the last 35 to 50 years, Sub-Sahara Africa has epitomized instability wrought of, firstly, colonialism (Sub-Sahara African countries were subjected to colonial domination by Western European countries with total disregard of the indigenous peoples' cultures, histories, and traditions for decades before re-emerging again as independent states. Massive populations have been displaced due to war and ethnic rivalries in which myriad have lost their homes and livelihoods and thousands of others have been killed. Coups and countercoups have been the hallmark of the region (e.g., in Uganda, Liberia, Rwanda/Burundi, Congo, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique).

Inevitably, very unstable governments and very insecure populations riddled with poverty and disease (HIV/AIDS in particular) have forced relegation of important aspects of life such as establishment of suitable infrastructure and social support systems for the

well-being of adolescents and children to the periphery. In such circumstances, important support systems for development of attributes in adolescents' development of social competence (e.g., self-esteem) have been systematically altered, the degree depending on the level of risks and challenges in the adolescents' social world (Barber, 1999; McElhaney & Allen, 2001). Healthy development during adolescence requires adequate social structures (Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994), which are glaringly missing for the majority of the peoples of Sub-Sahara Africa.

## The Problem

Available information on children in Africa most often relates either to disease conditions (especially HIV/AIDS), orphanages (children in especially difficult circumstances), the ravages of poverty and civil war, and the extent these affect women and their children in negotiating challenges of living (U.N.D.P., 2003). Other sources of information include historical, ethnographic, sociological, and demographic studies on population and fertility dynamics conducted in the last 20 to 30 years that have scantily addressed children and have been motivated by parents' interests rather than those of the children themselves. Children's interests, particularly the effects of parenting styles, behaviors, and practices, have not been studied. Further, child development and family processes as they relate to nurturance and unique needs of children have been mentioned only in passing in the majority of the biographical and ethnographic literature available for the region (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Molnos, 1968).

There are no categorizations or perceptions of general human development following either Eriksonian (ego-identity vs. role-confusion and intimacy vs. isolation) or Piagetian (full exploitation of formal operations capacity) models that have been

developed for Sub-Sahara African cultures. Among many East African ethnic groups, there is no stage designated for middle childhood and adolescence, for instance. Following intricate ritualistic rites of passage, children in middle childhood enter directly into the lower-ranked adulthood stage with privileges unparalleled within the U.S. or the other Western cultures.

After considerable effort, I still was unable to find any empirical research reports that address relationships between parental behaviors and child outcomes in this region in any of the available literature. Even child protection laws in the region are mainly underdeveloped. In Kenya, for example, child-related laws are fragmented and contained in diverse acts whose concern usually is not driven by the real needs of children but rather by those of adults (Kibwana, 1996). Available information shows that children generally are subordinated, abused in underage employment, and voiceless. They are expected to respect elders without questioning such authority and to revere their ancestors, with the emphasis on close family ties and extended kin (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1987; Frank & McNicoll, 1978; Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Mbito & Price, 1992; Price, 1996).

I speculate in this project that there may exist in East Africa covert socio-cultural influences that lead to general and specific parenting behaviors in parenting processes that are driven by the high premium attached to children. Further, these influences in turn may dictate parental roles and rules to which parents are expected to conform for parental propriety within their society, and this will influence either directly or indirectly children's general development. When we take into account the well-known African adage, "It takes a village to raise a child," the intimation implies an intricate collective

responsibility demanded of the larger society regarding the care and nurturance of children and youth in their communities to maximize their development potential and general well-being. Should such a proposition hold true, it should be possible, using appropriate measurements, to unearth specific aspects of parental behaviors and how these behaviors predict adolescents' social competence development in order to accomplish such a well-known nurturance goal.

Until recently, groups such as unmarried persons, single parents, divorced or widowed persons, or even disabled persons were not occupying acknowledged places in the hierarchical, mostly patriarchal family systems within Sub-Sahara African societies. Nor has apparent individual Sub-Sahara African life-course stratification been captured by existing theories or been validated scientifically. Despite the omissions, available observations of distinctions highlight a different kind of human developmental conceptualization altogether. Of course, there has been an infiltration of stereotypical, quasi-Western lifestyles among the few Western-educated elites, who occupy mostly positions of leadership in governments, the corporate sector, and private businesses (Cavicchi, 1977; Eliade, 1959; Hobley, 1967; Middleton, & Kershaw, 1965; Wagner, 1970). The present study seeks to break ground and initiate efforts at explaining parenting processes and how they influence the development of adolescents' social competence in the Sub-Sahara African region.

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine in Sub-Sahara Africa (with particular focus on East Africa) the extent to which youthful reports of several parenting behaviors may predict adolescents' self-esteem. Specific parenting behaviors of interest in this

regard are (a) supportive parental behaviors and (b) parental control dimensions consisting of reasoning, punitiveness, love withdrawal, autonomy granting, and monitoring. My specific intent was to examine how these child-rearing behaviors predict youthful self-esteem within societies believed to foster the developing self in a manner different than the European-American paradigms (Bush, Peterson, Cobas, & Supple, 2002; Gecas, 1972). This study tests six hypothesized relationships to determine the strength and direction of these relationships. A measure of global self-esteem is used as the dependent variable for this study (Bush, 2000b; Bush et al., 2002).

## Research Questions

Specifically, I wanted to examine relationships between (a) parental attributes of support, several parental control methods (i.e., parental monitoring, parental reasoning, parental love withdrawal, and parental punitiveness), and parental psychological control (i.e., parental induction and autonomy granting) and (b) self-esteem in Kenyan adolescents. I further wanted to examine direct relationships between each dimension of parental behaviors and adolescent self-esteem. Also, I took into account the effects of three social demographic variables (i.e., age, gender, and father's educational attainment level), each of which represents cultural influences within the parent/adolescent relationship.

## Summary

This study contributes to the available pool of cross-cultural studies of parental influences on adolescent competencies by opening the door into Sub-Sahara Africa. By investigating the extent to which culturally influenced values contribute to perceived parent/adolescent influences, the study contributes to the existing body of knowledge to

bridge the existing knowledge gap in this aspect of family studies. I have investigated all indications of the impact of culture on parent/adolescent relationships with regard to self-esteem and autonomy from parents, parental control, and conformity to the expectations of African parents while taking note of the forces of familism and collectivism. Further, I have investigated and made note of peculiarities in the parenting processes and unique features of adolescents within Sub-Sahara Africa.

## Chapter II

## Literature Review

This study is an initial attempt to address the question of parents' influence on adolescent self-esteem as perceived by Sub-Sahara African adolescents. I present in this regard a review of the available information from varying sources relating to Sub-Sahara African (particularly East African) parenting practices and parent/adolescent relationships. In addition, I have provided a review of other relevant work from societies portraying collectivistic characteristics deemed to be comparable to the Sub-Sahara situation in order to gain insights for the current study.

### What Do We Know of Sub-Sahara African Adolescents?

Although socialization of African children and adolescents has been articulated from an anthropological and sociological perspective (Beckwith & Fisher, 1999; Cavicchi, 1977; Eliade, 1959; Gray, 1963; Hobley, 1967; Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Middleton & Kershaw, 1965; Mbiti, 1969; Molnos, 1968; Wagner, 1970), there is available no empirical information linking parenting behaviors to adolescents' social competence for Sub-Sahara Africa (Mboya, 1995). Although cross-cultural studies of parental behaviors and adolescents' social competence have been conducted among different cultural groups (e.g., the U.S., Chile, Hong Kong, Mainland China, India, Russia), there is a lack of studies addressing aspects of parental behaviors and parenting styles in the Sub-Sahara Africa region. Currently, there is no research on either Sub-Sahara African parenting styles and behaviors or their relationship to adolescents' social competence. There are only speculations (Mboya, 1995) purporting that, due to closely knit families and kin network systems, Sub-Sahara African adolescents' respect for elders

and ancestor reverence may demonstrate different attributes of adolescents' functioning compared to those found in the European/American societies (Herskovits et al., 1959; Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Mbiti, 1969).

## Parenting Goals in East Africa

Most groups in East Africa operate within the context of a hierarchy of labor; the bulk of undesirable work is delegated downwards to women and children, while the hierarchy of privileges is distributed upwards to elders according to age or ritual seniority. Among the Gusii ethnic group of Kenya, for example, parents define economic competence in terms of their children's demonstrated obedience and responsibility, which are considered essential to their children's future careers. This is in contrast to the U.S. and other Western countries where inculcating specialized economic skills required in an industrial economy are the major parenting goals of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Different goals for subsistence in Sub-Sahara Africa translate into different goals for childrearing and diverse patterns of childhood experiences in the region. (LeVine et al., 1994)

While initiation ceremonies provide a valued transition to taking on mature reproductive roles, children play a large role in socializing each other (LeVine et al., 1994). African parents are sensitive to the capacities of their children at different ages as they implement a culturally based agenda for behavior development during the child's life. In this regard, children's socialization has a focus toward cultural priorities and conceptions of parents (LeVine et al., 1994). Apart from the popular avenue of tutoring her child to obey parental commands, the mother assumes the child will learn what is necessary from older siblings, to whom the mother has delegated tasks that need doing

among her other general responsibilities on the homefront. Children's failure to follow instructions elicits occasional harsh warnings or punishment. In East Africa, the mother intervenes in the child's learning only when it is needed in order to support the hierarchy and enforce its rules of operation (LeVine et al., 1994; Molnos, 1968).

Respect and obedience are long-term goals of African parents' socialization motivation, mostly attained during the child's preschool and school years and for most in the context of the mother/child relationship. Children learn skills and virtuous behavior through extensive participation in daily chores under the guidance of the mother. The mother provides age-appropriate experiences consisting of preparation for the next stage in the child's life. For Ganda parents, children are seen as the bearers of their culture, in which gregariousness is highly valued, and parents foster early smiling and greeting in their infants. Kipsigis parents train their children during the critical period for language socialization to comprehend parental commands and comments without answering back--thus fostering the obedience that is most valued by the Kipsigis people, in sharp contrast to the interactive styles of Western parenting values. African parents, thus, are sensitive to the capacities of infants and young children at different ages as they implement a culturally based agenda for behavioral development during the first years of the child's life. Children's behaviors, in turn, reflect the cultural priorities and conceptions of their parents. (LeVine et al., 1994)

## Collectivism/Individualism and Sub-Sahara Africa

An individualism/collectivism continuum has been identified as a reflection of a culture's preferences and emphasis on particular goals over others (Cai, Wilson, & Drake, 2000). Individualistic cultures (e.g., the U.S. and the rest of the Western world)

have been seen to emphasize autonomy and independence, self-determination, and protection of self-interests and values that promote individual goals. On the other hand, collectivistic groups (e.g., Asian, African, and Caribbean cultures) emphasize interconnection, conformity to group norms, relational harmony, and values that promote the welfare of the in-group.

One major attribute of collectivistic cultures is that individuals subordinate their personal goals to the goals of a collective and usually stable in-group (e.g., family, band, clan, tribe, gang), and much of the behavior of the individual members may concern goals that are consistent with the goals of the particular in-group. Within individualistic cultures, on the other hand, much of the behavior of the individual concerns goals that are consistent with the individual's interests. Conformity is the hallmark of collectivistic cultures when norms are clear, and sanctions are likely to be imposed for deviant behavior. For individualistic cultures, individuals' contributions to in-groups are highly segmented; people freely drop excessively demanding in-groups and form new ones at will (Triandis, 1989; Triandis, Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). In collectivistic cultures, interdependence between parent and child is maximized by frequent guidance, consultation, and socializing in which the child is included, as well as what an individualistic observer would call excessive interference into the child's private life. For individualistic cultures, there is emotional detachment, independence, and privacy for the child (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis et al., 1988).

The emphasis is always on people more than the task in collectivistic cultures, and the reverse is true for individualistic cultures. For example, if a friend knocks at one's house while one is leaving to go to work, a person in a collectivist culture will stop to

chat and exercise hospitality while a person in an individualistic culture might excuse herself/himself altogether. Social relationships tend to be more enduring and involuntary and occur in large groups in collectivist cultures, while such social relationships are more temporary, voluntary, and usually occurring in small in-groups in individualistic cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis et al., 1988). The quality of friendships differs for collectivistic and individualistic cultures. People in collectivistic cultures generally have fewer skills for making new friends but for them friendship means life-long intimate relationships with multiple levels of obligations. People in individualistic cultures tend to have comparatively greater skills in entering and leaving new social groups. Friends are made or dropped easily and usually are non-intimate. Whereas Western societies are seen to emphasize such individualistic values as personal agency, freedom, autonomy, and assertiveness, social traits such as interdependence and connectedness with others are seen to characterize the social orientation of individuals in collectivistic societies (Lam, 1995; Imber-Black & Roberts, 1997; Triandis, 1985, 1989; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui 1990).

Collectivism has been defined largely in terms of the cultural experiences of Asian countries such as Korea, the People's Republic of China, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and India. With there being no existing empirical investigation of Sub-Sahara African family structure and dynamics available, it is only an assumption that African cultures are also collectivistic in their way of life (Triandis, 1989). Collectivistic societies differ in the degree of collectivism they emphasize. For example, Asian cultures emphasize strict harmony where an individual must present her- or himself as modestly as possible and avoid conflict with others at all cost. Preservation of one's honor is of

paramount importance. Shame and other mechanisms of social control (e.g., religious beliefs) are used more widely in collectivistic cultures than are mechanisms of internal control, such as the guilt that frequently is found within individualistic cultures (Hui, 1988; Triandis et al., 1988). Collectivism's emphasis on harmony in effect reduces the individual stress level of everyday life. Collectivism also is associated with low levels of competition and, therefore, less insecurity about being able to cope with one's position in the social order, which is determined by birth, age, sex, age-grade, marital status, and so on (Triandis et al., 1988).

Family scientists have used complex definitions of both collectivistic and individualistic concepts. Interestingly, the two concepts are not that simple. Voronov and Singer (2002) have suggested a possibility that both individualism and collectivism may co-exist in individuals and groups and that there are varying shades of either collectivism or individualism across cultures. They have suggested a dual existence of two aspects, albeit in varying degrees of both collectivism and individualism, within the collectivistic and individualistic worlds. Such conceptualization may be found within the largely uninvestigated Sub-Sahara African regions and in other societies (e.g., Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe). Despite two cultures having similarities at face value regarding their degree of individualism and collectivism, their individualistic or a collectivistic inclination may contain completely different characteristics. For example, Mexicans may be collectivistic in relating with members of their families but less so for their colleagues in the workplace (Gomez, Kirkman, & Shapiro, 2000). This compounding of individualism and collectivism may shed a new light on cross-cultural

research, in particular research focusing on parent/adolescent relationships in the Sub-Sahara African region.

Available writings on Sub-Sahara African countries describe a prevalence of collectivistic-associated characteristics such as respect for parents and elders, emphasis on close family ties and extended kin, and a unique connection to and reverence for one's dead ancestors (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1987; Frank & McNicoll, 1978; Mbito & Price, 1992; Wilson, Ngigi, & TRollinser, 2003). While it is difficult to speculate on the nature of adjustments necessary to make on Western parenting paradigms in order for them to fit social situations such as those of Sub-Sahara Africa, based on available research from known collectivistic societies in the Asian region, I would suggest that similar characteristics, particularly those pertaining to parenting practices, may exist in Sub-Sahara Africa (Chao, & Stantley, 1996). I speculate also that there is a need to redefine youthful social competence for Sub-Sahara's unique brand of collectivism to include, for example, individuals' capacity to adapt effectively to unpredictable and harsh conditions encountered in the poverty, famine, and civil war that have been endemic to the region (Barber, 1999; Carson, Chowdhury, Perry, & Pati, 1999).

Sub-Sahara Africa commonly is viewed as a region that emphasizes group-focused values. Youth in Kenya (as well as in Sub-Sahara Africa in general), for example, are socialized to view themselves as serving societal rather than individual goals (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Mbiti, 1969). In contrast, Western societies emphasize such individualistic values as personal agency (meaning goal-directed determination: Snyder, Michael, & Cheavens, 1997), freedom, autonomy, and assertiveness (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990; Valk, 2000). In contrast, social traits

such as interdependence and connectedness with others characterize the social orientation of individuals in collectivistic societies (Triandis, 1989, 1995; Triandis et al., 1988). In collectivistic societies such as the Mexican, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipino cultures, for example, adolescents have been found to endorse the importance of (a) turning to parents and other relatives when making important decisions and (b) mutual support among siblings (Cooper, 1999).

Among most African groups, aged people possess a large amount of cultural power, especially those who hold leadership positions. Their very existence is a proof of power, since hostile forces have been ineffectual against them. For this reason, an old man is buried in his hut, in the cattle kraal, or within the settlement in order that the group may have control over him and thereby over his strength and goodwill. The ancestors are seen as bearers of extraordinary powers, acting as the forces of nature, which are embodied as containing striking natural objects or phenomena such as rivers, lakes, large trees, thunder, lightning, and the rainbow.

For Sub-Sahara Africa, parents, along with siblings, grandparents, aunts and uncles, and close family friends, traditionally have been sources of security and individuals' identity, serving as protective factors against stress and risk, especially in the lives of children and adolescents (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1985; Frank & McNicoll, 1987). Despite the well-documented valuing of children that creates great interest in their well-being and general competence in these societies, there is a scarcity of empirical studies linking parenting behaviors and adolescent competence (Carson et al., 1999). Sub-Sahara Africa constitutes one of the most trouble-laden and famine-ravaged regions of the world. Civil war, coups, and bad governance have been the hallmark of the region (e.g.,

Rwanda/Burundi, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Uganda, Liberia, Congo, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal). Developmental attributes such as autonomy in adolescents is systematically altered when the level of risks and challenges in the adolescents' social world is high (McElhaney & Allen, 2001). Sub-Sahara African adolescents must be prepared to tackle harsh conditions in their day-to-day undertakings.

Among Sub-Sahara African peoples, life course development does not seem to follow a similar trajectory as those of the Western world that end with death and oblivion (Westerhof, Ditmann-Kohli, & Datzko, 2000). Most Sub-Sahara African people have family and kin systems within which there extends the definition of the family to include, for example, the unborn, the living, and the departed ancestors (Wilson, Ngigi, & Trollinser, 2003). Life course conceptualization found among the Bantu tribes, for example, begins with a much valued birth of a baby mugeni (visitor), then continues with the stages of childhood, pre-initiate, initiate, unmarried young adult, junior married adult, married adult with children, junior elder with a married child, middle-level elder with a grandchild, senior elder with many grandchildren, and the much-revered very old sage (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Mbiti, 1969). There is great respect for the elderly—and the older one gets, the better.

Societies where people share common values such as respect for elders and strict emphasis on family and societal harmony are considered collectivistic (Bush, 2000; Chao & Stanley, 1994, 1996; Markus & Katiyama, 1991; Triandis, 1989, 1995). Sub-Sahara African societies are seen to emphasize interconnection, conformity to group norms, relational harmony and protection of within-group interests. "Children are the common pathways for diverse human motives, conferring wealth, security, prestige, and

immortality--virtually everything valuable to parents" (LeVine et al., 1994, p. 32). Regarding Sub-Sahara African parenting practices, a profoundly elaborate life course program is imbedded in the traditional milieu of family processes and community life.

The family traditionally has been seen as a stabilizing force, especially during a society's transition period by pooling resources for the common good of all members. Sub-Sahara African family members support one another both economically and emotionally, so that the strength of the family as a basic social unit provides protection against uncertainties and problems individuals face in a harsh economic environment, as well as acting as buffer for social welfare burdens.

## The High Value of Children in Sub-Sahara Africa

Caldwell and Caldwell (1987) and Frank and McNicoll (1987), in their efforts to explain high fertility rates in Sub-Sahara Africa, advanced the notion of the high value of children to the family as the key to understanding traditional Sub-Sahara African family life. According to these authors, maximization of births among Sub-Sahara African families has been motivated by the importance attached to heritage and descent, as well as ancestor reverence, in indigenous African religions and social structures. However, they mentioned little in their extensive literature about the dynamics of nurturing of the African child, nor of the relationships between parental behaviors and children's social competence. One main reason for parents to value children highly is to counteract negative influences of fate, such as the untimely death of children. In virtually all of the social and cultural contexts of indigenous Sub-Sahara Africa, childbearing is seen as necessary for moral virtue, material and spiritual well-being, and posterity.

The high demand for children in the region also has been attributed to firmly rooted indigenous cultural and socio-political systems, which have been seen to resist external forces of change (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1987, 1988; Frank & McNicoll, 1978). I would speculate in this regard as to the existence of strict adherence to traditional parenting practices aimed at maximizing children's healthy development and general state of well-being. Among factors cited by Caldwell and Caldwell (1985,

1987) to have reinforced the foundation for this high value of children are (a) lineage-based descent systems, (b) polygyny, (c) bride-wealth, (d) extended kinship structures, (e) child fostering, (f) communal land tenure, and (g) shifting agriculture. I would speculate further that, among the Sub-Sahara African societies, these factors have a profound bearing on the ways parents behave in the nurturing of their children.

The importance of heritage and descent in indigenous African religions and social structures has been cited as emanating from the strong need to honor ancestors and appease their spirits through the birth of children as descendants (Kenyatta, 1938; Mbiti, 1965; Price, 1996; Price & Mbito, 1992). It has been argued that, for such societies, high fertility is morally correct and brings divine approval to the families (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1987, 1988). Childlessness and subfecundity are seen to deny the right of ancestors to be reborn and/or for the lineage to be continued, and thus they are associated with evil (Caldwell & Caldwell, 1985, 1987; Frank & McNicoll, 1978; Mbito & Price, 1992). Extensive anthropological theory and research reports suggest that parents' behaviors in socializing their children are influenced strongly by awareness of the traits that are considered necessary for survival, spiritual propriety, and success of the family (McElhaney & Allen, 2001).

I speculate that the high value attached to the child has its ramification in determining particular parental behaviors within various African cultures that influence the development of general adolescent social competence. Further, three central dimensions of socialization (i.e., connection with significant others, regulation of behavior, and the facilitation of psychological autonomy; Barber, 1997) would be seen to covertly exist within the definition attached to the nurturance of the child in families that hold such great value for the children.

## Adolescent Social Competence

Social competence is an adaptive functioning in which environmental and personal resources are used to achieve desired developmental outcomes in adolescents within interpersonal contexts (Barber, 2000b; Peterson & Hann,1999b; Peterson & Leigh, 1990). It is conceptualized as a developmental phenomenon that arises as adolescents engage in social interactions in their families (Peterson & Hann, 1999b). Although it is generally hard to define, its key subdivisions include (a) cognitive resources, (b) balance between sociability and individuality, and (c) social skills in reference to peers. The meaning of socially competent behavior varies in terms of ethnicity and cultural variables, developmental period, situational factors, and gender role expectations (Peterson & Hann, 1999b; Peterson & Leigh, 1990;). Important aspects of parent/adolescent relationships that either predict or are associated with adolescent social competence include parenting styles, behavior modeling, and power. Adolescents who possess such qualities are found to possess sound judgment as well as the ability to manage circumstances to benefit themselves and others in social situations. Social competence develops within the context of a transactional process between the

developing person and the surrounding social context (Peterson & Hann, 1999b). Socially competent adolescents are, among other things, involved in their social worlds; have a sense of social responsibility; act prosocially; are achievement-oriented, friendly, facilitative of others, self-determined; and have learned to balance their personal goals with the goals of others (Barber & Erickson, 2001).

The nature of social competence is best determined within the context of specific interpersonal situations (Peterson & Hann, 1999b). Also, gender role expectations prescribe particular aspects of social competence that are different for males and females (Baumrind, 1980; Gilligan, 1982). Gender differences occur within different dimensions of social competence, including autonomy, conformity, connectedness, achievement, and self-esteem (Peterson & Leigh, 1990). Families are important social environments that either facilitate or hinder the development of social competence in the life of adolescents (Peterson & Hann, 1999b; Peterson & Leigh, 1990). The major components of youthful social competence include (a) cognitive capacity; (b) sociability and autonomy; and (c) social skills for effective relationships with parents, other adults, and peers (Peterson & Hann, 1999b).

*Cognitive Capacity*

Cognitive capacity serves as a resource base for social skills that aid adolescents in establishing and maintaining effective interpersonal relationships. Included in this category of capacity is (a) positive self-esteem, (b) internal locus of control, (c) social perspective taking, and (d) interpersonal problem solving. Self-esteem functions as a basis for socially adaptive behavior by providing adolescents with sufficient self-confidence to engage in and expand their social relationships. Internal locus of control

helps develop feelings of exercising control over life circumstances, serving as a second internal resource that encourages self-initiative and leadership skills development in interpersonal settings. Social perspective taking is reflected in social role taking, including empathy that encourages adolescents to understand and become sensitive to the feelings, intentions, and abilities of others. Moral development is conceptualized as prosocial responsiveness that promotes an awareness of others' needs and an understanding of the impact of one's own actions on others. Social adaptation requires development of interpersonal problem-solving skills (Hoffman, 1980). Characteristics of socially competent adolescents include their being capable of (a) being sensitive to interpersonal problem situations, (b) generating alternative solutions in challenging situations, (c) planning for attainment of interpersonal goals, (d) weighing consequences in terms of their effectiveness and social acceptability, and (e) perceiving cause-and-effect relations in interpersonal events (Peterson & Hann, 1999b).

*Balance Between Sociability and Autonomy*

Sociability and autonomy are complementary, functioning and contributing to interpersonal competence in all phases of an individual's life course. The sociability function involves the process of connecting and integrating with significant others, tendencies towards communication styles that guide adolescents to form close relationships with others. The individuality function refers to becoming unique and differentiated and having freedom of action from others. Relating to this balance (between sociability and individuation) also is the need to make progress toward qualities such as autonomy and achievement, while maintaining close parent/youth ties,

conforming to parents' expectations, and developing successful friendships and peer relationships (Baumrind, 1978; Peterson & Leigh, 1990).

*Social Skills*

This is the third major component of social competence, referring to the extent to which children perform interpersonal roles effectively in relation to significant others. This aspect of social competence focuses on the behavioral repertoires and social skills that the young acquire in relation to peers, parents, and other adults. The approach focuses on the behavioral repertoire that adolescents acquire for adaptation and acceptance beyond family boundaries in reference to their peers (Peterson & Hann, 1999b; Peterson & Leigh, 1990).

## Adolescents' Self-Esteem

As one of the key components of adolescent social competences, self-esteem functions as a basis for socially adaptive behavior by providing adolescents with sufficient self-confidence to engage in and expand their social relationships (Rotter, 1966). Self-esteem is defined as an evaluative belief about oneself (Gecas, 1971; Openshaw, Thomas, & Rollins, 1981). Rosenberg (1965) indicated high self-esteem to mean respect for and a high rating of self, while low self-esteem means the contrary: self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, and self-contempt. Gecas (1971, 1972) identified two factors of self-esteem: power and worth. Openshaw, Thomas, and Rollins, (1981, 1984), identified four dimensions: positive self-esteem, self-esteem power, self-derogation, and self-esteem worth.

In the current study, self-esteem is defined as the multidimensional, evaluative dimension of self-concept. Given that there are multiple dimensions of self-esteem, the

question arises: What is the relationship between various parental behaviors and each dimension of self-esteem that is generally viewed as an evaluative component of the self, as well as a central psychological concept (Barber, Chadwick, & Oerter, 1992)? What dimension of self-esteem will apply to the East African societies then?

Investigations of the antecedents of self-esteem have shown that self-esteem develops in response to the reactions of others, especially significant others (Gecas, 1972). Parental behaviors are identified as important to the development of adolescents' self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967; Gecas & Seff, 1990). Adolescents' development of self-awareness results from interacting with and receiving feedback from significant others, including parents, siblings, and teachers, that helps to generate a complex picture of oneself (Gecas & Burke, 1995; Harter, 1993). High self-esteem in adolescents tends to be encouraged by parents who grant autonomy while using firm control, reasoning, support, and clear communication with their teenage children (Barber, et al., 1992; Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Parents who foster self-esteem have been found to resist using forms of excessive control such as punitiveness and love withdrawal (Barber, & Oerter, 1992; Peterson & Rollins, 1987).

Research on self-esteem (the dependent variable for this study) has demonstrated that youthful reports of parental behavior more than parental reports of their own child-rearing behaviors are more strongly predictive of the adolescents' self-perceptions (Buri, 1989; Bush et al., 2002; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986). Furthermore, problems that often arise when assessing parental behaviors directly from parents, who may attempt to conceal certain behaviors that are socially sanctioned, such as harsh or punitive behaviors (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986; Peterson & Hann, 1999a), is avoided by using adolescents'

reports of their parents' behaviors. A reasonable methodological assumption made at the outset of this project (Bush et al., 2002) was to expect that aspects of adolescents' self-perceptions (i.e., self-esteem) would be more likely to be influenced by their own construction of reality (i.e., their own perception of parental behavior) than would their parents' perceptions of similar phenomena.

## Parental Behaviors: The Case for Sub-Sahara Africa

Recent trends in examining parenting practices within different cultures, rather than addressing parenting styles (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive parenting; Baumrind, 1978), have dealt with three dimensions of parental behavior (i.e., support, behavior control, and psychological control/autonomy; Barber, & Olsen, 1997; Peterson & Hann, 1999a). Parenting styles and behaviors have been reported to influence adolescents' psychosocial competence, particularly self-esteem and autonomy (Barber & Olsen, 1977; Bush, 2000a). Studies with U.S., Russian, Asian, and Caribbean samples (Bush, 2000b; Chao, 1994; Bush et al., 2002; Peterson & Hann, 1999a, 1999b) have shown that mothers and fathers impart values and expectations to their young children and adolescents during day-to-day family interactions that have profound bearing on their eventual social competence (i.e., self-esteem and education performance). Family interactions are known to influence positive or negative outcomes in adolescent children, despite their geographical, social, political, and cultural uniqueness (Herskovits et al., 1959; Marjoribanks & Mboya, 2001). The experiences that adolescents and children undergo during the socialization process with their parents have been shown to impact their development process, resulting in the level of social competence such as self-esteem that they develop (Gecas & Seff, 1990; Peterson & Hann, 1999b). My hunch in this study

is that Sub-Sahara African parents play a major role in the development of their adolescent children's social competence (i.e., self-esteem).

Youthful social competence has been found to possess cultural limitations for different societies and ethnic groups (Baumrind, 1978; Bronfenbrenner, 1970, 1986; Chao, 1994). Available research has identified disparities in the degrees and direction of parental influences on their adolescent children across different cultural groups (Bush, 2000b; Chao, 1994; Triandis, 1989). Focus on the specific dimensions of parental behaviors and the way they influence adolescents' development have been demonstrated as viable means of investigating global conceptions of parenting (Barber et al., 1992; Linver & Silverberg, 1997).

Substantial research in the U.S over the past few decades has identified at least three important aspects of parenting behavior: induction, behavioral regulation, and punitiveness (Barber, 1997, 1999; Peterson, Bush, & Supple, 1999). Studies among diverse cultural groups in both the U.S. and non-Western cultures indicate that these three constructs are significantly related to adolescent psychosocial outcomes (Barber, 1997, 1998; Bush et, al., 2002; Peterson, Bush, Supple, Day, & Bodeman, 1997). Studies examining these dimensions among non-Western societies (e.g., China, Russia, Chile, India, Palestine) indicate support for the universal application of these three dimensions (Barber, 1999; Bush, Bean, Bartle-Haring, & Peterson, 2000; Bush et al., 2002; Peterson et al., 1997). Research on global self-esteem among Chinese adolescents has identified such positive parental predictors as parental functional control, autonomy-granting behavior, and support/acceptance (Chao, 1994; Cheung & Lau, 1985). In contrast, forms of excessive or dysfunctional parental control such as punitiveness, emotional rejection,

and parental love withdrawal have been identified as negative predictors of self-esteem (Cheung & Lau, 1985; Garber, 2001; Lau & Cheung, 1987).

Cheung and Lau's (1985) study found that family variables were more strongly related than school variables to adolescents' self-esteem. In the study, high self-esteem was found to correlate positively with (a) greater family cohesion and support that family members provided one another; (b) greater independence, assertiveness, and self-sufficiency of family members; (c) greater participation by teenagers in social and recreational activities; and (d) clearer structure and organization of family responsibilities (i.e., functional control). On the other hand, lower self-esteem was associated with a higher degree of expressed family conflict, anger, aggression, feelings of rejection, and parental control. Further confirmation of this Western pattern was the negative relationship found between the self-esteem of Chinese adolescents and dysfunctional parental control (i.e., punitiveness and excessive control; Bush et al., 2000). Chun and MacDermid (1997) examined data from a sample of Korean adolescents and found that youthful individuation from parents (an aspect of autonomy) was a negative predictor of both male and female adolescents' self-esteem, in contrast to the expectation we would have of Euro-American societies.

Cheung and Lau's (1985) study found that adolescents who experienced greater intergenerational fusion with their parents (i.e., were more collectivistic in orientation) reported higher self-esteem, whereas adolescents who were less connected with their parents (i.e., were more individualistic) reported lower self-esteem and did not perceive themselves as fulfilling cultural expectations for strong social relationships within their families. Other studies examining parent/adolescent relationships within Chinese cultures

have drawn contrasts between the general cultural orientations of collectivism and individualism to conceptualize how socialization goals differ across societies. For example, reasoning, monitoring, and autonomy-granting behaviors by Chinese parents were positive predictors, whereas punitiveness was a negative predictor, of Chinese adolescents' self-esteem (Bush et al., 2002).

It does not appear that there is consensus regarding which parental behaviors predict either (a) adolescent social competence across African peoples (Amato & Fowler, 2002) or (b) general adolescent functioning. No study was found that addressed parental behaviors and aspects of adolescent functioning in either Sub-Sahara Africa or the African continent as a whole. If there are such studies, they either have not been published or are held within the institutions supporting such study initiatives and not available for general consumption at this stage.

Studies of parental behaviors and adolescents' competence are found to be elusive when one is investigating diverse cultural and ethnic groups (Barber, 2001). Studies of factors attributable to negative outcomes with the Western hemisphere, such as harsh punishment and psychological control, when looked at, for example, for Chinese society, have yielded surprisingly different results compared to those found in the U.S. Finally, parental support among the Chinese was not found to be a predictor of Chinese adolescents' self-esteem, again contrasting with common patterns found in the United States (Bush et al., 2002; Chan, 2000).

## Parental Behaviors and the Development of Self-Esteem

Several parental characteristics have been associated with the development of adolescent self-esteem. Parental affection, or support, has been found to be positively related to adolescent self-esteem (Gecas, 1971, 1972; Hoelter & Harper, 1987; Litovsky & Dusek, 1985; Peterson, Southworth, & Peters, 1983). Likewise, a parenting style that avoids the use of guilt, anxiety, and love withdrawal for contRollins children's and adolescents' behavior appears to have a positive relationship with self-esteem (Kawash et al., 1985; Litovsky & Dusek, 1985). It is believed that such behaviors instill in children a sense of their inherent value (Openshaw et al., 1984) and subsequently boost their self-esteem. A more ambiguous picture emerges regarding parental discipline and its relationship with self-esteem. In theory, moderate amounts of discipline should promote self-esteem (Baumrind, 1968; Coopersmith, 1967; Elder, 1968), yet empirical support for this hypothesis is limited. Some studies indicate that mild forms of punishment are associated with high self-esteem in children (Peterson et al., 1983). Others have argued that excessive parental control (discipline) is linked to low self-esteem (Litovsky & Dusek, 1985; Openshaw et al., 1984). Still others have failed to find any relationship between parental control and adolescent self-esteem (Gecas, 1971, 1972). Daughters' self-esteem in particular is best predicted by mothers' general support and fathers' physical affection, while sons' self-esteem is best predicted by mothers' companionship and fathers' sustained contact (Barber & Thomas, 1986).

Self-esteem is only one element in the complex network of attitudes and beliefs that make up self-concept (Maccoby, 1980). Self-esteem refers to the evaluative component of self, the extent to which one views him/herself as worthy and virtuous

(Gecas, 1971; Rosenberg, 1965, 1979; Thomas & Rollins, 1981). Self-esteem is a subjective feedback about adequacy of the self. The primary determinants of self-esteem involve the perceived reactions of other people, as well as self-judgments on dimensions that the person thinks are important to significant others. During interaction with family members, for instance, adolescents develop a sense of self in which either a positive or a negative self-image or self-esteem is developed (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986).

When adolescents develop perceptions of themselves as worthy individuals, they are viewed as having an internal psychological resource that plays a key role in socially competent behavior (Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Having a sense of self as being worthy serves both as a resource for interactions with others and as an important aspect of social competence (Peterson et al., 1985; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Adolescents who fail to receive a sense of approval during interactions with their parents are more likely to develop negative self-esteem or low self-regard (Gecas, 1971; Gecas & Schalbe, 1986). The growth of self-awareness in adolescents results from interacting with and receiving feedback from a wide circle of significant others (e.g., parents, siblings, peers, close kin, teachers; Bush et al., 2000; Gecas, 1971; Gecas & Schalbe, 1986). Self-concept emanates from a configuration of nested components (including self-esteem) that include the person, the relevant primary and secondary groups, and the social-cultural and physical environmental contexts that contribute to the individual's self-concept (Bloom, 1990).

*Parental Support*

Parental support and control have been associated with positive outcomes among children, including higher school grades, fewer behavior problems, less substance abuse, better mental health, greater social competence, and more positive self-concepts (Barber

et al., 1992; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Peterson & Hann, 1999b). Parental support has been operationalized in various research studies as hugging, touching, praising, encouraging, helping, cooperating, expressing endearments, and spending positive time together (Barber & Thomas, 1986; Ellis & Rollins, 1976; Peterson & Hann, 1999a). Supportive parenting is characterized by warmth, sensitivity, and responsiveness as childrearing qualities and has been associated with the development of social competence in the life of adolescents (Barber & Thomas, 1986; Becker, 1964; Rohner & Pettengill, 1985; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Parental supportive behaviors have been reported to facilitate the development of adolescents' self-esteem among Russians, Chinese in Mainland China, European Americans, and Chinese in Hong Kong and Singapore (Bush, 2000a; Bush et al., 2002; Cheung & Lau, 1985; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986; Harter, 1993).

Research on individualistic societies in the West has demonstrated that children's failure to receive sufficient levels of parental support has hindered their development of social competence by contributing to feelings of separation, expression of hostility and aggression, absence of self-confidence, emotional unresponsiveness, and disturbed peer relations (Gullotta, Adams, & Montemayor, 2002; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Parental support also has been shown to contribute to moral internalization and voluntary responsiveness to parental expectations (Henry, Wilson, & Peterson, 1989). Parental support plays a key role in the development of self-esteem in adolescents because such support conveys information to the young about their worth (Peterson & Leigh, 1990).

*Parental Behavior Control*

Parental behavior control refers to a parent's methods of firm control aimed towards monitoring the behavior and activities of an adolescent (Barber, 1996; Baumrind,

1971, 1978; Peterson & Hann, 1999a; Peterson & Rollins, 1987). This refers to dimensions of parental behaviors consisting of clearly communicated rules and consistent discipline during the monitoring of adolescent activities (Barber, 1996, 1997; Peterson & Hann, 1999a). Two subdimensions of parental control have been suggested: (a) firm control (i.e., induction and monitoring) and (b) excessive control (i.e. punitiveness and psychological overcontrol). Firm control is a childrearing behavior involving the exercise of influence that teaches self-discipline through firmness, places reasonable demands on children, and avoids use of autocratic techniques (Barber, 1996; Henry, et al., 1997; Peterson & Leigh, 1990). Experts on childrearing and child development take the view that parents should exercise authority in a manner that provides guidance and sets limits without being punitive (Barber, et al., 1992; Baumrind, 1980, 1991; Bush, 2000a; Henry, et al., 1997; Peterson & Leigh, 1990; Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Firm enforcement of rules, effective resistance to the child's coercive demands, and willingness to guide the child by regime and structured interventions has been recommended (Baumrind, 1980, 1991).

Parents generally have been found to more likely facilitate positive self-evaluations among adolescents when they convey clear role expectations (Barber, 1996; Peterson & Hann, 1999a). On the other hand, parental psychological control refers to dimensions of parental behaviors characterized as excessive, arbitrary, and coercive that inhibit the development of psychological autonomy among adolescents (Barber, 1997; Peterson et al., 1985). The behaviors of psychologically contRollins parents have been found to be negatively related to adolescent self-esteem in the U.S. and other Western cultures (Harman et al., 1997; Openshaw, Thomas, and Rollins, 1983).

*Parental Induction*

Parental induction is seen to foster dimensions of social competence that involve expressing concern for others. Prosocial behavior and moral development, for example, are facilitated by inductive explanations that sensitize the young to the internal experiences of others and by helping them internalize their parents' rationale. It is suggested that parental induction may foster higher self-esteem in children—a crucial cognitive resource for social competence that communicates parental confidence in children's youthful abilities to understand and cope successfully with the social environment (Peterson & Leigh, 1987; Stanfford & Bayer, 1993). Parental induction is an important contributor to the balance that many youths establish between autonomy and conformity in reference to their parents (Baumrind, 1980; Peterson & Leigh, 1990).

*Parental Monitoring*

Parental monitoring as a form of behavior control is an aspect of firm control that refers to influence attempts that reflect the extent to which parents are aware of and seek to manage their children's schedules, peer associations, activities, and physical whereabouts (Barber et al., 1992; Barber et al., 1994; Small, 1990). Lack of parental monitoring has been associated with such behaviors in adolescents as fighting, lying, stealing, fire-setting, other delinquent behavior, deviant peer association, sexual experimentation, and substance abuse (Dishion & Loeber, 1985; McCord, 1990).

Excessive parental control is a dimension of control that includes behaviors that are intrusive, arbitrary, or irrational and that are aimed at meeting the needs of the parent rather than those of the child. Overcontrol and punitiveness are two constituents of excessive parental control (Peterson & Hann, 1999a). Excessive use of control functions

to inhibit children's social competence by fostering internalized problems that are manifested privately against the self, such as depression, suicide, eating disorders, and failure to achieve emotional autonomy in adulthood. Psychological overcontrol also includes frequent use of love withdrawal with the intent to induce guilt, as well as turning one's back on and refusing to speak to a youngster in order to manipulate their fears and dependency needs about loss of parental affection (Barber et al., 1992; Barber et al., 1994).

*Parental Punitiveness*

Punitive or coercive behavior is a form of excessive control that constitutes verbal or physical attempts to control behavior without the benefit of rational explanations (Rollins & Thomas, 1979). It involves application of arbitrary force that often elicits from the young hostility and resistance to parental influence (Rollins & Thomas, 1979). Coercive parental behaviors appear to achieve only external compliance to parents while children are closely monitored, and it actually discourages internalization of parents' perspectives and the youth becoming self-responsible for their own actions (Peterson et al., 1985; Stanfford & Bayer, 1993). Punitiveness inhibits the development of self-esteem in adolescents because parents communicate rejection and a lack of respect for the child (Eckenrode & Laiard, 1993; Openshaw et al., 1983). Parental coercion or punitiveness impairs the development of moral internalization and prosocial behavior while placing the youth at risk for substance abuse and delinquent activities (Eckenrode & Laiard, 1993). Research findings indicate that several dimensions of adolescents' social competence are adversely affected by parental punitiveness (Eckenrode & Laiard, 1993).

*Parental Autonomy Granting*

The degree to which parents allow adolescents to make their own decisions and engage in activities without excessive control is an indicator of how autonomous adolescents are in reference to their parents (Peterson et al., 1999). Autonomy from parents has been found to be positively related to adolescent self-esteem among European American adolescents (Allen & Hauser1994) and Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong (Lau & Cheung, 1987). Parenting behaviors that facilitate autonomy in adolescents have been found to be positive predictors of academic achievement in an ethnically diverse sample of U.S. adolescents (Herman et al., 1997).

*Parental Induction/Reasoning*

Parental induction is a type of firm control used by parents who employ reason to communicate expectations or rules as a means of influencing the behavior and psychological characteristics of children (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Parental control with a rational component is intended to help children understand (a) why rules are necessary, (b) why their misbehavior is unacceptable, (c) how their behavior impacts others, and (d) how they might make the impact of their behavior more acceptable and make amends for any harm they have done. Induction, therefore, is a psychological form of firm control used by parents to explain how a child's actions have either positive or negative consequences for themselves and others (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Induction is distinguished from punitiveness through induction's the lack of imposing arbitrary authority so that children have opportunities to engage in dyadic communication and express viewpoints different from their parents' perspectives (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Parental induction is seen to foster dimensions of social

competence that involve adolescents' expressing concern for others. Prosocial behavior and moral development, for example, are facilitated by inductive explanations that sensitize the young to the internal experiences of others and by helping them internalize their parents' rationale (Stanfford & Bayer, 1993). It has been suggested that parental induction may foster higher self-esteem in children—a crucial cognitive resource for social competence that communicates parental confidence in children's youthful abilities to understand and cope successfully with the social environment (Peterson & Leigh, 1999; Stanfford & Bayer, 1993). Parental induction is an important contributor to the balance that many youths establish between autonomy and conformity in reference to their parents (Baumrind, 1980; Peterson & Leigh, 1999).

*Parental Guidance*

The concept of parental guidance refers to parents providing direction, information, guidelines, and limits for their children so that they learn culturally appropriate behaviors and values, as well as life skills and good judgment (Peterson & Hann, 1999a). It also may involve helping them to develop their talents and interests and finding ways to stimulate intellectual growth, although, aside from encouraging school achievement, the ability to provide such opportunities may be limited by socioeconomic factors (Bronstein et al., 1996).

## Revisiting Adolescents' Social Competence in Sub-Sahara Africa

Social competence has cultural limitations that vary among different societies and ethnic groups. Societies vary widely in the extent to which specific norms and values are encouraged in their young (Baumrind, 1978). It has been found, for example, that there is greater emphasis on conformity to parents' expectations and less on individual autonomy

within societies such as those found in the former Soviet Union and in Hispanic ethnic groups compared to the mainstream Western cultures (Baumrind, 1978; Bronfenbrenner, 1970; Thomas et al., 1974).

There is little empirical information about the extent to which parental behaviors play significant roles in the development of adolescents within Sub-Sahara Africa (Mboya, 1995). In Chao's (1994) study of Chinese adolescents, she found that a high rating on authoritarian and contRollins parenting has entirely different implications for the Chinese than it would for Western adolescents. What we note in these studies is that these concepts are more deeply embedded in cultural traditions for European Americans than for other societies, including those in Sub-Sahara Africa. It is not unlikely that all of these concepts relating to parental behaviors will predict adolescent social competence in ways that contain a different meaning for the Sub-Sahara African families.

Chao and Stanley's (1996) study found that the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese share common values such as respect for elders and strict emphasis on the family. Sub-Sahara Africa is exemplified by traditional, collectivistic, nontechnological societies that emphasize respect for elders, close family ties, extended kin, and reverence for ancestors (Mbito & Price, 1992; Price, 1996; Wilson & Ngigi, 2003). Based on the collectivistic similarities observed among Asian societies, I would speculate that outcomes related to those found in Asia may exist in the Sub-Sahara African region. Chao (1994) and Nanda and Dash (1996) also have suggested that a different definition of youthful competence probably holds in the Asian (and, by extension, Sub-Sahara African) societies, where individuals acquire gradual capacity to adapt to and effectively negotiate challenging conditions in the surrounding environment through the

implementation of cognitive, affective, behavioral, social, personality, motivational, linguistic/communicative, physical, spiritual, and moral attributes.

I argue in this dissertation (in agreement with Carson et al., 1999) that capacities may be complemented by the person's implicit or explicit beliefs and expectations about his or her ability to implement those attributes. It is my intent in this study to investigate Sub-Sahara African adolescents' reports of their parents' behaviors and how they influence their development of competence (i.e., self-esteem).

## Summary

Historically, the study of parental behaviors that influence adolescents' social competence in Sub-Sahara Africa has been ignored. My speculations in this project so far are derived from a review of key research studies on adolescent development that have been conducted in both individualistic and collectivistic societies outside Africa. The speculations provide the core thinking that is the basis for my investigation of the relationship between parental behaviors and adolescents' social competence (i.e., self-esteem) in Sub-Sahara Africa. I am aware that none of these other societies exactly matches the Sub-Sahara African region in their systems of nurturing and socializing their children and in how adolescents perceive these behaviors as influencing their lives. In this regard, I have investigated magnitudes and direction of the influences of these behaviors on adolescents' self-esteem in particular and have articulated my insights on parental behaviors and adolescents' self-esteem as a representation of a predominantly collectivistic Sub-Sahara African society.

I have participated in this research by invitation from a team of research experts: Dr. Gary Peterson, Dr. Stephan Wilson, and Dr. Kevin Bush. Dr. Wilson conducted the

collection of the data set used in this study to facilitate the project on the Kenyan side. I met Dr. Peterson (who was the main driving force for my participation) when he was the head of my department, Child and Family Studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. From him I learned of the ongoing international project to study parental behaviors in different cultures. A rare privilege arose for me during the 65th Annual Conference of the National Council on Family Relations (NCFR) in Vancouver, Canada, in November of 2003 when I met and discussed my dissertation proposal with these three reknowned researchers during a 45-minute meeting with both Drs. Peterson and Wilson and, later, in an informal get-together organized by the University of Georgia for staff and students attending NCFR, with Dr. Kevin Bush. All three researchers extended a hand of welcome to me to participate in their team by focusing on the East African part of the project. My research study model was scrutinized and affirmed by the researchers as they gave their support for my study project.

# Chapter III

## Methods

This study is a part of a larger cross-national study conducted at specific sites within several countries (see Appendix B for general information about the procedures used in conducting surveys in the various countries studies). The analysis in this study has been conducted on data gathered from Kenyan adolescents in 2001. Background information for this dataset was provided by Dr. Gary Peterson, a principal investigator with the global project that is covering the full scope of countries (see Appendix C). The questionnaire used for this study also had been administered to samples of adolescents in the United States, Chile, Russia, the Czech Republic, India, Hong Kong, Mexico, and Mainland China, with samples ranging in size from 350 to 650 (Bush, 2000a; Peterson et al., 1999). For the Kenyan sample, back translation (English to the local language, then back to English), which was done for other samples, was deemed to be unnecessary in Kenya because proficiency in English is a requirement for all high school entrants. All participants could read and understand the questionnaire items reasonably well and were assisted by the teacher assistants whenever need arose.

To ensure item validity for the Kenyan sample, extensive collaboration with a local institution, the Kenyatta University Department of Family and Consumer Sciences, was conducted prior to the administration of the questionnaires. In addition, authentication of particular items was done in focus group sessions that were conducted for the purpose of validating all questionnaire items to suit the local Kenyan situation (Wilson, 2003).

While the Kenyan study was being conducted, procedures for ensuring confidentiality and anonymity specified by the Human Subjects Proposal Institutional Review Board and the Office of the President of the Government of Kenya (initially approved for Dr. Kevin Bush, one of the principal investigators in the initial research project by the Arizona State University IRB; Bush, 2000a) were followed during the research project. All participants signed an informed consent form and completed an anonymous demographic instrument as part of the administration of the survey questionnaire. Demographic questions assessing ethnic group membership were adjusted to suit the primary ethnic groups represented in each administrative district covered. Throughout the tenure of the project in Kenya, investigators remained cognizant of the multi-ethnic nature of the Kenyan samples in consonance with Kenya's and Sub-Sahara Africa's unique (and largely unresearched) family conditions. As close to identical procedures and survey questionnaires as possible were used in Kenya as in the other countries with the exception of minor differences in the wording of questions in the Kenyan questionnaire (e.g., hitting--Kungonga was substituted for beating--Kuchapa) and in some demographic questions.

Each of the local samples in the cross-national study has been a convenience sample. Although probability sampling was not practical, the social demographic characteristics (age, gender, parental education, and employment) of the participants within each cultural sample varied sufficiently to be considered a reasonable, nearly representative sample, of adolescents for both urban and suburban areas in Kenya (Bush, 2000a; Bush et al., 2002). Contacting the adolescents through the schools, each of which had a high concentration of youth of the age category of interest, that they attended was a

convenient and cost-effective means of accessing a diverse population within a common location and within a reasonable period of time (Bush, 2000a). Also, surveying adolescents with a questionnaire in their school classroom is an efficient means of acquiring a sample size that is large enough to examine models with multiple predictors (Bush et al., 2002). The choice of four high schools in Kenya (the same number as in the other countries studied) was to remove school effects and to increase the diversity of the national sample. The schools were selected to represent the range of national, provincial, and local schools as well as to represent all-male, all-female, and mixed-gender schools and to represent the range of experiences of adolescents in both day schools and boarding schools and in both public and private schools.

## Sample

The Kenyan sample initially originally consisted of 641 adolescents selected from four secondary schools: Kiamaina Secondary School (in Kerugoya, Embu District), Muthale High School (in Muthale, Kitui District), Loreto Convent School (for girls only, in Kiambu District but located near Nairobi), and Thika Boys High School (for boys only, in Thika District of Eastern Province). The final sample consisted of 630 (data for 11 were missing or else they did not participate during the administration of the questionnaire) adolescents who ranged in age from 15 to 20 years and had a mean age of 16.3 years. The gender of these participants was comprised of 225 males and 405 females. Respondents who were 18 years or younger comprised 97.4% of the sample. Protestants ($n$ = 362 ) and Catholics ($n$ = 233) comprised 57.5% and 37.0% of the sample, respectively.

Parents of the adolescents demonstrated a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds (as measured by parents' educational attainment), varying from parents who had less than a high school education (19%) to those who had completed college and/or vocational job training (72%). Those who had graduate level education constituted 9% of the sample. In addition to parents' education (i.e., years of formal education), school differences also were included as an important indicator of class-related socialization values and behavior in the parent/adolescent relationship (Bush, 2000a; Bush et al., 2002). In Kenya, a particular school's entry grade cut-off and their academic fee range may reflect, to some extent, the socioeconomic status of the family of the particular adolescent. The selected high schools were classified in terms of Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examination scores, which usually are required for student enrollment in each school category. Adolescent respondents were drawn from schools classified in terms of four different classifications (i.e., national, provincial, Harambee [self-help], and private).

Government-aided national schools are inexpensive, highly competitive, and famed for offering quality education. These schools enroll the highest scoring candidates from the whole country in the annual KCSE (the high school entry examination taken by all high school aspirants). Provincial schools are less reputable and enroll candidates who are left out of the National schools' first intake grade cut-off. Private schools are the best equipped and are for the children of well-to-do families who can afford the comparatively high fees charged. Poor and average students who do not perform well join a self-help community Harambee secondary school (i.e., a community school built through local community cooperative effort often is lacking in necessary education resources).

## Procedure

Six hundred forty-one questionnaires were distributed in classrooms of the participating secondary schools. A total of 630 useable surveys (representing a 98% return rate) were completed and provided the data in the Kenyan study. Teachers who had been trained in accordance with a standardized protocol administered the survey to participating students in their classrooms. Respondents were instructed to complete the questionnaire independently and to answer each item in terms of responses that corresponded most closely to their personal experiences. During the administration of the survey questionnaire, teachers provided assistance to participants by remaining in the classroom to answer any questions for clarification about the basic meaning of items.

## Measurement

Part of the questionnaire consisted of questions that assess characteristics of the interactions between the participating adolescents and their parents. The overall survey asked adolescents to report on the behaviors of both their father and their mother separately. Sociodemographic questions included age, religious affiliation, gender, family type, parental education, and parental occupation. The survey questionnaire was designed to assess a variety of family relationships, producing information about both parent/adolescent and social psychological variables, among which were measures of the variables chosen for examination in this study: (a) parental support, (b) monitoring, (c) induction/reasoning, (d) punitiveness, (e) love withdrawal, (f) autonomy-granting behaviors, (g) adolescent self-esteem, and (h) the three sociodemographic control variables (i.e., age of the adolescent, gender of the adolescent, and the father's

education). These measures of sociodemographic variables were included as control variables in the present study (Bush et al., 2002).

## Parental Behaviors in the Kenyan Study

Parental behaviors examined in this study were assessed with the Parent Behavior Measure (PBM), a 34-item self-report instrument used in previous studies that measures adolescents' perceptions of several supportive and contRollins dimensions of behavior that parents direct at adolescents (Henry, Wilson, & Peterson, 1989; Henry & Peterson, 1995; Peterson et al., 1985; Peterson et al., 1999). Specific dimensions include (a) parental support, (b) positive induction/reasoning, (c) monitoring, (d) punitiveness, (e) guilt induction, and (f) love withdrawal. The items composing the scales of the PBM were initially selected based on their demonstrating the highest loadings on identified factors in previous factor analytic studies. See Appendix D for detail of the scale construction and history (Peterson et al., 1985).

The participants responded to the items in terms of a 4-point Likert scale that varies from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (4). To score the negative valence items were reverse coded, and the items are summed into a total score to represent each dimension of parental behavior in reference to each parent.

Perceptions of parental guidance (a combination of parental support and parental induction for this study—see explanation below) was measured with 10 items concerning the degree mothers and fathers were perceived by adolescents as being accepting, warm, and nurturant, as well as whether they explain to adolescents how their behaviors affect other people. Parental punitiveness was assessed by nine items measuring the adolescents'perception that their mothers and fathers use verbal and physical behavior in

a coercive manner. Parental monitoring was measured by six items intended to capture how much mothers and fathers are perceived as supervising the ways that adolescents spend their free time and money and relate to their friends. Parental autonomy granting was measured by seven items measuring the extent to which the parents were perceived as allowing adolescents to make their own decisions. The measures of internal consistency (Cronbanch's alphas) for these parental behavior items ranged from .77 to .88 (see Table 1).

## Self-Esteem as the Dependent Variable

Adolescents' global self-esteem frequently has been assessed by using relevant items from the 10-item Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965, 1979), including in studies with subjects drawn from cultures termed as collectivistic (e.g., China, Russia, Chile, India, Korea) and has been reported to be found both valid and reliable (Bush et al., 2000). Participants' responses in our sample were scored on a 4-point Likert scale that varies from Strongly Agree (SA) to Strongly Disagree (SD). The items were scored from 1 to 4, with 4 indicating strong agreement with the statement and representing high self-esteem except in the case of derogatory items, which meant that high scores indicated low self-esteem and had to be reverse coded. The scores for the items then were summed for a total self-esteem score with higher scores reflecting higher levels of self-esteem.

The items that were selected for use in the survey questionnaire are those that had demonstrated loadings of .50 or above in all previously conducted factor analyses (Bush et al., 2002: Peterson et al., 1985). Adolescents' self-esteem was assessed for the Kenyan sample using five items that measured a high loading (above .50).

Table 1

*Cronbach's Alphas for the Selected Dependent and Independent Variables (Paternal and Maternal Models)*

| Cronbach's Alphas | Father | Mother |
|---|---|---|
| Self-Esteem | .626* | .626* |
| Guidance | .880 | .771 |
| Punitiveness | .861 | .801 |
| Monitoring | .808 | .791 |
| Autonomy Granting | .770 | .786 |

*This is a constant measure for the adolescents' own ratings, not determined by the parent's gender.

Initially, I took all eight items from the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale that were used recently with the People's Republic of China sample, which is presumed to be a collectivistic society (Bush et al., 2002) and conducted reliability tests and exploratory factor analysis to finally arrive at the five items from the scale used with the Kenyan sample in my study.

Although the eight-item scale version had demonstrated internal consistency reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alphas) of .86 in a sample of U.S. adolescents and .71 in a sample of adolescents from the People's Republic of China (Bush et al., 2002), the scale did not have as strong a Cronbach's alpha for the Kenyan sample, as demonstrated by a coefficient of .63. By convention, Cronbach's alpha should be .70 or higher in order to accept the scale in a model (Garson, 2002). However, since this is an exploratory project within a previously unstudied region, I accepted a lower loading for the self-esteem dependent variable (Cohen & Cohen, 2003). I took into consideration that, when relatively few factors (in this case 5 compared to the usual 10) are included in a scale, a lower Cronbach's alpha for the measure usually results (Garson, 2002). I made the decision after consulting with various statistics experts, beginning with the University of Tennessee Statistics Department technician with whom I consulted through the analysis process in this study and then the project officer in charge of the Child and Family Studies Family Life Education Project in our Department, both of whom indicated that loadings as low as .50 have been accepted by researchers, depending on the context of the particular study.

Combining all of the parental behavior, self-esteem and self-efficacy items and conducting an exploratory factor analysis (using rotated method-varimax with Kaiser normalization), six variables were identified. Two typical variables (support and positive induction/reasoning) merged into one variable that I labeled *parental guidance.* Love withdrawal was eliminated altogether from the set of the six variables that emerged. Other regular factors were maintained albeit with a few items dropped out due to their loading below .50 (see Appendices E and F).

These results were surprising to me, suggesting that the elimination of half of the items from Rosenberg's 10-factor self-esteem scale might indicate irrelevance of the measure regarding the Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem and further that of Sub-Sahara African youth in general. In fact, three (i.e., "I am a self-reliant person," "I take positive attitude towards myself," and "I am able to do things like most people") of the eight items in the questionnaire had loadings between .41 and .49, and I eliminated them in my analysis. The first two depict a disconnection from family and kin while the last one reflects exclusion and self-aggrandizement (in contrast to self-abasement and conformity). So for my analysis, self-esteem consisted of only five items (i.e., "I feel I have a number of good qualities," "In general I feel satisfied with myself," "At times I think I am no good at all," "I feel that I am a person of worth at least on the same level with others," and "I certainly feel useless at times") out of the eight Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale items that were used in the People's Republic of China, having factor loadings above the .50 cut-off measure. Although the Cronbach's alpha for this five-item scale was comparatively low (.63), it was accepted into the model on the basis that few (i.e., 5 out of 10) items loaded into it (see Table 1). Further investigation into the effects

of adolescents' perceptions of parental behaviors on the adolescents' self-efficacy, which in this exploratory factor analysis had a high loading of .78, is recommended for a future study. The current study is a sequel to the research team's recent studies both in the U.S and in the Asian region in which the focus was on self-esteem as a dependent variable.

## Independent Variables

After conducting the factor analysis, I identified four independent variables that I used in my analysis for this study. The four variables included (a) parental guidance, (b) parental punitiveness, (c) parental monitoring, and (d) parental autonomy granting.

### *Parental Guidance*

Parental guidance consisted of nine items from a combination of parental support and positive induction/reasoning drawn from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson et al., 1985). Items for the parental guidance measure consisted of (a) "This parent explained to me how good I should feel when I did something she or he liked," (b) "This parent explains to me how good I should feel when I do what is right," (c) "Over the past several years this parent has explained to me how good I should feel when I have shared something with other family members," (d) "This parent explains to me when I share things with other family members that I am liked by other family members," (e) "This parent tells me how good others feel when I do what is right," (f) "This parent seems to approve of me and the things that I do," (g) "This parent has made me feel that he or she would be there if I needed him or her," (h) "This parent tells me how much he or she loves me," and (i) "This parent says nice things about me."

*Parental Punitiveness*

Parental punitiveness was measured by a nine-item subscale from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson et al., 1985). The punitive behavior scale assesses the extent to which mothers and fathers use contRollins behaviors of a verbal or coercive nature characterized as strict, harsh, and arbitrary practices. The Kenyan sample seemed to merge together in their perception of parental punitiveness and love withdrawal behaviors. Items for the Kenyan sample included seven items from the punitive behavior measure used in other counties and two from the love withdrawal behavior measure: (a) "This parent punishes me by sending me out of the room," (b) "This parent is always finding fault with me," (c) "This parent does not give me any peace until I do what he or she says," (d) "This parent yells at me a lot without good reason," (e) "This parent punishes me by not letting me do things that I really enjoy," (f) "This parent punishes me by not letting me do things with other teenagers," (g) "This parent punishes me by hitting me (from love withdrawal)," (h) "This parent will not talk to me when I displease him or her (from love withdrawal)," and (i) "This parent avoids looking at me when I have disappointed him or her."

*Parental Love Withdrawal*

Parental love withdrawal from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson et al., 1985) was not identified as a viable scale in the Kenyan sample. Items for this scale in the Kenyan sample included measures with loadings below .5. This scale usually consists of measures (three items) of adolescents' perceptions of the extent to which mothers and fathers use efforts to control the young by either threatening or denying love or by using

guilt to foster dependency, involves behaviors such as turning one's back, inducing guilt, and refusing to speak to the young in efforts to influence their behavior.

*Parental Monitoring*

Parental monitoring was measured by a six-item subscale from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson et al., 1985). The parental monitoring scale assesses adolescents' perceptions of the extent to which mothers and fathers supervise their activities, friendships, and money. Items for this scale in the Kenyan sample include (a) "This parent knows where I am after school;" (b) "This parent knows who my friends are;" (c) "I tell this parent who I am going to be with when I go out;" (d) "When I go out, this parent knows where I am;" (e) "This parent knows the parents of my friends;" and (f) "This parent knows how I spend my money."

*Parental Autonomy Granting*

A scale of seven items with loadings of .5 and above measured adolescents' reports of autonomy-granting behavior by their mothers and fathers (based on previous research dealing with the growth of self-direction by the young that had 10 items; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). These items measure the extent to which mothers and fathers allow adolescents to make their own decisions and engage in activities without excessive parental intrusion regarding their choices about friendships, lifestyles preferences, clothing selection, educational goals, and career plans. Items for this scale in the Kenyan sample include (a) "This parent allows me to choose my own friends without interfering too much," (b) "This parent allows me to decide what is right and wrong without interfering too much," (c) "This parent allows me to decide what clothes I should wear without interfering too much," (d) "This parent has confidence in my ability to make my

own decisions," (e) "This parent allows me to make my own decisions about career goals without interfering too much," (f) "This parent allows me to make my own decisions about educational goals without interfering too much," and (g) "This parent lets me be my own person in enough situations." The following items were deleted as irrelevant to Kenyan sample: (a) "This parent allows me to choose my own dating partner without interfering too much," (b) "I feel that this parent gives me enough freedom," and (c) "This parent encourages me to help in making decisions about family matters."

## Hypotheses

The purpose of this study was to examine issues within the parent/adolescent relationship in Sub-Sahara Africa using data acquired from a sample of adolescents from four high schools in Kenya. The specific intent was to examine adolescent perceptions of child-rearing behaviors that are predictive of youthful self-esteem.

It is certainly a hard task to think of developing hypotheses for an original study for such an extensive region as Sub-Sahara Africa because, even for those societies where empirical family research has been conducted, existing results by and large have been inconsistent with theory, sometimes contradicting it (Bush et al., 2002; Chan, 2000). Therefore, I adopted for my hypothesis development some that had been used in other regions to inform this study of Sub-Sahara Africa, borrowing particularly from studies of the Caribbean, Hong Kong, India, U.S., Russia, and China (Bush, 2000a), and a recent one from the People's Republic of China (Bush et al., 2002). My hypotheses are suggested merely for exploratory purposes due to inconsistencies that prevent making predictions about the expected relationship between parental behaviors and adolescent self-esteem as in other collectivist societies Peoples' Republic of China and Korea. I have

conceptualized with caution the working hypotheses for the Kenyan sample, drawing mainly from findings from the Asian region, particularly People's Republic of China (Bush et al., 2000; Cohen & Cohen, 2003; Garson, 2002) for this study as follows:

H1: Adolescent perception of parental support will be a positive predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents.

H2: Adolescent perception of parental monitoring will be a positive predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents.

H3: Adolescent perception of parental reasoning will be a positive predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents.

H4: Adolescent perception of parental love withdrawal will be a negative predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents.

H5: Adolescent perception of parental punitiveness will be a negative predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents.

A sixth hypothesis is challenging to frame for the Kenyan sample. Research findings from collectivist societies have indicated that adolescents are socialized to work cooperatively with group goals as the main focus (Bush et al., 2000; Cheng & Kuo, 2000; Triandis et al., 1988). In such communities, autonomy, individual goals, and personal achievement are subordinated. Families characterized by collectivism are viewed as working cooperatively, with a focus on group goals (Triandis, 1988). As such, independence or autonomy is not a desired socialization goal and is expected to be discouraged (Lam, 1997; Triandis, 1989; Triandis et al., 1988; Triandis et al., 1990). The sixth hypothesis therefore is perceived as a particularly exploratory venture in the study and is stated as follows:

H6: Adolescent perception of parental autonomy granting is expected to be a predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents, but in a direction that cannot be specified at this initial stage.

## Analysis Procedure

I conducted hierarchical multiple regression analysis to test each of the six hypotheses, assessing the magnitude and direction of relationships between the independent variables (i.e., each of the parental behaviors) and the dependent variable (i.e., adolescents' self-esteem). I carried out separate statistical models for the adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' parental behaviors as predictors of the adolescents' self-esteem to help avoid the problem of multicollineality that might occur if their perceptions of both parents' behavior were lumped together.

In each regression model, I used a nested three-step procedure: (a) First, I entered into the equation the sociodemographic variables (i.e., adolescents' age, adolescents' gender, and paternal education); (b) then, I entered the parental behaviors (i.e., support, positive induction/reasoning, punitiveness, monitoring, and autonomy granting); and (c) finally, I entered four interaction terms for each parent to test for gender-of-adolescent differences in the manner that each parental behavior variable predicted adolescent self-esteem (e.g., gender X maternal guidance, gender X maternal monitoring, gender X maternal autonomy granting, and gender X maternal punitiveness).

# Chapter IV

## Results

This chapter contains a brief description of the exploratory factor analysis that I conducted, as well as details of the hypothesis-testing process. I also have included in the section explicit explanation of the findings. Results are summarized in tables containing specifics of respective results.

### Exploratory Factor Analysis

The present study is part of a larger cross-national project in which similar questionnaires have been administered to adolescents in China, Chile, Russia, India, the Czech Republic, Mexico, Peru, Columbia, Korea, and the United States as well as in Kenya (e.g., Bush, 2000a; Bush et al., 2000; Bush et al., 2002). The instruments used with the Kenyan sample have been found to demonstrate good reliability and validity when used to gather data from samples in the other societies--for example, in China, Russia (Bush et al., 1999), and the U.S. (Peterson et al., 1999; Peterson et al., 1985).

The first step in my exploratory factor analysis of the Kenyan sample was using the Cronbach's alpha procedure to evaluate internal consistencies of the scales measuring adolescents' perceptions of parental behaviors. Noting that Kenya's case was a first initiative for the African continent in this broader research effort, I carried out an extensive exploratory factor analysis to affirm similarities with other cultural groups and unearth potentially unique characteristics of the African sample. I first anticipated finding internal consistency within the scales for all eight possible factors (i.e., self-esteem, self-efficacy, support, positive induction, autonomy granting, punitiveness, love withdrawal, and parental monitoring), then identified consistency within seven, six, five, and finally

down to four factors. Upon first examination, the eight-items of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965, 1979) used in the larger project for the self-esteem variable seemed to be irrelevant to the Kenyan sample: All of the items dispersed across other variables during the first two exploration runs (those containing eight and seven factors respectively) (see Appendix E). The six-factor rotated component matrix delineated five distinct factors (while items for the rest of the factors scattered irrelevantly with loadings below .50) for the Kenyan sample, consisting of four parental behavior measures: (a) guidance (consisting of five support items, four positive induction items, and one love-withdrawal item—namely, "This parent tells me that if I loved him/her, I would do the things that he/she wants me to"). The sixth factor, identified as *self-efficacy*, was not included in scope of the current project so it is not addressed. Except for our dependent variable, *self-esteem*, all other variables were found to have a high internal consistency with Cronbach's alphas between, .77 and .88 (see Table 1).

For the Kenyan sample, using a factor loading above the .50 as the cut-off measure (Garson, 2002), self-esteem consisted of only five items (i.e., "I feel I have a number of good qualities," "In general I feel satisfied with myself," "At times I think I am no good at all," "I feel that I am a person of worth at least on the same level with others," and "I certainly feel useless at times") out of the eight commonly used Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale items. Although the Cronbach's alpha for this five-item scale was comparatively low (.63), it was accepted into the model on the basis that few (i.e., 5 out of 10) items loaded into it (O'Neal, 2004; Rosenberg, 1979).

## Models to Test

Following the exploratory factor analysis, I determined potentially relevant models in which all parenting items were hypothesized to be reducible to the relevant variables identified in the previous research findings of the wider project conducted in both Western and non-Western cultures (Bush, 2000a; Bush et al., 2002; Henry & Peterson, 1995; Henry et al., 1989; Peterson et al., 1985; Peterson et al., 1999). I then ran reliability tests by determining internal consistency using Cronbach's alphas for the identified variables' scales (see Table 1). For the next step, I ran descriptive statistics for the predictor (independent), criterion (dependent), and sociodemographic variables for both paternal and maternal parental models (see Table 2).

### *Bivariate Correlations*

Bivariate correlations were calculated, using the Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coeffiicients procedure, for the moderating variables, the four identified independent variables, and the dependent variable to indicate direction and strength of correlations between each pair of variables. The presence of strong (i.e., $r = .85$; Garson, 2002) bivariate intercorrelations among the independent variables would indicate the existence of multicollinearity, which would not allow for precise estimates of the effects of the independent variables (Cohen & Cohen, 2003). Self-esteem, the independent variables, and the sociodemographic variables were found to be only slightly to moderately intercorrelated in our sample (see Table 3 and 4).

Table 2

*Descriptive Statistics for the Kenyan Sample*

| Variables | N | Mean | S. D. | Number of Items | Scale | Range |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self-Esteem | 623 | 2.94 | .589 | 5 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Adolescent Age | 635 | 16.290 | 1.600 | 1 | 13-20 | 17 |
| Gender of Adolescent | 630 | 1.640 | .480 | 1 | 1-2 | 1 |
| Father's Education | 550 | 5.770 | 2.660 | 1 | 1-10 | 9 |
| Maternal Guidance | 567 | 3.182 | .655 | 9 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Paternal Guidance | 615 | 3.307 | .593 | 9 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Maternal Monitoring | 546 | 2.796 | .735 | 6 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Paternal Monitoring | 603 | 3.008 | .672 | 6 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Maternal Autonomy Granting | 580 | 2.717 | .650 | 7 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Paternal Autonomy Granting | 628 | 2.733 | .663 | 7 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Maternal Punitiveness | 556 | 1.880 | .571 | 9 | 1-4 | 3 |
| Paternal Punitiveness | 606 | 1.918 | .610 | 9 | 1-4 | 3 |

Table 3

*Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients for the Paternal Model*

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Self-Esteem | 1.000 | | | | | | | |
| 2. Adolescent Age | -.011 | 1.000 | | | | | | |
| 3. Adolescent Gender | -.116** | -.286** | 1.000 | | | | | |
| 4. Father's Education | .014 | -.215** | .120** | 1.000 | | | | |
| 5. Parental Guidance | .266** | -.088* | -.031 | -.156** | 1.000 | | | |
| 6. Parental Monitoring | .196** | -.146** | .099* | -.026 | .460** | 1.000 | | |
| 7. Autonomy Granting | .044 | .023 | -.054 | .189** | .090* | .006 | 1.000 | |
| 8. Punitiveness | -.205** | .057 | .004 | .002 | -.269** | -.091* | -.146** | 1.000 |

*$p < .01$; **$p < .001$.

Table 4

*Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients for the Maternal Model*

| Variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Self-Esteem | 1.000 | | | | | | | |
| 2. Adolescent Age | -.011 | 1.000 | | | | | | |
| 3. Adolescent Gender | -.116** | -.286** | 1.000 | | | | | |
| 4. Father's Education | .014 | -.215** | .120** | 1.000 | | | | |
| 5. Parental Guidance | .224** | -.081* | -.036 | -.117** | 1.000 | | | |
| 6. Parental Monitoring | .134** | -.137** | .204** | -.006 | .375** | 1.000 | | |
| 7. Autonomy Granting | .092* | .044 | -.064 | .129** | .096* | -.002 | 1.000 | |
| 8. Punitiveness | -.238** | .008 | .067 | .061 | -.251** | -.128** | -.105** | 1.000 |

*$p < .01$; **$p < .001$.

*Hypothesis Testing*

I used hierarchical multiple regression analysis to test each of the six hypotheses, assessing the magnitude and direction of relationships between the independent variables (i.e., each of the parental behaviors) and the dependent variable (i.e., adolescents' self-esteem). I conducted tests of separate statistical models for the adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' parental behaviors as predictors of the adolescents' self-esteem in order to ensure independence of observations and to help avoid the problem of multicollineality that might occur if their perceptions of both parents' behavior were lumped together.

*Testing for Interaction*

Each regression model involved a nested three-step procedure (Cohen & Cohen, 2003): (a) First, I entered into the equation the sociodemographic variables (i.e., adolescents' age, adolescents' gender, and parental education); (b) then, I entered the four parental behaviors (i.e., guidance, created from support plus reasoning; punitiveness; monitoring; and autonomy granting); and (c) finally, I entered the four interaction terms for each parent to test for gender-of-adolescent differences in the manner that each parental behavior variable predicted adolescent self-esteem (e.g., gender X maternal guidance, gender X maternal monitoring, gender X maternal autonomy granting, and gender X maternal punitiveness).

At the initial stage of the analysis, none of the interactions tests for possible gender-of-adolescent differences in self-esteem as predicted by each parental behavior term was found to be significant (see Appendices G and H). Consequently, the interaction terms were dropped from the finalized statistical models for the Kenyan study, as

recommended by Cohen and Cohen (2003). I included age of adolescent, gender of adolescent, and father's educational attainment as control variables in the regression analyses for the two models (Bush et al., 2002). Correlations for the paternal and maternal models are presented in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5 shows a summary of the multiple regression analysis for the paternal model and Table 6 of that for the maternal model. Because there is no preceding study in the Sub-Sahara African region to help anticipate the possible direction of the relationship for certainty, I conducted a two-tailed test of significance for all of the six hypothesized relationships.

The first surprise in the analysis findings was that standardized regression coefficients indicated that age was not a significant predictor of self-esteem in either the paternal or the maternal model for Kenyan adolescent boys and girls. However, standardized regression coefficients indicated that gender was significant as a negative predictor of self-esteem for both the paternal ($\beta = -.13$, $p < .004$) and maternal ($\beta = -.14$. $p < .002$) models, indicating that Kenyan girls in the study generally attained lower level of self-esteem than boys. In contrast, both age of the adolescent and the father's educational attainment failed to have statistical significance in either model (see Tables 5 and 6). Consequently, the conclusion is that self-esteem seems to be lower for Kenyan adolescent girls when compared to that of Kenyan adolescent boys in the example.

*Hypotheses 1 and 2*

Hypothesis 1 proposed that perceptions of supportive parenting would be found to be a positive predictor of Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem, and Hypothesis 2 proposed that parental monitoring would be a positive predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan

Table 5

*Paternal Model: Multiple Regression Analysis for Father's Behaviors as Predictors of Adolescent Self-Esteem*

| Variables | *b* | *S.E. β* | β |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sociodemographics | | | |
| Adolescent Age | .006 | .017 | .017 |
| Adolescent Gender | -.177 | .058 | -.138** |
| Father's Education | .015 | .011 | .067 |
| Paternal Behaviors | | | |
| Guidance | .192 | .049 | .204*** |
| Monitoring | .072 | .041 | .087 |
| Granting | -.019 | .042 | -.020 |
| Punitiveness | -.133 | .048 | -.124** |
| F value | 8.78 | Significant F | 0.000*** |

*N* = 630 adolescents; *b* = unstandardized betas; β = standardized beta;

S E β = Standardized error of standardized beta.

**$p < .01$, two tailed; *** $p < .001$.two tailed.

Table 6

*Maternal Model: Multiple Regression Analysis for Mother's Behaviors as Predictors of Adolescent Self-Esteem*

| Variables | *b* | S.E. β | β |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sociodemographics | | | |
| Adolescent Age | -.001 | .017 | -.003 |
| Adolescent Gender | -.167 | .057 | -.132** |
| Father's Education | .010 | .010 | .044 |
| Maternal Behaviors | | | |
| Guidance | .167 | .049 | .164*** |
| Monitoring | .054 | .042 | .061 |
| Granting | .008 | .039 | .009 |
| Punitiveness | -.180 | .043 | -.184*** |

*N* = 630 adolescents; *b* = unstandardized betas; β = standardized beta;

S E β = Standardized error of standardized beta.

**$p < .01$, two tailed. *** $p < .001$, two tailed.

adolescents. Since factor analysis did not yield separate factor loadings for two variables of *parental support* and *parental positive induction* (or *reasoning*) as anticipated but rather combined the items that traditionally have formed the two constructs into a 10-factor single variable that I labeled for this study as *parental guidance*, these two initial hypotheses therefore were not found to be appropriate for the Kenyan study. Therefore, I did not proceed with testing them as planned but rather worked with the new variable, *parental guidance,* which I computed from combining the support and reasoning scores. The new hypothesis that I tested is stated as follows: "Parental guidance will be a positive predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents." Support was found for the parental guidance hypothesis in that both paternal ($\beta = .164$, $p < .001$) and maternal guidance ($\beta = .204$, $p < .0001$) were indicated to be positive predictors of adolescent self-esteem (as demonstrated by the significant beta coefficients). Slightly higher beta ($\beta$) value indicates the magnitude of the strength of the influence from either the father or the mother. Adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' guidance ($\beta = .204$) was a stronger predictor of Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem than that of their fathers' ($\beta = .164$). This finding would suggest that Kenyan adolescent self-esteem appears to be fostered best when parents use a combination of both moral support (i.e., "This parent explains to me how good I should feel when I do what is right") and material support (i.e., "This parent has made me feel that he or she would be there if I needed him or her"), along with psychological assurances (i.e., "This parent says nice things about me") delivered orally to the adolescent (i.e., "This parent *tells* me how much he or she loves me").

Kenyan adolescent self-esteem seems to be fostered by parents who use greater amounts of guidance (oral prompts coupled with a stable resource base as an assurance

for the present and future well-being of the adolescent youth). I noticed in examining the results of the factor loadings that those items that loaded into parental guidance usually carried a verb (i.e., "this parent *explains"*, "this parent *tells,"* or "this parent *says;"* emphasis added).

*Hypothesis 3*

Hypothesis 3 proposed that Kenyan adolescents' perceptions of parental monitoring would be a positive predictor of their self-esteem. However, the standardized regression coefficients (see Tables 5 and 6) for these relationships were not found to be statistically significant at the .05 alpha level (Garson, 2002). Consequently, Hypothesis 3, which anticipated parental monitoring to be predictor of adolescent self-esteem, was not supported by the data for the Kenyan sample.

*Hypothesis 4*

Hypothesis 4 proposed that Kenyan adolescents' perceptions of parental love withdrawal would be found to be a negative predictor of their self-esteem. Since this parental love withdrawal variable was not confirmed for the current sample in the exploratory factor analysis process (i.e., items that have constituted this construct in other cultures were dispersed in the factor loadings without any discernable pattern), Kenyan adolescents' perceptions of parental love withdrawal does not appear to exist as a relevant behavior for fostering their self-esteem. However, one item, "This parent tells me that if I loved him or her, I would do what he or she wants me to" from the usual love-withdrawal set of items in other cultures (i.e., studies conducted in other societies that include both the Western individualistic and Asian collectivistic cultures) did load

along with others in the parents' guidance scale for the Kenyan sample, thus connoting a positive conception of parents' making such a statement to the Kenyan adolescents.

*Hypothesis 5*

Hypothesis 5 proposed that perceptions of parental punitiveness would be a negative predictor of Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem. Support was provided for this hypothesis within both the paternal ($\beta = -.124, p < .01$) and maternal ($\beta = -.184, p < .001$) models. Adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' punitiveness ($\beta = .184$) was a slightly stronger predictor of Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem than that of their fathers' ($\beta = .124$). These results indicate that Kenyan parents who make regular use of punitive behavior inhibit the development of their adolescents' self-esteem. The tendency for the mother to regularly employ punitive measures with the adolescent child is indicated to have had a greater negative effect than the father's for this sample.

*Hypothesis 6*

Hypothesis 6, like other hypotheses, was included for the Kenyan sample, in order to explore both the magnitude and the direction of the relationship between parental autonomy granting and adolescents' self-esteem. However, in this case, the hypothesis stated, "Perceptions of parental autonomy granting behavior will be a predictor of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents in a relationship not initially specified." The standardized regression coefficients (see Tables 5 and 6) for this relationship were not found to be statistically significant at the .05 alpha levels. Consequently, Hypothesis 6, which anticipated parental autonomy granting as a predictor of adolescent self-esteem, was not supported in either direction by the data for the Kenyan sample. The results

indicate that autonomy granting as defined by this measure is not perceived to be a relevant parental behavior among these adolescents.

*Relative Contributions of Variables*

Of the three variables in the paternal model that were found to be significant predictors of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents, perceptions of the fathers' guidance ($\beta = .204$) made the greatest relative contribution to adolescent self-esteem compared to the adolescents' gender (the next in terms of contribution magnitude at $\beta = -.138$) and perceptions of the fathers' punitiveness (making the least relative contribution at $\beta = -.124$). Within the maternal model, adolescents' perceptions of their mothers' punitiveness made the greatest contribution ($\beta = -.184$) to their self-esteem compared to their perceptions of the mothers' guidance ($\beta = .164$) or their gender ($\beta = -.132$).

## Summary

I have analyzed the data gathered from Kenyan adolescents who took part in this study with reference to the six hypotheses that I proposed at the onset as inferred from past studies and relevant theoretical concepts. As a whole, I found that Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem was positively predicted by both paternal and maternal parental guidance. On the other hand, parental punitiveness, especially mothers', as a form of harsh psychological control was found to be a negative predictor of adolescents' self-esteem. Further, other parental behaviors such as paternal and maternal autonomy granting and parental monitoring were not found to demonstrate any significant relationship with the development of adolescent self-esteem. Parental love withdraw was not identified as a viable variable for consideration with the Kenyan sample, and, thus, the hypothesis that contained it was not tested for this project.

# Chapter V

## Discussion and Conclusions

At the beginning of this Kenyan research project, I made several speculations regarding the nature of the effects in Sub-Sahara African societies that adolescents' perceptions of parenting behaviors might have on aspects of the adolescents' self-esteem. Specifically, I hypothesized that Kenyan adolescents' perceptions of parental support, parental positive induction, parental monitoring, and parental autonomy granting would be positive predictors of self-esteem, while adolescents' perceptions of parental punitiveness and love withdrawal would be negative predictors of their self-esteem. This research study has generated some answers and has shed light on the nature and measurement of ways that adolescents' perceptions of parental behaviors may predict how adolescents develop self-esteem in Sub-Sahara Africa, confirming on one hand results of previous similar studies in other cultures, while suggesting also some key differences from them that may reflect a unique the kind of collectivism found in Sub-Sahara Africa. The findings of this study suggest a number of possibilities for future research in the Sub-Sahara African region.

### Effects of Parental Guidance

At the initial stage, this study focused on measurements of parenting behaviors as constructed from previous studies conducted in the U.S. and certain Asian societies. Parental support was hypothesized first as a positive predictor of adolescent self-esteem. Parental positive induction (reasoning) was hypothesized to be a positive predictor of adolescent self-esteem. At the factor analysis stage, these two commonly used variables yielded unexpected factor loadings, clustering items traditionally known to load

separately into one single group of items. Scrutiny of the different items revealed that, for this sample, the two parental behaviors combined to form one composite variable, which I identified as *parental guidance*. The original two hypotheses, therefore, were tested in the current study not as two distinct variables (i.e., support and induction) but as one single variable (parental guidance). Then parental guidance was tested as a predictor of adolescent self-esteem in Kenya. Items that constituted parental guidance included verbal (talking) terms such as *explains*, *tells*, and *expects* (i.e., positive induction).

Guidance refers to parental control attempts characterized as rational and non-coercive (encouraging exchanges) and as a type of control that encourages bi-directional exchanges between parents and adolescents (Hoffman, 1980; Peterson & Hann, 1999a). It would seem that parental guidance comprises elements that could be delineated and explained in part by the notion that Kenyan parents may use reasoning and explanation to instruct or convey expectations for appropriate behavior to their adolescent children. The use of reason or explanation appears to be construed by Kenyan adolescents as noncoercive, even supportive, as a way through which parents convey expectations and confidence to their sons and daughters. This use of reasoning again may underscore the importance of organizational (or functional) control in the form of child training or teaching as embodied in the concept that "it takes a village to raise a child" (Kenyatta, 1938).

Parental guidance as a concept refers to parents providing direction, information, guidelines, and limits for their children to learn culturally appropriate behaviors and values, as well as life skills and good judgment (Peterson & Hann, 1999a). Guidance generally has been found to foster, among other things, academic self-reliance and

psychosocial competence, as well as provide a buffer against the development of psychological and behavioral problems (Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992; Cheung & Lau, 1985). Kenyan adolescents' perceptions of both their mothers' and fathers' guidance was found in this study to be a strong positive predictor of self-esteem. This finding would mean that, within a culture that values children's self-subordination to family and kin and containing powerful affective bonds that emotionally knit children and parents together, parent/child day-to-day interaction in areas intended to direct the adolescent's conduct would have a positive influence on the adolescent's self-esteem. As has been found for adolescents in mainland China (Bush et al., 2002), Kenyan parents probably use guidance not to sustain autonomous conceptions of the self but for reinforcing greater collectivistic outcomes such as their child's development of conformity to the parents' wishes, moral character, and loyalty to the family group.

Parents' role in providing organized control of adolescents through guidance can build a relationship that exerts positive influence on the adolescents' self-esteem (Cheung & Lau, 1985; Lau & Cheung, 1987). The results of the present study suggest that Kenyan parents foster their adolescent children's self-esteem through day-to-day counseling, promises of support, and directing a child's behavior in reference to standards or role expectations communicated through the mother's and father's interaction with the child (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). The experience of having clearly defined standards that are used as the basis for parental guidance allows the adolescents to more accurately assess themselves within an organized immediate and extended family environment. As was found by Gecas and Schwalbe (1986) and also discussed by Peterson and Hann (1999b), using verbal prompts, adults, when interacting with children within the context of family

hierarchy, allow adolescent children to perceive themselves realistically in terms of consistent standards and subsequently to develop a positive self-conception. The results of the present study suggest that Kenyan adolescents develop positive self-concepts of themselves within the domain of their fathers' and mothers' strict guidance in day-to-day interaction. It seems to me confirmed that guidance, therefore, is an important aspect of functional and organized control of adolescent children by their parents in Sub-Sahara Africa and contributes to a unique collectivistic lifestyle built on existing structures, rules, and responsibilities to the family, extended kin, and the wider society that together influence the adolescents' self-esteem.

As has been found with Chinese parents (Chao, 1994), apparently within East African societies, each family member must fulfill particular role requirements in order to maintain social harmony within the family, clan, and community. Mothers' and fathers' relationships with their adolescent children are defined by specific role requirements borrowed from traditional African cultural practices over time (Middleton, & Kershaw, 1965). These traditions dictate that children must conform strictly to parents' wishes, demonstrate loyalty, and show respect to parents and elders, while parents are required to socialize and teach discipline to their children and, therefore, must govern their children in all matters.

Among the peoples of East Africa, child socialization involves a system of guidance, modeling, scaffolding in regard to important family responsibilities, training, and control, all motivated by the need to have respectful, well-mannered children who will fulfill strictly (among other responsibilities) filial duties and provide old-age care and support to their parents later in life. African adolescents are given extensive family life

educational experiences (particularly during puberty transition rituals for both girls and boys) to make them aware of what is expected of their behavior during childhood and in adulthood. From early age, East African children and adolescents are exposed to explicit models or examples of proper behavior and important aspects of adulthood (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; LeVine et al., 1994). It would seem, given our findings, that the milieu of interaction in which parents provide guidance to their adolescents is an important way in which the child's self-esteem is built in Sub-Sahara Africa.

While Kenyan parents benefit from adolescents' contribution of free domestic labor at home, tending the shambas (land), and grazing livestock (where applicable), adolescents receive important emotional support from their parents in the form of affection, counseling concerning life problems, and alleviation of their feelings of social isolation. In addition, adolescents and their families tend to be very closely knit and rely greatly upon the extended family and kin network for moral and material support. As has been found in the current study, parental guidance comprising their rich relational and supportive involvement in an adolescent's life encapsulates the foundation for the adolescent's life in the present and the promise of a good future through an elaborately interwoven system of interrelationships between parental guidance (support and positive induction/reasoning) and other control mechanisms (discussed below) that combine to influence the development of the adolescent's self-esteem.

## Effects of Punitiveness

This study found punitiveness (excessive control) to be a strong negative predictor of youthful self-esteem for both fathers and mothers. Mother's punitiveness was found to be stronger than that of fathers in the way it predicted the Kenyan adolescents'

self-esteem. Minimal frequency of interaction between the Kenyan fathers and their children in sharp contrast to that of mothers and their children may explain this observation. I feel cautious about making rash explanations of this finding because the interpretation of even punitiveness being found as a negative predictor of self-esteem may be explained differently for East African society than for either the European or American societies or those of Asia. When considering Sub-Saharan African adolescents' distinctive cultural circumstances, which do not necessarily compare with the experiences of those in Western or Asian cultures, I am cognizant of the need for using much caution in interpreting the findings of the current study.

There is little evidence available that punitive parental behaviors facilitate the development of socially competence qualities of the young among either Western societies or those of the Asian cultures. From the available literature, it is clear that Kenyan adolescents are socialized to be subservient and yield unquestioningly to the demands for conformity and obedience to their mothers and fathers. It follows, therefore, that an indication of parental displeasure with the conduct of an adolescent to the extent where punitive measures are employed, either verbally (beyond guidance level) or through the administration of other harsh control measures (e.g., hitting with a cane) can be construed to be serious enough by the adolescent to evoke feelings of dejection and a deep sense of worthlessness that can influence his/her self-esteem negatively.

Similar to the pattern found in the European and American societies regarding the effects on adolescents' self-esteem by parental control that communicates hostility, rejection, disapproval that functions to devalue the self of adolescents (Barber et al., 1992; Gecas & Burke, 1995; Peterson & Hann, 1999a), the present study has confirmed

that there are similar influences on adolescents' self-esteem among Kenyans, although they may be explained differently. On the other hand, our findings fail to support the view that harsh or domineering forms of control play a central role in adolescent socialization as a predictor of adolescent self-esteem in collectivistic societies, as has been suggested by and Lin and Fu (1990). This interpretation presupposes that self-esteem constitutes a personal social capital as in the West (which may be only a part of reality). This view is in contrast with the view that forms of excessive control used by collectivist Chinese parents foster family cohesion and diminish interpersonal conflict, rather than expressing hostility, arbitrariness, and distance (Chao, 1994; Chao & Sue, 1996; Lau & Cheung, 1987). In the West, harsh or excessive forms of control have been found to endanger family harmony, foster a sense of embarrassment in adolescents, and negatively influence development of their self-esteem. The case for Kenya may extend beyond these two conceptions to embrace the essence of feelings of propriety within one's family and community in Sub-Sahara Africa. The authority of the parents is much respected, to the extent that an old, frail grandmother may exercise punitiveness among her grown sons but in a teasing, revered manner.

## Effects of Parental Monitoring

It was hypothesized that youthful perceptions of parental monitoring would be a positive predictor of the sample adolescents' self-esteem. Results in this study indicated that parental monitoring of adolescents is not a significant predictor of self-esteem in Kenyan society. This finding demonstrates cultural disparities between (a) Western societies and those of Asia, where parental monitoring has been found to be a positive predictor of adolescents' self-esteem, and (b) Kenyan culture. Given the frequent absence

of the father from the homefront for great periods of time in a majority of Kenyan families, the mother is left to care for the children. Because of the patriarchal nature of the culture, the mother's ability to fully direct and monitor her children usually is curtailed. The void, however, is enforced by sociological and cultural forces that over time have scripted within traditional African societies codes of behavior expected of all children (for example, behaving well for the sake of posterity) and in other sectors of society. The whole village, as it were, rather than the father, monitors the child's conduct and determines rewards for propriety, although parents serve as the medium for transmission of cultural expectations to their children. Codes of behavior for all categories of people (parents, children, and others) are covertly coded in the particular culture of the people.

## Effects of Parental Autonomy Granting

One of the key findings in the study was that parental autonomy-granting behavior was not found to be a significant predictor of self-esteem of the Kenyan adolescents probably due to group interests mitigating against Kenyan parental encouragement of autonomy in their children. Such results suggest that Kenyan mothers and fathers do not foster their adolescent children's self-esteem through the use of autonomy-granting behaviors. These results are not consistent with research conducted on samples of both U.S. adolescents (Allen et al., 1994) and Chinese adolescents from Hong Kong (Cheung & Lau, 1985; Lau & Cheung, 1987). The findings do support our speculation that children's autonomy, even from the youths' point of view, may not be altogether a desired virtue within the African experience of collectivism. Much capital is

gained in collective, mutual assistance contained within the Kenyan family and kin network that overrides the need for autonomy in mastery and self-sufficiency.

The nature of the relationship between adolescent self-esteem and parental autonomy granting found in this study and by previous investigators in the United States contrasts with our earlier speculations derived from theories and descriptions of traditional Kenyan parents' way of parenting. According to the traditional or collectivistic view, Kenyan parents are assumed to discourage autonomy and individuality in their children and emphasize young people's responsibility to the immediate family/kin and need to reverence for their elders and dead ancestors (Kenyatta, 1938; Leakey, 1977; Mbiti, 1969). Kenyan adolescents, therefore, are expected to demonstrate qualities such as conformity, subordination of individual goals in favor of responsibility to others, and respect for family/group decisions (Lam, 1995; Triandis, 1989). According to this view, a Kenyan adolescent's sense of self is more a product of his/her connections with others than a product of negotiating greater individuality (autonomy) in reference to one's parents (Lam, 1995). Considering that parental socialization in a collectivist Sub-Sahara African culture focuses more on producing family- and societal-focused outcomes in the conduct of their children, younger people in Sub-Sahara Africa are expected to show respect and reticence with parents and elders rather than expressing personal interests in autonomous predispositions. Adolescents' success or failure in life brings pride or shame to their family and kin rather than signifies personal achievement resulting from autonomy or independence to the young (Haines, 1988).

To highlight the covert prevalence of both individualistic and collectivistic characteristics that represent interdependence among peoples of different cultures,

including societies labeled as individualistic, Carter and McGoldrick (1999) have provided a strong case for a blurring of the line of demarcation between individualism and collectivism regarding the attribute of autonomy. People in societies that consider themselves individualistic tend to be unaware of their dependence on other members of their society, while those in societies identified as collectivistic tend to overemphasize interdependence (Carter & McGoldrick, 1999). The same caution was advanced by Peterson et al., (2003) when they proposed the need to diminish the mentality of ethnocentrism among people in individualistic societies. Indeed, they have argued for the adoption of viable cultural socialization models in which autonomy and connectedness are viewed as complementary models applicable to societies generally labeled as either collectivistic or individualistic.

## Parental Love Withdrawal

Factor analysis failed to identify a factor of parental love withdrawal in the Kenyan data. All three items that have been known to constitute love withdrawal in other cultures failed to load together to form a viable variable for this sample, probably because in general Kenyan parents do not openly show affection either to their spouses or to their children. The hypothesis ("Love withdrawal is a negative predictor of the Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem") therefore, was not tested for this sample.

Efforts are needed to develop more balanced instruments that take into account specific circumstances of cultures like those found in East Africa that will capture all of the important existing dynamics such as threats of love withdrawal. What researchers must realize is that some constructs may not translate from one culture to another. Self-esteem, for example, is a construct related to self-enhancement in European and

American societies but related to self-deprecation in Japan (Kitayama, Markus, & Lieberman (1995) and now (apparently) in the Kenyan culture.

African collectivism seems to emphasize subordination and selfless subservience to parents and elders and to advocate more support, advising, and counseling (guidance) by parents to their adolescent children (Sastry, 1999). As the results of this study show, such relationships do exist in Kenyan society, suggesting mutuality of co-existence where parents give to their children material and psychological support (an inheritance of wealth) and the promise of a good life while children provide the promise of old age support to the parents.

Based on the findings of this study, my explanations about the meaning and importance of parental guidance supplemented by strict punitiveness (particularly by the mother) may be consistent, in part, because neither parental monitoring nor parental autonomy granting were found to be significant predictors of adolescent self-esteem within this sample. The failure of parental monitoring and autonomy granting to predict adolescent self-esteem in the Kenyan society, however, would have been a more unusual result if this had occurred with a sample of European or American adolescents (Gecas & Burke, 1995). The present study's results are consistent with previous research that found that, compared to European American parents in the United States, Korean parents demonstrate a relative lack of support towards their adolescent children (Dornbusch et al., 1987). However, the results for supportive parenting in Kenya contradict the Korean findings in that guidance (parental support and reasoning) are found to be positive predictors of self-esteem among Kenyan adolescents.

## Moderating Variables

Two of the moderating sociodemographic variables in this study were found to be insignificant. However, gender of the adolescent was found to be a significant negative predictor of Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem. In other research (Harter, 1993), age of the adolescent was found to be a positive predictor of adolescent self-esteem, usually suggesting that youthful self-esteem may improve as the child matures. The results of my analysis would mean that adolescent girls generally have lower self-esteem when compared with their male peers. Finally, father's educational attainment also was found to be insignificant in the development of a Kenyan adolescent's self-esteem. Due to the agrarian nature of the economy for the majority of Kenyans (around 80% percent of the Kenyan population reside in the rural areas; Republic of Kenya, 1994), the population gives more credence to land ownership rather than regular employment gained through academic accomplishments. The tendency for families to remain strongly tied to the ancestral land and close to their extended kin for their residence and subsistence has minimized effects usually brought about by high academic achievements such immigration to the urban centers.

## General Views

In an East African setting, what is known as parental control may not always involve *domination* of children but rather a more *organizational* type of control for the purpose of keeping the family running more smoothly and fostering family harmony (Lau & Cheung, 1987). Thus, these concepts may bear different implications when considered for a given culture, and thus they may not be useful for understanding African parenting. Therefore, this study offers an alternative concept, *Ureri*—"nurturance," derived directly

from an appreciation of the Kenyan culture meaning "to care for," "to provide for, including bride wealth and inheritance," or even "*gukua mundu wega*--"to love practically," or the Greek *pragma*-- "love," as well as *kurora mwana wega*--"to govern." Therefore, the Kenyan notion of parental care, concern, and involvement are broad, probably akin to firm control and governance of the adolescent.

In Western cultures, there is a faith in the inherent separateness of distinct persons and the normative imperative to become independent from others and to discover and express one's unique attributes (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The present study has demonstrated a different picture of the situation for Sub-Sahara Africa. I suggest that for many cultures of Sub-Sahara Africa, the Western notion of the self as an entity containing significant personal attributes detached from other contexts simply is not an adequate description of the African sense of self-hood. Rather, the self is viewed as interdependent with the surrounding context, and it is the other or the self-in-relation-to-the-other that is in focus during individual experiences in a Sub-Sahara African context (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

The results of the present study affirm the earlier speculation that Kenyan adolescents would not rate highly either individual mastery or personal autonomy as a desired self-concept for propriety within the Sub-Sahara African version of collectivism. It would seem that the type of collectivism portrayed in Kenya does not credit individualistic tendencies and adolescents' autonomy in the form of collectivism prevalent in this particular culture. In tune with my speculation, African youth may be socialized to demonstrate absolute conformity to and respect for their parents and other elders, and they may be expected to conform to adult wishes (LeVine et al., 1994).

## Limitations

Despite the apparent logic of these results, certain methodological and sampling issues have limited the interpretation of the findings of this study. One shortcoming was the restricted geographic area from which a convenience sample was drawn (i.e., four schools from mainly two provinces out of the total of 41 provinces in Kenya) and the resulting limitations for generalizing these findings to the whole country, much less to the whole of Sub-Sahara Africa (Bush et al., 2002). Another methodological limitation is that research models using predictor and criterion variables from the perceptions of the same person (i.e., the adolescents' self-report of perceptions) may create non-independence of measurement problems, with the resulting beta coefficients being inflated by shared-methods variance (Peterson & Hann, 1999a).

I recognize several other limitations pertaining to the current study. The lack of any forerunner studies of Sub-Sahara African parenting to inform the current study either in its theoretical conceptualization or in its procedures for data processing and analysis is recognized as a major and unavoidable shortfall. Furthermore, instruments used to collect data in Kenya were conceptualized and designed with the European and American samples in mind and later adapted for use in additional cultures (e.g., the Asian region) other than Sub-Sahara Africa. Although some limited adjustments to these instruments were instituted, their suitability for use with the Kenyan sample (argued to be collectivist in nature) may be questioned. Also, the theoretical constructs (Bush, 2000a; Bush et al., 2002; Peterson & Hann, 1999b) that have been tested in other cultures outside Sub-Sahara Africa (e.g., the U.S, India, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Russia) that form the

scales are only assumed to be relevant in the proposed study—although, to some extent, this assumption was confirmed in this study.

Although there exist striking similarities among Eastern African cultures, generalization of our findings using the Kenya data to other Sub-Sahara African cultural groups, although arguably feasible (using similarities in demographic characteristics, political economy, education development, religious history, development of education, colonial heritage, and so on [Sub-Sahara Africa demonstrates striking similarities, having all experienced colonial domination and the birth of statehood within the last 40 to 50 years]), will be done with caution, considering the extensive diversity that exists among many ethnic groups in the region.

## Conclusions

An overall assessment of these results clearly contradicts traditional perspectives that propose that Kenyan parenting of adolescents can be characterized as a simple reflection of collectivistic values and norms. Instead, evidence is not provided in this study that self-esteem is fostered in Kenyan adolescents by parents who grant autonomy, an aspect of parenting commonly associated with both individualistic orientations of the European and American societies and in Hong Kong. The findings of this study neither support nor reject the idea that other harsh or rejecting forms of control such as love withdrawal would foster Kenyan adolescents' self-esteem. From this study, a case has been advanced for more concerted research effort to further chart characteristics of the unique collectivism suggested for Sub-Sahara Africa by this study.

In contrast to harsh or excessive forms of parental control, the organizational or functional control found in East Africa usually signifies order, responsibility, and family

cohesion without fostering conflict and aggressiveness. Consequently, if collectivistic orientations for order and responsibility for their children guide Sub-Sahara African parents' efforts to foster adolescent self-esteem development, more moderate forms of control than those used in European and American societies and that are neither arbitrary nor restrictive are used. Kenyan parenting that fosters self-esteem may involve a mixture of approaches reflecting a complex balance between individualistic and collectivistic socialization goals. Kenyan parents and elders are known to use other coercive mechanisms such as inheritance after the death of one's parents for loyalty solicitation. A son will not covertly take over his father's estate in the event he dies, but rather the mother is seen to act by proxy as long as she wishes to ascertain her privileged position and as an assurance of support in old age.

A final, disturbing interpretation of the findings of this study is that, at this time of writing, Kenya is facing a constitutional review crisis borne of self-serving personal interests that individuals in power are not willing to surrender for the future of the country and for the common good. I wonder whether current events have anything to do with the kind of nurturing the cohort of current leadership went through. I further am wondering whether they exhibit the commitment and individual resourcefulness to be able to cope with the demands of the times--selfless commitment for a course gives a heritage for the future generations.

## Recommendations for Future Research

To offer conceptualizations for describing individuals from other cultures or sociocultural contexts, researchers must not simply offer reformulated or alternative conceptualizations from within the same theoretical discipline or framework as in other

societies. More culturally viable concepts from a framework based on an indigenous approach or the appreciation of each culture should be employed, rather than to involve the one-sided individualistic or collectivistic interpretation of childhood socialization and development that is rampant (Chao, 1994). For example, like the Chinese, Kenyan parents appear less warm on the surface than do Western parents because they believe that frequent praise may threaten their authority and spoil the child in a way that may cause them to be self-satisfied and interfere with developing their motivation to achieve (Chan, 2000). Certain paradoxes such as these would be unraveled only with more concerted effort for research on nature of parenting and its influences for children in the vast continent of Africa. Peterson et al. (2003) provided a strong case for approaching cultural and cross-cultural research by employing both emic (i.e., studies of indigenous relationships within one culture) and etic (i.e., comparative search for universal patterns) to address cultural and cross-cultural perspectives of parent-youth relations.

> A strict emic approach focuses on parent-youth patterns and meanings within one culture and promotes the view that making comparisons across cultures is analogous to comparing apples to oranges. In contrast, an etic approach makes use of constructs and examines parent-youth relationships based on the presumptions that at least some invariant patterns exist across social groups. (Peterson et al., 2003, p. 7)

I recommend that, as a next step to advance the work of the current study, adolescents' perceptions of their parents' parenting behaviors be explored using self-efficacy instead of self-esteem as the dependent variable. My exploratory factor analysis found that self-efficacy demonstrated a higher measure of internal consistency (alpha =

.78) than self–esteem (alpha = .63), which was what was used as the dependent variable in this study. The concept of self-efficacy may reflect a more collectivistic orientation for the Sub-Sahara African region, while self-esteem, it may be argued, may reflect more individualistic cultures such as those found in Europe and the U.S. (Peterson et al., 2003). I further recommend that the study be extended to include more countries—not only those in the Sub-Sahara African region but also those in the rest of Africa—in an effort to further chart parenting styles and behaviors and how these influence children's and adolescents' functioning.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A

## Map of Africa




Map adapted from the Google web-browser & http://www.library.northwestern.edu/africana/map/

*Suggested Sub-Sahara Africa countries (Gannon, 1978)*
Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Upper Volta, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Burundi Rwanda, Uganda, Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia.

## Appendix B

Procedures for the Adolescent Survey

(Information provided by courtesy of Dr. Stephan Wilson - Professor & Chair, Human Development & Family Studies University of Nevada, Reno).

1. We try to survey at least 500 adolescents in each place. We need samples of this size to meet the assumptions of adequate statistical analyses.
2. We try to survey teenagers who range in age from 14-18 years, though ages 13-19 years old will be fine.
3. We have tried to administer the questionnaire during a class period of a course that all or most students in a school are required to take.
4. Each student should fill out the questionnaire only once and should complete it separately, without help from others.
5. The teacher or whoever administers the questionnaire should answer questions that only clarify the meaning of words in the questionnaire. The person who administers the test should not try to interpret the meaning of the questions.
6. Here is what the person who administers the questionnaire might say to the teenagers before they begin completing the questionnaire.

This is a questionnaire that will help researchers learn about what is like to be a teenager and what their family relationships are like. It is important that you answer all the questions in the questionnaire. Please circle the answer that best describes you and your family for each question in the questionnaire. There are no correct or incorrect answers to these questions and this is not a test that will influence your grades school. We are interested in your honest opinions about yourself and your family life. You should not put your name on this questionnaire because all your answers will remain confidential. We will only report your answers as part of statistical summaries and will not report your answers individually. Thank you for helping us to understand teenagers and their families more effectively.

(Information provided courtesy of Dr. Stephan Wilson, Professor & Chair, Human Development & Family Studies University of Nevada, Reno)

## Appendix C

Scale Construction History
(Information provided by courtesy of Dr. Gary Peterson, Professor & Chair, Family Studies and Social Work, Miami of Ohio University.)

Many of the PBM items were taken from the 80 item Rollins and Thomas Parent Behavior Inventory that, in turn, was a distillation of the best items from the 192 item Schaeffer's Parent Behavior Inventory (Schaeffer, 1959, 1963; Peterson, 1978; Peterson, Rollins & Thomas, 1985). Items that measured parental support originated from a scale construction based on a factor analytic study that examined the Heilbrun (1964, 1973) and Cornell measures (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Devereaux, Bronfenbrenner, & Rodgers, 1969) of parental support (Ellis, Thomas, & Rollins, 1976). The items measuring parental induction were developed based on the original conceptualizations of Hoffman (1970, 1980), whereas items on monitoring were developed based on the work of several previous researchers (Patterson & Dishion, 1985; Small, 1990; Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994).

*Adolescent Autonomy Granting*

Adolescents' reports of behavioral autonomy from mothers (represented by variable labels ending in 'M') and fathers (represented by variable labels ending in 'F') was measured by a scale of 10 items based on previous research dealing with the growth of self-direction by the young (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). These items measure the extent to which mothers and fathers allow adolescents to make their own decisions and engage in activities without excessive parental intrusion regarding choices about friendships, life-style preferences, clothing selection, educational goals, and career plans. The participants responded to the items in terms of a four-point Likert scale which varies from "Strongly Agree" (4) to "Strongly Disagree" (1). Each of the items is summed for a total score of autonomy from each parent with higher scores indicating higher levels of autonomy from their mother/father.

*Global Self Esteem*

Adolescents' global self-esteem was assessed by the ten item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979). Although, the instrument was originally designed as a Guttman scale, the instrument yields similar results when scored as a Likert-type scale (Rosenberg, 1979). Participants' responses were scored on a four-point Likert scale which varies from "Strongly Agree" (SA) to Strongly Disagree" (SD). The items are scored from 1 to 4, with 4 indicating "Strongly Agree" or high self-esteem, except in the case of derogatory items which are reverse coded (i.e., high scores on these items indicates low self-esteem). The scores for each item are then summed for a total self-esteem score.

Rosenberg, M. (1979). Conceiving the self. New York: Basic Books.

*Parental Behaviors Measure*

Parental behaviors examined were assessed with the Parent Behavior Measure (PBM), a 34-item self-report instrument used in previous studies that measures adolescents' perceptions of several supportive and contRollins dimensions of behavior that parents direct at adolescents (Henry, Wilson, & Peterson, 1989; Henry & Peterson, 1995; Peterson et al., 1985; Peterson, Bush, & Supple, in press). Specific dimensions assessed are parental support, positive induction (i.e., reasoning), monitoring, punitiveness, and guilt induction and love withdrawal. The items composing the scales of the PBM are from previously existing instruments and were selected based on having the highest loadings on identified factors in previous factor analytic studies (Peterson, 1978; Peterson, Rollins, & Thomas, 1985). Many of the PBM items were taken from the 80 item Rollins and Thomas Parent Behavior Inventory that, in turn, was a distillation of the best items from the 192 item Schaeffer's Parent Behavior Inventory (Schaeffer, 1959, 1963; Peterson, 1978; Peterson, Rollins & Thomas, 1985). Items that measured parental support

originated from a scale constructed based on a factor analytic study that examined the Heilbrun (1964, 1973) and Cornell measures (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Devereaux, Bronfenbrenner, & Rodgers, 1969) of parental support (Ellis, Thomas, & Rollins, 1976). The items measuring induction were developed based on the original conceptualizations of Hoffman (1970, 1980), whereas items on monitoring were developed based on the work of several previous researchers (Patterson & Dishion, 1985; Small, 1990; Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994). The participants responded to the items in terms of a four-point Likert scale which varies from "Strongly Agree" (4 points) to "Strongly Disagree" (1 point). With the score of the negative valence items reverse coded, the items are summed into a total score to represent each dimension of parental behavior in reference to each parent.

*Parental Support.* Support was measured by a 4 item subscale from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson, Rollins & Thomas, 1985). Assessed behaviors which communicate to the young feelings of warmth, affection, and a sense of being valued

*Parental Positive Induction.* Positive induction was assessed by 5 items that measured the extent to which mothers and fathers are perceived as explaining to adolescents how their behavior affects other people.

*Parental Punitiveness.* was measured by a 10 item subscale from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson, Rollins & Thomas, 1985). The punitive behavior scale assessed the extent to which mothers and fathers use contRollins behaviors of a verbal or coercive nature characterized as strict, harsh, and arbitrary practices.

*Parental Love Withdrawal.* was measured by a 4 item subscale from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson, Rollins & Thomas, 1985). This scale measures adolescents' perceptions of the extent that mothers and fathers use efforts to control the young by either threatening to or actually denying love, or by using guilt to foster dependency, involves behaviors such as turning one's back, inducing guilt, and refusing to speak to the young in efforts to influence their behavior.

*Parental Monitoring.* Monitoring was measured by an 6 item subscale from the Parent Behavior Scale (Peterson, Rollins & Thomas, 1985). The parental monitoring scale assesses adolescents' perceptions of the extent to which mothers and fathers supervise their activities, friendships, and money.

## Appendix D

Parental Behavior Measures in This Project

Parental Guidance (Supportive & Positive induction)

1. This parent has made me feel that he or she would be there if I needed him or her.
2. This parent seems to approve of me and the things that I do.
3. This parent tells me how much he or she loves me.
4. This parent says nice things about me.
5. This parent explained to me how good I should feel when I did something she or he liked.
6. Over the past several years this parent has explained to me how good I should feel when I have shared something with other family members.
7. This parent explains to me how good I should feel when I do what is right
8. This parent explains to me when I share things with other family members, that I am liked by other family members.
9. This parent tells me how good others feel when I do what is right.

*Punitiveness*

1. This parent does not give me any peace until I do what he or she says.
2. This parent punishes me by not letting me do things that I really enjoy.
3. This parent yells at me a lot without good reason.
4. This parent punishes me by not letting me do things with other teenagers
5. This parent is always finding fault with me.
6. This parent punishes me by sending me out of the room.
7. This parent punishes me by hitting me.
8. This parent will not talk to me when I displease him or her.
9. This parent avoids looking at me when I have disappointed him or her.

*Monitoring*

1. This parent knows where I am after school.
2. I tell this parent who I am going to be with when I go out
3. When I go out, this parent knows where I am
4. This parent knows the parents of my friends
5. This parent knows who my friends are.
6. This parent knows how I spend my money.

*Autonomy granting questions*

1. This parent allows me to choose my own friends without interfering too much
2. This parent allows me to decide what is right and wrong without interfering too much.
3. This parent allows me to decide what clothes I should wear without interfering too much.
4. This parent has confidence in my ability to make my own decisions.
5. This parent allows me to make my own decisions about career goals without interfering too much.
6. This parent allows me to make my own decisions about educational goals without interfering too much.
7. This parent lets me be my "own person" in enough situations.

*Self-Esteem Questions*

1. I certainly feel useless at times.
2. At times I think I am no good at all
3. In general, I feel satisfied with myself
4. I feel that I am a person of worth at least on the same level with others.
5. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

## Appendix E

Factor Analysis

Rotated Component Matrix – Father's Model

| | Component | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Father: Over the past several years this parent has explained | 0.77 | | | | | |
| to me how good I should | | | | | | |
| feel when i have shared something with other family members. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent explained to me how good I should feel | 0.76 | | | | | |
| when I did something she or he liked. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent explains to me how good | 0.71 | | | | | |
| I should feel when I do what is right. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent explains to me when I share things with other | 0.69 | | 0.22 | | | |
| family members, that I am liked by other family members. | | | | | | |
| This parent tells me how good others feel when I do what is right. | 0.68 | | 0.24 | | | |
| Father: This parent says nice things about me. | 0.66 | | | -0.21 | | |
| Father: This parent has made me feel that he or she would be | 0.66 | | 0.24 | -0.24 | | |
| there if I needed him or her. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent tells me how much he or she loves me. | 0.66 | | | | | |
| Father: This parent seems to approve of me and the things that I do. | 0.58 | | | | | 0.28 |
| Father: This parent tells me that if I loved him or her, | 0.52 | | | 0.31 | | |
| I would do what he or she wants me to. | | | | | | |
| Father: I feel that this parent gives me enough freedom. | 0.40 | | | -0.21 | | |
| I wish I could have more respect for myself. | -0.34 | | | | | |
| Despite opportunities in other areas of the country, I should | 0.33 | | 0.21 | | | |
| try to live near my parents (legal guardians) in the future. | | | | | | |
| When I set important goals for myself, I rarely achieve them. | -0.32 | 0.26 | | | 0.25 | |
| If something looks too complicated, I will not even bother to try it. | | 0.70 | | | | |
| I give up easily. | | 0.70 | | | | |
| When trying to learn something new, I soon give up if I | | 0.67 | | | | |
| am not initially successful. | | | | | | |
| I give up on things before completing them. | | 0.63 | | | | |
| When unexpected problems occur, I don't handle them well. | | 0.59 | | | | |
| I feel insecure about my ability to do things. | | 0.56 | | | | |
| I avoid trying to learn new things when they look too difficult for me. | | 0.56 | | -0.23 | | |
| If I can't do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can. | | 0.56 | 0.20 | | | |
| When I decide to do something, I go right to work on it. | | 0.41 | | | | |
| One of my problems is that I cannot get down to work when I should. | | 0.41 | | | | |
| Failure just makes me try harder. | | 0.39 | | | | |
| Father: When I go out, this parent knows where I am. | | | 0.80 | | | |
| Father: This parent knows where I am after school. | | | 0.67 | | | |
| Father: This parent knows who my friends are. | 0.20 | | 0.67 | | | |
| Father: I tell this parent who I am going to be with when I go out. | 0.21 | | 0.65 | | | |
| Father: This parent knows how I spend my money. | | | 0.59 | | | |
| Father: This parent knows the parents of my friends. | 0.33 | | 0.59 | | | |
| A person should always be completely loyal to his or her family. | | 0.22 | 0.36 | | | |
| Family ties are more important than friendships outside of the family. | | | 0.35 | | | |
| It is important for the family name to be continued. | 0.20 | | 0.30 | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Father: This parent does not give me any peace until I do what he or she says. | | | | 0.62 | | |
| Father: This parent yells at me a lot without good reason. | -0.31 | | | 0.62 | | |
| Father: This parent punishes me by not letting me do things that I really enjoy. | | | | 0.61 | | |
| Father: This parent punishes me by not letting me do | | | | 0.61 | | |
| things with other teenagers. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent punishes me by sending me out of the room. | | | | 0.57 | | |
| Father: This parent punishes me by hitting me. | | | | 0.56 | | |
| Father: This parent is always finding fault with me. | -0.29 | -0.21 | | 0.53 | | |
| Father: This parent hits me when he or she thinks I am doing | 0.31 | | 0.21 | 0.52 | | |
| something wrong. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent will not talk to me when I displease him or her. | -0.27 | -0.28 | | 0.51 | | |
| Father: This parent avoids looking at me when I have disappointed him or her. | -0.21 | -0.25 | | 0.45 | | |
| I avoid facing difficulties. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent has confidence in my ability to make my own decisions. | | | | | 0.65 | |
| Father: This parent allows me to make my own decisions about career | | | | | 0.63 | |
| goals without interfering too much. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent allows me to decide right and | | | | | 0.62 | |
| wrong without interfering too much. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent allows me to choose my own | | | | | 0.61 | |
| friends without interfering too much. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent lets me be my "own person" in enough situations. | | | | | 0.59 | |
| Father: This parent allows me to decide what clothes to | | | | | 0.57 | |
| wear without interfering too much. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent allows me to make my own decisions | | | | | 0.50 | |
| about educational goals without interfering too much. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent encourages me to help in making | 0.27 | | | | 0.41 | |
| decisions about family matters. | | | | | | |
| Father: This parent allows me to choose my | | | -0.20 | | 0.33 | |
| own dating partner without interfering . | | | | | | |
| When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it until I finish it. | | | | | | |
| At times I think I am no good at all. | | | | | -0.29 | 0.59 |
| In general,I feel satisfied with myself. | | | | | | 0.59 |
| I feel that I have a number of good qualities. | | 0.21 | 0.21 | | 0.27 | 0.55 |
| I certainly feel useless at times. | | | -0.21 | | -0.40 | 0.53 |
| I feel that I am a person of worth at least on an equal plane with others. | | | 0.32 | | 0.23 | 0.52 |
| I am able to do things like most other people. | | | | | | 0.49 |
| I take a positive attitude towards myself. | | 0.31 | | | | 0.44 |
| I am a self-reliant person. | -0.22 | | | | | 0.36 |
| Family responsibilities should be more important | | | | | | 0.21 |
| than my career plans in the future. | | | | | | |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

# Appendix F

## Factor Analysis

### Rotated Component Matrix - Mother's Model

| Rotated Component Matrix(a) | Component | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Mother: This parent explained to me how good I should | 0.77 | | | | | |
| feel when I did something she or he liked. | | | | | | |
| Mother: Over the past several years this parent has explained to me members. | 0.77 | | | | | |
| how good I should feel when I have shared something with other family | | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent explains to me when I share things | 0.70 | | | | | |
| with other family members, that I am liked by other family members. | | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent explains to me how good I should feel when I do what is right. | 0.67 | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent tells me how good others feel when I do what is right. | 0.66 | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent says nice things about me. | 0.64 | | -0.26 | | | |
| Mother: This parent tells me how much he or she loves me. | 0.61 | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent seems to approve of me and the things that I do. | 0.58 | | | | | 0.23 |
| Mother: This parent tells me that if I loved him or her, | 0.52 | | 0.38 | | | |
| I would do what he or she wants me to. | | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent has made me feel that he or she would be | 0.51 | | -0.25 | 0.23 | 0.28 | |
| there if I needed him or her. | | | | | | |
| Despite opportunities in other areas of the country, I should try | 0.43 | | | | | |
| to live near my parents (legal guardians) in the future. | | | | | | |
| I wish I could have more respect for myself. | -0.38 | | | | | |
| Mother: I feel that this parent gives me enough freedom. | 0.36 | | | | | |
| When I set important goals for myself, I rarely achieve them. | -0.31 | 0.29 | | 0.27 | | |
| It is important for the family name to be continued. | 0.28 | | | | 0.21 | 0.23 |
| When trying to learn something new, I soon give up if I am not initially successful. | | 0.71 | | | | |
| If something looks too complicated, I will not even bother to try it. | | 0.71 | | | | |
| I give up easily. | | 0.66 | | | | |
| When unexpected problems occur, I don't handle them well. | | 0.61 | | | | |
| I give up on things before completing them. | | 0.60 | | | | |
| I avoid trying to learn new things when they look too difficult for me. | | 0.57 | -0.21 | | | |
| I feel insecure about my ability to do things. | | 0.54 | | | | |
| If I can't do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can. | | 0.52 | | | | |
| One of my problems is that I cannot get down to work when I should. | | 0.46 | -0.26 | | | |
| Failure just makes me try harder. | | 0.40 | | | | |
| When I decide to do something, I go right to work on it. | | 0.33 | | | | 0.28 |
| I avoid facing difficulties. | -0.23 | 0.26 | | | | |
| Mother: This parent punishes me by not letting me do things that I really enjoy. | | | 0.66 | | | |
| Mother: This parent does not give me any peace until I do what he or she says. | | | 0.66 | | | |
| Mother: This parent punishes me by not letting me do things with other teenagers. | | | 0.66 | | | |
| Mother: This parent punishes me by sending me out of the room. | | | 0.62 | | | |
| Mother: This parent is always finding fault with me. | -0.33 | -0.23 | 0.57 | | | |
| Mother: This parent punishes me by hitting me. | | | 0.57 | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother: This parent will not talk to me when I displease him or her. | -0.21 | -0.25 | 0.56 | | | |
| Mother: This parent avoids looking at me when I have disappointed him or her. | | -0.22 | 0.54 | | | |
| Mother: This parent yells at me a lot without good reason. | -0.25 | -0.28 | 0.54 | | | |
| Mother: This parent hits me when he or she thinks I am doing something wrong. | 0.21 | | 0.46 | | | |
| Mother: This parent allows me to make my own decisions about | | | | 0.68 | | |
| career goals without interfering too much. | | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent has confidence in my ability to make my own decisions. | | | | 0.66 | | |
| Mother: This parent allows me to choose my own friends without interfering too much. | | | | 0.66 | | |
| Mother: This parent lets me be my "own person" in enough situations. | | | | 0.63 | | |
| Mother: This parent allows me to decide what clothes to wear without interfering too much. | | | | 0.58 | | |
| Mother: This parent allows me to decide right and wrong without interfering too much. | | | | 0.58 | | |
| Mother: This parent allows me to make my own decisions | | | | 0.52 | | |
| about educational goals without interfering too much. | | | | | | |
| Mother: This parent encourages me to help in making decisions about family matters. | 0.30 | | | 0.43 | | |
| Mother: This parent allows me to choose my own dating partner without interfering . | | | | 0.41 | -0.21 | |
| Mother: When I go out, this parent knows where I am . | | | | | 0.80 | |
| Mother: This parent knows who my friends are. | 0.21 | | | | 0.68 | |
| Mother: I tell this parent who I am going to be with when I go out. | | | | | 0.67 | |
| Mother: This parent knows where I am after school. | | | | | 0.65 | |
| Mother: This parent knows how I spend my money. | | | | | 0.60 | |
| Mother: This parent knows the parents of my friends. | 0.35 | | | | 0.57 | |
| A person should always be completely loyal to his or her family. | 0.24 | | | | 0.34 | 0.24 |
| Family ties are more important than friendships outside of the family. | 0.25 | | | | 0.25 | 0.21 |
| I feel that I have a number of good qualities. | | | | 0.25 | | 0.53 |
| In general, I feel satisfied with myself. | | | | | | 0.51 |
| At times I think I am no good at all. | | | -0.25 | -0.25 | | 0.51 |
| I feel that I am a person of worth at least on an equal plane with others. | | | | 0.21 | 0.31 | 0.51 |
| I am able to do things like most other people. | | | | | | 0.49 |
| I take a positive attitude towards myself. | | 0.29 | | | | 0.45 |
| I certainly feel useless at times. | | | -0.30 | -0.29 | -0.24 | 0.43 |
| I am a self-reliant person. | | | | | | 0.41 |
| Family responsibilities should be more important than my career plans in the future. | | | | | | 0.27 |
| When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it until I finish it. | | | | | | 0.22 |
| Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. | | | | | | |
| Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. | | | | | | |
| Rotation converged in 6 iterations. | | | | | | |

## Appendix G

### Interaction Relationship – Father's Model

| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | t | Sig. |
| 1 | Constant | 3.39 | 0.35 | | 9.74 | 0.00 |
| | Age | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.03 | -0.63 | 0.53 |
| | Gender | -0.19 | 0.06 | -0.15 | -3.16 | 0.00 |
| | Father's education | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.43 | 0.67 |
| 2 | Constant | 2.48 | 0.41 | | 6.06 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.41 | 0.69 |
| | Gender | -0.17 | 0.06 | -0.14 | -2.97 | 0.00 |
| | Father's education | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 1.46 | 0.15 |
| | Guidance | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.21 | 3.96 | 0.00 |
| | Monitoring | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 1.73 | 0.08 |
| | Autonomy granting | -0.02 | 0.04 | -0.02 | -0.47 | 0.64 |
| | Punitiveness | -0.13 | 0.05 | -0.13 | -2.76 | 0.01 |
| 3 | Constant | 2.53 | 0.41 | | 6.14 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.45 | 0.65 |
| | Gender | -0.18 | 0.06 | -0.14 | -3.05 | 0.00 |
| | Father's education | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 1.34 | 0.18 |
| | Guidance | 0.19 | 0.05 | 0.20 | 3.79 | 0.00 |
| | Monitoring | 0.08 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 1.85 | 0.07 |
| | Autonomy granting | -0.03 | 0.04 | -0.03 | -0.59 | 0.55 |
| | Punitiveness | -0.15 | 0.05 | -0.14 | -2.96 | 0.00 |
| | Gender and father's guidance | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.75 | 0.46 |
| | Gender and father's autonomy granting | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 1.06 | 0.29 |
| | Gender and father's punitiveness | 0.15 | 0.11 | 0.07 | 1.47 | 0.14 |
| | Gender and fathers monitoring | -0.07 | 0.09 | -0.04 | -0.75 | 0.45 |

Dependent Variable: Self-esteem

## Appendix H

### Interaction Relationship – Mother's Model

| Model # | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | t | Sig. |
| 1 | Constant | 3.43 | 0.33 | | 10.33 | 0.00 |
| | Age | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.04 | -0.77 | 0.44 |
| | Gender | -0.19 | 0.06 | -0.15 | -3.21 | 0.00 |
| | Father's education | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.27 | 0.79 |
| 2 | Constant | 2.77 | 0.39 | | 7.07 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.94 |
| | Gender | -0.17 | 0.06 | -0.13 | -2.93 | 0.00 |
| | Father's education | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 1.01 | 0.31 |
| | Mother's guidance | 0.17 | 0.05 | 0.16 | 3.44 | 0.00 |
| | Mother's monitoring | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 1.30 | 0.19 |
| | Mother's punitiveness | -0.18 | 0.04 | -0.18 | -4.21 | 0.00 |
| | Mother's autonomy granting | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.22 | 0.83 |
| 3 | Constant | 2.82 | 0.40 | | 7.11 | 0.00 |
| | Age | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.92 |
| | Gender | -0.19 | 0.06 | -0.15 | -3.18 | 0.00 |
| | Father's education | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 1.02 | 0.31 |
| | Mother's guidance | 0.15 | 0.05 | 0.15 | 3.09 | 0.00 |
| | Mother's monitoring | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.07 | 1.38 | 0.17 |
| | Mother's punitiveness | -0.18 | 0.04 | -0.18 | -4.02 | 0.00 |
| | Mother's autonomy granting | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.94 |
| | Gender and mother's monitoring | -0.08 | 0.09 | -0.04 | -0.87 | 0.38 |
| | Gender and mother's autonomy granting | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.90 | 0.37 |
| | Gender and mother's punitiveness | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.02 | 0.44 | 0.66 |
| | Gender and mother's guidance | 0.15 | 0.11 | 0.07 | 1.40 | 0.16 |

## Vita

Michael Njoroge Mbito was born in Tanganyika (present day Tanzania) while his parents were in exile during the Mau Mau War in Kenya. Michael does not claim Tanzanian nationality as his parents returned to Kenya soon after he was born. His childhood was influenced by the lifestyle dictated by the British colonial rule in Kenya that was the major influence in the country in the decades of 1950 and 1960. Michael spent his early childhood in a rural Kenyan village and earned his elementary school education from the local schools.

After a unique encounter with Christian teaching in the early 1970s (with a subsequent change by faith in Jesus), Michael's personal development potential gradually unfolded, culminating in a successful completion of his high school education in 1973. His early career preparation began with entry to the Kenya Science Teacher's College in Nairobi in 1974, earning a high school teaching diploma, and a subsequent 7-year teaching tenure in various high schools in Kenya. Later, Michael joined the Nongovernmental Christian health service sector (Christian Health Association of Kenya [CHAK], African Evangelistic Enterprise, and the Center for Adolescent Health Kenya) and participated in various capacities in community health and development programs for the duration of 16 years.

While at CHAK, Michael earned a study grant and successfully completed a an M.S. degree in population policies and programs from the University of Wales. His thesis title in this Master's work in Wales was *High Fertility in Kenya: The Need for Population Education in the Context of Recent Social and Cultural Changes.* Michael recently earned another M.S. degree in Child and Family Studies from the University of Tennessee, thesis title, *The Transition from Boyhood to Manhood among Kikuyu Men Living in the United States: The Experience of the Male Circumcision Ritual in Sub-Sahara Africa.* Michael hopes to teach at the college level while still continuing his career work in cross-cultural research on adolescent development and poverty alleviation in Sub-Sahara Africa.

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