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Guenter H. Wasner

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Susan J. Zarit
Major professor

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THE LINKAGE BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS, OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS, AND FATHER-ADOLESCENT SON INTERACTIONS: EXAMINING THE WORK-FAMILY INTERFACE

By

Guenter H. Wasner

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ABSTRACT

THE LINKAGE BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS, OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS, AND FATHER-ADOLESCENT SON INTERACTIONS: EXAMINING THE WORK-FAMILY INTERFACE

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There is a growing awareness that a fuller understanding of family processes requires greater knowledge of the interface between family life and ecological variables such as social class and occupational conditions. This study attempted to clarify the process by which fathers' work experiences influenced their relationship with their adolescent sons by testing a path model which predicted a linkage between social class, work conditions, fathers' values and personal efficacy, parenting style and confidence, and sons' experience of autonomy and relatedness with their fathers. Self-report questionnaires assessing the above variables were completed by 204 undergraduates and their fathers.

The study found that social class and the job condition of skill utilization influenced the father-son relationship through two primary pathways. One pathway was mediated primarily by fathers' values (conformity versus self-direction) and supported a "values shaping" hypothesis. Fathers' valuing of conformity over self-direction was found

to be predictive of parental authoritarianism which in turn predicted less encouragement of autonomy in sons. The second pathway was mediated largely by fathers' sense of powerlessness which was found to negatively influence parental confidence which in turn was predictive of sons' experience of support and relatedness from their fathers. Job autonomy, job satisfaction and job-related stress were found not to be significant links in the tested model.

Overall, the study demonstrated the value of examining the mediating processes between work and family interactions. Methodological limitations and future areas for research were also discussed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Within the past two decades there has been increasing interest in the study of the family system as a context for human development. This approach has broadened the lens by which researchers examine childhood development and dysfunction, moving away from models of individual pathology towards paradigms that look more closely at the interactional patterns and inter-relatedness of behavior within the family group. The family however, is also a part of a larger social network, so that ecological systems theorists have argued that understanding the relationship between the larger environment and family functioning is equally important to examining the more micro processes that occur within individual family systems (Belsky, 1984; Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The proposed research is embedded in this broad ecological question of how intrafamilial processes are affected by extrafamilial conditions.

One of the environmental conditions which has consistently been shown to impact on family functioning and child development is social class, or socioeconomic status. While there has been considerable disagreement over the accurate measurement of social class (e.g., Haug, 1977; Haug & Susman, 1971; Hollingshead, 1971; Mueller & Parcel, 1981)

there is general agreement that its' important components include occupational prestige or status, educational level, and income (Haug, 1977). Research over the past several decades (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1958; Gecas, 1979; Hess, 1970; Kohn, 1963; Luster, Rhoades & Haas, 1989) has suggested consistent social class differences in child socialization practices and parenting styles, including differences in discipline techniques, attribution of motivation to children's behavior, expression of parental affection, and differences in communication style between parent and child.

Social class, however, is a broad and complex variable, and evidence that a family's placement on the social status hierarchy can influence its interactional patterns tells us little about how and why this influence occurs, and what the salient mediating or moderating variables might be. Since occupational type comprises one of the key indicators of social class, one major area of exploration may be to look at the influence of job characteristics on differences in family functioning. Indeed, research in this area has suggested that the specific content and nature of the work activity may influence the worker's personal orientation and sense of powerlessness (Kohn & Schooler, 1982; O'Brien, 1980), their psychological state or moods (Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & Crawford, 1989, Repetti, 1987), and their parenting values and behaviors (e.g., Gecas & Nye, 1974; Kohn, 1963, 1980; McKinley, 1964; Miller & Swanson,

1958). More specifically, two conditions of work which have shown particular salience in regards to personal orientation and parenting values have been the extent of autonomy or self-direction at the work place (Kohn, 1969,1980; Kohn & Schooler, 1982; McKinley, 1964) and the opportunity to utilize one's skills and perceive the work as challenging and rewarding (O'Brien, 1980).

However, the path by which these differing occupational conditions influence family processes is not clear and little is known regarding the more proximal and direct linkages between job experiences and specific family interactions. Several different theoretical hypotheses have been made regarding the processes which may mediate this work-family interface. These include (a) frustration or stress models which explore how stressful experiences at work either "spill over" into negative affective experiences in family relationships (Piotrkowski, 1979; Small & Riley, 1990) or are compensated for by a greater valuation of family experiences at home (McKinley, 1964; Staines, 1980; Hoffman, 1986) and (b) socialization or value-shaping models (Kohn, 1969, 1980; Ogbu, 1981), which suggest that work experiences affect parents' ideas about what qualities are important in adulthood and thus influence attitudes and behaviors regarding child rearing and marital interactions.

A final limitation of the research examining the relationship between social class, occupational conditions and family functioning has been that it looked primarily at

parenting practices among parents of school-aged and younger children. Little work has been done on the influence of these variables on parent/adolescent relationships and subsequently on successful adolescent development. Yet, outcome variables examined to date, such as modes of parental control, emphasis on independence and achievement, and the level of parental support, affection, and involvement have relevance for adolescent development as well as development during earlier childhood. In fact, because the successful transition from adolescence to young adulthood has often been characterized in terms of the development of autonomy (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986) and independence (Douvan and Adelson, 1966) within the context of continued support and relatedness (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Murphy, Silber, Coelho, Hamburg, & Greenberg, 1963), this life stage may prove to be particularly vulnerable to the influences of occupational experiences on parents' values and behaviors and the consequent level of both their encouragement of autonomy and their affective involvement with their children.

Finally, most of the recent literature examining the impact of occupational conditions on parenting and family relationships has looked at the influence of mothers' employment. With the growing interest in fathers' increased involvement with their children (e.g., Lamb, 1986, Bronstein & Cowan, 1988), a greater understanding of the influence of work on fathers' relationships with their children would

seem to be increasingly important.

This study proposes to more fully explicate the relationship between social class, occupational conditions and family functioning by looking more closely at variables that potentially mediate the relationship between work environment and family interactions. Specifically, it will focus on the conditions of autonomy and skill utilization at the father's work place and their linkage with late adolescent sons' perceptions of their fathers' emotional support, and encouragement of autonomy. It will also look at fathers' perceptions of their own parental style and parental confidence, and how this influences adolescent perceptions. In addition, several potential mediating variables between work conditions and family functioning (i.e., parental values, job dissatisfaction and job stress, and powerlessness) will be examined to test the utility of a proposed model that integrates both value-shaping and spill-over hypotheses. In the literature review that follows, I will provide a background for the proposed research model by looking first at the extensive research on social class and parenting practices. Secondly, I will examine research relating occupational conditions to both child socialization and personal orientations such as perceived control, as well as focusing on theoretical models exploring the work/family interface. Finally, a section will explore the relevant issues in adolescent development and their relationship to family processes that may be

influenced by the work environment. The introduction will conclude with a more extensive conceptual model and specific research hypotheses.

Social Class and Family Processes

While the question of social class influences on family interaction, and more specifically, child-rearing practices, has produced a substantial literature over the past fifty years, it has often been contradictory and difficult to evaluate. This is due in part to the influence of various disciplines and theoretical perspectives in this area as well as significant differences in research design, sampling and measurement techniques, and construct definition. Despite these difficulties however, the research data does suggest relatively consistent differences in child rearing and parenting behavior between social classes.

One of the major difficulties in looking at research results across studies has been the differences in defining the variable of social class itself. There has often been a lack of consensus on whether social class is a discrete or continuous variable, whether it is unidimensional or multidimensional, which of its component parts (occupation, education, income) are most salient, and whether it is a subjective or objective phenomenon to be measured by self-report or observable criteria. (Hess, 1970; Otto, 1975). The most frequently used measure of social class in psychological research has been the Hollingshead Index of

Social Position (Hollingshead, 1957), which is based on a two-factor combination of father's education and occupation, and places families along a five-category continuum. A more recent four-factor version includes mother's education and income and ranks families on a 9-point scale (Hollingshead, 1975). Other approaches range from simple dichotomies, (i.e., middle class versus lower class), to continuous scales based on large sample rankings of occupational titles, such as the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI) (Duncan, 1961).

Despite these methodological difficulties, several generalizations regarding the relationship of social class and parent-child behaviors can be made. Gecas (1979) in his review of this literature provides a useful framework by dividing the relevant outcome variables into three major categories: modes of parental control; parental emphasis on independence and achievement; and parental support, affection, and involvement. It should be noted that the first two categories are most closely related to this study's interest in the tolerance and encouragement of adolescent autonomy versus control, while the final category corresponds to parental support and relatedness vis-a-vis the adolescent child.

Modes of Parental Control

Modes of parental control, referring to the manner in which parents discipline, constrain or channel a child's behavior, have been a frequent focus of research in parent-

child relationship. Gecas's meta-analysis of the research in this area shows a weak but generally consistent negative relationship between social class and parental use of punishment (Gecas, 1979). There also appear to be some differences not only in what parents do to discipline their children, but in when they choose to discipline. Kohn (1969), in interviews with 339 mothers of fifth-grade children, found that middle-class mothers were quite discriminate in their use of physical punishment and were more likely to use it when the child's behavior was defined as "loss of temper", as opposed to "wild play". Lower-class mothers, on the other hand, reported the use of physical punishment with equal frequency in both situations.

In a related vein, Gecas and Nye (1974) found middle-class parents are more likely to respond to the child on the basis of their interpretation of the child's motivations and intentions while lower-class parents are more likely to respond on the basis of overt acts. They found a greater difference in the way middle-class parents acted toward a child when he "accidentally breaks something" versus when he "intentionally disobeys" than in the responses of lower-class mothers.

Also several studies suggest that lower-class parents rely more on the use of commands and imperatives, while middle-class parents are more likely to explain the reasons for a rule or request. M. L. Hoffman (1960) defined parental imperatives as "unqualified power assertions",

which take the form of threats and direct commands, and include the refusal to discuss alternatives, explain the request, or reason with the child. Hoffman's research found a negative relationship between social class and parental use of "unqualified power assertions". Elder and Bowerman (1963) and Miller and Swanson (1960) found a similar relationship to social class when looking at the extent to which parents explained rules, as opposed to unquestionably demanding obedience. Finally, studies by Waters and Crandall (1964), Hess & Shipman (1965), and Erlanger (1974), which looked at the coerciveness of suggestions, as well as the use of imperatives, found both increased use of imperatives and greater coerciveness among lower-class parents.

Findings regarding the power relationship between parent and child, or more specifically, the distinction between an authoritarian or autocratic relationship style and an equalitarian or democratic style are also relevant. While the number of studies looking at this variable is relatively small, there does appear to be a trend for middle and upper-class parents to have a more equalitarian relationship with their children and working class parents to have a somewhat more autocratic parenting style (Gecas, 1979). Specific to our interest in adolescent development, Elder and Bowerman (1963) found that lower-class adolescents were more likely to perceive their parents as autocratic than middle-class adolescents.

Emphasis on Independence and Achievement

The relationship between social class and parents' emphasis on independence and achievement appears to be a positive, consistent, and fairly strong relationship. Bronfenbrenner's (1958) early review of these studies found this to be one of the strongest class-related child-rearing variables, with middle-class parents consistently having higher academic aspirations for their child than working-class parents. Particularly germane to variables examined in this study was the research by Bayley and Schaefer (1960) which found a strong correlation between SES and the degree of autonomy granted to children. Little research however has focused on the perceptions of allowance of autonomy or independence for adolescents as opposed to younger children, across social class.

Parental Affection and Support

Research has also linked social class to the affective dimension of the parent-child relationship, or the degree of support, affection, and parental involvement. This variable is often viewed as equally as crucial a dimension in family process as parental control, and as such, a significant variable in influencing child development and dysfunction (Jacob, 1975). A review of the findings shows a consistent positive relationship between social class and parental affection and support. This was found in diverse samples including a study by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) with mothers of kindergarten children; Kohn's (1969) study of

mothers and fathers of fifth-grade children; Scheck and Emerick's (1976) survey of ninth-grade males; and Thomas, Gecas, Weigert, and Rooney's (1976) questionnaire survey of high school adolescents and college freshmen. In addition, studies by McKinley (1964) and Hess and Shipman (1968) found a positive relationship between SES and parental involvement with the child, (i.e., high SES parents appear to be more attentive, helpful, talkative and playful with the child). However, these findings are not uniform, with considerable variance in strength. Also, sex of parent seems to be an important feature for this relationship with most studies finding greater class differences in fathers', as compared to mothers,' support and involvement.

Luster, Rhoades and Haas (1989), in a more recent study, confirmed several of the earlier findings regarding the relationship of social class and parenting values and behaviors. This study sampled 65 mother-infant dyads and found that social class was related to global parenting values, specific parenting beliefs regarding child-rearing, and mothers' supportive and constraining behaviors towards their babies. Specifically, lower social class was found to be related to greater valuing of conformity, greater concern over spoiling the child, greater valuing of discipline and control, less valuing of giving children freedom to explore the home environment, and less valuing of verbal stimulation. These specific beliefs were in turn related to mother's supportive and constraining behaviors towards their

babies with greater constriction and less overall supportive behaviors related to lower social class rankings.

It should be noted that much of the classic research linking social class to parenting behavior occurred in the two decades between 1960 and 1980. Since that time there has been very little substantive research in this area as more recent studies have tended to focus on work-family linkages and references to social class are less frequent (Crouter & McHale, 1993). Research on the work-family linkage will be reviewed in a subsequent section.

Critique of Social Class Differences

The above findings are fairly consistent: a lower position on the social hierarchy appears to be associated with more controlling parenting styles, less emphasis on independence and achievement, and less perceived positive nurturance and support. However, a few investigators have challenged the notion that a consistent relationship between social class and parent-child relationships actually exists. Perhaps the strongest critique has been made by Henggeler and his colleagues (Borduin, Henggeler, Sanders-Walls & Harbin, 1986; Henggeler & Tavormina, 1980). Henggeler has argued that observed social class and race differences in family interactions are often the result of the failure to consider confounding factors, specifically father absence, age and sex of child, family size, and cultural differences between researcher and subjects. In a study testing this hypothesis, Henggeler & Tavormina (1980) looked at the

interaction patterns of 64 well-adjusted families that included both mother, father and a 14 to 16-year-old son or daughter, and matched subject and interviewer ethnicity. The results revealed few social class or race effects in regards to measures of family conflict, affect, and dominance. Likewise, in another study that looked at social class differences in maternal control, sensitivity, and child compliance (Borduin et al., 1986) among 32 pairs of mothers and their 4-year-old sons, no significant social class differences were found in mother-child interactions. Family size, father absence and child's intelligence were controlled leading to the conclusion that previously observed social class effects on family functioning may have been due to the failure to control for such covariates in defining social class. The investigators also speculate that social class differences in maternal control that may have existed 15 to 20 years ago are no longer evident.

While the critique of Henggeler and his colleagues are important additions to this literature, it is unlikely that the rather consistent findings regarding social class differences in parenting practices through the last several decades are due primarily to confounding variables or methodological flaws. The Henggeler argument is further weakened by studies such as that of Kohn (1969), which statistically controlled for such potential confounds as family size, and the several large studies which indirectly controlled for father absence by focusing primarily on the

interactions between fathers and sons (Kohn, 1969; McKinley, 1964).

The Relationship of Work Environment and Family Functioning

In attempting to better understand why differences in social class are related to family functioning, several researchers have looked towards the content and climate of the work environment. They propose that because occupational characteristics change across class hierarchies, work environment may mediate effects of SES on family functioning. As Moos (1986) has pointed out, since most workers spend from one third to one half of their waking lives at their jobs it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the quality and nature of one's work environment has the potential to impact on one's sense of self in regard to the broader social environment, and also provide a model for social interactions with other systems such as the family.

Value-Shaping Models and Kohn's Hypothesis

Two of the major theories that have been proposed to explain the mediation process between the work environment and family functioning are the socialization or value-shaping models, and the stress and frustration, or spill-over models. One of the pioneering studies investigating a value-shaping hypothesis was that of Miller & Swanson (1958). They hypothesized that the child-rearing patterns of parents would reflect the values and goals consistent with traits that men experienced as being

valuable at work. They contrasted two different styles of occupational organization, entrepreneurial and bureaucratic. The entrepreneurial pattern was characterized by a simple division of labor, mobility within the work setting through competition and individual initiative, and risk-taking. This organizational pattern was predicted as being consistent with child-rearing practices that encouraged achievement, responsibility and self-control. In contrast, the bureaucratic occupational structure was characterized by multiple levels of authority, greater job security, mobility through interpersonal skills, and smooth relations within the organization. This style was hypothesized to be consistent with child rearing that emphasized accommodation over self-control, and interpersonal interaction rather than independence. On the whole, the findings of Miller and Swanson (1958) supported these hypotheses. When a father was employed in an entrepreneurial setting, the child-rearing patterns in the family were more consistent with the goals of independence, responsibility and self-control, whereas when the father's occupation was of the bureaucratic type, child-rearing practices were more permissive and consistent with the goal of getting along with others. While this was an important pioneering study in this area, the research suffered from weak operational definitions of the work setting and was unable to clearly suggest any directionality of effect. Thus, while occupational type could influence a father's child-rearing values it could be

equally likely that fathers with particular values and orientations chose certain occupations.

The most comprehensive socialization or value-shaping theory is that of Melvin Kohn (1959, 1963, 1969). Kohn's model, which assumes a functional link between social class structure and parenting practices, proposes that differences in conditions of life associated with social class position give rise to parents' values and orientations, which in turn affect their patterns of child rearing. The causal sequence proposed by Kohn can be diagrammed in the following manner: social class --> conditions of life --> parental values --> parental behavior.

The conditions of life which Kohn sees as most important to family functioning are those present in the parent's work environment. Specifically, he argues that the occupational conditions characteristic of blue-collar and white-collar work give rise to different adaptive values which are transmitted by the parents in the socialization of their children, both directly as conscious attempts to inculcate values in their offspring, and indirectly through different styles of parent-child interactions. He further proposes that the most salient occupational conditions were those that were conducive or restrictive of the expression of self-direction. By occupational self-direction, Kohn means "the use of initiative, thought and independent judgment in work" (Kohn, 1969, p. 140). In addition, Kohn theorizes that occupational self-direction is determined by

the substantive complexity of the actual work tasks (i.e., how much thought and independent action is required); the closeness of the supervision; and the extent of routinization of the work. Most middle-class or white-collar occupations are viewed as promoting self-direction because they involve manipulating ideas, symbols and interpersonal relationships, and require more flexibility of thought and judgment. Lower-class or blue-collar professions are seen as constrictive to the development of self-directive values as they involve less complexity, more standardization, and closer supervision. Thus, while white collar workers are more likely to enunciate values dealing with self direction, such as freedom, individualism, initiative, creativity and self-actualization, blue-collar workers are more likely to stress values of conformity to external standards, such as orderliness, neatness, and obedience. The essential difference between these two sets of values is that self-direction focuses on internal standards of behavior, whereas conformity focuses on externally imposed rules.

Kohn also links parental values and parental behavior, maintaining that value orientations are reflected in the style and circumstances of parental discipline. Because of the greater emphasis white-collar parents place on self-direction and internal standards of conduct, they are hypothesized as more likely to discipline their children on the basis of interpretation of the child's intent. Blue-

collar parents on the other hand, placing greater stress on conformity and adaptation, are more likely to react on the basis of the consequences of the child's behavior.

In regards to empirical evidence, results from several major studies have tended to support Kohn's predictions regarding the influence of social class and job content on parenting values. In three major investigations including a national study of 3,101 men across all social-class categories, Kohn (1969) found a relatively strong (.38 to .50) relationship in the expected direction between social class and parental values of self-direction versus conformity. In a replication study also using a large national survey, Wright & Wright (1976) supported these results, finding that social class accounted for 41 to 63% of the total variance in parental values of self-direction explained by the model. Moreover, their analysis confirmed Kohn's finding that a substantial relationship between values and social class remains when numerous other factors, including national background, religion, urbanicity, race, and region of country, were statistically controlled (Kohn, 1969; Wright & Wright, 1976).

When occupational content was focused on, Kohn and his colleagues (Kohn, 1969; Pearlin & Kohn, 1966; Kohn & Schooler, 1969) found a positive relationship between increased autonomy and self-direction at work and parental values stressing independence, achievement, and self-reliance. Furthermore, when analyses were done that

controlled for social class, occupational variables continued to predict parental values beyond the contribution of class alone (Kohn & Schooler, 1969).

Although the evidence linking social class to parental values is impressive, much less attention has been paid to the relationship between parenting values and behaviors. While the findings of Kohn (1969) and Gecas and Nye (1974) were primarily confined to disciplinary practices, the study by Luster, et al. (1989), referred to earlier, did find a relationship between global parental values, specific beliefs about child-rearing, and home observations of mothers interacting with toddlers. Their findings did suggest that Kohn's value-shaping hypothesis could be extended to predict parenting behaviors at least with mother-infant dyads.

Work, Personal Control and Orientation

More recent research by Kohn has extended his model to examine not only the relationship between work content and parental values, but also the interplay between work and adult personality and intellectual functioning. When Kohn and his colleagues (Kohn & Schooler, 1969) looked at the differences in worker values and attitudes across occupations, they discovered that workers in jobs that had more substantive complexity (i.e., required more autonomous thought and action) valued self-direction over conformity, demonstrated greater intellectual flexibility and were less likely to attribute their problems to external causes.

Later studies by Kohn supported the notion that self-directed occupations were significant predictors not only of intellectual flexibility, but also, although to a lesser degree, of self-esteem, job satisfaction and commitment, and decreased feelings of powerlessness (Kohn, 1976).

Adding strength to the hypothesis that conditions of work can directly influence personal orientation and style have been longitudinal studies (Kohn & Schooler, 1981), which have suggested that, to some extent, the job content has more influence on personal variables such as intellectual flexibility and self-esteem than these variables have on job choice. In a path analysis model derived from their longitudinal data, Kohn and Schooler (1981) suggest that the structural aspects of a job are mediated by the extent of allowed occupational self-direction which impacts on variables such as flexibility, sense of personal control, and to a lesser extent, overall level of distress. They argue that their findings hold regardless of social class, sex, type of industry, or formal organizational structure of the work place.

In a critique of Kohn and Schooler's findings, O'Brien (1986) argues that while their data are substantial, their interpretation is limited by idiosyncratic and unclear constructs. He argues that there is little validity for the notion of intellectual flexibility, as it is unclear whether

what is being measured is a fluid state or a more stable trait, such as general intelligence. O'Brien makes a similar criticism of the construct of self-directed orientation, questioning whether it measures something different from self-efficacy or locus of control. He argues that locus of control, which refers to the generalized expectancy about the extent to which reinforcements are under external or internal control, is a more validated and conceptually clear construct in measuring a worker's adaptive style to his work environment.

In addition to these methodological and conceptual critiques, O'Brien suggests that not only autonomy and complexity, but also the extent of skill utilization or challenge (i.e., the degree of match between the employee's skills and the skills required for the job) is crucial to a sense of power and control on the job. In a large-scale study of Australian workers, focusing primarily on job characteristics and their impact on worker satisfaction and overall mental health, O'Brien (1983) found that employees with a good job-skill match were more likely to develop an internal orientation in regards to locus of control than those who felt their skills were under utilized. In an earlier series of studies, across a range of population groups, O'Brien (1980, 1982,) also found that the self-report of skill utilization was a strong predictor of job satisfaction and was found to have an independent contribution to job satisfaction beyond other work factors

such as skill variety, task significance, autonomy, and job feedback. In addition, Kornhauser (1965), in a study of Michigan automobile workers found that skill utilization was the major factor accounting for variations in job satisfaction and mental health, with employee mental health being measured as a composite of manifest anxiety, self-esteem, hostility, sociability, morale, and general life satisfaction.

More generally, while O'Brien and Kohn have focused on somewhat different constructs, work by both suggests that the nature of the job and its specific activities can have important influences on how workers perceive their efficacy or potential for power or control in their broader social context.

Although the above theoretical models and empirical findings suggest relationships between the work environment and the development of values and personal efficacy which could impact on family functioning, they do not make any clear linkage to direct parental or child behaviors. Piotrkowski and Katz (1982) attempted to examine this linkage by looking at the indirect socialization effects of parents' occupational conditions on childrens' school behaviors. Utilizing a sample of 60 inner-city, predominantly minority families, and following Kohn's model of indirect socialization, they hypothesized specific links between parents' job characteristics and similar school behaviors in adolescents. Specifically, they predicted that

mothers' job autonomy and consequent valuation of self-directedness versus conformity would negatively relate to school attendance (assuming that frequency of school attendance indicated the extent of conformity to external authority); that mothers' job demand (the effort required to do the job) would relate positively to children's school effort; and that job skill utilization would relate positively to their children's skill acquisition or academic achievement. Their results provided moderate support for two of their predictions in that the less autonomy the mothers exercised on the job, the more frequently their children attended school, and the greater the extent of mothers' skill utilization, the higher their academic achievement. While their attempt to extend Kohn's hypothesis is to be applauded, the attempt to create isomorphic linkages between a child's school behaviors and parent's work context excludes too many crucial mediating factors such as the quality of the family relationships and particularly, the nature of the parent-child interactions. In addition, such a study does not help explicate the processes that lead a parent's work life to influence family functioning.

Stress and Spill-over Models

The above discussion has described how value-shaping and socialization models have attempted to explain how social class, through its relationship with differing occupational conditions, can influence both parenting behaviors and personal orientations towards control and

powerlessness. A second set of hypotheses can be broadly categorized as frustration or stress models. Stress models suggest that the work environment impacts on the family by influencing the worker's overall psychological state or mood (Bolger, Delongis, Kessler & Wethington, 1989; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston & Crawford, 1989, McKinley, 1964; Piotrkowski, 1979). One of the earliest of such models, the frustration aggression model, suggested by the work of McKinley (1964) argues that social class is related to the degree of frustration experienced in life, particularly in the occupational sphere, which in turn affects the degree of aggression and authoritarianism in parent-child interactions. McKinley further argues that aggression generated by frustration on the job is often displaced onto the family, since there are more constraints on its expression on the job and in other more socially proscribed situations. The family, as such, is used as a compensatory source of need satisfaction. In other words, a man may feel powerless at work and be at the bottom of the power hierarchy but at home he can be at the top.

McKinley (1964) finds some support for this hypothesis in a series of studies looking at social class and father-son relationships, which included questionnaire responses from 260 11th and 12th-grade boys, and semi-structured interviews with fathers with sons 13 to 19 years of age. His results indicate a relationship between less autonomy at the work place and more aggressive statements made by fathers

toward sons, as well as reports by sons that their fathers utilized more severe discipline techniques. This relationship was found across social-class rankings and was found in both sons' and mothers' reports of fathers' behavior. This notion of increased parental authoritarianism over children as a compensation for a sense of powerlessness at work is also described in the theoretical work of Blau and Duncan (1967) and Hoffman & Manis (1979).

The idea of the family as fulfilling compensatory needs, not aroused or satisfied at work does not however have to imply a negative effect on the family. As Hoffman's work on the value of children to parents has suggested (Hoffman & Hoffman, 1973; Hoffman & Manis, 1979), children can be seen as satisfying those psychological needs that are not met by other aspects of life, such as the work setting. While these may be needs for power or dominance, they may also be needs for companionship, acceptance, or simply fun and stimulation. One moderating variable for this process may well be the extent of overall parental investment in work versus family activities (Greenberger & Goldberg, 1989).

Another related conceptualization suggests that moods at work are carried over to the family. This "spill-over" hypothesis proposes that job satisfaction and overall job distress influence the general morale of the worker which influences the affect and quality of the interactions with family members. Piotrkowski (1979), in a small-scale

naturalistic study of blue collar and middle-class families, identified three interface patterns between work and family: positive carry-over, negative carry-over, and energy deficit. According to Piotrkowski, in positive carry-over, good feelings and satisfaction at work bring positive energy to the family's life. In negative carry-over, the stressful experiences at work are brought back to the family and the family members are required to expend resources to manage the stress. The third pattern, energy deficit, proposes that the worker has little emotional energy left for the family, and that this personal depletion often results in a kind of depression and withdrawal from family interactions and activities.

Recent research in this area has found additional support for "spill-over" effects between work and family life. Stressors and conflicts at work have been found to increase the likelihood of arguments with spouses (Bolger et al., 1989), to be related to overall marital quality (Hughes, Galinsky & Morris, 1992), and to predict greater social withdrawal in parent-child interaction (Repetti, 1989). Other researchers in this area (e.g., Crouter et al, 1989; Small & Riley, 1990) have attempted to further specify the nature of work spillover by examining several processes by which work influences family interaction, such as time spent away from home, psychological or mental preoccupation with work, and physical and mental fatigue. Finally, recent work has examined the variables that mediate or moderate the

influence of work strain on family interactions, such as the quality of the marital relationship (Hughes et al. 1992; Repetti, 1989) and the level of investment in work versus family (Greenberger & Goldberg, 1989).

Adolescent Development and Family Functioning

Despite the range of research that has explored the relationship between social class, occupational conditions and child socialization there has been little exploration of ways in which extrafamilial factors might influence the developmental processes of adolescents, as opposed to younger children. Particularly missing has been any research on how these variables might relate to adolescents' struggle for autonomy and individuation from their families of origin. This seems particularly important in the light of recent research and theorizing on normative adolescent development.

Hill and Holmbeck (1986) in a review and critique of the recent literature on autonomy and attachment during adolescence argue that successful functioning in adolescence involves the development of autonomy, seen primarily as self-governance and self-regulation, as well as the maintenance of connected and close relationships with parents. The ability of parents to be able to encourage independence in their adolescent children while facilitating warm and supportive interactions is also viewed as crucial in many theoretical writings on adolescent development, such as that by Bell & Bell (1983); Grotevant and Cooper (1986);

and Murphy, Silber, Coelho, Hamburg, and Greenberg (1963).

Grotevant and Cooper (1986), in their theoretical review of individuation in family relationships, argue that adolescents who perceive their parents as facilitating their autonomy in an atmosphere of connectedness are more successful in personal identity formation and role-taking, two tasks generally conceded to be crucial in successful adolescent development. Studies conducted by Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon (1983) and that of others (e.g., Campbell, Adams, & Dobson, 1984; Ryan & Lynch, 1989;) support the proposition that family interactions that provide a balance of connectedness and encouragement of autonomy facilitate positive adolescent identity formation, social competence and enhanced self-esteem.

Other family systems theorists, although not focusing specifically on adolescence, (e.g., Beavers, 1977; Minuchin, 1974; Olson, Sprenkle & Russell, 1979) have also argued that optimal family functioning requires a level of cohesiveness or connectedness between members, as well as the ability to allow members to be autonomous and independent. Further support for the salience of these constructs is also provided by Jacob (1975) in his review of family interactional research. His review argues that the extent of dominance or control in family interactions, which can be perceived as the converse to independence and autonomy, as well as the level of positive affect, are two of the major variables that distinguish disturbed from nondisturbed

families.

Finally, Baumrind (1971, 1978), in her model of the relationship of parenting practices to the development of competence in children, provides support for the notion that a balance between firm direction and warmth provides the optimal environment for child development. Baumrind has theorized that most parenting styles fall into three prototypes (permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative). Based on Baumrind's definitions, permissive parents tend to make few demands upon their children, allowing them to exercise as much control as possible over their own activities. These parents are also generally nonpunitive and noncontrolling in their interactions with their children. Authoritarian parents, on the other hand, are apt to be much more directive with their children, shaping and controlling their behaviors and attitudes whenever possible. They generally value unquestioning obedience and discourage verbal give-and-take with their children. Between these two extremes are the authoritative parents. These parents generally establish firm, clear, and relatively demanding expectations for their children, but they tend to exercise their authority in rational, issue-oriented, and flexible ways that encourage communication with their children. Baumrind (1978) and other researchers using this theoretical construct (e.g., Buri, 1989a; Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Elmen & Mounts, 1989; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992) have found

that authoritative styles of parenting are most conducive to the development of social and intellectual competence in children as well as higher levels of self-esteem, psychosocial maturity, and academic success in adolescents.

Father and Son Relationships

A few additional comments need to be made regarding the decision to focus this study on fathers and sons. While some of the earliest research attempting to examine the effects of occupation on family life looked at fathers' work experience, most of the recent scholarship in this area has focused on mothers and the influence of mothers' employment on child development. This limitation has been particularly true of the burgeoning literature on dual-earner families and child development. Reviewers of the literature (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Crouter & McHale, 1993; Kanter, 1977) have urged more research looking at the processes that link fathers' work experiences with their interactions with their children and the resulting developmental outcomes. This seems particularly salient in light of the growing interest in the increased involvement of fathers in child care or, as Michael Lamb (1986) has described it, the movement from "breadwinner to nurturer". While the extent of the changes in fathers' role functioning is not yet clear (see Almeida & Galambos, 1991; Cowan & Bronstein, 1988), a further understanding of the potential constraints to fathers' parental involvement, such as occupational conditions, would seem to be increasingly

important.

The rationale for focusing on sons is a more pragmatic one. The limited literature that has examined the parenting relationship between fathers and their adolescent children has generally found that fathers spend more time and are more involved with sons than daughters (Lamb, 1986; Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987). Other findings regarding the influence of social class on parenting and child development have suggested that social class differences are greater and more consistently found in interactions with sons (Erickson & Gecas, 1991; Gecas, 1979). These findings suggest that finding a relationship between ecological variables such as social class and occupational conditions and father-adolescent relationships would be more probable when focusing primarily on the relationship with sons.

Parental Mediators Between Work and Adolescent Development

Given the above theoretical frameworks, it is reasonable to propose that extrafamilial influences from the parent's work environment, (i.e., adaptive values, feelings of dissatisfaction and distress, a sense of powerlessness) influence parent-child interactions, which in turn influence the adolescent individuation process. Specifically, it would appear that parental values, in regard to self-direction and conformity, would influence parental control and authority style, with parents more prone to valuing conformity over self-direction being more likely to utilize an authoritarian versus a permissive or

authoritative parenting style. This parenting approach presumably will influence adolescents' perceptions of how much the parent allows for and encourages autonomy.

The spill-over from work of a sense of distress and dissatisfaction would most likely influence the amount of positive affect and nurturance parents have available in interacting with their children. This, in turn, would be expected to impact on perceptions of support and relatedness between family members. Finally, the sense of powerlessness which might arise from a lack of challenge and autonomy at the work place could generalize into feelings of a lack of mastery and confidence in parenting itself. Parents may alter and compensate for this sense of powerlessness by increased parental control and harshness of affect which would be reflected in both parent and child perceptions regarding autonomy and relatedness. It is important to point out that the value-shaping, spill-over, and compensatory hypotheses, which have been suggested as mediating processes along the work and family interface, are not seen as mutually exclusive, but rather as having independent effects on family functioning. Better understanding of how these processes might differentially influence family interactions can shed considerable light on the influence of ecological variables on family processes and healthy individuation in adolescents.

Proposed Conceptual Model and Hypotheses

While considerable research has confirmed differences in family functioning and parenting styles across social class, less is known regarding the process by which socioeconomic status influences family interaction and consequently, child development. It has been argued that one of the more salient aspects of social class which impacts on family life is the content and climate of the parent's work environment.

The proposed study will attempt to explicate the relationship between social class and family functioning by examining the interface between the father's work experience and family processes salient to healthy adolescent development. Particular focus will be on clarifying the proximal variables that mediate the influence between work and family functioning. A causal path is predicted (See Figure 1) in which social class influences the extent of job autonomy and skill utilization, which in turn influences a worker's values and beliefs regarding conformity and self-direction, their overall job satisfaction and distress level, and their personal sense of powerlessness and mastery over their environment. These latter variables are predicted to influence family interactional patterns, particularly as related to parent-adolescent relationships, including parental authority style and overall confidence in parenting abilities. It is further proposed that these parental variables will influence adolescent sons'

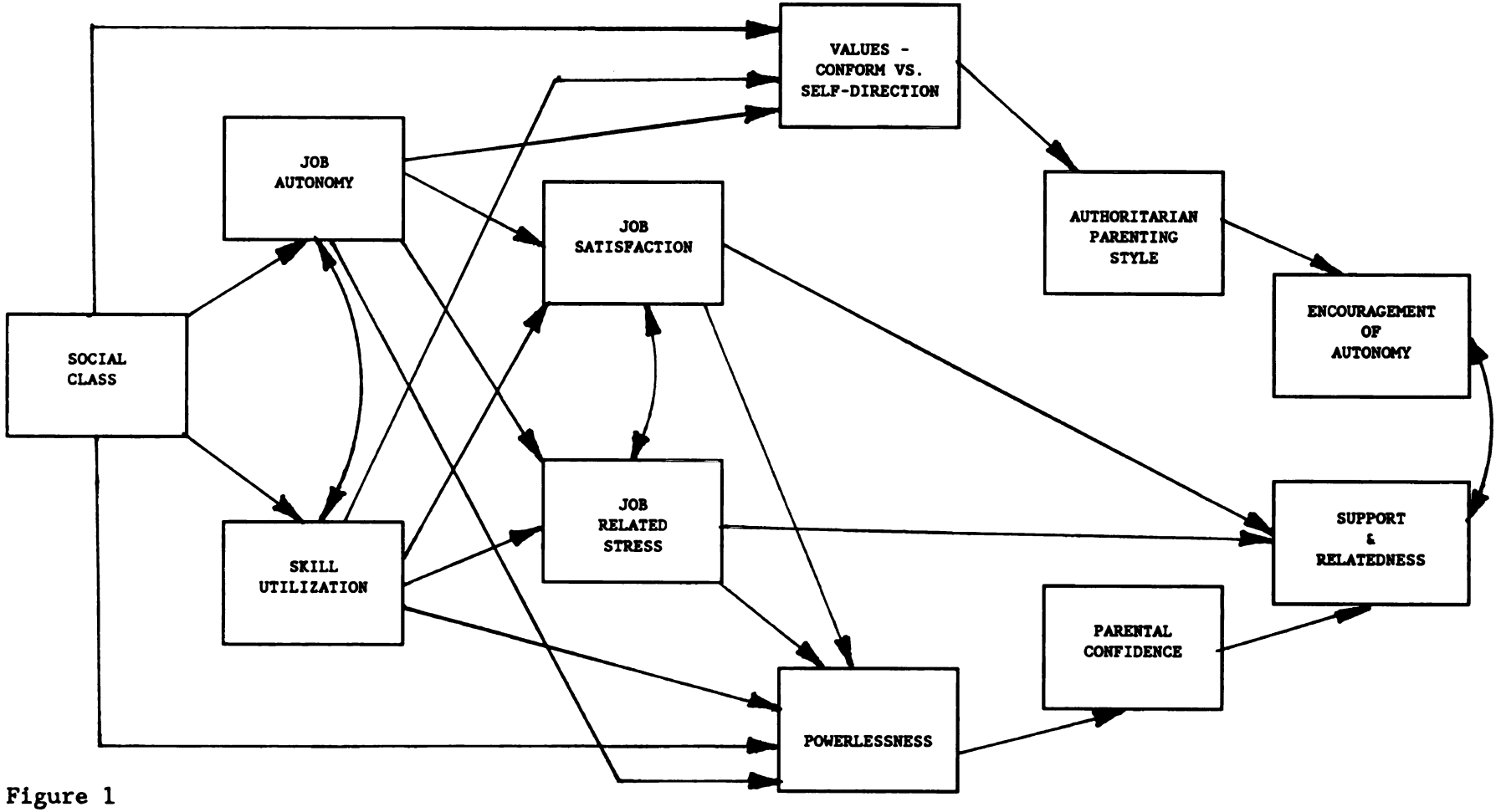

Figure 1
Theoretical Path Model

perceptions of their relationship with their fathers, including their perception of their fathers' encouragement of autonomy and their perceptions of their fathers' support and relatedness.

The study proposes to test the following hypotheses:

1. It is proposed that father's social class as indicated by educational level, occupational prestige and income will be positively related to job autonomy and greater skill utilization. It is also proposed that higher levels of father's social class will directly relate to a decreased valuing of conformity over self-direction and decreased sense of personal powerlessness.

2. It is proposed that job autonomy will be positively related to a greater valuing of self-direction over conformity, a decreased sense of personal powerlessness, increased job satisfaction and decreased job-related stress.

3. It is proposed that increased skill utilization on the job will relate to increased job satisfaction, decreased job-related stress and a decreased sense of powerlessness.

4. It is proposed that valuing of self-direction over conformity will relate to parental report of less authoritarian parenting style.

5. It is proposed that greater job satisfaction and less job stress will relate to decreased sense of powerlessness in fathers.

6. It is proposed that a decreased sense of powerlessness

by fathers will be related to greater confidence in their parental abilities.

7. It is proposed that a less authoritarian parenting style by fathers will be related to perceptions of greater levels of encouragement of autonomy, and increased perceived support and relatedness by their adolescent sons.

8. It is proposed that fathers' increased parental confidence will be related to their adolescent sons' perceptions of both increased support and relatedness, and greater encouragement of autonomy.

METHOD

Subject Recruitment

Subjects for this study were 204 male undergraduates and their fathers. The majority of students were recruited from introductory psychology classes in a large mid-western university (N=193). A smaller group of students were recruited from social science classes in a local community college (N=11). The students were asked to fill out self-report measures regarding their perceptions of their parents and family and a brief demographic questionnaire which included a description of their fathers' occupation and work activity. Students were further asked to take a self-report questionnaire home to their fathers, or a questionnaire was mailed out, which asked the fathers for information regarding demographics, occupational status, work conditions, and values and self-perceptions regarding parenting. A letter was included in the questionnaire, which briefly described the study and established consent to participate. Fathers were instructed to complete the forms individually and return them in a sealed envelope to their sons or return them by mail in a prepaid mailing envelope. A total of 240 questionnaires were distributed to fathers and their sons who were undergraduates at Michigan State University and 193 were returned and proved eligible for

participation (e.g., students in the correct age range, fathers were biological parent or step-parents for at least the last 10 years) for a return rate of 80%. Sixty questionnaires were distributed to fathers and sons at Lansing Community College and 11 were returned and eligible for a return rate of 18%. All together, 300 questionnaires were distributed and 204 were returned and eligible, for a return rate of 68%. The significant difference in the return rate between the two groups of students most likely was due to the fact that for the Michigan State students there was increased incentive for the return of the completed questionnaires in that each student was required to accumulate a certain amount of research credits as part of their introductory psychology class. The community college sample had no such research credit system and thus less overall incentive to have the questionnaires completed and returned. A comparison of the four year-college and community-college groups found no significant differences on demographic variables such as occupational status, level of education, students' and fathers' age. Fathers of students at the community college did however average slightly less income, with a median income between $40,000 and 50,000 compared with between $50,000 and 60,000 for the four year students. Duplicate information regarding occupational, parenting, and relationship issues was also gathered for mothers as part of a larger study. However, data regarding mothers was not analyzed for this study. Consent and

participation forms were provided in accordance with the ethical principles in the conduct of research with human participants as set forth by the American Psychological Association (1982) and the relevant human subjects research committee standards of Michigan State University.

Subject Demographics

A demographic profile of this sample can be found in Table 1. Eighty percent of the student subjects were between 18 and 20 years old with the median age being 19 (range = 18 to 22). Thirty-three percent were freshman, 39% were sophomores, 23% were juniors, 6% were seniors. Ninety-two percent of the students were Caucasian, with 1.5% African-American, 4% Asian, and 1% Hispanic. Ninety-four percent of the fathers were the biological parents of the student participants, and step-parents had lived with the student for at least 10 years.

In terms of socioeconomic status, 57% of the fathers were college graduates, with 11% having a high school degree or less, and 21% having advanced degrees. The median income for fathers was between fifty and sixty thousand annually with 7% of the sample making less than $25,000, 43% earning between $25,000 and $50,000 and 50% earning $50,000 or more. In regard to occupational title and status, although the fathers from this sample were dispersed across a wide range of occupations, the sample is somewhat skewed towards professional specialties (e.g., teachers, physicians, lawyers,) and executive and managerial positions (e.g.,

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Characteristics	Sons	Fathers
Ethnicity (%)		
White	92.2	90.7
Asian	4.4	5.4
Afican-American	1.5	1.5
Hispanic	1.0	1.0
Other	1.0	1.5
Age		
Mean	19.6	48.8
SD	1.1	5.8
Median	19.0	48.0
Education (%)		
Less than 9th grade		.5
Less than 12th grade		1.0
High School Graduate		9.3
2 years or less college		20.1
Less than 4 years college		11.8
4 year college degree		26.5
Masters Degree		18.1
Doctorate Degree		12.7
Gross Yearly Income (%)		
Under 7,000		.5
$7,000 - 15,000		1.5
$15,000 - 20,000		1.0
$20,000 - 25,000		3.5
$25,000 - 30,000		4.0
$30,000 - 40,000		16.5
$40,000 - 50,000		22.5
$50,000 - 60,000		9.5
$60,000 - 80,000		21.0
$80,000 - 100,000		2.5
Over $100,000		17.5
Occupational Categories (%)		
Executive, administrative, managerial		21.6
Professional specialty		31.3
Technical and related		4.9
Sales		15.7
Administrative and clerical support		3.0
Service		2.9
Farming, forestry, fishing		.5
Precison production, crafts, repair		15.2
Operators, fabricators, laborers		4.9

administrators or mangers in the private or public sector) with over half of the fathers falling in one of these categories. The mean score on Duncan's Socioeconomic Index (SEI) was 55.3 (SD = 20.7) (range 16.1 to 89.6). This score is considerably higher than national average scores derived from several large scale demographic surveys of the civilian labor force (e.g., 42.6 in Featherman & Hauser, 1978; 39.0 in Grusky & Diprete, 1990), further suggesting that this sample is skewed towards higher status professions.

Measures

Social Class

Father's social class was measured by combining measures of occupational status, educational level and yearly income. Occupational status was measured utilizing a revision of Duncan's Socioeconomic Index (SEI) (Duncan, 1961; Stevens & Cho, 1985). Father's job titles were matched with 1980 Census Occupational Codes and given an SEI score per Stevens and Cho's (1985) revision of the Socioeconomic Index. Examples of titles and scores are: Insurance Adjuster (55.8), Mechanical Engineer (76.7), and Welder (20.7). The SEI is one of the most widely-utilized measures of occupational status and is based on prestige rankings of occupational titles. Numerous studies have found prestige rankings to be quite stable and have high reliability over time (e.g., Hodge, Seigel, and Rossi, 1964; Featherman & Hauser, 1978). The SEI has proven effective in describing socioeconomic distances between occupations

(Featherman, Jones, & Hauser, 1975) and has been widely used as a summary of socioeconomic status in studies of educational and occupational attainment (e.g. Sewell and Hauser,1980; Blau & Duncan, 1967; Grusky & DiPrete, 1990) and other social processes (Waite & Spitze, 1981).

Education level was measured using an eight-point scale, ranging from less than ninth grade to Doctoral-level degree. Income level was measured with an 11-point scale of gross annual income, and ranged from below 7,000 to over 100,000.

Measures of Job Characteristics

Job Autonomy Scale

Job autonomy was measured with a 10-item instrument composed of four items from an autonomy scale developed by Bacharach and Aiken (1976) and six items from the autonomy scale developed by Sims, Szilagyi & Keller (1976). On the Bacharach & Aiken scale, subjects are asked to respond to the extent that statements are true about their jobs (e.g., "at my job a person can make his own decisions without consulting anyone else"). This scale utilizes a four-point response dimension ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false". In a study of city administrators and workers, alpha coefficients of .66 and .65 were recorded for this instrument, and autonomy was correlated .34 and .49 with reported influence in work decisions.

On the remaining six items, drawn from the autonomy subscale of Sims, Szilagyi and Keller's Job Characteristics

Inventory, subjects are asked to rate how several statements best fit their jobs (e.g., "How much are you left on your own to do your work?"), and on these items a five-point Likert Scale is used ranging from "very little" to "very much". Alpha coefficients of .84 and .85 were found in studies of managers and supervisors in a manufacturing firm (Sims, Szilagyi & Keller (1976) and a study of clerical employees (Pierce & Dunham, 1978), respectively. Convergent validity for this measure has been established with a strong correlation (.68) with the corresponding autonomy subscale in Hackman and Oldham's Job Diagnostic Survey. Alpha coefficients for the current sample were .81 for the Bacharach and Aiken measure, and .88 for the Sims and Szilagyi measure.

Skill Utilization

Skill utilization or job challenge was measured by the combination of two instruments, a self-report measure of skill utilization developed by O'Brien (1980) and the Job Challenge subscale from the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire (Cammann, Fishman, Jenkins & Klesh, 1979). O'Brien's scale, which is part of a larger job attributes questionnaire, includes four items and asks respondents to indicate how much they used their abilities or training on the job. Items ask about opportunities for learning new jobs, working in the way they think best, using abilities, and using training and experience. It utilizes a five-point Likert-like response scale with categories

including: "not at all", "very little", "a reasonable amount", and "a great deal". O'Brien reports high internal reliability for this scale, and in terms of content-related validity, he has found a moderately strong correlation of .51 between employee perceptions of their skill utilization and expert ratings. In addition, in a series of studies across different occupational categories, O'Brien (1982) also reports correlations between skill utilization and job satisfaction averaging .49.

The MOAQ (Cammann et al., 1979) contains a number of scales of work attitudes and perceptions. The three items from the Job Challenge subscale were utilized. This scale asks subjects to rate statements about their job (e.g., "My job is very challenging"; "On my job I seldom get a chance to use my special skills and abilities") utilizing a seven-point scale with end points of "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree." A high internal reliability alpha of .81 has been reported by the authors for this scale. Alphas for the current sample were .71 for both the Skill Utilization and Job Challenge Scales.

Job Satisfaction and Job Stress

Job satisfaction was measured utilizing the Type of Work Satisfaction subscale from the Job Descriptive Index (JDI) (Smith, Kendall & Hulin, 1969). The JDI is a widely utilized instrument that was developed to measure the principal features of job satisfaction. It utilizes a list of adjectives and phrases (e.g., fascinating, boring,

satisfying, tiresome), and respondents indicate whether each adjective describes the job aspect in question. The Type of Work subscale, includes 18 such items. Responses are Yes, Uncertain, or No. The authors suggest that Uncertain responses are more indicative of dissatisfaction than satisfaction, therefore, responses are scored three, one, zero, respectively. The authors report a high level of internal consistency with a Spearman-Brown coefficient of .84 for this subscale. A number of other studies across a range of occupational types (e.g., Dunham, Smith and Blackburn, 1977; Schuler, 1979) have also found adequate internal reliability coefficients ranging from .79 to .90. The reliability coefficient for the current sample was .78. Several researchers have also correlated this JDI sub-scale with measures of overall job satisfaction. Wexley, Alexander, Greenwalt & Couch (1980) in a study of 194 employees from varied occupations found a correlation of .66 with the overall satisfaction score of the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire. In a review of the validity of this measure, Cook, Hepworth, Wall, & Warr (1981) found correlations ranging from .53 to .74 with several other commonly used measures of overall satisfaction.

A sub-scale of The Anxiety-Stress Questionnaire, developed by House & Rizzo (1972), was utilized to measure more directly job-related stress. The Job-Induced Tension subscale of this instrument, which was developed to measure the existence of tensions and pressures growing out of job

requirements, includes seven items. Subjects are asked to respond true or false to statements about how their job affects them (e.g., "I work under a great deal of tension"; "Problems associated with my job have kept me awake at night"). In a study of 200 managerial, professional and technical employees the authors report internal reliability coefficients of .83 for this subscale. In this sample the alpha was .68. In terms of validity, several studies (e.g., Brief & Aldag, 1976; Miles, 1975) have utilized this instrument as an outcome measure when examining the impact of working conditions, such as role ambiguity or role conflict, and have found moderate correlations as predicted. The authors (Rizzo, House & Lirtzman, 1970) have also reported a moderately strong correlation between this measure (.40) and a job-related tension index by Lyons (1971).

Values Scale

In order to measure personal values that would be relevant to parenting and family interactions, Schaefer and Edgerton's (1985) revision of Kohn's Rank Order of Parenting Values was utilized to assess father's values regarding conformity versus self-directedness. This measure is comprised of 15 value statements, six reflecting self-direction values (e.g., to think for him/herself), six indicative of conforming values (e.g., to obey parents and teachers), and three designated as socially desirable values (e.g., to be kind and considerate). The values are divided

into three groups of five items; each group includes two self-direction items, two conformity items and one social desirability item. Parents are asked to rank order each of the three sets of characteristics from one (most important) to five (least important). A conformity versus self-direction score is computed by adding the rankings for each category. Schaefer and Edgerton (1985) studying a sample of 212 mothers and their attitudes towards their children found adequate internal consistency and test-retest reliability among the three factors. They also found significant negative correlations between parents' valuing of conformity and teacher ratings of children's curiosity and creativity. Parents' valuing of self-direction on the other hand was positively correlated with these behaviors. In addition, Luster et al., (1989) utilized this measure in testing the relationship between parental values and behaviors. In a sample of mothers interacting with their infants, they found strong positive correlations between valuing of conformity with beliefs regarding discipline and freedom as well as with increased constraining behavior. The reliability coefficients for the current sample were .89 for the Conformity subscale and .93 for the Self-Direction subscale.

Powerlessness - Mastery Scale

A seven-item scale developed by Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman & Mullan (1981) was used to measure the father's sense of perceived control and mastery over his environment.

This mastery scale asks subjects to agree or disagree with a series of statements about their life (e.g.,"I have little control over the things that happen to me"; "There is really no way that I can solve some of the problems I have") and utilizes a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". This scale has been utilized to measure the impact of stress on one's sense of self (Pearlin et al., 1981) as well as the relationship of psychological empowerment to community activism (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). It also correlates moderately with other measures of perceived control, such as a generalized measure of self efficacy and perceptions of internal versus external control (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). The alpha coefficient for the current sample was .75.

Family Process Measures

Parental Authority Scale

In order to measure parents' authority style, the Authoritarianism subscale of the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ; Buri, Louiselle, Misukanis, & Mueller, 1988) was utilized. The PAQ is a 30-item questionnaire, which asks the subjects to respond to statements about their parenting style (e.g., "I do not allow my children to question any decision that I make") and utilizes a five-point Likert-like scale ranging from "strongly disagree to strongly agree". This questionnaire assesses Baumrind's (1971) three prototypes of parental authority: permissiveness, authoritarianism, and authoritativeness.

The authoritarianism subscale was utilized because it theoretically was more syntonic with previous research looking at social class, occupational conditions, and parenting style. Adequate reliability and internal consistency measures have been established for this instrument, with test re-test correlations ranging from .77 to .92 and coefficient alphas ranging from .74 to .87. Regarding criterion validity, in a study of the relationship between parental authority style and self-esteem among 230 college students, Buri et al. (1988), found that parental authoritativeness positively predicted self-esteem and authoritarianism was inversely related to self-esteem, as would be predicted if the PAQ was a valid measure of Baumrind's prototypes. In an additional study, Buri (1989b) also established discriminate validity for the constructs of this measure as authoritarianism was moderately negatively correlated to authoritativeness and permissiveness as predicted by Baumrind's theory, and permissiveness was not related to authoritativeness as expected.

The PAQ (Buri et al., 1988) was slightly revised to apply to parents as opposed to adolescents (e.g., My father believes that children...changed to: I believe that children....), similar to a procedure utilized by Buri (1989a) in a study of adolescent versus parent appraisals of parental authority and its influence on adolescent self-esteem. The coefficient alpha of the authoritarianism subscale for the current sample was .82.

Parental Confidence Scale

Parental report of their own confidence was measured utilizing the 15-item confidence scale from the Family Experiences Questionnaire (FEQ) (Frank, Jacobson, & Houle 1988). The FEQ was developed to measure a variety of parenting constructs including confidence in parenting abilities. Subjects are asked to agree or disagree with statements about their parenting (e.g., "I worry that I am not doing the right thing as a parent") and rate each item on a four-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=agree; 4=strongly agree). The scale includes seven positively and eight negatively-keyed items. The authors (Frank, et al. 1988) tested the instrument on a sample of 760 parents who had at least one child between the ages of one and 19 living in their home. This scale has also been utilized in assessing the impact of stressors from child behavior problems with parents of mentally retarded children as well as control families (Floyd & Zmich, 1989). The reliability coefficient for the current sample was .81.

Adolescent Perception of Relationship with Parent

The Parent Relationship Inventory (Stutman & Lich, 1985) was utilized to measure perceived relatedness and encouragement of autonomy in the family. The PRI is a 50-item questionnaire which measures an adolescent's perception of his or her relationships with his or her parents. It utilizes a four-point response format (1 = "strongly disagree" to 4 = "strongly agree"). The inventory includes

six subscales focusing on different aspects of adolescent differentiation. In this study, four of the subscales were utilized. To assess adolescent's perceptions of their father's encouragement of autonomy the Respect for Intergenerational Boundaries scale and the Mutuality scale were utilized. The Respect for Intergenerational Boundaries scale is composed of nine items which describe the extent to which parents are seen as nonintrusive and as accepting of their adolescent child's striving for independence (e.g., "My father respects my desire to be an independent person"). The Mutuality scale is made up of five items and indicates the extent to which the relationship with the parent is experienced as an adult-adult relationship (e.g., "My father doesn't seem to recognize that I have grown up"). Perceived relatedness and support was assessed by the 11-item Relatedness scale which describes the degree of closeness and warmth in the relationship with the parents and the extent to which the parents are seen as willing to provide emotional and practical support (e.g., "When I'm feeling bad I can count on my father to remind me of my worth"). Finally, the four-item Supply Seeking scale describes the adolescent's comfort in seeking emotional and practical support from his or her parents (e.g., "If I need practical help, I would prefer not to go to my father for it").

Stutman and Lich report adequate internal reliabilities for each of the scales with alphas ranging from .72 to .95.

The authors also summarize several studies providing initial evidence of the discriminant and construct validity of this measure (Anter, 1985; Lich, 1985; and Stutman, 1984). The current sample revealed reliability coefficients of .81 for the created Encouragement of Autonomy scale and .89 for the Support and Relatedness scale.

Data Reduction Procedures

To reduce the number of predictor variables in the path analysis and verify the conceptual grouping of several measures, a principal components factor analysis of all the measurement variables utilizing a Varimax rotation was completed. An analysis of the factor loadings as well as the univariate correlations among variables indicated that several measurement subscales could be combined.

(1) O'Brien's skill utilization subscale and the Job Challenge subscale were conceptually very similar, correlated strongly with one other (r=.63, $p<.001$) and loaded on the same factor (.80;.90). Hence, these scales were combined by averaging Z-scores for the two scales to form the variable Skill Utilization.

(2) Similarly, the two measures of job autonomy were moderately correlated (r=.39, $p<.01$) and loaded on the same factor (.73; .79), and hence these scales were combined, again by averaging Z-scores to form a Job Autonomy variable. It should be noted that while the correlation between these two scales was only moderate, an examination of their univariate correlations with the other variables indicated

little difference, further supporting combining the two.

(3) The two measures of the parental values of conformity and self-direction were also found to strongly and negatively correlate with one another (r=-.67, p<.001) and loaded together (.87; .82) on the same factor. Thus they were combined by reflecting the items for the self-direction scale, converting the scales to Z-scores and then combining the two scales to form a "Traditional" Values variable.

(4) Level of education, level of income and the current Socioeconomic Index score were also combined, after converting to Z-scores, to form the Social Class variable. It should be noted that some scholars (e.g., Otto, 1975; Mueller & Parcell, 1981) have argued against using composite measures of social class, suggesting that such measures may mask rather than reveal relationships between variables. However, it was decided to combine the variables due to the theoretical considerations discussed earlier, and their forming a distinct factor (.88;.84;.66) in the factor analysis. In addition, there was a strong correlation between the Socioeconomic Index score and education (r=.74, p=<.001) and a moderate correlation (r=.44, p<.001) between income and the other two components of Social Class. An examination of univariate correlations of the full measurement model also found very few significant differences in the relationship between the individual social class components and other variables and that of the

combined measure, further supporting their being merged. It should be noted that the relatively weaker relationship income had with education and occupational status is consistent with previous findings that income is often the weakest and least stable indicator of social stratification (Mueller & Parcell, 1981).

(5) Finally, job satisfaction and job stress which had initially been theorized as a combined variable did not have a significant correlation with each other nor did they load on the same factor and thus they were entered as two separate variables in the path analysis.

RESULTS

Proposed Hypotheses of Path Model

A path analysis utilizing a least-squares procedure and employing simultaneous regression analysis was completed to test the hypothesized relationships. Table 2 provides the univariate correlations for the latent variables and Figure 2 gives the beta coefficients for the predicted model.

In regard to the proposed hypotheses, higher social class, as expected, was related to higher levels of skill utilization (β=.37, p<.001) and to a lesser extent with greater job autonomy (β=.14, p<.05). However, job autonomy was not significantly related to any of the downstream variables, and as such, failed to mediate relationships between social class and other occupational and parenting variables.

When skill utilization became the predictive occupational condition, a much stronger relationship was found with downstream variables. Greater skill utilization on the job was highly predictive of greater job satisfaction (β=.66, p<.001) and of a lower reported sense of powerlessness (β= -.38, p<.001). Also, a significant relationship was found between greater skill utilization and less valuing of conformity over self-direction (B= -.16, p<.06). No relationship was found between skill utilization

Table 2

Correlation Matrix of Latent Variables in Path Model

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Social Class	1.000										
2. Skill Utilization	.367**	1.000									
3. Job Autonomy	.140*	.424**	1.000								
4. Job Satisfaction	.394**	.689**	.355**	1.000							
5. Job Stress	.058	.018	-.017	-.100	1.000						
6. Powerlessness	-.212**	-.422**	-.261**	-.314**	.182**	1.000					
7. Values (Conformity vs Self-Direction)	-.275**	-.263**	-.168*	-.229**	.042	.211**	1.000				
8. Authoritarian Style	-.146*	-.130	-.035	-.178**	.062	.091	.360**	1.000			
9. Parental Confidence	.229**	.207**	.103	.241**	-.186**	-.383**	-.111	.147*	1.000		
10. Encourage Autonomy	-.021	-.068	-.090	-.008	.034	.012	-.189*	-.261**	.113	1.000	
11. Support/Relatedness	.118	.101	.038	.072	.002	-.148*	-.148*	-.130	.219**	.506**	1.000

Note: N's for the pairwise correlations ranged from 181 to 204
*p<.05, **p<.01, two tailed tests.

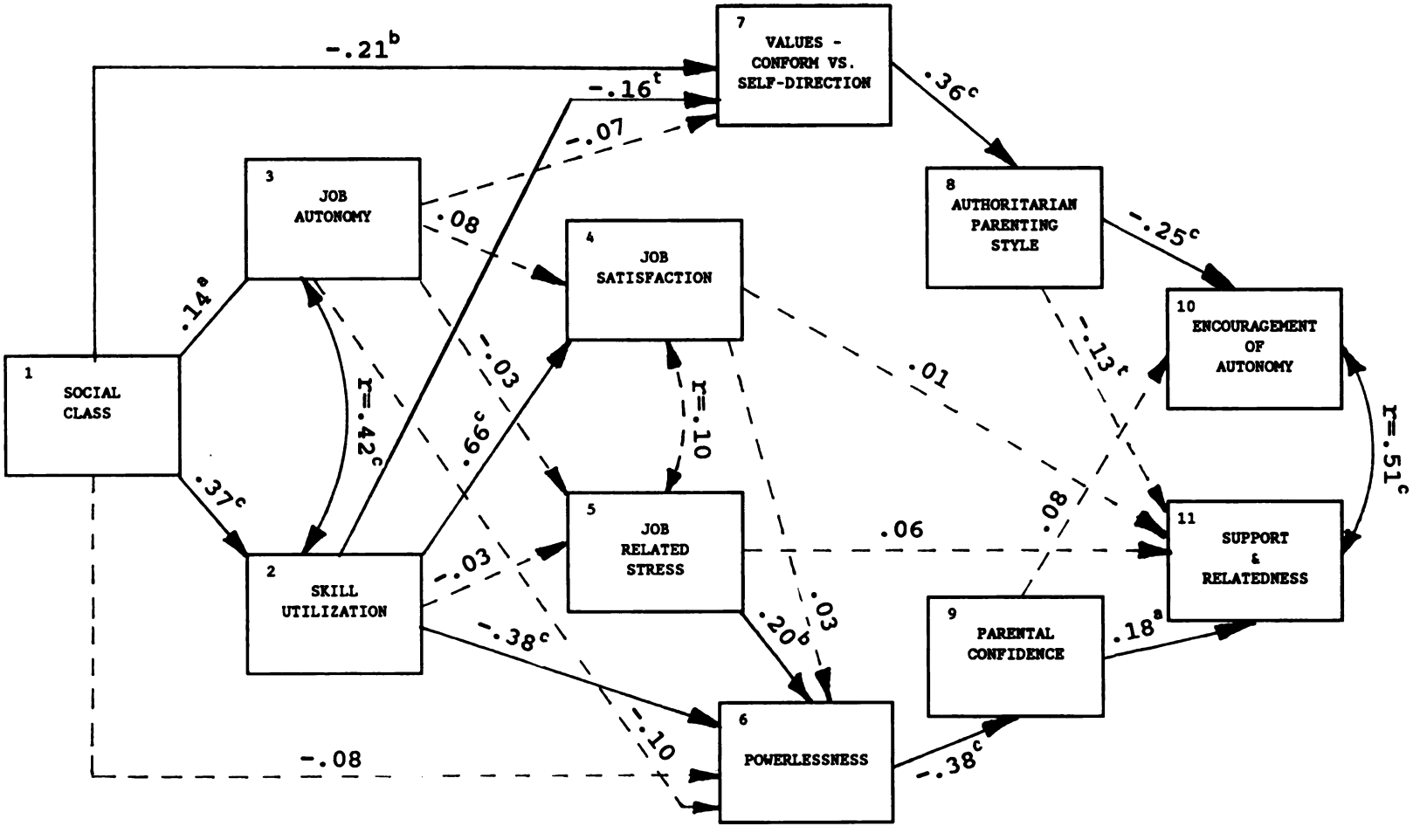

Figure 2
Predicted Model with Path Coefficients

Solid Lines = Significant Correlations
Dotted Lines = Non-significant Correlations
a = $p<.05$; b = $p<.01$; c = $p<.001$; t = $p<.10$

and the level of reported job related stress.

Fathers' values, as expected, were found to be predictive of parenting style with greater valuing of conformity and less valuing of self-direction predictive of greater authoritarian parenting style (β=.36, p<.001).

In regard to the intervening occupational variables of job stress and job satisfaction, higher job stress was predictive of greater sense of powerlessness (β=.20, p<.01), but did not predict sons' perceived support and relatedness, as hypothesized. Although not part of the predicted model, there was a trend for greater job stress to be related to lower parental confidence (β= -.12, p<.10). Further, an examination of the univariate correlations found significant and similar correlations between job stress and powerlessness and parental confidence (r=.18, p<.01; r=.19, p<.01), suggesting that powerlessness was a mediating variable between job stress and parental confidence. Greater job satisfaction however did not directly predict less powerlessness nor did it predict higher levels of perceived support and relatedness, as proposed.

As hypothesized, fathers' decreased sense of powerlessness significantly predicted greater parental confidence (β= -.38, p<.001). In regard to the relationship of parenting style to the perceptions of sons of their fathers' level of both support and relatedness and encouragement of autonomy, parenting style was predictive of encouragement of autonomy with greater levels of

authoritarianism predictive of less encouragement of autonomy ($\underline{B}$= -.25, $\underline{p}$<.01). Greater authoritarianism was not significantly predictive of less support and relatedness, but a trend in the predicted direction occurred ($\underline{B}$= -.13, $\underline{p}$<.10). Higher parental confidence, however, was predictive of higher support and relatedness as anticipated ($\underline{B}$=.18, $\underline{p}$<.05), but was not predictive of higher encouragement of autonomy.

Goodness of Fit of Predicted Path Model

An overall goodness-of-fit test was completed, which compared the predicted model (i.e., only those paths hypothesized to have significant beta coefficients) with the full recursive model (i.e., all possible causal paths between the latent variables) by examining the residual path coefficients in a procedure recommended by Pedhazur (1982) for testing over-identified models (See Table 3). This test found no significant difference between the two models, (χ^2= 8.874, df=30, NS) suggesting that the data did fit the proposed theoretical model. In all, 10 of the 22 predicted pathways were significant at the .05 level. In comparison, only one out of a possible 30 nonpredicted pathways was significant. The single nonpredicted pathway, which was significant, was a moderate direct relationship between higher social class and increased job satisfaction ($\underline{B}$=.16, $\underline{p}$<.01) beyond that mediated by skill utilization and job autonomy. In addition, Table 4 shows the amount of variance explained in each of the endogenous variables by preceding

Table 3

Summary of Residuals of Endogenous Variables for Full and Predicted Models and Chi-Square Goodness-of-Fit.

FULL RECURSIVE MODEL		PREDICTED MODEL	
$d2^e$ =	.930	$d2^e$ =	.930
$d3^e$ =	.990	$d3^e$ =	.990
$d4^e$ =	.704	$d4^e$ =	.721
$d5^e$ =	.999	$d5^e$ =	.999
$d6^e$ =	.876	$d6^e$ =	.879
$d7^e$ =	.938	$d7^e$ =	.943
$d8^e$ =	.920	$d8^e$ =	.933
$d9^e$ =	.894	$d9^e$ =	.926
$d10^e$ =	.940	$d10^e$ =	.962
$d11^e$ =	.966	$d11^e$ =	.972

Chi-Square Goodness of Fit (Pedhazur, 1982)

$$Q = \frac{.845 \text{ (Full Model)}}{.803 \text{ (Predicted Model)}} = 1.052$$

$$W = (N-d) \log e (Q) = \chi^2$$

$$\chi^2 (30) = 8.87 < 43.77 \text{ (NS)}$$

Table 4

Variance Explained by the Full and Predicted Models

ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES	FULL			PREDICTED		
	PVIE		R^2	PVIE		R^2
1. Social Class	----------			----------		
2. Skill Utilization	1	=	.135***	1	=	.135***
3. Job Autonomy	1	=	.020*	2	=	.020*
4. Job Satisfaction	1-3	=	.504***	2-3	=	.480***
5. Job Stress	1-3	=	.004	2-3	=	.001
6. Powerlessness	1-5,7	=	.233***	1-5	=	.227***
7. Values (Conformity vs. Self-Direction)	1-6	=	.120***	1-3	=	.110***
8. Authoritarian Parenting Style	1-7	=	.153***	7	=	.130***
9. Parental Confidence	1-8	=	.201***	6	=	.147***
10. Encouragement of Autonomy	1-9	=	.117**	8-9	=	.074**
11. Support and Relatedness	1-9	=	.067	4-5,8-9	=	.056*

Note. PVIE = Predictor variables in the equation

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

variables in the predicted and full models. The R^2 for the two models are similar with the exception that the full model accounts for somewhat more variance in predicting parental confidence. Most of this increased variance is accounted for in the slight direct influence of social class and job-related stress on parental confidence. The difference in variance accounted for in encouragement of autonomy is primarily related to the slight direct influence of fathers' skill-utilization and values on this variable.

Model Modifications

While the goodness-of-fit test suggests that the predicted model did fit the data, a more parsimonious model could be developed by eliminating the nonsignificant causal paths. A closer look at the predicted model suggests two problem areas. The first difficulty was the failure of job autonomy to adequately mediate between social class and other downstream occupational and parental variables. The second weakness was the failure of job stress and job satisfaction to sufficiently mediate between job conditions and other parenting variables. Since skill utilization had a moderate correlation with job autonomy (r=.39 p,.01) and, theoretically, may tap some similar dimensions, it was decided to delete job autonomy and allow skill utilization to be the primary intervening variable between social class and the downstream variables. It was also decided to delete job satisfaction and job stress from the model. The rationale for the deletion of job satisfaction was two-fold.

First, there was a high correlation between job satisfaction and skill utilization with a suggestion of multicollinearity between the two variables. An exploratory factor analysis also found it to load on the same factor as skill utilization. Secondly, job satisfaction did not act as a significant intervening variable between occupational conditions and any of the downstream parenting or family relational variables. The variable of job-related stress proved to be an even weaker intervening variable between job conditions and downstream variables with only a significant linkage with perceived powerlessness and a moderate correlation with parental confidence. Further, job-related stress had not even a weak relationship to social class, suggesting that it may be tapping a very different phenomenon than the other job-related conditions examined. Thus, it was also removed in the modified model. Finally, the direct link between social class and fathers' perceived sense of powerlessness was deleted as there was no direct predictive relationship between these two variables.

Alternative Model Results

In the alternative proposed model (See Figure 3), most of the predicted pathways maintained their basic strength and significance levels. Job skill utilization proved to be a mediator between social class and fathers' values regarding conformity and self-direction as well as intervening between social class and fathers' sense of powerlessness. Fathers' values continued to be predictive

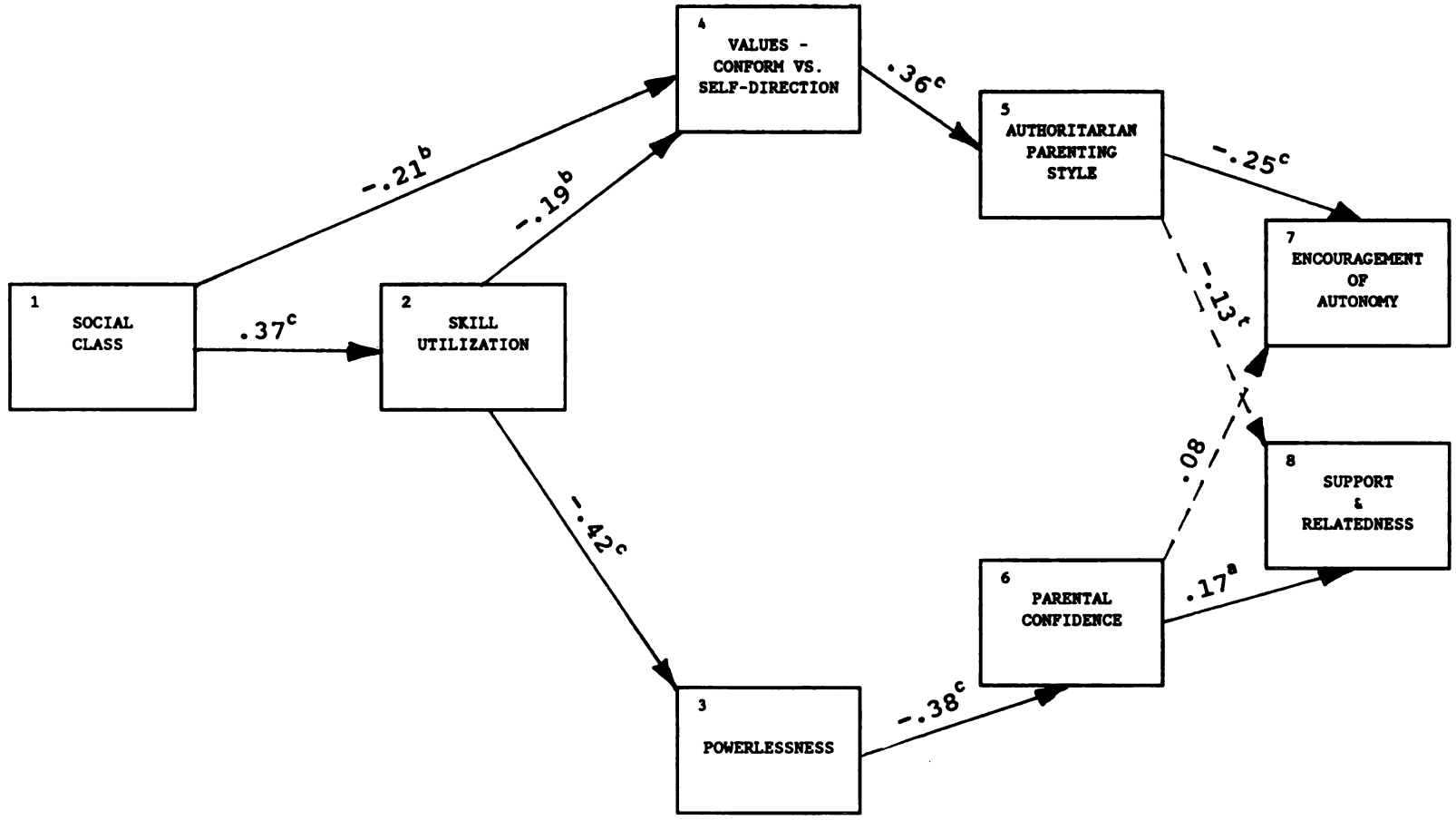

Figure 3
Alternate Model with Path Coefficients

Solid Lines = Significant Coefficients
Dotted Lines = Non-significant Coefficents
a = $p<.05$; b = $p<.01$; c = $p<.001$; t = $p<.10$

of the level of their authoritarian parenting, and their sense of powerlessness was again strongly predictive of their level of confidence in parenting. Parental authority style continued to be significantly linked with sons' perceptions of their fathers' encouragement of autonomy, but as in the data from the initial model, did not significantly predict their perception of their fathers' support and relatedness. Parental confidence also predicted perceptions of fathers' support and relatedness, but did not quite approach significance level in its prediction of encouragement of autonomy.

A Goodness-of-Fit test again found no significant difference between the fully-recursive model and this alternative theoretical model (χ^2= 12.40, df=20, NS), suggesting that the data did fit the proposed theoretical model (See Table 5). In this alternative model, 8 out of 10 predicted pathways were significant at least at the p=<.05 level. In comparison, only one out of 10 of the nonpredicted pathways was significant. The nonpredicted significant pathway was a direct link between social class and parental confidence (B=.17, p<.05), which is not theoretically dystonic with the proposed model. The amount of variance explained by the full and predicted models are again very similar, further suggesting that this revised predicted model fits the data (See Table 6).

Table 5

Revised Model:
Summary of Residuals of Endogenous Variables for Full and Predicted Models and Chi-Square Goodness-of-Fit Test.

FULL RECURSIVE MODEL		PREDICTED MODEL	
$d2^{e}$	= .930	$d2_{e}$	= .930
$d3^{e}$	= .941	$d3^{e}$	= .946
$d4^{e}$	= .899	$d4^{e}$	= .907
$d5^{e}$	= .906	$d5^{e}$	= .925
$d6^{e}$	= .925	$d6^{e}$	= .933
$d7^{e}$	= .946	$d7^{e}$	= .962
$d8^{e}$	= .979	$d8^{e}$	= .973

Chi-Square Goodness of Fit (Pedhazur, 1982)

$$Q = \frac{.627 \text{ (Full Model)}}{.584 \text{ (Predicted Model)}} = 1.074$$

$$W = (N-d) \log e (Q) = \chi^2$$

$$\chi^2 (20) = 12.4 < 31.41 \quad (NS)$$

Table 6

Revised Model:
Variance Explained by the Full and Predicted Models

ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES	FULL			PREDICTED		
	PVIE		R^2	PVIE		R^2
1. Social Class	----------			----------		
2. Skill Utilization	1	=	.135***	1	=	.135***
3. Powerlessness	1-3	=	.191***	1-2	=	.178***
4. Values (Conformity vs. Self-Direction)	1-2,4	=	.115***	1-2	=	.106***
5. Authoritarian Parenting Style	1-4,6	=	.144***	3	=	.130***
6. Parental Confidence	1-5	=	.180***	6	=	.145***
7. Encouragement of Autonomy	1-6	=	.106**	5-6	=	.074***
8. Support and Relatedness	1-6	=	.062	5-6	=	.053*

Note. PVIE = Predictor variables in the equation

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

DISCUSSION

This study was begun with the intent to explore the role that extrafamilial processes might play in influencing family functioning. In particular, it examined how social class, occupational conditions, values and sense of powerlessness influenced parenting processes and, subsequently, sons' experience of autonomy and relatedness in the father-adolescent son relationship. Previous research and theorizing suggested several models to explain the work-family interface, and this study also was designed to test these formulations. Several observations and tentative conclusions regarding the above questions can be drawn from the data.

First of all, these findings tested and found partial support for Kohn's value-shaping hypothesis which, suggests a linkage between social class, occupational conditions, and parental values regarding conformity and self-direction. The data found that social class directly influenced fathers' values, but also had a small indirect effect through the intervening occupational condition of job skill utilization. When this model was expanded to include parenting style (i.e., the level of authoritarianism), global values regarding conformity and self-direction values significantly predicted fathers' authoritarianism,

indicating that fathers' values proved to be an effective intervening variable between social class and authoritarian parenting style. Further, when sons' perceptions of their fathers' encouragement of autonomy was added to the model, the level of fathers' authoritarianism predicted encouragement of autonomy and acted as a mediator between fathers' values and their relationship with their sons. These findings thus add support to the value-shaping or socialization models which link social class and occupational conditions with parental values, attitudes, and behavioral styles.

An unexpected finding was that job autonomy failed to act as a mediator between social class and other downstream variables such as a father's values, sense of powerlessness, and other job-related variables, such as job satisfaction. This was in sharp contrast to the stronger mediating function of skill utilization. Several explanations could be proposed for this finding. It may be that skill utilization is simply a more powerful mediator between occupational conditions and workers' personal attributes and values. O'Brien (1980) has argued for the centrality of skill utilization as a major factor in workers' job satisfaction as well as in their sense of personal control. This study tended to support O'Brien's highlighting of skill utilization over autonomy as a central variable. The nature of this sample may have also affected this finding. While this sample had a range of working-class through upper-

middle-class families, it leaned toward white-collar and professional occupations. It may well be that in white collar and professional occupations, autonomy and independence in the work place are more common place and ingrained in the structure of the job. As such, satisfaction and a sense of personal control on the job may relate more to other factors such as time pressures, quantity of tasks, external constraints of the market place and the like. As Kline and Cowan (1988) have discussed, the individual meaning of work may act as a filter through which individuals interpret their work experiences as satisfying or stressful. Work that is challenging and utilizes one's potential may be increasingly more important than independence and autonomy at the work place, particularly in a growing professional work force.

The second major pathway by which social class and job conditions were expected to influence parenting and father-son relationships was through the variable of perceived powerlessness. This was suggested by the work of O'Brien, (1980, 1986) who proposed that workers' sense of personal control was a crucial mediating variable between job conditions and personal identity, which could influence non-work interactions. Skill utilization was the major occupational condition which O'Brien found influenced a worker's sense of personal control. This study found that increased skill utilization was, in fact, predictive of decreased powerlessness and appeared to be a primary

mediator of social class influences on powerlessness. When this model was extended to include parental confidence and sons' perceptions of their fathers' supportiveness, powerlessness did predict levels of parental confidence, which, in turn, were predictive of sons' perceptions of their fathers as being supportive. These findings thus support O'Brien's initial hypotheses and findings, but further suggest that fathers' sense of powerlessness may be an important mediating variable between experiences on the job and family variables, such as parental confidence.

Unexpected in this pathway, however, was the failure in the path model to find a significant direct link between social class and fathers' sense of powerlessness. Several hypotheses can be suggested regarding this finding. Because this sample was limited primarily to working-class and upper-middle class families, with a leaning toward white-collar and professional occupations, it may be that the fathers' experience of respect and challenge on the job is indeed the primary mediator of their overall sense of mastery. Other conditions of life which one might expect to influence one's sense of powerlessness (e.g., financial failure, social discrimination, and poverty), might not apply as strongly to this working population. It may also be that powerlessness partially taps a dimension that is more trait or personality based, such as a coping strategy or overall locus of control. Such a coping or locus of control variable might be less directly influenced by a

broader or more distal condition of life, such as social class, than a more individualized variable, such as the perception of how thoroughly one's skills were utilized and maximized. This argument is further suggested by the findings of Repetti (1987) that psychological well-being at the work place was more closely tied to the proximal individualized social environment than the more distal common social environment. An alternate hypothesis would be that workers who felt little mastery over their environment would be less inclined to take jobs which were more challenging or perhaps would be less inclined to be given them.

A third theoretical model tested was the "spill-over hypothesis" which suggested that dissatisfaction and stressful experiences on the job could directly lead to less supportive family relationships, specifically between fathers and sons. This hypothesis was generally not supported by the data. Neither job satisfaction nor job-related stress directly predicted level of supportiveness, as might be predicted from a stress spill-over model. However, job stress was predictive of fathers' sense of powerlessness, and powerlessness, in turn, predicted parental confidence which in turn was related to the level of support and relatedness perceived by sons. Thus, while there is some suggestion that job stress might influence father-son relationships through the intervening variables of powerlessness and parental confidence, it is clearly not

an effective mediator between social class, other occupational conditions, and downstream parenting and relational variables.

What might explain the failure of job stress and job satisfaction to be effective mediating variables between occupational conditions and downstream parenting and relationship variables? In regard to job stress, one hypothesis might be that reported job stress is primarily a transitory variable, subject to changes in job personnel and specific time-bound conditions. As such, ongoing job stress may be more difficult to tap with questions which ask a subject to summarize their work experience than other potentially more stable variables such as job autonomy or skill utilization. Crouter et al., (1989) and Repetti (1989) have emphasized the importance in distinguishing between transient work stress and long term chronic work strain in assessing the influence on family interactions. Secondly, the responses on the "job stress" scale might be tapping more personality or coping style characteristics similar to the dimension of powerlessness. Thus, how one perceived and coped with stress on the job might, to some extent, be independent of the type of job one had. An examination of the univariate correlations (See Table 2) partially supports this notion in that the only variables with which job stress significantly correlated were powerlessness and parental confidence. In regard to the failure of job stress to be related to sons' experience of

their father's supportiveness, there may be both substantive and methodological explanations. Recent research on the influence of work-induced stress on family life suggests that while work strain may influence the marital relationship, it has less direct influence on relationships with children. Bolger et al. (1989) found that husbands tended to have more arguments at home with their wives on days that they had arguments at work, but that arguments at work were not related to arguments with children. In a related vein, other researchers (e.g., Barnett, Marshall & Pleck, 1992; Reppetti, 1989) have also found that the quality of the marital relationship as well as the satisfaction with the marital and parental role can buffer the effects of job stress on family interactions. Thus, while job stress may influence psychological outcomes such as a sense of powerlessness and even personal confidence in parenting there are a variety of moderators or filters that can lessen its impact on parent-child relationships. A final explanation for the failure of job stress to predict sons' perception of father's support may relate to the measure used to assess job stress. Several researchers (Crouter et al., 1989; Small & Riley, 1990) have argued that while stress scales, such as the Rizzo scale, which was used in this study, are effective in measuring more immediate and transient work strain, they are less effective in assessing the more accumulative nature of chronic stress or of establishing a more causal link between work stressors and

the resulting mood or psychological state of the worker. Perhaps a specialized multidimensional measure such as the Work Spillover Scale of Small and Riley (1990) would more accurately assess the processes we were examining.

The failure of job satisfaction to be predictive of parental variables such as a sense of powerlessness and son's perceived support and relatedness is also puzzling. A closer look at the data suggests several possible explanations for this finding. One reason for the lack of effect of job satisfaction with downstream variables such as father's sense of powerlessness may be its relatively high correlation with skill utilization (r=.69, p<.01). In the path analysis, much of the relationship that job satisfaction has to powerlessness may be subsumed by the strong relationship that skill utilization has to powerlessness. In fact, looking at the univariate correlations, a significant relationship was found between job satisfaction and powerlessness (r=-.31, p<.01) as well as with other downstream variables such as parental confidence (r=.24, p<.01), authoritarianism (r=-.18, p<.01), and valuing conformity over self-direction (r=-.23, p<.01). A comparison of the items making up the Type of Work Satisfaction subscale of the Job Descriptive Index with those of the Skill Utilization measure found several overlapping items such as whether the work was "challenging", "routine", or "gave a sense of accomplishment". This could account for the high

correlation between the two measures and the failure for job satisfaction to provide unique variance beyond skill utilization in the predicted path model. The use of a more global job satisfaction measure with a more moderate correlation with skill utilization might test the relationship of job satisfaction with parenting variables more accurately. The relatively high correlation between job satisfaction and skill utilization does not fully explain the lack of relationship between job satisfaction and sons' perception of fathers' support and relatedness, as might be predicted from a spill-over hypothesis. One explanation for this lack of relationship might be similar to that made in regard to job stress, in that job satisfaction might be viewed as a more transitory state and, as such, less influential to more continuous emotional experiences, such as the sense of connectedness between fathers and sons. Another explanation, however, might be that the expected positive relationship between job satisfaction and support and relatedness, based on the hypothesis that the less negative spill-over from work, the greater the likelihood of positive parent-child interactions, might be counteracted by a compensatory hypothesis which proposes that less job satisfaction at the work place can lead to compensatory behavior, or putting more time and emotional energy into family life (Hoffman, 1986). If some fathers compensated for their lack of satisfaction at work with more positive interactions with

their son, while others had less positive interactions due to being overly stressed or being in bad moods, they would cancel each other out and the result would be a lack of relationship between these variables.

A final theoretical question centered around whether a father's attitudes and behaviors, which might be influenced by work conditions, would directly impact on the father-son relationship. It was theorized that sons' perceptions of their fathers' encouragement of autonomy and supportiveness would be influenced by two different pathways: The first, largely mediated by parental authority style influenced by fathers' values, and the second, largely mediated by parental confidence influenced primarily through fathers' sense of powerlessness. This division of influence emerged even more strongly than originally predicted and tends to support the theory that issues of autonomy and control, while related to issues of connectedness and support, are separate processes influenced differentially by fathers' parenting style and confidence, as well as by their global child-rearing values and sense of personal efficacy.

A few comments should also be made in regards to how these findings relate to the broad question of how social class influences parenting and, specifically, father-son relationships. While this study was more interested in the mechanisms or processes that mediated social class and family interactions, rather than direct effects, a few cautious conclusions can be drawn. First of all, this study

found a significant negative relationship between social class and fathers' emphasis on conformity over self-direction with their sons. This validated previous studies, as reviewed by Gecas (1979), in which higher social class was correlated with emphasis on independence. Secondly, in regards to parental control, a small but significant negative correlation was found between social class and authoritarian parenting style. This confirms earlier findings of Kohn (1963) and Elder and Bowerman (1963) with adolescent boys and their parents. In the path model, however, most of the impact of social class was mediated through parental values. Finally, in looking at the relationship of social class and parental affection and support, this study found no direct relationship between social class and adolescent sons' perceptions of their fathers' support and relatedness. However, there may be some indirect effects through powerlessness and parental confidence, especially when mediated by skill utilization. This study clearly suggests that social class alone contributes only a very small portion of the variance in influencing parenting and father-son interaction. It appears to be more useful to examine its influence on specific intervening variables, such as parental values, and specific occupational conditions.

Methodological Issues

There are several methodological issues which limited the generalizability of these results and which should be

considered for any future replication of this research. First of all, a greater range of social class among the sample, particularly the inclusion of more unskilled laborers, would have been desirable. While a moderate range of working-class to upper-middle-class professionals was achieved, the median occupation was skewed towards professional, or management, professions. The weakness of some of the direct relationships found between social class and individual and family functioning variables may have been due to the constrained range of our sample. A broader sample may have allowed deeper analysis of the differential effects of social class variables versus conditions of work.

Secondly, a greater range of occupational conditions might have been useful in assessing intervening variables between social class and family functioning. Perhaps the use of a multiscale measure, such as Hackman and Oldham's Job Diagnostic Survey (Hackman & Oldham, 1975) or Sims, Szilagyi & Keller's Job Characteristics Inventory (Sims et al., 1976), might have tapped a broader range of work roles, tasks, and climate, and allowed a more complex evaluation of the aspects of work which influenced parental perceptions and family relationships.

Finally, although path analysis procedures can suggest the likelihood of particular causal models fitting a set of correlational relationships among variables, a cross-sectional study such as this project cannot clearly answer the question of causality. To more clearly ascertain

whether there is a causal linear relationship between social class, occupational conditions, parental values and behaviors, and subsequent family relationships, longitudinal research is needed. Ideally, data would be collected before, during, and at the latter parts of a career and family life cycle. Such longitudinal studies could also better test alternative models of the work family interface which suggest that personality disposition and character traits can concurrently influence job choices and parental values and behaviors. This seems particularly salient in light of several of our findings regarding the relative independence of job stress and powerlessness from social class.

Considerations for Future Research

In addition to the above methodological suggestions, there are several other areas of future exploration that could prove useful. First of all, research in adolescent development and family processes has suggested that the marital and parental relationships between fathers and mothers are important mediators between parent-child relationships. Understanding how the work environment affects marital cohesion and satisfaction might help explicate further the work-family interface. In fact, several recent studies (Bolger et al., 1989; Hughes et al., 1992; Repetti, 1989) have suggested that the marital relationship, and particularly the wife's response, may be a powerful moderator or buffer to the impact of work on the overall family relationship.

Secondly, this study only looked at fathers' perceptions of their jobs and relationships with their sons' at a particular life stage, that of having young college-age sons. It is unlikely that connections between work conditions, parenting and family variables remain stable as fathers move through their careers. As Kline and Cowan (1988) have suggested, paid work may well change in both salience and meaning at each stage of the family life cycle. Research in fathers' involvement in parenting has also suggested that fathers' active involvement in work and family often changes throughout the life cycle (e.g. Almeida & Galambos, 1991; Cowan & Bronstein, 1988; Lamb, 1986). Research which examines working fathers and their family relationships across their work lives would help explain this process.

Finally, this research only looks at the interface between fathers' work experience and their relationship with their sons. Whether these linkages hold also for fathers and daughters, or for working mothers and their adolescent children would be fruitful areas to explore. Moreover, as Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1982) have pointed out, researchers studying the impact of work on family life have treated the job situations of mothers and fathers as separate worlds. What is needed is a better understanding, not only how of work influences both fathers and mothers, but also how these processes interact and influence both the

parenting process and child, adolescent, and young adult development.

Conclusion

Researchers and theoreticians studying family processes have tended to emphasize interactions within the family and have largely ignored the influence of external environmental influences such as the work place. This research has been an attempt to better understand the linkages between larger system variables, such as social class and occupational conditions, and father-son relationships. The study found that social class and the job condition of skill utilization influenced the father-son relationship through two primary pathways. One pathway was mediated primarily by fathers' values and supported a "values-shaping" hypothesis. Fathers' valuing of conformity over self-direction was found to be predictive of parental authoritarianism, which in turn predicted less encouragement of autonomy in sons. The second pathway was mediated largely by fathers' powerlessness which was found to influence parental confidence, which in turn was predictive of sons' perception of support and relatedness from their fathers. Unexpected were the findings that job autonomy, job satisfaction, and job-related stress were relatively weak or ineffective links in the model. While this model requires further validation and empirical support, it hopefully has helped in further explicating the complex relationship between the worlds of work and family life.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

STUDENT DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX A

STUDENT DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age: _____

2. Class: _____Freshman _____Sophomore ____Junior

   _____Senior _____Grad.

3. Ethnic Status: _____Black _____Caucasian _____Oriental

   _____Hispanic _____Native American _____Other

4. Marital Status: _____Single_____Married_____Sep/Div

5. Were you adopted? _____yes _____no

6. Are your biological (or adopted) parents:

   a) Married to each other? _____yes _____no

   b) Separated from each other?_____yes _____no

      If yes, how old were you when they separated? _____

   c) Divorced from each other? _____yes _____no

      If yes, how old were you when they divorced? _____

7. Previous to coming to MSU who did you primarily live with for the last ten years? Check all that apply

   _____ Biological or adopted Mother

   _____ Biological or adopted Father

   _____ Step-mother

   _____ Step-father

   _____ Other adult male relative (i.e. Uncle, Grandfather)

   _____ Other adult female relative (i.e. Aunt, Grandmother)

8. Parents:

FATHER

a) Age_____

b) Occupation_____
(Give job title, formal or informal of occupation for at least the last 10 years. If more than one title list both)

c) Description of Occupation _____

_____

_____
(Describe the kinds of activities your father does on the job i.e.,talk with people, sell cars, work on a punch press, supervise other employees in a repair shop)

d) Highest level of education

____ Less than 9th grade	____ Less than 4 years of college
____ Less than 12th grade	____ 4 Year College Grad.
____ High School Grad.	____ Masters Degree
____ 2 years or less of college	____ Ph.D., MD. etc.

e) Father's gross yearly income (approx.)

____below 7,000	____40,000 to 50,000
____7,000 to 15,000	____50,000 to 60,000
____15,000 to 20,000	____60,000 to 80,000
____20,000 to 25,000	____80,000 to 100,000
____25,000 to 30,000	____Over 100,000
____30,000 to 40,000	

MOTHER

a) Age_____

b) Occupation_____
(Give job title, formal or informal of occupation for at least the last 10 years. If more than one title list both)

c) Description of Occupation _____

_____

_____
(Describe the kinds of activities your mother does on the job i.e.,talk with people, sell cars, work on a punch press, supervise other employees in a repair shop)

d) Highest level of education

____ Less than 9th grade	____ Less than 4 years of college
____ Less than 12th grade	____ 4 Year College Grad.
____ High School Grad.	____ Masters Degree
____ 2 years or less of college	____ Ph.D., MD. etc.

e) Mother's gross yearly income (approx.)

____below 7,000	____40,000 to 50,000
____7,000 to 15,000	____50,000 to 60,000
____15,000 to 20,000	____60,000 to 80,000
____20,000 to 25,000	____80,000 to 100,000
____25,000 to 30,000	____Over 100,000
____30,000 to 40,000	

9. Siblings (including step-siblings)

	Age	Sex	Grade	Living at Home (Yes or No)
a)				
b)				
c)				
d)				
e)				
f)				

Total Number of siblings you grew up with_____

10. Do you live at home during summers and vacations? ___yes ___no

11. Do you live at home during the school year? ___yes ___no
(If yes, skip to #14)

12. What is the average number of phone contacts you have with your parents each month?

With Father: _____

With Mother: _____

13. What is the average number of visits you have with your parents each month?

With Father: _____

With Mother: _____

14. How many miles away from MSU do your parents live?

_____

APPENDIX B

PARENT RELATIONSHIP INVENTORY SUBSCALES

APPENDIX B

PARENT RELATIONSHIP INVENTORY SUBSCALES

INSTRUCTIONS: The following questions refer to your current relationship with your father. If you were not reared by your natural father, please respond in terms of the person who primarily raised you until you were 18 in the role of father. If your father is no longer living answer in terms of how you remember the relationship to have been as well as how you imagine the relationship would be today if your father was still living.

PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH BEST DESCRIBES YOUR AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT WITH EACH STATEMENT.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	My father respects my desire to be an independent person.	4	3	2	1
2.	My father accepts my need for privacy.	4	3	2	1
3.	My father wants to know all my thoughts.	4	3	2	1
4.	My father doesn't try to influence the decisions I make.	4	3	2	1
5.	It is alright with my father if I disagree with her.	4	3	2	1
6.	My father doesn't try to tell me how to run my life.	4	3	2	1
7.	When my father gives me things, there are generally "strings attached".	4	3	2	1
8.	I feel that my father tries to interfere in my personal business.	4	3	2	1
9.	My father often insists on making me see things his way.	4	3	2	1
10.	My father doesn't seem to recognize that I've grown up.	4	3	2	1
11.	My father frequently lets me know that his generation knows best.	4	3	2	1
12.	It's hard not to feel like a child when I'm with my father.	4	3	2	1

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13.	The relationship I have with my father feels like a relationship between equals.	4	3	2	1
14.	My father is able to talk to me as one adult to another.	4	3	2	1
15.	It is fun to be with my father.	4	3	2	1
16.	When I'm trying to reach a goal, I can't depend on my father for encouragement.	4	3	2	1
17.	In my relationship with my father, I often feel like an "orphan"	4	3	2	1
18.	When I am feeling bad, my father shows little interest in my feelings.	4	3	2	1
19.	My father and I feel like strangers to one another.	4	3	2	1
20.	I feel happy when I am with my father.	4	3	2	1
21.	When I am feeling bad, I can count on my father to remind me of my worth.	4	3	2	1
22.	I feel tense when I am around my father.	4	3	2	1
23.	I can't rely on emotional support from my mother.	4	3	2	1
24.	My father and I don't seem to have very much in common with each other.	4	3	2	1
25.	I feel very warm towards my father.	4	3	2	1
26.	If I were in financial trouble, I would feel comfortable asking my father to lend me money.	4	3	2	1
27.	I avoid asking my father for his emotional support.	4	3	2	1
28.	When I'm ill, I avoid asking my father for sympathy.	4	3	2	1
29.	If I needed practical help, I would prefer not to go to my father for it.	4	3	2	1

Do these answers refer to your: Biological (or adoptive father) ____

Step-Father ____ Other Father Figure ____

APPENDIX C

FATHER DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C

FATHER DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Father's Questionnaire

1. Age: _____

2. Ethnic Status: ____Black _____Caucasian _____Oriental

   _____Hispanic _____Native American _____ Other

3. Marital Status: _____Single_____Married_____Sep/Div

4. Occupation_____

   _____

   (Give job title, formal or informal of occupation for at least the last 10 years. If more than one title list them. If retired give last major occupation.)

   How long at this job title? _____

5. Description of Occupation _____

   _____

   _____

   (Describe the kinds of activities you do on the job i.e. talk with people, sell cars, work on a punch press, supervise other employees in a repair shop)

6. Highest level of education:

____ Less than 9th grade	____ Less than 4 years of college
____ Less than 12th grade	____ 4 Year College Grad.
____ High School Grad.	____ Masters Degree
____ 2 years or less of college	____ Ph.D., MD. etc.

7. Father's gross income (approx.)

____below 7,000	____40,000 to 50,000
____7,000 to 15,000	____50,000 to 60,000
____15,000 to 20,000	____60,000 to 80,000
____20,000 to 25,000	____80,000 to 100,000
____25,000 to 30,000	____Over 100,000
____30,000 to 40,000	

APPENDIX D

SKILL UTILIZATION AND JOB AUTONOMY SCALES

APPENDIX D

SKILL UTILIZATION AND JOB AUTONOMY SCALES

Skill Utilization

INSTRUCTIONS:Using the scale described below circle the number which best fits the following statements about your work.

Not at all Very Little Some A reasonable amount A Great Deal
1.....2.....3.....4.....5

1. In my work I have the chance to learn new jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
2. In my work I have the opportunity to use my own work methods.	1	2	3	4	5
3. In my work I am able to use my abilities.	1	2	3	4	5
4. In my work I am able to use my training and experience.	1	2	3	4	5

Job Autonomy

PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER FOR THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT YOUR JOB WHICH BEST DESCRIBES HOW MUCH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT

Strongly Disagree Disagree Slightly Disagree Neither Agree nor disagree Slightly Agree Agree Strongly Agree
1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7

1. To be successful on my job requires all my skill and ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. On my job, I seldom get a chance to use my special skills and abilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. My job is very challenging	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH BEST DESCRIBES WHETHER EACH STATEMENT IS TRUE OR NOT ABOUT YOUR JOB.

Definitely true	More true than false	More false than true	Definitely false
1	2	3	4

1. People at my job are allowed to do almost as they please.	1	2	3	4
2. How things are done at my job are left pretty much up to the person doing the work.	1	2	3	4
3. At my job a person can make his own decision without consulting anyone else.	1	2	3	4
4. Most people at my job make up their own rules.	1	2	3	4

USING THE SCALES DESCRIBED BELOW CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH BEST FITS YOUR JOB

Very Little	A moderate amount	Very Much
1	2 3 4	5

1.	How much are you left on your own to do your work	1	2	3	4	5
2.	To what extent are you able to work independently of your supervisor in performing your job function?	1	2	3	4	5
3.	To what extent are you able to do your job independently of others?	1	2	3	4	5

A minimum amount	A moderate amount	Very Much
1	2 3 4	5

4.	The freedom to do pretty much what I want on my job.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	The opportunity for independent thought and action.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	The Control I have over the pace of my work.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX E

JOB SATISFACTION SCALE

APPENDIX E

JOB SATISFACTION SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS: For each of the following adjectives or statements, indicate whether or not it describes your current job (or the last significant job you held).

Y = Yes it describes my job

U = Uncertain if it describes my job

N = No it doesn't describe my job

PLEASE MARK EITHER Y, U, OR N FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING WORDS THAT DESCRIBE YOUR JOB.

1. Fascinating _____
2. Routine _____
3. Satisfying _____
4. Boring _____
5. Good _____
6. Creative _____
7. Respected _____
8. Hot _____
9. Pleasant _____
10. Useful _____
11. Tiresome _____
12. Healthful _____
13. Challenging _____
14. On your feet _____
15. Frustrating _____
16. Simple _____
17. Endless _____
18. Gives sense of accomplishment _____

APPENDIX F

JOB STRESS AND POWERLESSNESS SCALES

APPENDIX F

JOB STRESS AND POWERLESSNESS SCALES

INSTRUCTIONS: Answer true or false to the following question.

Circle either T = True or F = False

T F 1. My job tends to directly affect my health.

T F 2. I work under a great deal of tension.

T F 3. I have felt fidgety or nervous as a result of my job.

T F 4. If I had a different job, my health would probably improve.

T F 5. Problems associated with my job have kept me awake at night.

T F 6. I have felt nervous before attending meetings at my job.

T F 7. I often "take my job home with me" in the sense that I think about it when doing other things.

INSTRUCTIONS: Using the scale described below circle the letter(s) that indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements.

SD = Strongly Disagree D = Disagree A = Agree SA = Strongly Agree

1. There is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have.	SD	D	A	SA
2. Sometimes I feel that I am being pushed around in life.	SD	D	A	SA
3. I have little control over the things that happen to me.	SD	D	A	SA
4. I can do just about anything I really set my mind to.	SD	D	A	SA
5. I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.	SD	D	A	SA
6. What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.	SD	D	A	SA
7. There is little I can do to change many of the important things in my life.	SD	D	A	SA

APPENDIX G

VALUES SCALE

APPENDIX G

VALUES SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS: For the following three sets of statements please rank the five statements from 1 to 5 with the most important thing you want your child (student) to learn ranked 1 the second most important thing ranked 2, and so on with the least important ranked 5. Give each five statements a different number. **1= Most important ..... 5=least important**

First Set:

1. It is important for my child:	RANK
a. to think for himself	_____
b. to keep himself and his clothes clean	_____
c. to be curious about many things	_____
d. to be polite to adults	_____
e. to be kind to other children	_____

Second Set:

2. It is important for my child:	RANK
a. to obey parents and teachers	_____
b. to be responsible for his own work	_____
c. to be kind and considerate	_____
d. to keep things neat and in order	_____
e. to use imagination	_____

Third Set:

3. It is important for my child:	RANK
a. to be interested in how and why things happen	_____
b. to have the ability to get along with people	_____
c. to be a good student	_____
d. to have the ability to look after himself	_____
e. to have good manners	_____

APPENDIX H

PARENTAL AUTHORITY QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX H

PARENTAL AUTHORITY QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS: For each of the following statements, circle the number on the 5-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree) that best indicates how that statement applies to you and your father. Try to read and think about each statement as it applies to you and your father during the last 5 years. There are no right or wrong answers, so don't spend a lot of time on any one item. We are looking for your overall impression regarding each statement. Be sure not to omit any items.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree		Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. I feel that in a well-run home the children should have their way in the family as often as the parents do.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Even if my children don't agree with me, I feel that it is for their own good if they are forced to conform to what I think is right.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Whenever I tell my children to do something, I expect them to do it immediately without asking any questions.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Once family policy has been established, I discuss the reasoning behind the policy with my children.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I always encourage verbal give and take whenever the children feel that family rules and restrictions are unreasonable.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel that children need to be free to make up their own minds and to do what they want to do even if this does not agree with what I might want.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I do not allow my children to question any decision that I make.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I direct the activities and decisions of the children in my family through reasoning and discipline.	1	2	3	4	5

9. I feel that more force should be used by parents in order to get their children to behave the way they are supposed to.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I do not feel that children need to obey rules and regulations of behavior simply because someone in authority has established them.	1	2	3	4	5
11. My children know what I expect of them in my family, but they also feel free to discuss these expectations when they feel they are unreasonable.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I feel that wise parents should teach their children early just who is boss in the family.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I seldom give my children expectations and guidelines for their behavior.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Most of the time I do what the children in the family want when making family decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I consistently give the children in my family direction and guidance in rational and objective ways.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I get very upset if my children try to disagree with me.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I feel that most problems in society would be solved if parents would not restrict their children's activities, decisions, and desires as they are growing up.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I let my children know what behaviors are expected them, and if they don't meet those expectations, I punish them.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I let my children decide most things for themself without a lot of direction from me.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I take the children's opinions into consideration when making family decisions, but I would not decide for something simply because the children want it.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I do not view myself as responsible for directing and guiding my children's behavior as they grow up.	1	2	3	4	5

22. I have clear standards of behavior for my children, but I am willing to adjust those standards to the needs of each of the individual children in the family.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I give direction for my children's behavior and activities and I expect them to follow my direction, but I am always willing to listen to their concerns and to discuss that direction with them.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I allow my children to form their own point of view on family matters and I generally allow my children to decide for themselves what they are going to do.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I feel that most problems in society would be solved if we could get parents to strictly and forcibly deal with their children when they don't do what they are supposed to do.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I tell my children exactly what I want them to do and how I expect then to do it.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I give my children clear direction for their behaviors and activities, but I am also understanding when they disagree with me.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I do <u>not</u> direct the behaviors, activities, and desires of my children.	1	2	3	4	5
29. My children know what I expect of them and I insist that they conform to those expectations simply out of respect for my authority.	1	2	3	4	5
30. If I make a decision that hurts my children, I am willing to discuss that decision with my children and admit it if I had made a mistake.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX I

FAMILY EXPERIENCES QUESTIONNAIRE
(PARENTAL CONFIDENCE SUBSCALE)

APPENDIX I

FAMILY EXPERIENCES QUESTIONNAIRE
(PARENTAL CONFIDENCE SUBSCALE)

INSTRUCTIONS: Using the scale described below circle the letter(s) that indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements.

SD= Strongly Disagree D= Disagree A= Agree SA= Strongly Agree

1. I know that I am doing a good job as a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
2. Being a parent turned out not to be as difficult as I thought it would be.	SD	D	A	SA
3. Being a parent makes me feel drained and depleted.	SD	D	A	SA
4. I have the knowledge I need to be a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
5. I should have read more books on parenting because I often feel like I don't know what I am doing.	SD	D	A	SA
6. If I could do it over again I would raise my children the same way I am raising them now.	SD	D	A	SA
7. I often worry that I am letting my children down.	SD	D	A	SA
8. Whenever I start feeling comfortable as a parent something goes wrong and the doubts start all over again.	SD	D	A	SA
9. I worry that I am not doing the right thing as a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
10. No matter how hard I try, I never seem to be a good enough parent.	SD	D	A	SA
11. I often worry that I don't know enough to be a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
12. I often feel guilty about neglecting my children.	SD	D	A	SA
13. Juggling all the responsibilities of being a parent is one of my talents.	SD	D	A	SA
14. Parenting means a lot of responsibilities and problems, but I always feel that I can cope with the difficulties that come along.	SD	D	A	SA
15. When there is a crisis with the children, I know that I will do what needs to be done.	SD	D	A	SA

APPENDIX J

PARENT LETTER AND INFORMED CONSENT

APPENDIX J

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN 48824

PARENT LETTER AND INFORMED CONSENT

WORK AND FAMILY INTERACTIONS STUDY

Dear Parent:

We are contacting you to request your participation in a research project at MSU in which your undergraduate son or daughter has voluntarily agreed to participate. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between experiences at the work place and interactions between parents and their children. The study is being conducted by Jim Wasner, a graduate student in clinical psychology under the supervision of Susan J. Frank, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Psychology.

Participation in the study involves completing a questionnaire asking your perceptions about your job conditions, your beliefs about parenting, your relationship with your son or daughter, and several questions about your family and life situation in general. It will take approximately 1 hour to complete these questionnaires. Your son or daughter who is currently enrolled in an introductory level psychology class at MSU also will be participating. Each student will be receive extra credit in the course for completing a questionnaire and arranging for his parents to participate. If you or your son or daughter decide not to participate, there are other options for earning extra credit.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all or not to answer particular items on the questionnaires without any repercussions for you or your child. However, all of your answers are valuable to this study and your decision to omit various items may make it difficult or impossible to use the information you do provide. Although you may feel that some of the questions are personal, several steps have been taken to protect your confidentiality. First, we do not want you to put your name or address on the questionnaire. Second, in order to protect the privacy and confidentiality of your responses we have included an addressed envelope for returning the questionnaire. When you have completed the questionnaires you should put them in the envelope provided, seal it, and return it by mail to the address indicated. (If you write a separate letter or postcard we will be happy to reimburse you for the cost of the postage).

We have identified your and your child's questionnaires by a common code number. This code number has been linked in a list to your child's student identification number so that they can be given assured of getting credit when the questionnaires are returned. The primary researcher who is not connected to the course has the only copy of this list and it will be destroyed at at the end of the term.

We are aware that some of the parents may find it inconvenient to return the questionnaires by mail. You do have the option of putting the completed questionnaire in the envelope provided, sealing it, writing your first name over the seal, and returning it with your son or daughter, who can turn it in to a departmental mail box. You should be aware, however, that if you chose to return it in this manner we are less able to protect the full confidentiality of your responses.

To protect the validity of the study, please do not discuss your answers with your spouse, friends, or children, until the questionnaires are returned.

If you would like a summary of the results of this study you may obtain them by writing: Jim Wasner, M.A., Department of Psychology, MSU, East Lansing, Michigan 48824. If you have any additional questions regarding this study you may contact Mr. Wasner at the above address and at (517) 355-9564 or at 487-6749.

Thank you for supporting the research and educational efforts of Michigan State University and the Department of Psychology.

Jim Wasner, M.A.
Department of Psychology
Michigan State University

APPENDIX K

STUDENT INFORMED CONSENT

APPENDIX K

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN 48824

STUDENT INFORMED CONSENT

WORK AND FAMILY INTERACTIONS STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between experiences at the work place and interactions between parents and their college aged children. The study is being conducted by Jim Wasner, a graduate student in clinical psychology under the supervision of Susan J. Frank, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Psychology.

Participation in the study involves completing a questionnaire asking about your perceptions of your relationship with your parents, as well as some general background information about you and your parents. It will take approximately 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. In addition, I will ask you to request that your parents participate in the study. Their participation will also involve filling out several questionnaires which can be mailed to them or you can take to them directly. A letter will be enclosed in their packet that will similarly explain this study and indicate the nature of their participation.

You will receive extra credit in the course for completing this questionnaire and arranging for your parents to participate. Your own and your parents participation is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all or not to answer particular items on the questionnaire that you do not wish to answer. However, all of your answers are valuable to this study and your decision to omit various items may make it difficult or impossible to use the information you do provide. Although you may feel that some of the questions are personal, several steps have been taken to protect you anonymity. We do not want you to put your name or address on the questionnaire, and the data will only be identified with a code number.

Your parents have been instructed to mail their questionnaires directly to the Psychology Department in the envelopes that have been provided for that purpose. A few parents may find it more convenient to have you return their completed questionnaires. You may return them to Jim Wasner's mailbox in 135 Snyder or to Sharon the subjects pool coordinator in 137 Snyder. If your parents choose this option, the envelope with the questionnaire must be sealed. You will notice that the code numbers on your own and your parent's questionnaires

are the same. This will tell us that you are all members of the same family. On the sign up sheet you should indicate: a) your student identification number and b) the code number on your envelope. The primary investigator will have the only copy of the list linking the student numbers and code numbers, and this will be utilized to determine for which students we have received both student and parent questionnaires. At the end of the term this list will be destroyed.

If you would like to know the results of this study , you can contact Jim Wasner, Department of Psychology, 135 Snyder, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824 or at 355-9564 or 487-6749.

I, the undersigned, have been fully informed as to the nature of this study and voluntarily agree to participate.

Signed _____

Date _____

APPENDIX L

STUDENT DEBRIEFING FORM

APPENDIX L

STUDENT DEBRIEFING FORM

Work and Family Relationships Study

Thank you for participating in this research study. I hope you and your parents found the experience interesting and enjoyable.

This study is designed to explore the relationship between parent's experiences at their jobs and the relationship they have with their children. The study focuses particularly on how the stresses and demands of the workplace and the values learned there might influence the interactions between parents and their children.

Your participation in this study required that you answer a variety of questions about your relationship with your parents, as well as some description of your family and your parent's jobs. Your parents were also asked to fill out several questionnaires about their work, their attitudes and values about certain things, and their relationship with their children. By analyzing this data we will be able to look at the relationship between occupational conditions and family relationships and better understand the mediation process between work and family life.

If you are interested in finding out the results of this study, please contact me at the telephone number or address below. I will take your name and address and mail you a brief summary of the results when the study is completed.

If you are interested in reading further on this subject, the books and articles below will provide an introduction to the issues covered in the research. Thanks again for your time and interest.

Jim Wasner, MA
Department of Psychology
Michigan State University

Home: 487-6749
Office: 355-9564

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