

Journal of Family Psychology

Autonomy Restrictions and Desires in Parent-Youth Relationships: Examining the Role of Immigration Background

Ouissam Abattouy, Gonneke W. J. M. Stevens, Marcel Lubbers, Susan Branje, and Catrin Finkenauer

Online First Publication, November 17, 2025. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/fam0001425>

CITATION

Abattouy, O., Stevens, G. W. J. M., Lubbers, M., Branje, S., & Finkenauer, C. (2025). Autonomy restrictions and desires in parent-youth relationships: Examining the role of immigration background. *Journal of Family Psychology*. Advance online publication. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/fam0001425>

Autonomy Restrictions and Desires in Parent–Youth Relationships: Examining the Role of Immigration Background

Ouissam Abattouy^{1, 2}, Gonneke W. J. M. Stevens¹, Marcel Lubbers², Susan Branje³, and Catrin Finkenauer¹

¹ Department of Interdisciplinary Social Science, Youth Studies, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University

² Department of Interdisciplinary Social Science, European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, Utrecht University

³ Department of Education and Pedagogy, Youth and Family, Utrecht University

Youth who perceive autonomy restrictions tend to have more conflicts with their parents and perceive lower support from them. This association between restrictions on autonomy and parent–youth conflicts and support may intensify when youth have stronger desires for autonomy. This study examined (a) the association of youth’s perceptions of parental autonomy restrictions and their desires for autonomy with conflicts with and support from parents, and (b) the differences in autonomy restrictions and desires between youth with and without an immigration background, as well as (c) whether these associations differ for both groups. The analyses for this study were based on a sample of 975 youth in late adolescence and young adulthood ($M_{age} = 18.12$, $SD = 1.94$; range 16–25; 42% female; 29% with an immigration background). Results showed that perceiving more autonomy restrictions were associated with more conflicts and less support, especially for youth who reported stronger desires for autonomy. Youth with an immigration background perceived more autonomy restrictions and reported lower desires than those without an immigration background. Autonomy restrictions were not associated with parent–youth conflicts or support for youth with an immigration background, different from those without an immigration background. However, the interplay between autonomy restrictions, desires, and parent–youth conflicts and support did not differ significantly by immigration background. The findings underscore the importance of considering both youth’s desire for autonomy and their immigration background when examining parenting behaviors and the parent–youth relationship.

Keywords: youth, autonomy, parent–youth conflicts and support, immigration background

Supplemental materials: <https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0001425.supp>

Autonomy and a positive relationship with parents are important but challenging for today’s youth when laying the foundations for adulthood (Shah et al., 2023). While seeking greater autonomy, many seem to experience prolonged dependence on parents as the transition to adulthood in many Western countries has become increasingly ambiguous (Fingerman et al., 2012). Conflicts arise when youth perceive autonomy restrictions on issues they believe should be under their control (Smetana, 2017). Although conflicts can facilitate autonomy renegotiation within supportive relationships, these relationships may become strained (Branje et al., 2022). Yet, examining

the implications of restrictions without considering youth’s autonomy desires overlooks the heterogeneity in responses to parental control, as desires may shape how autonomy restrictions feel. This interplay remains understudied despite autonomy becoming more central to defining adulthood when traditional markers less strongly apply (Sharon, 2016). Hence, examining how autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires jointly relate to conflicts and support is essential during this developmental period.

In Europe, nearly one in four youth have an immigration background (Eurostat, 2024), and in the Netherlands, where this study

Ekjyot Saini served as action editor.

Ouissam Abattouy  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7844-9738>

The data and code are available upon request from Ouissam Abattouy. This study’s design, hypotheses, and analysis plan were preregistered (<https://osf.io/vfn8d>), and deviations from the preregistration are presented in Supplemental Table S3. This study was presented at the Dutch Society for Developmental Psychology in 2023, Cultural Diversity, Migration, and Education in 2023, and the European Association for Research on Adolescence in 2024.

The authors have no conflicts of interest to disclose. This study was supported by the Mosaic 2.0 grant of the Dutch Research Council, Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (Grant 1754.21.7L9) awarded to Ouissam Abattouy. Because this research was funded in whole, or in part, by Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NOW; Grant 1754.21.7L9),

for the purpose of open access, the author has applied a CC BY public copyright license to any author accepted manuscript version arising from this submission.

Ouissam Abattouy played a lead role in data curation, investigation, methodology, writing–original draft, and conceptualization. Gonneke W. J. M. Stevens played a lead role in supervision and writing–review and editing and a supporting role in conceptualization. Marcel Lubbers played a supporting role in supervision, writing–review and editing, and conceptualization. Susan Branje played a supporting role in writing–review and editing. Catrin Finkenauer played a supporting role in conceptualization, supervision, and writing–review and editing.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Ouissam Abattouy, Department of Interdisciplinary Social Science, Youth Studies, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University, Padualaan 14, 3584 CH Utrecht, the Netherlands. Email: o.abattouy@uu.nl

takes place, youth from non-Western countries continue to grow (CBS, 2021). Youth with an immigration background may face more parental autonomy restrictions due to discrimination, neighborhood safety, parentification, and cultural values (Zhao et al., 2024). Whether these youth differ in autonomy desires, how perceived restrictions relate to parent–youth relationships, and whether the restriction–desire interplay varies among youth with and without an immigration background is understudied in Europe. Addressing this gap, we examined (a) how the interplay between youth’s perceived autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires relates to parent–youth conflicts and support, and (b) how this interplay differs for youth with and without an immigration background.

Autonomy Restrictions, Conflicts and Support, and the Role of Autonomy Desires

Autonomy involves the ability to make decisions about personal issues, or issues related to one’s privacy and individual preferences, following its definition from social–cognitive domain theory. Such personal issues include those that individuals believe they have decision-making authority over, such as personal preferences, privacy, and bodily control (e.g., leisure time; Smetana, 2017). Parents play a prominent role as they can choose to allow or restrict autonomy (Shah et al., 2023; Supple et al., 2009). Parents typically relax their control during adolescence by allowing youth to make more independent decisions on some issues (Branje et al., 2022). Yet, the pace at which parents relinquish control may lag behind youth’s desires for greater autonomy in adolescence (Daddis, 2011; Smetana & Rote, 2019) and young adulthood (Farber et al., 2025; Padilla-Walker et al., 2014).

While youth increasingly view personal issues as within their own decision-making authority, parents may continue to perceive these matters as subject to their control. As a result, parents might decide to keep control over their child’s autonomy for various reasons, such as to ensure order, to protect their child, or due to other reasons related to the parent, the child, or their environment (Longmore et al., 2013). This form of parenting aims to provide firm guidance by setting limits, boundaries, and rules to ensure their children behave in ways that align with their parents’ expectations (Gittins & Hunt, 2019). Therefore, youth’s perception of autonomy restrictions, which is researched in the present study, may be regarded as a perception of parental controlling behavior (Smetana & Rote, 2019).

When youth perceive their parents as insufficiently responsive to their autonomy—such as when they experience autonomy restrictions—conflicts over autonomy are likely to emerge (Branje, 2018). When having warm and supportive relationships with parents, these conflicts may provide an opportunity to openly express one’s perspectives on autonomy, while allowing for the renegotiation of parental authority (Smetana, 2017). Yet, research also suggests more distress in the relationship with parents related to youth’s autonomy, like a decrease in cohesion and feeling less emotionally close or connected (Fuligni & Tsai, 2015). This study examines how perceptions of autonomy restrictions may relate to more parent–youth conflicts about autonomy, as well as to perceptions of less support from parents, including open communication about problems, emotional support, and support at home.

The stage–environment fit theory suggests that adolescents experience difficulties in the relationship with parents when their desires for greater autonomy are not appropriately matched by the autonomy their parents grant them (Eccles et al., 1993). While

originally developed for early adolescence, we extend this framework to the increasing complex transition from adolescence to adulthood, a period in which a poor fit between youth’s desire for autonomy and the opportunity for autonomy provided by their parents could also strain their relationship.

Although autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires are distinct concepts—one representing wishes for autonomy and the other autonomy granted by parents—they likely affect one another. Yet, how both jointly relate to the relationship with parents remains largely unexplored. With stronger desires for autonomy, youth may view restrictions on personal issues as more stringent, possibly resulting in the perception that these restrictions are illegitimate and overly controlling (Kakihara et al., 2010). We therefore hypothesize that when autonomy desires are stronger, perceiving autonomy restrictions may be even more strongly associated with more parent–youth conflicts and less support.

Autonomy Restrictions, Desires, and Differences Based on Immigration Background

Within many Western countries, families with an immigration background often originate from countries or regions in Africa, Latin America, or Asia. Although considerable variations exist within these countries and regions, on average, different circumstances in economic development and different cultural norms and traditions tend to be present as compared to some residence counties in North America and Europe (Fuligni & Tsai, 2015). A multitude of factors, partly tied to both the residence and origin country, might explain why those with an immigration background face more autonomy restrictions than those without such background. These factors include, but are not limited to, financial instability, neighborhood safety concerns, experiences of discrimination, and parental dependence on children within the residence country (Zhao et al., 2024).

As cultural values influence parenting behaviors and are transmitted to children as important socialization goals, varying views on autonomy restrictions may also reflect differences in cultural values between the residence country and the country of origin (Farber et al., 2025). Considerable cultural variation exists both between and within countries, with within-country differences often exceeding between-country differences (Green et al., 2005). Also, cultures are not unidimensional, and individuals can simultaneously endorse both individualistic and collectivistic values (Triandis, 1995). Yet, on average, many of the historical and recent immigrant-receiving countries are more individualistic in that they foster more self-sufficiency, independence, the pursuit of personal goals, and egalitarian relationships, and less collectivistic in that values like family interdependence, cohesion, and solidarity are endorsed less. Often, countries of origin of families who immigrated—like Morocco and Turkey, two of the largest in the Netherlands—are, on average, less individualistic and more collectivistic (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2009; Fuligni & Tsai, 2015).

The emphasis on autonomy will also vary in families with immigration backgrounds from Africa, Latin-America, or Asia (hereafter referred to as those with an immigration background). Some families adopt the stronger emphasis on autonomy found in their residence country, while others maintain the values more strongly emphasized in their country of origin, which are often more collectivistic (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2012). While this variation exists, families with an immigration background show on average higher levels of parental controlling behaviors compared to those

without an immigration background (Son et al., 2024; Villalobos Solís et al., 2017). As such, it may reflect that autonomy takes a less central role compared to values that foster interdependence. Therefore, compared to youth without an immigration background, youth with an immigration background may perceive more autonomy restrictions.

One study comparing Latinx and European American families found that both parents and youth reported lower levels of autonomy support (i.e., promotion of independence) in families with an immigration background (Tran & Raffaelli, 2020). A review of multiple studies on autonomy support among European, African, Asian, and Latinx Americans highlighted that, compared to European Americans, all ethnic minority groups emphasized obedience more strongly, African American parents were more likely to make decisions unilaterally or jointly, and Latinx American parents generally expected autonomy at a later age (Benito-Gomez et al., 2020). Another study conducted across 13 countries in Europe, North America, and Oceania found that both parents and youth with an immigration background, compared to those without such a background, placed more importance on family obligations and less on youth's autonomy (e.g., deciding when and whom to date/marry or leaving home before marriage; Phinney & Vedder, 2022).

While some scholars indicate that parents and children with an immigration background generally agree on the level of autonomy granted—or conversely, autonomy restricted—(Son et al., 2024), others indicate that sometimes values of the country of origin may be in conflict with youth's desire for autonomy. Youth may desire greater autonomy but also feel the need to adhere to the family expectations (Villalobos Solís et al., 2017). Agreement on autonomy between parents and youth with an immigration background might reflect lower autonomy desires compared to their peers without an immigration background. Youth's greater autonomy desire may be a sign of adopting the desire for autonomy normative in their residence country (Fulgini & Tsai, 2015). As such, youth with an immigration background may have similar or lower autonomy desires than those without an immigration background.

The Role of Immigration Background in the Interplay Between Autonomy Restrictions and Desires With Parent–Youth Conflicts and Support

Youth, both adolescents and young adults, challenge the legitimacy of parental authority regarding personal issues, which they believe should be under their own control (Padilla-Walker et al., 2014; Smetana, 2002). Differing perceptions of legitimate authority have been found between youth with and without an immigration background. Youth with an immigration background show on average higher levels of legitimate parental authority than those without such a background (Farber et al., 2025). These differences may be related to the differing emphasis placed on autonomy across families with and without an immigration background (Fulgini, 1998; Lansford, 2022). When cultural values like obedience and interdependence are taught, autonomy restrictions—a potential parental controlling behavior—may not necessarily be viewed as negative, but potentially as a somewhat positive and caring aspect of parenting (Chao & Aque, 2009; Klein et al., 2020). Among youth who are less exposed to these values, such parental behavioral control may be regarded as somewhat hostile and indicative of

parental rejection rather than an expression of parental concern, care, and affection (Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

One study indicated that European American adolescents felt more hurt, angry, and controlled by parental control than African American adolescents did (Mason et al., 2004). Other studies showed that controlling parenting was negatively related to closeness among European American adolescents, but not among Chinese Americans (Chao, 2001), and negatively related to parental warmth/nurture for Anglo-Canadians, but not for Egyptian Canadians (Rudy & Grusec, 2001). These studies emphasize that in certain families with an immigration background, controlling parenting behaviors may not have the same negative impact on parent–youth closeness or youth's satisfaction with the relationship as they perhaps do in families without an immigration background (McElhaney & Allen, 2012). Accordingly, the association between perceived restrictions on autonomy and parent–youth conflicts and support is likely to be weaker for youth with an immigration background in comparison to those without an immigration background.

While some youth with an immigration background who desire more autonomy than their parents want to allow may experience more tense parent–youth relationships (Juang et al., 1999; Son et al., 2024), this effect may be more pronounced for those without an immigration background. Youth with an immigration background may exhibit a higher level of acceptance or understanding toward their parents' restrictions, despite having a stronger desire for autonomy themselves. In part, this could be attributed to their less negative perception of parental controlling behaviors, as compared to youth without an immigration background (McElhaney & Allen, 2012). Youth with an immigration background may also adopt alternative strategies to navigate differing autonomy expectations with their parents, rather than, for instance, responding with overt conflict (Son et al., 2024). As a result, it could be hypothesized that the interplay between perceived autonomy restrictions, and autonomy desires on parent–youth conflicts and support might be weaker for youth with than for those without an immigration background.

The Present Study

Building on previous literature and empirical evidence, the present study investigated two research questions. The first research question examined what role the interplay between autonomy restrictions and desires played in parent–youth conflicts and support. We hypothesized that (1) autonomy restrictions would be associated with more parent–youth conflicts and lower support, and (2) this association would be stronger for youth with stronger autonomy desires. The second research question examined how this association differs for youth with and without an immigration background. We hypothesized that youth with an immigration background would (3) perceive more autonomy restrictions. Based on previous research, we hypothesized that autonomy desires could be (4a) comparable for youth with and without an immigration background, or (4b) lower for youth with an immigration background than youth without an immigration background. Furthermore, (5) autonomy restrictions were expected to have a weaker association with parent–youth conflicts and support for youth with an immigration background. (6) The moderation effect as formulated in Hypothesis 2 was expected to be weaker for youth with than without an immigration background.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Data collection took place at four tertiary vocational schools in Utrecht, the Netherlands and was embedded in a larger project on the overall mental health and future orientations of youth. Ethical approval was gained from the Ethics Assessment Committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Behaviour Sciences at Utrecht University. We report how we determined our sample size, all data exclusions, and all measures in the study. The analyses for this study were based on a sample of 975 late adolescents and young adults ($M_{\text{age}} = 18.12$, $SD = 1.94$; range 16–25; 42% female). The small number of participants who reported living alone without parents ($n = 53$) were excluded from the analysis. To distinguish between youth with and without an immigration background, we classified those with both parents born in the Netherlands ($n = 690$) as having no immigration background. In contrast, those with at least one parent born in Africa, Latin America, or Asia ($n = 285$) were identified as having an immigration background. Most participants were born in the Netherlands ($n = 225$), including a subgroup with one Dutch parent ($n = 85$). A smaller number were themselves born outside the Netherlands ($n = 60$). Those with at least one parent born in Europe (except the Netherlands), Northern America, Australia, and New Zealand, all of which have been identified as being culturally more individualistic than collectivistic ($n = 80$), were excluded (Fuligni & Tsai, 2015; Hofstede, 2001). The data and code are available upon request from the first author.

Measures

A new instrument was developed for this study to assess autonomy restrictions, desires, and conflicts with parents (see Supplemental Tables S1 and S2 for factor analyses). We developed an age-appropriate scale inspired by the personal domain of the Social-Cognitive Domain Theory scale (Smetana, 2002) and several other autonomy scales (e.g., Crockett et al., 2010; Supple et al., 2009).

Autonomy Restrictions

Youth were asked whether they were allowed to decide on eight issues: curfew time, leaving home without informing parents, weekend outings, going on holiday without parents, moving out, engaging in romantic relationships, choosing a partner, and forming their own societal, political, and religious beliefs. The response options 0 (*no*) and 1 (*yes*) were reverse coded to 1 (*no*) and 0 (*yes*). Cronbach's α was .74, and a sum score was created with values that ranged from zero to eight. A higher score indicated perceiving more autonomy restrictions.

Autonomy Desires

To assess autonomy desires, the above eight autonomy statements were presented, and youth were asked to respond with 0 (*no*) or 1 (*yes*) whether they desired them. Cronbach's α was .70. Responses were summed to create a scale with values that ranged from zero to eight.

Parent–Youth Conflicts and Support

To measure parent–youth conflicts, youth were asked whether the eight statements have or had led to conflicts with their parents. Again, respondents answered with 0 (*no*) or 1 (*yes*). Cronbach's α was .75, and a sum score was created with values that ranged from zero to eight. Parental support was measured using a subscale of the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Zimet et al., 1988). Items, such as “I get the emotional help and support I need at home,” were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach's α was .91, and an average score was created. A higher average indicated perceiving more support.

The control variables were age, gender, family affluence, and family structure. Age was measured by asking participants to indicate their birth month and year to calculate their age at the date of data collection. Gender was measured by asking whether participants were 0 (*female*), 1 (*male*), or 2 (*other*). It was recoded into 0 (*male*) and 1 (*female*). Option 2 (*other*) included individuals who identified as nonbinary or gender-neutral ($n = 8$) and those who did not state their gender ($n = 12$). As the former group was too small to include as a separate group, they were excluded from the analysis. Family affluence was measured with the Family Affluence Scale (FAS-III). This scale included six questions regarding the material assets of the family. A sum score was created with a higher score indicating higher family affluence (Torsheim et al., 2016). Family structure was measured by asking about participants' living situations. A dichotomous variable was created with the answer options 0 (*not living with both parents*; e.g., only with the father) and 1 (*living with both parents*).

Analytic Strategy

Descriptive and correlation analyses were conducted, followed by a series of regression analyses, including three-way moderation analyses. This study's design, hypotheses, and analysis plan were preregistered (<https://osf.io/vfn8d>), and deviations from the pre-registration are shown in Supplemental Table S3. All analyses were performed in Mplus Version 8.9. A Robust Maximum Likelihood estimator was used to account for variables with unequal distributions. We investigated the first research question and the associated first hypothesis by testing the direct effect of autonomy restrictions on both parent–youth conflicts and support. We controlled for age, gender, family affluence, and family structure. The first research question also asked whether this association was moderated by autonomy desires. Accordingly, for Hypothesis 2, we examined in a subsequent model the two-way interaction between autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires on parent–youth conflicts and support. When significant interaction terms were found, the Johnson–Neyman (J-N) technique was used to plot the association of autonomy restrictions on parent–youth conflicts and support with the conditional effect of different levels of autonomy desires (McCabe et al., 2018).

The second research question explored potential differences between youth with and without an immigration background regarding the interplay between autonomy restrictions and desires on parent–youth conflicts and support. We first focused on determining whether there were differences between youth with and without an immigration background concerning autonomy restrictions and desires. To address this, Hypotheses 3 and 4(a, b) were

Table 1
*Descriptive Statistics and Independent Samples *t* Tests Between Youth With and Without an Immigration Background*

Variable	Total sample				With immigration background		Without immigration background		With vs. without immigration background			
	<i>N</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Age	975	16–25	18.34	1.71	18.12	1.94	18.44	1.60	2.328	352.468	.020	0.20
Gender ^a	958	0–1	58%		49%		62%					
Family affluence	953	2–13	8.29	1.79	7.79	1.85	8.50	1.73	5.930	849	<.001	0.46
Family structure ^b	975	0–1	72%		71%		73%					
Autonomy restrictions	884	0–8	1.71	1.81	2.87	2.29	1.27	1.37	–10.245	291.787	<.001	–0.99
Autonomy desires	882	0–8	5.67	1.94	4.59	2.28	6.07	1.63	9.091	317.115	<.001	0.82
Parent–youth conflicts	875	0–8	1.13	1.65	1.28	1.84	1.08	1.57	–1.588	356.368	.113	–0.13
Parent–youth support	897	1–7	5.87	1.23	5.84	1.30	5.88	1.20	.669	367.263	.504	0.05

^a Reference category is male. ^b Reference category is living with both parents. Due to their skewed distributions and unequal variances, the *t* tests on autonomy restrictions, autonomy desires, and parent–youth conflicts were bootstrapped. The bootstrapped *t*-value was calculated by mean difference/standard error.

tested by examining the regression effect of both autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires on having an immigration background. Second, we examined the difference between youth with and without an immigration background on the direct association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts and support (Hypothesis 5). To do so, we tested the effect of the two-way interaction of autonomy restrictions with immigration background on parent–youth conflicts and support. Last, to fully examine the second research question, we tested Hypothesis 6, the three-way interaction of autonomy restrictions, autonomy desires, and immigration background on parent–youth conflicts and support.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and independent sample *t* tests are shown in Table 1. Youth reported, on average, relatively few autonomy restrictions, given the scale ranging from zero to eight. In contrast, desires for autonomy tended to be relatively strong. Parent–youth conflicts were relatively uncommon, while parental support was relatively high. When performing *t* tests to compare autonomy restrictions for youth with and without an immigration background, it was found that those with an immigration background perceived significantly more restrictions than those without such a background. Also, the *t* test showed that autonomy desires

were significantly lower among youth with an immigration background than those without. For both autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires, this effect of immigration background could be considered very large, given the large (>.80) Cohen’s *d* (Cohen, 1992). There were no statistically significant differences for parent–youth conflicts or support between youth with and without an immigration background.

Table 2 shows the correlation analyses (see Supplemental Table S4 for the correlations separated by immigration background). Autonomy restrictions were strongly negatively associated with autonomy desires. Higher levels of autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires were both significantly but weakly associated with more parent–youth conflicts and lower levels of support. This was found for both groups (Supplemental Table S4).

Test of Hypotheses

In Tables 3 and 4, Model 1 presents the outcomes of Hypothesis 1 that examined the direct association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts and support. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, it was found that autonomy restrictions were associated with more parent–youth conflicts and less support. In Tables 3 and 4, Model 2, Hypothesis 2 assumed that the strength of the association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts and support was moderated by youth’s autonomy desires. Our findings revealed a significant interaction between autonomy restrictions and autonomy

Table 2
Correlations Between Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	—							
2. Gender ^a	.11***	—						
3. Family affluence	–.08*	.01	—					
4. Family structure ^b	–.07*	.03	.17***	—				
5. Autonomy restrictions	–.27***	.08*	–.15***	.06	—			
6. Autonomy desires	.16***	.11**	.15***	–.06	–.40***	—		
7. Parent–youth conflicts	–.01	.08*	–.05	–.03	.24***	.25***	—	
8. Parent–youth support	–.08*	.01	.14***	.15***	–.16***	–.16***	–.29***	—

^a Reference category is male. ^b Reference category is living with both parents.
* *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers. This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly. All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Table 3*Direct and Moderation Analyses of Autonomy Restrictions, Autonomy Desires, and Parent–Youth Conflicts*

Effect	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>
Age	.04 (.04)	.223	.05 (.04)	.217	.05 (.03)	.152	.05 (.03)	.147
Gender ^a	.19 (.11)	.087	.06 (.03)	.087	−.06 (.10)	.560	−.02 (.03)	.559
Family affluence	.00 (.03)	.889	−.01 (.03)	.889	−.03 (.03)	.268	−.03 (.03)	.264
Family structure ^b	−.18 (.12)	.152	−.05 (.03)	.153	−.09 (.11)	.443	−.02 (.03)	.443
Autonomy restrictions	.23 (.04)	<.001	.25 (.04)	<.001	.05 (.05)	.322	.06 (.06)	.322
Autonomy desires					.18 (.04)	<.001	.21 (.04)	<.001
Autonomy Restrictions × Desires					.07 (.01)	<.001	.40 (.06)	<.001

Note. *SE* = standard error.

^aReference category is male. ^bReference category is living with both parents.

desires on parent–youth conflicts. However, no interaction was found for parent–youth support.

The J-N plot in Figure 1 provides an estimate of the range of the moderator variable at which the independent variable was significantly associated with the dependent variable (McCabe et al., 2018). As shown, the association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts became stronger with greater autonomy desires. Specifically, a significant and positive simple slope was observed for the effect of autonomy restrictions on parent–youth conflicts when autonomy desires were −2.55 standard deviations away from the mean or higher. This indicated that there was a positive association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts, except for very low scores on autonomy desires (< 0.72). Furthermore, the association became stronger with higher scores on autonomy desires. In sum, the findings presented above provided mixed support for Hypothesis 2, suggesting that autonomy restrictions were associated with more parent–youth conflicts, and this was more so for those with stronger autonomy desires. No such association was found for support.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 focused on the differences between youth with and without immigration backgrounds in the interplay between autonomy restrictions and desires on parent–youth conflicts and support. Table 5 presents the results of the regression analyses on the association of both autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires with immigration background. The results indicated that youth with an immigration background perceived more restrictions on their autonomy (3) and had fewer autonomy desires than youth without an immigration background (4b). Hence, support was found for Hypothesis 3 and 4b, not for Hypothesis 4a that predicted comparable autonomy desires among youth with and without an immigration background.

Hypothesis 5 examined the difference between youth with and without an immigration background in the direct association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts and support. Table 6, Model 1, shows that the interaction effect of autonomy restrictions with immigration background on parent–youth conflicts was negative. Model 1 suggests that for youth with an immigration background, the positive association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts was weaker than for those without an immigration background. A post hoc analysis (Supplemental Table S5) revealed that when separating the data by immigration background, the association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts was only significant for youth without an immigration background. Table 7, Model 1, shows that the moderation of restrictions and autonomy desires was not found for the dependent variable support from parents. Hypothesis 5 can thus be confirmed only for parent–youth conflicts and not for support.

With testing Hypothesis 6, we investigated the differences in the role of the three-way interaction of autonomy restrictions, autonomy desires, and immigration background for parent–youth conflicts and support (see Tables 6 and 7, Model 2). For both youth with and without immigration backgrounds, a significant interplay was found between autonomy restrictions and desires on parent–youth conflicts. However, no statistically significant differences were found. Therefore, based on these results, there was insufficient evidence to support Hypothesis 6. Instead, the findings suggest that the interplay between autonomy restrictions and desires on parent–youth conflicts and support is not different between individuals with and without an immigration background.

Table 4*Direct and Moderation Analyses of Autonomy Restrictions, Autonomy Desires, and Parent–Youth Support*

Effect	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>
Age	−.08 (.03)	.002	−.11 (.04)	.001	−.08 (.03)	.003	−.11 (.03)	.002
Gender ^a	.02 (.08)	.842	.01 (.03)	.842	.12 (.08)	.158	.05 (.03)	.157
Family affluence	.06 (.03)	.022	.08 (.04)	.022	.07 (.02)	.002	.11 (.04)	.002
Family structure ^b	.39 (.10)	<.001	.14 (.03)	<.001	.34 (.09)	<.001	.13 (.03)	<.001
Autonomy restrictions	−.13 (.03)	<.001	−.19 (.04)	<.001	−.13 (.05)	.009	−.19 (.07)	.010
Autonomy desires					−.14 (.03)	<.001	−.22 (.05)	<.001
Autonomy Restrictions × Desires					−.02 (.01)	.132	−.12 (.08)	.136

Note. *SE* = standard error.

^aReference category is male. ^bReference category is living with both parents.

Table 5*Analyses of the Association of Autonomy Restrictions and Autonomy Desires With Immigration Background*

Effect	Autonomy restriction				Autonomy desire			
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>
Age	-.27 (.03)	<.001	-.26 (.03)	<.001	.15 (.03)	<.001	.13 (.03)	<.001
Gender ^a	.52 (.11)	<.001	.14 (.03)	<.001	.28 (.11)	.026	.07 (.03)	.025
Family affluence	-.12 (.04)	.001	-.11 (.03)	.001	.12 (.04)	.001	.11 (.03)	.001
Family structure ^b	.27 (.12)	.025	.07 (.03)	.025	-.34 (.12)	.010	-.08 (.03)	.010
Immigration background ^c	1.49 (.15)	<.001	.37 (.03)	<.001	-1.31 (.15)	<.001	-.31 (.04)	<.001

Note. *SE* = standard error.

^a Reference category is male. ^b Reference category is living with both parents. ^c Reference category is without immigration background.

Discussion

This study had two research goals: first, to investigate the interplay between autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires on parent–youth conflicts and support, and second, to examine potential differences in this interplay between youth with and without an immigration background. The results revealed that youth who perceived more parental restrictions on their autonomy reported more parent–youth conflicts and less support. Yet, the significant association with conflicts with parents was only found for those without an immigration background. Also, when youth's autonomy desires were stronger, autonomy restrictions were associated with more conflicts with parents about autonomy, but not with lower perceptions of support from them. Youth with an immigration background perceived significantly more autonomy restrictions and reported lower autonomy desires than youth without an immigration background. There were no differences in the interplay between autonomy restrictions, autonomy desires, and parent–youth conflicts and support between youth with or without an immigration background.

Our finding of the association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts and support is consistent with the theoretical rationale and prior empirical research which suggest that youth who perceive their parents as controlling, perceive their relationship with them to be more negative (Inguglia et al., 2015). We hypothesized that autonomy restrictions would have a less negative association

with the parent–youth relationship among youth with an immigration background than among youth without an immigration background. Indeed, our findings revealed that perceived autonomy restrictions were not associated with parent–youth conflicts or support for youth with an immigration background, but solely for youth without an immigration background. This finding is consistent with several empirical studies that have found that controlling parental behaviors do not negatively affect the parent–youth relationship to the same extent in families with an immigration background as they do in families without such a background (Mason et al., 2004; Rudy & Grusec, 2001).

Our findings are also consistent with the theoretical argument of the stage–environment fit theory that was originally developed for early adolescence, but could be extended to the transition to adulthood (Eccles et al., 1993). When parents impose restrictions on autonomy while adolescents and young adults strongly desire autonomy, for both those with and without an immigration background, their relationship tends to be more tense. Despite the expectations, no significant difference in the interplay on parent–youth conflicts were found between youth with and without an immigration background. A possible explanation may be that, contrary to our expectations, youth with an immigration background who have a stronger desire for autonomy may not exhibit higher levels of acceptance of restrictions on their autonomy than their counterparts without an immigration background. Yet, further investigation is

Table 6*Moderation Analyses of Immigration Background on the Associations Between Autonomy Restrictions and Desires With Parent–Youth Conflicts*

Effect	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>
Age	.05 (.04)	.154	.05 (.04)	.147	.06 (.03)	.093	.06 (.03)	.088
Gender ^a	.17 (.11)	.128	.05 (.03)	.128	-.05 (.10)	.618	-.02 (.03)	.618
Family affluence	.00 (.03)	.907	.00 (.03)	.907	-.02 (.03)	.445	-.02 (.03)	.442
Family structure ^b	-.16 (.13)	.204	-.04 (.03)	.204	-.09 (.11)	.434	-.02 (.03)	.434
Autonomy restrictions	.38 (.07)	<.001	.42 (.07)	<.001	.00 (.09)	.981	.00 (.10)	.982
Autonomy desires					.19 (.04)	<.001	.23 (.05)	<.001
Autonomy Restrictions \times Desires					.09 (.02)	<.001	.53 (.10)	<.001
Immigration Background ^c	.36 (.21)	.088	.10 (.06)	.085	.57 (.49)	.240	.16 (.13)	.239
Restrictions \times Immigration Background	-.26 (.09)	.004	-.28 (.10)	.003	.04 (.12)	.731	.05 (.13)	.732
Desires \times Immigration Background					-.03 (.09)	.741	-.05 (.14)	.741
Restrictions \times Desires \times Immigration Background					-.04 (.03)	.093	-.20 (.12)	.092

Note. *SE* = standard error.

^a Reference category is male. ^b Reference category is living with both parents. ^c Reference category is without immigration background.

Table 7

Moderation Analyses of Immigration Background on the Associations Between Autonomy Restrictions and Desires With Parent–Youth Support

Effect	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>	β (<i>SE</i>)	<i>p</i>
Age	-.08 (.03)	.001	-.12 (.04)	.001	-.08 (.03)	.002	-.11 (.03)	.001
Gender ^a	.04 (.08)	.647	.02 (.03)	.647	.13 (.08)	.131	.05 (.03)	.130
Family affluence	.06 (.03)	.012	.09 (.04)	.012	.07 (.02)	.002	.11 (.04)	.002
Family structure ^b	.39 (.10)	<.001	.14 (.03)	<.001	.35 (.09)	<.001	.13 (.03)	<.001
Autonomy restrictions	-.17 (.05)	<.001	-.25 (.07)	<.001	-.07 (.08)	.402	-.10 (.12)	.403
Autonomy desires					-.12 (.03)	<.001	-.19 (.05)	<.001
Autonomy Restrictions \times Desires					-.03 (.02)	.067	-.21 (.12)	.068
Immigration Background ^c	.16 (.15)	.289	.06 (.05)	.288	.17 (.35)	.621	.06 (.13)	.622
Restrictions \times Immigration Background	.03 (.06)	.597	.05 (.09)	.596	-.10 (.11)	.369	-.14 (.15)	.370
Desires \times Immigration Background					-.02 (.06)	.798	-.03 (.13)	.798
Restrictions \times Desires \times Immigration Background					.02 (.02)	.372	.13 (.14)	.366

Note. *SE* = standard error.

^aReference category is male. ^bReference category is living with both parents. ^cReference category is without immigration background.

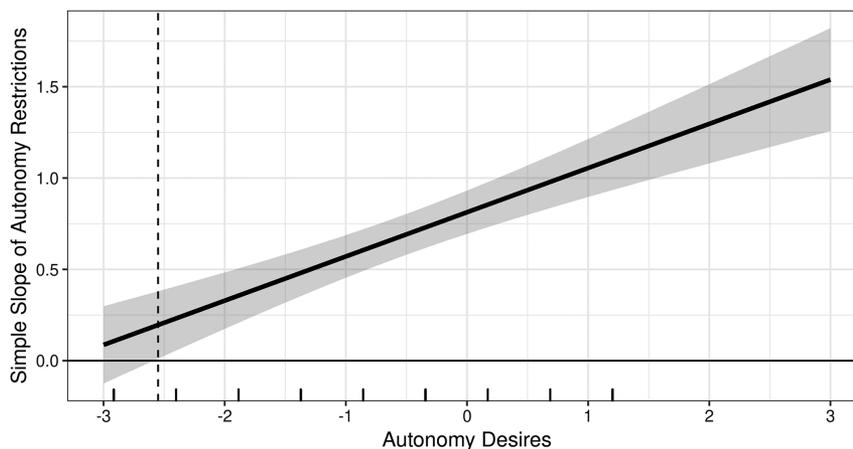
needed to determine the precise mechanisms behind the absence of a difference between youth with and without immigration backgrounds in the studied interplay.

Unexpectedly, we found that the interplay between autonomy restrictions and desires was associated with more conflicts, but not with less perceived parental support. This may be related to two issues. First, unlike parental support, conflicts with parents were measured through a question with similar content as autonomy restrictions. This similarity in questioning might have increased the likelihood of finding associations. Second, restrictions and rules can coexist within supportive relationships. Despite the prevalence of conflicts during adolescence, parents—and the family as a whole—typically remain a stable source of support throughout adolescence and young adulthood (Zhang & Grant, 2023).

Consistent with our expectations and past research (Son et al., 2024; Villalobos Solís et al., 2017), youth with an immigration background reported higher levels of autonomy restrictions. Extending existing research, youth with an immigration background

showed considerably lower desire for autonomy compared to youth without such a background. This may suggest a continuity in adhering to the cultural values of the country of origin across different generations (Fulgini & Tsai, 2015). A similar finding was found in a study where some Asian American youth reported more similar than different levels of autonomy than their parents (Juang et al., 1999). Finding lower autonomy desires among youth with an immigration background than among youth without an immigration background may appear to contradict the studies that found that youth with an immigration background may differ from their parents and therefore have conflicts with them over autonomy (Rasmi et al., 2015). Differences between autonomy granted by parents and desired by youth in immigrant families are often attributed to the faster adaptation rate of youth to the cultural values of the residence country (Nieri & Bermudez-Parsai, 2014). Therefore, the difference in autonomy between parents and youth with an immigration background found in previous studies could be a potential indication of youth adapting more to the country of residence, which might

Figure 1
Interaction Plot of Autonomy Restrictions \times Autonomy Desires on Parent–Youth Conflicts



translate into sharing comparable autonomy desires as their peers without an immigration background. However, this study found that the autonomy desires of youth with an immigration background were lower than those without an immigration background.

Limitations and Strengths

This research has some limitations, some of which may be addressed in future studies. First, the response options for the autonomy questions were limited to a binary choice, which restricted the range of possible variation. Future research would benefit from a scale with multiple response options to get more detailed answers. Second, autonomy can be conceptualized in multiple ways, including autonomy that highlights independent decision making or autonomy that highlights volitional functioning (Beyers et al., 2025). Current research focused on autonomy that mainly concerned independent decision making within the family (Smetana, 2017). Conceptualization of autonomy in terms of independent decision making is often argued to be more in line with individualistic rather than collectivistic cultural values (Beyers et al., 2025). However, examining autonomy as independence is essential because it is proposed that youth in globalized societies may be perceiving independence in decision making as both normal and desirable, despite these attitudes potentially differ from the traditional cultural beliefs and ideals that have been transmitted by parents (Fulgini & Tsai, 2015; Supple et al., 2009). Yet, future research could benefit from investigating other conceptualizations of autonomy to better understand how differing autonomy desires affect parent–child relationships in families with culturally diverse backgrounds. Third, this study relied on data from youth in tertiary vocational education. Overall, autonomy desires are argued to be associated with education levels, with higher levels of education increasing the desires for autonomy. This may be particularly prevalent among those with an immigration background (Covarrubias et al., 2019). Subsequent studies on autonomy could be enhanced by including individuals from various educational levels. Future research would also benefit from conducting research that includes dyads of youth and parents to examine gaps regarding autonomy restrictions and desires. Fourth, parent–youth conflicts were measured by asking about conflicts on autonomy, while support was measured by asking about the perceived level of support at home. While our measure of conflicts is specific, it may not capture general parent–youth conflicts on other (autonomy) topics. Our measure of support is general and lacks specificity in directly addressing support from parents. Therefore, youth may have answered the questions about support thinking about other family members living at home, rather than only parents. Future research could benefit from more general measurement of conflict and a more parent-specific measure of parental support. Fifth, while we assumed one’s culture, based on youth’s country of origin, future research would benefit from directly measuring culture. Last, cross-sectional data were used, which prevents us from drawing conclusions regarding the directionality of the associations. Parent–youth conflict and support appear to be related to perceptions of autonomy restrictions, but the direction of this relationship remains unclear. Future research using longitudinal designs is needed to better understand whether youth’s perceptions of autonomy restriction shape the level of parent–youth conflict and support over time or whether the level of conflict and support shapes these perceptions. Despite these limitations, several strengths should be highlighted. This study contributes to a limited body of research by

exploring the association between autonomy restrictions, and parent–youth conflicts and support, while also incorporating youth’s autonomy desires. Furthermore, our study adds to the literature by examining the differences between those with and without an immigration background.

In conclusion, parent–youth conflicts and support were associated with youth’s perceived autonomy restrictions—but only for youth without an immigration background. The association between autonomy restrictions and parent–youth conflicts depended on youth’s own autonomy desires for both youth with and without an immigration background. While the levels of autonomy restrictions and autonomy desires differed for youth with and without an immigration background, their interplay on the outcomes did not differ by immigration background. These findings suggest that youth’s autonomy desire plays a role in shaping parent–youth conflicts, especially when youth perceive restrictions on autonomy, but professionals must need to be sensitive to variations based on immigration backgrounds.

References

- Arends-Tóth, J., & van de Vijver, F. J. (2009). Cultural differences in family, marital, and gender-role values among immigrants and majority members in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Psychology, 44*(3), 161–169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590701545676>
- Benito-Gomez, M., Williams, K. N., McCurdy, A., & Fletcher, A. C. (2020). Autonomy-supportive parenting in adolescence: Cultural variability in the contemporary United States. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 12*(1), 7–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12362>
- Beyers, W., Soenens, B., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2025). Autonomy in adolescence: A conceptual, developmental and cross-cultural perspective. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 22*(2), 121–141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2024.2330734>
- Branje, S. (2018). Development of parent–adolescent relationships: Conflict interactions as a mechanism of change. *Child Development Perspectives, 12*(3), 171–176. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12278>
- Branje, S., Mastrotheodoros, S., & Laursen, B. (2022). Family relationships during adolescence. In A. L. Vangelisti (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of family communication* (Vol. 3, pp. 247–261). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003043423-22>
- CBS. (2021). *Jongeren in Nederland* [Youth in the Netherlands]. Retrieved September 4, 2025, from <https://longreads.cbs.nl/jeugdmonitor-2021/jongeren-in-nederland/>
- Chao, R. K. (2001). Extending research on the consequences of parenting style for Chinese Americans and European Americans. *Child Development, 72*(6), 1832–1843. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00381>
- Chao, R. K., & Aque, C. (2009). Interpretations of parental control by Asian immigrant and European American youth. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(3), 342–354. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015828>
- Cohen, J. (1992). A power primer. *Psychological Bulletin, 112*(1), 155–159. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.112.1.155>
- Covarrubias, R., Valle, I., Laiduc, G., & Azmitia, M. (2019). “You never become fully independent”: Family roles and independence in first-generation college students. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 34*(4), 381–410. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558418788402>
- Crockett, L. J., Veed, G. J., & Russell, S. T. (2010). Do measures of parenting have the same meaning for European, Chinese, and Filipino American adolescents? Tests of measurement equivalence. In S. T. Russell, L. J. Crockett, & R. K. Chao (Eds.), *Asian American parenting and parent–adolescent relationships* (pp. 17–35). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-5728-3_2
- Daddis, C. (2011). Desire for increased autonomy and adolescents’ perceptions of peer autonomy: “Everyone else can; why can’t I?” *Child*

- Development*, 82(4), 1310–1326. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01587.x>
- Eccles, J. S., Midgley, C., Wigfield, A., Buchanan, C. M., Reuman, D., Flanagan, C., & Iver, D. M. (1993). Development during adolescence: The impact of stage-environment fit on young adolescents' experiences in schools and in families. *American Psychologist*, 48(2), 90–101. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.48.2.90>
- Eurostat. (2024). *Foreign-born people and their descendants—Main characteristics*. Retrieved September 4, 2025, from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Foreign-born_people_and_their_descendants_-_main_characteristics
- Farber, D. V., Alexander, A. J., Barry, C. M., Papadakis, A. A., & Kotchick, B. A. (2025). Relations among parental psychological control, perceived legitimate authority, and self-worth in Asian-American and European-American emerging adults. *Journal of Adult Development*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10804-025-09515-z>
- Fingerman, K. L., Cheng, Y.-P., Tighe, L., Birditt, K. S., & Zarit, S. (2012). Relationships between young adults and their parents. In A. Booth, S. L. Brown, N. S. Landale, W. D. Manning, & S. M. McHale (Eds.), *Early adulthood in a family context* (pp. 59–85). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-1436-0_5
- Fulgini, A. J. (1998). Authority, autonomy, and parent–adolescent conflict and cohesion: A study of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, Filipino, and European backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, 34(4), 782–792. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.34.4.782>
- Fulgini, A. J., & Tsai, K. M. (2015). Developmental flexibility in the age of globalization: Autonomy and identity development among immigrant adolescents. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 66(1), 411–431. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010814-015111>
- Gittins, C. B., & Hunt, C. (2019). Parental behavioural control in adolescence: How does it affect self-esteem and self-criticism? *Journal of Adolescence*, 73(1), 26–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2019.03.004>
- Green, E. G. T., Deschamps, J.-C., & Páez, D. (2005). Variation of individualism and collectivism within and between 20 countries: A typological analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(3), 321–339. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022104273654>
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Inguglia, C., Inguglia, S., Liga, F., Lo Coco, A., & Lo Cricchio, M. G. (2015). Autonomy and relatedness in adolescence and emerging adulthood: Relationships with parental support and psychological distress. *Journal of Adult Development*, 22(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10804-014-9196-8>
- Juang, L. P., Lerner, J. V., McKinney, J. P., & von Eye, A. (1999). The goodness of fit in autonomy timetable expectations between Asian-American late adolescents and their parents. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 23(4), 1023–1048. <https://doi.org/10.1080/016502599383658>
- Kakihara, F., Tilton-Weaver, L., Kerr, M., & Stattin, H. (2010). The relationship of parental control to youth adjustment: Do youths' feelings about their parents play a role? *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 39(12), 1442–1456. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-009-9479-8>
- Klein, E. M., Brähler, E., Petrowski, K., Tibubos, A. N., Ernst, M., Wiltink, J., Michal, M., Wild, P. S., Schulz, A., Münzel, T., König, J., Lackner, K., Pfeiffer, N., & Beutel, M. E. (2020). The association between recalled parental rearing behavior and depressiveness: A comparison between 1st immigrants and non-immigrants in the population-based Gutenberg Health Study. *BMC Psychiatry*, 20(1), Article 367. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-020-02755-1>
- Lansford, J. E. (2022). Annual research review: Cross-cultural similarities and differences in parenting. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, and Allied Disciplines*, 63(4), 466–479. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.13539>
- Longmore, M. A., Manning, W. D., & Giordano, P. C. (2013). Parent–child relationships in adolescence. In M. A. Fine & F. D. Fincham (Eds.), *Handbook of family theories: A content-based approach* (pp. 28–50). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203075180>
- Mason, C. A., Walker-Barnes, C. J., Tu, S., Simons, J., & Martinez-Arrue, R. (2004). Ethnic differences in the affective meaning of parental control behaviors. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 25(1), 59–79. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JOPP.0000039939.83804.37>
- McCabe, C. J., Kim, D. S., & King, K. M. (2018). Improving present practices in the visual display of interactions. *Advances in Methods and Practices in Psychological Science*, 1(2), 147–165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2515245917746792>
- McElhaney, K. B., & Allen, J. P. (2012). Sociocultural perspectives on adolescent autonomy. In P. K. Kerig, M. S. Schulz, & S. T. Hauser (Eds.), *Adolescence and beyond: Family processes and development* (pp. 161–176). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199736546.003.0011>
- Nieri, T., & Bermudez-Parsai, M. (2014). Gap or overlap? Parent–child acculturation differences in Mexican immigrant families. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 36(4), 413–434. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986314552047>
- Padilla-Walker, L. M., Nelson, L. J., & Knapp, D. J. (2014). “Because I’m still the parent, that’s why!” Parental legitimate authority during emerging adulthood. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 31(3), 293–313. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407513494949>
- Phinney, J. S., & Vedder, P. (2022). Family relationship values of adolescents and parents: Intergenerational discrepancies and adaptation. In J. W. Berry, J. S. Phinney, D. L. Sam, & P. Vedder (Eds.), *Immigrant youth in cultural transition* (pp. 168–185). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/97810003309192-7>
- Rasmi, S., Chuang, S. S., & Hennig, K. (2015). The acculturation gap-distress model: Extensions and application to Arab Canadian families. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21(4), 630–642. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000014>
- Rudy, D., & Grusec, J. E. (2001). Correlates of authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist cultures and implications for understanding the transmission of values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(2), 202–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032002007>
- Rudy, D., & Grusec, J. E. (2006). Authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist groups: Associations with maternal emotion and cognition and children's self-esteem. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 20(1), 68–78. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.20.1.68>
- Shah, E. N., Szvedo, D. E., & Allen, J. P. (2023). Parental autonomy restricting behaviors during adolescence as predictors of dependency on parents in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*, 11(1), 15–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21676968221121158>
- Sharon, T. (2016). Constructing adulthood: Markers of adulthood and well-being among emerging adults. *Emerging Adulthood*, 4(3), 161–167. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696815579826>
- Smetana, J. G. (2002). Culture, autonomy, and personal jurisdiction in adolescent-parent relationships. In H. W. Reese & R. Kail (Eds.), *Advances in child development and behavior* (Vol. 29, pp. 51–87). Academic Press. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2407\(02\)80051-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2407(02)80051-9)
- Smetana, J. G. (2017). The development of autonomy during adolescence. In B. Soenens, M. Vansteenkiste, & S. Van Petegem (Eds.), *Autonomy in adolescent development* (pp. 53–73). Psychology Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315636511-3>
- Smetana, J. G., & Rote, W. M. (2019). Adolescent–parent relationships: Progress, processes, and prospects. *Annual Review of Developmental Psychology*, 1(1), 41–68. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-devpsych-121318-084903>

- Son, D., Updegraff, K. A., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2024). Parent-child conflict in Mexican-origin families: Charting development from adolescence to young adulthood. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *34*(3), 631–644. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12925>
- Supple, A. J., Ghazarian, S. R., Peterson, G. W., & Bush, K. R. (2009). Assessing the cross-cultural validity of a parental autonomy granting measure. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *40*(5), 816–833. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022109339390>
- Titzmann, P. F., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2012). Acculturation or development? Autonomy expectations among ethnic German immigrant adolescents and their native German age-mates. *Child Development*, *83*(5), 1640–1654. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01799.x>
- Torsheim, T., Cavallo, F., Levin, K. A., Schnohr, C., Mazur, J., Nielsen, B., Currie, C., & the FAS Development Study Group. (2016). Psychometric validation of the revised family affluence scale: A latent variable approach. *Child Indicators Research*, *9*(3), 771–784. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-015-9339-x>
- Tran, S. P., & Raffaelli, M. (2020). Configurations of autonomy and relatedness in a multiethnic U.S. sample of parent-adolescent dyads. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *30*(1), 203–218. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12517>
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism & collectivism*. Westview Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429499845>
- Villalobos Solís, M., Smetana, J. G., & Tasopoulos-Chan, M. (2017). Evaluations of conflicts between Latino values and autonomy desires among Puerto Rican adolescents. *Child Development*, *88*(5), 1581–1597. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12687>
- Zhang, X., & Grant, A. (2023). Parent-child relationships from adolescence to adulthood: An examination of children's and parent's reports of intergenerational solidarity by race, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status from 1994–2018 in the United States. *Social Sciences*, *12*(5), Article 266. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci12050266>
- Zhao, C., White, R. M. B., Kho, C., & Roche, K. M. (2024). Changes in Latinx parenting behaviors during adolescence: Variation by neighborhood characteristics. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *38*(8), 1119–1130. <https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0001268>
- Zimet, G. D., Dahlem, N. W., Zimet, S. G., & Farley, G. K. (1988). The multidimensional scale of perceived social support. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *52*(1), 30–41. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa5201_2

Received March 18, 2024

Revision received September 15, 2025

Accepted September 26, 2025 ■