

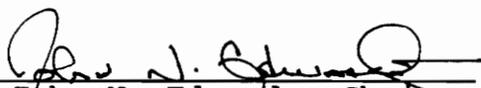
**Occupational Conditions, Gender,
and Parental Behaviors and Values**

by

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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(ABSTRACT)

This thesis was to explore the relationships between occupational conditions and parental behaviors and values. The data set for this thesis were taken from the 1988 National Survey of Families and Households, which includes a national cross-sectional sample of 13,017 primary respondents. The subsamples used here were limited to married or cohabiting white families with children under 18 years old.

Pearson's r and one-way analysis of variance were used to examine the zero-order relationships among all the independent and dependent variables. Multiple regression analyses were adopted to present the relative importance of independent variables in predicting different aspects of parental child-rearing practices.

Findings from bivariate and multivariate analyses show that different dimensions of work-related variables examined in this thesis, such as occupational socioeconomic status, work hours and schedules, job satisfaction and employment status, are associated with different aspects of parental behaviors and values. Gender

is found to be a very important factor in predicting parental involvement, negative responses and values. In general, these work-related variables explain limited variance of parental child-rearing styles.

Based on the findings of the study, implications for academic research on the relationships between parental behaviors and values and working conditions were also discussed in the thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

With the rapid increase in the labor force participation of women with children over the past few decades, and the convergence of women's and men's labor force participation rates, more research has been devoted to exploring the effects of occupational conditions on adults' well-being and family lives (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991b). The work socialization perspective, along with a social-stress perspective, emphasized by Kohn, Mortimer and Schooler, is receiving increasing attention (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991b). According to these perspectives, occupational conditions, as one of the most significant life conditions, are related to adults' attitudes and behaviors. Consequently, parental styles and values are assumed to be associated with their daily job conditions.

Based on data from the 1988 National Survey of Families and Households, this thesis will focus on the impact of parental occupational status and work conditions on parental practices and values. It addresses the question: How are the variations in parental styles and values related to men's and women's

occupational socioeconomic status, working hours and schedules, their subjective reactions to their jobs and their employment status.

The issue of women's employment will be a major focus. Besides the investigation of effects of men's and women's occupational status and conditions, the different parental behaviors between working men and working women, as well as between working and non-working women, will be explored. The relationships between women's employment and men's parental behaviors and values also will be taken into account. Do working mothers have different parental practices and values from non-working mothers? If yes, in which aspects? Is mothers' employment related to fathers' parental styles and values? These questions will be addressed in the thesis.

Specifically, in relation to occupation and gender differences, the thesis will focus on variations between paternal and maternal involvement (time spent with their children including the time spent on child-care activities, on leisure activities and educational activities), parental negative responses (positive responses such as praising or hugging and negative responses such as slapping or yelling), and parental values (conformity or self-direction), parental control technique (the level of physical punishment).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The issue of socialization has been a research focus for several decades. The socialization process is assumed to have important impact on children's development. According to Gecas (1979), there are at least two aspects in the study of the socialization process. One is concerned with "the products of development and change in the person being socialized", such as the development of children (Gecas, 1979:365). The other aspect deals with "the agents of socialization and factors in the social environment which influence them" (Gecas, 1979:365). This review, as well as the thesis, focuses on the second aspect, considering parents as the primary agents of socialization. Parental behaviors and values are the subjects of study.

Although most of the studies on socialization processes are concerned with the relationships between parental practices and children's development, the attention given to determinants of child-rearing styles is increasing. Occupational conditions are assumed to be one of the most important factors influencing parental values and behaviors (Kohn, 1977; 1979; Darling-Fisher,

1990; Hoffman, 1989; Siegal, 1984; Spade, 1991). With the change of economic and occupational structures, the connections between employment and family lives are seen as more complex and need further consideration (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991b).

With regard to the relationships between child-rearing and occupational status and work conditions, the earlier research, represented by Kohn, concentrated on the impact of men's occupations on child-rearing. When more and more women with children participate in the labor force, the effects of women's employment experiences have become noticeable. With the convergence of women's employment rate with men's, some researchers in the last decade had taken the fact of employment for granted and investigated the effects of variations in occupational conditions (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991b). In spite of this, the research tends to focus on the differences by women's employment status rather than consequences by various aspects of occupational conditions (Spitz, 1991).

The work socialization perspective and the social-stress perspective are two of the major theoretical approaches guiding the studies on the relationships between variations of employment conditions and family life (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991b). Both of the theoretical approaches deal with how variations of occupational conditions influence adults' attitudes and values, as well as behaviors, through their effects on adults' psychological functioning and reasoning (Kohn and Schooler, 1983; Menaghan and Parcel, 1991b).

MEN'S OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS AND PARENTAL BEHAVIORS AND VALUES

Earlier studies of the effects of occupational conditions deal mainly with men's occupational conditions. Kohn, the most cited person in this area, emphasizes the effects of social class, which is seen as determinative of parental values and practices (1963, 1977, and 1979). He suggests that, according to the empirical evidence, a man's occupation is the most salient aspect of social class (Kohn, 1979; Gecas, 1979). Generally, evidence shows that some aspects of working conditions such as men's occupational socioeconomic status, work hours and schedules, job satisfaction and status of employment to be related to parental behaviors and values (Gecas, 1979; Kohn, 1977; Spade, 1991; Kelly, Power and Wimbush, 1992; Nock and Kingston, 1988).

OCCUPATIONAL SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

According to Kohn (1963; 1977; and 1979), men's socioeconomic status, as determined by occupational prestige and education, is the most significant factor influencing both father and mother's parental styles (1963; 1977; 1979). Socioeconomic status is related to parental involvement, parental control techniques, parental restrictiveness and parental values (Gecas,

1979; Kohn, 1979, 1977; Luster, Rhoades and Haas, 1989; Spade, 1991).

Kohn, based on his study of middle class and working class parents, suggests that parents of higher socioeconomic status are more likely to value self-direction, such as curiosity, self-control and responsibility for their children, while those with lower socioeconomic status value conformity such as obedience and good manners (Kohn, 1977, 1979; Wright and Wright, 1976). Kohn and his colleagues argue that high status occupations are complex, free from close supervision, and deal with the manipulation of interpersonal relations, symbols and ideas, which require a great degree of occupational self-direction. However, low status jobs are subject to close supervision, routinization and lack of substantive complexity, all emphasizing the value of conformity (Kohn, 1979; Kohn and Schooler, 1983). These differences in job circumstances are the basic to differences in values (Kohn, 1963).

The value distinctions lead to differences in parental restrictiveness and control techniques. Kohn (1979:54) indicates that "working-class parents because of their higher valuation of conformity to external rules, should put greater emphasis upon the obligation to impose constraints", thereby resulting in more physical punishment of children, while middle-class parents tend to use reason as a control technique and resort to less physical punishment.

Kohn's hypotheses have been supported by other studies

(Gecas, 1979; Luster, Rhodes and Haas, 1989; Dekovic and Gerri, 1992; Porte, Dunham and Williams, 1986). Gecas(1979:369), in an overall assessment of other people's studies, finds that there is "a weak but generally consistent" negative relationship between socioeconomic status and parental use of physical punishment.

Socioeconomic status is not only related to parental control, but also related to parental affection and involvement. Parents of higher status are more supportive, affective and involved with children than those of lower status (Gecas, 1979).

WORK HOURS AND SCHEDULES

Because the number of hours and schedules of a person working outside the home might affect his or her availability to carry out child-rearing activities, and working overtime might affect his or her emotional responses, work hours and schedules are assumed to be associated with parental practices and values (Huston and McHale, 1984; Nock and Kingston, 1988; Leslie, Anderson and Branson, 1991; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston and McHale, 1987, etc.). The studies concerning work hours and schedules are very limited, however, and mainly focus on parental involvement.

With regard to relationship between parental involvement and men's work hours and schedule, the findings are not consistent. Several studies indicate that the more hours a father works, the less involved he is with his child in both dual-earner and

single-earner families (McHale and Huston, 1984; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston and McHale, 1987; Marsiglio, 1991; Coverman and Sheley, 1986). However, the correlation is significant between fathers' work hours and paternal participation in leisure activities, but not in child-care activities. Nock and Kingston (1988), in their study of a sample of 226 married couples with children, report that fathers' time at work and scheduling has no significant effect on the overall involvement with children. In spite of this, they point out that the greatest effect of fathers' work time and scheduling is father's involvement in those activities defined as "fun". Although Nock and Kingston (1988) find that scheduling generally has no impact on paternal involvement, they suggest that men with late night schedules increase their involvement with preschool children, which may be due to the fact that preschoolers are home during the day time.

Work hours and schedules, others note, generally are not related to parental values (Kohn, 1977). Kohn, in his study of parental values, observes that generally men's work hours and schedules are not related to parental values except when working overtime (1977). Working overtime, perhaps an indication of flexibility, is associated with valuing self-direction (Kohn, 1977; Kohn and Schooler, 1983).

SUBJECTIVE REACTIONS TO JOBS

Studies dealing with the relationships between men's job

satisfaction and their parental practices and values are very limited, and the results are not altogether congruous. Some previous research shows that men's job satisfaction is associated with paternal involvement, paternal responses and paternal values (Grossman and Pollack, 1988; Kohn, 1977; Kempler and Reichler, 1976).

Grossman, Pollack and Golding (1988), on the basis of their findings from a longitudinal study, suggest that men who were more satisfied with their job spent less time with their five-year-old children and were more supportive of their autonomy and affiliation. They argue that men who enjoyed their work were more likely to be involved in their work, and consequently "satisfying" and "demanding" careers left relatively little time for family interaction including parent-child interaction (Grossman, Pollack and Golding, 1988:89). The study by Kempler and Reichler (1976), on the other hand, shows the opposite result on paternal involvement, indicating that men's job satisfaction is positively related to men's involvement with their children. Their data also suggest that the more satisfied a man is with his job, the less likely he is to use physical punishment due to job satisfaction being positively related to men's use of reasoning as a form of discipline (Kempler and Reichler, 1976).

With regard to the relationship between paternal values and their subjective perceptions of their jobs, Kohn (1977) suggests that job dissatisfaction is associated with valuing self-direction, though it is not an important predictor of parental

values (Kohn and Schooler, 1983). He explains that since job satisfaction seems to be related to the "acceptance of the status quo", job dissatisfaction is associated with "a more questioning stance-independence" (Kohn, 1977:179).

UNEMPLOYMENT AND NONEMPLOYMENT

For men, both unemployment and nonemployment are seen as a problem (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991). The change in economic and occupational structures has raised the problems of high rate of unemployment and job loss for men. As men are regarded as the primary financial supporters in families, the loss of their job is assumed to greatly affect their family interaction styles.

Studies indicate that fathers who sustained heavy economic loss as well as unemployment usually experience psychological distress and became "more irritable, tense and explosive, which in turn increase their tendency to be punitive and arbitrary in the discipline of their children" (McLoyd, 1989:294). Cross-sectional analysis indicates that a period of contraction in the work force is correlated with increases in child abuse (Siegal, 1984; Zinn and Eitzen, 1990).

Findings, though, are not congruous with regard to the relationships between the loss of jobs and men's parental involvement with their children. According to McLoyd (1989), unemployed fathers usually report spending more time in both child-care activities and leisure activities with their children

(Warr and Payne, 1983). However, Coverman and Sheley(1986), in their analysis of fathers' housework and child-care time, point out that men who did not have paid work spent less time in child-care than those who had employment.

WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS AND PARENTAL BEHAVIORS AND VALUES

As women's employment becomes more and more common and accepted, the effects of women's occupational conditions have attracted the attention of sociologists and psychologists. Miller and his colleagues, based on the analysis of a sample of married women currently living with their husband, suggest that women's occupational conditions are similarly related to women's psychological well-being and orientations as in the case with men (Miller, Schooler, Kohn and Miller, 1983). Therefore, women's parental behaviors and values presumably will be affected by their working conditions.

OCCUPATIONAL SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Previous studies show that women's occupational status has the same predicted effect on their child-rearing practices. Kohn and his colleagues in their recent studies of American and Polish parents, find that the relationship between women's socioeconomic

status and their parental values and practices are in the same directions as men's, but the relationship is weaker for women than for men (Kohn, 1986). Spade's study (1991) of 186 dual-earner families supports the hypothesis. Women of higher status are more likely to value self-direction for children, but the status effect for women is weaker. Spade (1991) suggests that this situation may be due to women's different experiences in the social and occupational structure despite the fact that the analysis of social stratification is typically based on white, male models.

Another interesting, but contradictory finding by Spade is that women are more likely than their husbands to value self-direction for their children even though they have lower occupational status (Spade, 1991). She argues that this inconsistency may be the result of influence of their husbands' socioeconomic positions, women's different work experiences or women's chief responsibility of child-rearing. Although Luster et al. (1989) suggest that mother's education and mother's occupational prestige are related to mother's values for their children, they reject the hypothesis that mothers' values are affected by fathers' occupational prestige.

WORK HOURS AND SCHEDULES

The findings concerning the effects of mothers' work hours and schedules on parental child-rearing practices are also highly

focused on involvement with children. The attention is given to the effects not only on their own engagements but also on their husbands' engagement.

According to previous studies, it is fairly consistent that the more the mother works outside the home, the less she is involved in both child-care and leisure activities (McHale and Huston, 1984; Leslie, Anderson and Branson, 1991). However, no matter which area is inspected (child-care or leisure activities), mothers have the major responsibility for children and spend more time with children than fathers (Darling-Fisher and Tiedje, 1990; Leslie, Anderson and Branson, 1991).

There is no consistent conclusion of the effects of women's work hours and schedules on their husbands. Darling-Fisher and Tiedje (1990) based their studies on 214 couples with 9-month-old infants. They point out that fathers whose wives had full-time jobs were more involved in child-care activities than those with wives working part-time or not working outside the home. Contrary to Darling-Fisher and Tiedje's analysis, McHale and Huston (1984), as well as Crouter et al. (1987), argue that in dual-earner families, mothers' work hours do not have any impact on fathers' involvement.

SUBJECTIVE REACTIONS TO JOBS

Research findings concerning the relationship between women's job satisfaction and their child-rearing practices are

fairly consistent. Generally speaking, women who are more satisfied with their work have more positive interactions with their children (Stuckey, McGhee and Bell, 1982; MacEwen and Baring, 1991; Yarrow, Scott, De Leeuw and Jeinig, 1962). Women's negative employment experiences are likely to result in cognitive difficulties and negative mood, which might result in women either avoiding interactions with their children, or becoming more coercive and exercising more punishing behaviors (MacEwen and Baring, 1991).

UNEMPLOYMENT AND NONEMPLOYMENT

Contrary to the situation with men, for women, employment, rather than unemployment or nonemployment, is seen as a problem since women's employment is assumed to bring conflicts into the family. Previous research shows that women are less affected by the loss of jobs than men (McLoyd, 1989; Siegal, 1984). Women usually do not have much psychological trouble after the loss of job, because the alternative roles of women as mothers and wives can provide them with self-gratification that men can not obtain from their roles of fathers and husbands (Warr and Parry, 1982). However, women's unemployment matters when women regard their paid work as a major source of self-identification and women's incomes are significant to the living standard of the family (McLoyd, 1989).

In comparing the child-rearing practices of working and

nonworking mothers, previous research generates discongruous results. The earlier studies usually focused on the negative effect of women's employment on both women's psychological well-being and family lives. Recently, more positive outcomes have been observed. Reis and Burton (1984), basing their analysis on the reports of 100 mothers with second and fifth-grade children in western New York, suggest that working mothers tend to scale higher on disciplinarian questions than nonworking mothers. Non-working mother have more involvement with children. According to Yarrow et al. (1962) and Mills and Stevens (1985), when other variables are controlled, there is no relationship between mother's employment status and parental practices.

Mother's employment status might influence their husbands' child-rearing practices. Men with employed wives tend to be more involved with their children (Darling-Fisher and Tiedje, 1990). Fathers with the nonemployed wives tend to have more rules and regulations (Mills and Stevens, 1985).

In general, it is important to note, studies of parental occupational status and experiences are limited, and the results tend to be inconsistent due to sample and measurement differences. Most of the studies depend on non-probability samples, and are restricted to limited geographic areas.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

Basically, there are two overlapping theoretical frameworks guiding the research on variations in employment experiences, the work socialization perspective and the social-stress perspective. (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991). These theoretical perspectives are the bases of the present study. Based on them, as well as the research reviewed above, several hypotheses are generated.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The work socialization perspective and the social-stress perspective are two major theoretical frameworks adopted to explain the effects of variation in occupational conditions on adult parental values and behaviors (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991).

According to Menaghan and Parcel (1991b:371), the work socialization perspective emphasizes "the accumulated impact of enduring job conditions on cognitive functioning and attitudes about self and society." Adults are assumed to be influenced by their job conditions, and in response to job conditions, they

generate different attitudes and values, which lead them to different behaviors (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991; Kohn, 1977; Kohn and Schooler, 1983).

The social-stress perspective overlaps with the work socialization perspective. Studies from the social-stress perspective focuses on both short and long-term emotional effects of job stressors (Menaghan and Parcel, 1991). Specifically, these studies try to show the effects of the conflicts between situational demands and individual capacities or resources.

In this section, the linkages between some aspects of occupational conditions and parental behaviors and values will be discussed and specified.

WORK CONDITION-RELATED VARIABLES AND PARENTAL BEHAVIORS AND VALUES

Occupational Socioeconomic Status

Occupational socioeconomic status is closely related to parental behaviors and value. According to Kohn and his associates (Kohn, 1977; Kohn, 1969; Kohn and Schooler, 1983), the high-status occupations usually have a high level of complexity, low level of supervision and deal with people rather than things, which are determinative of the opportunity people have to exercise self-direction in their work. Adults socialized to value self-direction at work tend to value self-direction

(internal standards) such as freedom, independence, initiative and creativity for their children as well as themselves. The situation is different for low-status jobs. Low decision latitude, routinization, and lack of substantive complexity are associated with valuing conformity and greater mental stress. Under these circumstances, parents are more likely to value conformity (external rules), resort to physical punishment and have negative responses toward their children.

Work Hours and Schedules

Work hours and schedules determine the availability of parents for their families, including the time with their children. Overload at work may be associated with adults' less available family time, and more emotional responses. Working overtime may be correlated with low wages. The interactive effects between low wages and longer work hours may lead to greater emotional anxiety, more negative responses to their children. On the other hand, time-pressure may be indicative of greater flexibility, with its attendant effects on people's attitudes and values.

Subjective Reactions to Jobs

Job satisfaction is another important predictor of parental behaviors and values. It is related to adults' psychological

conditions, which have effects on parental responses and level of involvement with children. Adults who are not satisfied with their jobs and have negative experiences at work may experience work-related stress, and bring it back home, so as to influence their interactions with their children. Job dissatisfaction may be an indicator of nonconformity and be associated with valuing self-direction.

Unemployment and Nonemployment

Unemployment usually has a detrimental effect on adults who regard their jobs as major sources of self-identification and self-esteem. This is especially true for men. Men who lose their jobs usually perceive themselves as failing to be adequate family breadearners. This perception is linked to psychological distress, which lead to behavioral problems to them. Fathers who are deprived of their job are likely to be more punitive and less nurturant. They may be more involved with their children because they have more free time, but at the same time, the chances for child abuse may be increased.

Nonemployment usually is a situation associated with women. Paid work and housework may be related to certain values and psychological functioning, respectively, having different effects on women's child-rearing values and practices.

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Some of the demographic variables such as income, education, religious background, race, gender and age are assumed to be associated with both occupational conditions and parental practices. Among the demographic variables, gender effects are one of the major interests in this thesis.

In spite of the growing movement toward gender equality, there exist great differences between gender role expectation and major differences in the occupational conditions and experiences between the genders. Women are socialized to be the primary homemakers in families, while men are the primary economic supporters. Paid work may carry different meanings to them, and gender expectations may have distinct effects on parental behaviors and values even under the same occupational circumstances. On the other hand, women are still more likely to experience various discriminations at work and have more stress and problems. For example, women's jobs are more likely to be associated with close supervision, low payment and high job demands, which might be the cause for greater mental and physical distress.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the theoretical frameworks mentioned above, five

major hypotheses and a number of sub-hypotheses are proposed.

HYPOTHESIS I: Occupational socioeconomic status is associated with parental behaviors and values.

Sub-hypotheses:

1. Men and women of high occupational socioeconomic status are more likely to value self-direction for their children. This effect is expected to be weaker for women.
2. Men and women of low occupational socioeconomic status are more likely to value conformity for their children and resort to physical punishment. This effect is expected to be weaker for women.
3. The higher the occupational socioeconomic status men and women have, the more positive responses they express toward their children and the less parental restrictiveness they exercise.
4. Men and women with low status jobs are more likely to use physical punishment.

HYPOTHESIS II: Work hours and schedules are associated with parental behaviors and values.

Sub-hypotheses:

1. Men and women who work longer hours have less involvement with children. This effect is expected to be stronger for women.
2. Men with wives working longer hours have more child involvement than men with wives working shorter hours or who are married to full-time homemakers.
3. Men and women with day-time work schedules have less involvement with their preschool children than those who have night schedules.

HYPOTHESIS III: Job satisfaction is related to parental behaviors and values.

Sub-hypotheses:

1. Men and women who are dissatisfied with their job tend to value self-direction for their children, compared with those who are satisfied.
2. Men and women who are more satisfied with their jobs have less involvement with their children.
3. Men and women who have negative work experiences and who are

unsatisfied with their jobs are more likely to have negative responses and exercise more physical punishment.

HYPOTHESIS IV: Unemployment status is correlated with parental behaviors and values.

Sub-hypotheses:

1. Men who are in the state of unemployment are more likely to be involved with their children and have negative responses toward their children and exercise more physical punishment.
2. Women who are working outside the home have less involvement with children than full-time homemakers.

HYPOTHESIS V: Gender is related to parental behaviors and values.

Sub-hypotheses: (Some hypotheses dealing with gender issues related to occupational conditions have been presented above. The following sub-hypotheses are concerned with the overall differences between men and women's parental behaviors and values no matter what kind of working conditions are involved.)

1. Mothers spend much more time than fathers in regard to involvement with children in both child-care activities and

leisure activities.

2. Women tend to have more negative responses and use more physical punishment.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

SAMPLE

Data for this thesis are taken from the 1988 National Survey of Families and Households, which was funded by the Center for Population Research of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. The NSFH data include a main national cross-sectional sample of 9,643 households, plus a double sampling of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, single-parent families, families with step children, cohabiting couples and recently married respondents. One adult was randomly selected from each household as a primary respondent in the main interview, with a shorter self-administered questionnaire given to his (her) spouse or cohabiting partner (secondary responses). A probability sample of 13,017 primary respondents was produced. The two subsamples used here are limited to 811 married or cohabiting white families with only children under 5 years old (the preschool subsample) and 1958 similar families with children between 5 and 18 (the school subsample). The household type and

race variables, which might have confounding effects, are controlled by the process of exclusion.

As shown in Table 1A and 1B, the preschool subsample consists of 347 male and 464 female primary respondents, while in the school subsample, there are 841 males and 1117 females. The average ages of fathers and mothers were 30 and 27, respectively, in the preschool sample, and 39 and 36 in the other. As could be expected, male respondents, including primary respondents and their partners, generally had a higher percentage of employment, higher occupational socioeconomic status and longer working hours than female respondents. Females generally have a lower work participation rate in the preschool sample, in which almost half of the female respondents (primary and secondary respondents) were currently not employed. The average number of children in the household is higher in the school-age children subsample. The average ages of the youngest children at home was around 1 for the preschool children subsample and around 8 for the school-age subsample.

MEASURES

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variables used in the proposed test of the hypotheses mentioned above include four types of parental

behaviors reported in NSFH data set: (1) parental activities, (2) parental responses, (3) parental control techniques, and (4) parental values.

Parental activities: Three types of parental activities were reported by fathers and mothers in the main interview for the preschool sample. For leisure activities, fathers or mothers were asked to report how often they spent time with their children "on an outing away from home" and "at home playing together". Responses were scored from 1 to 6, coded from never or rarely to almost everyday. The Cronbach alpha for the summative index of the two questions is very low (.24 for male and .21 for female). Therefore, the indicators were examined separately. For child-care activities, parents were asked about how many hours in a typical day they spent in taking care of the child's physical needs, including feeding, bathing, dressing, and putting (him/her) to bed. Scores for this question are from none to 9 hours or more. The question was assumed to be the indicator of child-care activities of the main respondents. For educational activities, one question was asked about the frequencies of reading to the child, using the same scale as for leisure activities.

For the school sample, four questions of the same type were asked concerning the frequencies of parental involvement in leisure activities, educational activities, and private talk. The responses were also scored from 1(rarely) to 6(almost

everyday). Based on the reliability test, the Cronbach alpha for the accumulative scores of these questions is .77 for males and .75 for females. Therefore, a parental involvement scale was constructed, ranging from 4 to 24. The higher the number, the more parents are involved with their children.

Parental responses: Parents were asked about the frequencies they (1) praised, (2) spanked or slapped, (3) cuddled or hugged and (4) yelled at their children. Scores are from 1(never) to 4(very often). To praise and cuddle or hug a child are considered to be positive responses, while to spank or slap and yell at a child are seen as negative responses. A negative response scale was constructed on the basis of respondents' reports on their frequencies of spanking or slapping and yelling(alpha is .73 for males and .74 for females for the preschool subsample, and is .46 for both males and females in the school subsample). Higher values on the scale indicate more negative responses. For the school sample, a positive response scale was created using the questions about praising and cuddling or hugging (alpha is .53 for male and .60 for female respondents), with higher scores referring to higher positive responses. In the preschool subsample, the separate indicators were examined for the positive responses because of the low alpha for female respondents(.27). Praising was considered to be verbally positive responses and cuddling or hugging were considered to be behaviorally positive responses.

Parental control techniques: (Only for the preschool subsample)
Level of physical punishment is used in this study as the indicator of parental control techniques. Parents were asked if they had spanked their children when they behaved badly, and how many times they had spanked their children in the past week. Scores for the frequencies of spanking children in the past week were from 0 to 6 or more times. The higher score suggests that parents were more likely to use physical punishment to control their children's behaviors.

Parental values: Parental values were determined by parents' report on how important it is to them that their children

- (a) always follow family rules,
- (b) do well in school,
- (c) be independent,
- (d) be kind and considerate,
- (e) control their temper,
- (f) always do what you ask,
- (g) carry out responsibilities on their own,
- (h) do well in creative activities such as music, art or drama,
- (i) keep busy by themselves,
- (j) get along well with other kids,
- (k) do well in athletics,
- (l) try new things.

It should be noted that these are parental expectations, not

reports of actual behavior. Responding scores for each item range from 1 to 7. Based on factor analysis and reliability tests, items a, e, f were chosen to construct two conformity scales for two different subsamples (alpha is .72 for males and .69 for females in the preschool subsample, and .75 for male and .70 for female respondents in the school subsample). The scales ranged from 3 to 21 in both subsamples, in which the highest number indicated the most emphasis on conformity. Items c, d, j, and l were selected to create a self-direction scale in the preschool sample (alpha is .67 for male and .65 for female respondents), ranging from 4 to 28, while items c, d, g, and l (alpha is .64) were chosen for a self-direction scale for the school sample, ranging from 2 to 24. The higher scores indicate a higher evaluation of self-direction for their children. The method of simple addition was used to combine these items as each item was given equal weight and each item was coded in the same direction.

As shown above, there is an inconsistency in choosing the items to construct self-direction value scales for the two different subsamples. For the preschool sample, item g is not included because its correlation with other items is fairly low on the basis of factor loading. For the school sample, item j is not contained because this item also has a high correlation with the conformity value scale. If this item was included, there would be a higher association between the self-direction and conformity value scales, which would reduce the distinction

between these two values. Therefore, the other four items, which represent the core value of self-direction, were chosen to construct the self-direction value scale for the school sample.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Occupational socioeconomic status: Occupational socioeconomic scores were formulated based on income and educational attributes of the total labor force, as reported in Socioeconomic Indexes and the New 1980 Census Occupational Classification Scheme by Gillian Stevens and Joo Hyun Cho(1985). The total-base rather than male-base scores are used in case the scores might be biased for woman. The scores range from 14 to 90, where higher scores stand for higher socioeconomic status.

Work hours and schedules: Work hours were measured by the exact hours respondents worked during last week (for both primary respondents and their partners). Work schedules were measured by two variables. Based on the question "Sometimes, work schedules alternate between day, evening and night shifts. Is this true for you?", the respondents were categorized into a shift work group or a non-shift work group. A dummy coding was used with shift schedules coded 1 and non-shift schedule coded 0. According to the respondents' report about their exact work schedules from Monday to Sunday, the respondents who had night

schedules were recoded as 1, while those who had daytime schedules were recoded as 0. Those who were not currently employed were recoded as 1, assuming that they were home and available in the daytime. By adding their report from Monday to Sunday, a scale of day-time working schedules was created, ranging from 0 to 7. The lowest score, 0, suggests that the respondent worked during the day-time seven days a week.

Subjective reactions to jobs: Respondents were asked to describe the work they did at their paid job. Is it:

- (a) Interesting - boring
- (b) Appreciated - unappreciated
- (c) Overwhelming - manageable
- (d) Complicated - simple
- (e) Lonely - sociable
- (f) Poorly done - well done

The responses for each item range from 1 to 7. Items a and b were recoded in the opposite direction. Factor analysis and a reliability test were used. A job satisfaction scale was constructed by adding the items a, b, e (alpha is .62 for males and .64 for females). A twenty-one point scale was produced in which the higher number indicates a higher level of job satisfaction.

Employment status: The primary respondents were asked if they were currently working. Respondents reporting "yes" were

considered to be currently employed and coded as 1. The rest were coded as 0. Their partner's employment status was determined by their own reports on the actual week they worked during 1986. Those who reported working from 1 to 52 weeks were assumed to be employed and coded 1, while all others were coded 0.

CONTROL VARIABLES

Some of the demographic variables such as respondent's age and children's characteristics (e.g., number of children in the household, whether the children are biological, and the age of the youngest child in the household) will be controlled in the multivariate analyses in order to get a more accurate assessment of the effects of occupational status and work conditions.

Respondents were asked what their dates of birth were. The respondent's exact age is used in the study.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The present section is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the bivariate relationships between parental behaviors and values and their working conditions, as well as the gender effect. The second part presents the multivariate findings of the study. The relative importance of working conditions in predicting different aspects of parental child-rearing practices is examined.

BIVARIATE FINDINGS ON WORKING CONDITIONS AND GENDER

The relationships between occupational conditions and parental behaviors and values are presented through zero-order correlations (Pearson's r). The zero-order correlations were divided by gender in order to examine the potentially different effects of working conditions of fathers and mothers. The hypothesis is tested in this part. The differences between men and women in their behavior and values are shown through one-way analysis of variance.

HYPOTHESIS I(1): Men and women of high *occupational socioeconomic status* (OSS) are more likely to value self-direction for their children. This effect is expected to be weaker for women.

As shown in both Table 2A and 2B, the correlations between both men and women's OSS and their valuation of self-direction for their children are not significant in both the preschool and school subsamples (.03 for females and -.02 for men in the preschool sample and .02 for females and -.06 for males). There is no significant difference between sex and OSS according to the interaction test. Therefore, this hypothesis is not supported.

HYPOTHESIS I(2): Men and women of low socioeconomic status are more likely to value conformity for their children. This effect is expected to be weaker for women.

For males, a significantly negative relationship between men's OSS and their valuation of conformity can be found in both Table 2A (-.21) and Table 2B (-.16), which shows that men of low OSS tend to value conformity no matter whether they have preschool children or school-age children. For females, there is a significant negative relationship between these two variables only in the school subsample (-.17). OSS has almost have the same degree of effects on both men and women in both subsamples based on the test of interaction effects between sex and OSS.

For these two different subsamples, partners' OSS play different roles with regard to the value of conformity. In the preschool children sample, only the female partner's OSS contributes significantly to females' valuation of conformity (-.13), showing that the lower the partner's OSS, the more likely females are to value conformity. In contrast, in the school subsample, only the male partners' OSS contributes to the males' value of conformity(-.15).

HYPOTHESIS I(3): The higher the OSS men and women have, the less negative responses they express toward their children.

As shown in Table 2A and 2B, there are significantly negative associations between women's OSS and their negative responses to their children (-.23 for the preschool sample and -.10 for the school sample), which means that the higher women's OSS, the lower the level of their negative responses in both subsamples. However, the relationship is significant for men only in the school subsample (-.15). This hypothesis is partially supported.

For the school sample, both male (-.13) and female(-.15) partners' OSS plays an important role with regard to their negative responses, indicating that females and males with partner's of high OSS are less likely to have negative responses toward their school age children.

HYPOTHESIS I(4): Men and women of lower OSS are more likely to use physical punishment with their preschool children.

Again, in Table 2A, the relationship between men and women's OSS is negatively correlated with their levels of physical punishment ($-.11$ for females and $-.09$ for males). Although there is a tendency for men and women of lower OSS to exercise more physical punishment, the association is not significant for either men or women. Therefore, this hypothesis is not supported. Again, for females, their partners OSS is significantly and negatively associated with their levels of physical punishment ($-.14$).

HYPOTHESIS II(1): Men and women who work longer hours have less involvement with their children. This effect is expected to be stronger for women.

Data presented in Table 3A reveal that child-care activities is the only type of parental involvement significantly correlated with both men and women's working hours. The correlation coefficient is $-.40$ for females and $-.20$ for males, indicating that men and women who work longer hours tend to spend fewer hours in taking care of their preschool children's physical needs. The working hour effect is stronger for women than men.

As shown in Table 3B, only female's involvement is

negatively related to their working hours (-.15), indicating that women who worked longer hours are less involved with their school-age children.

HYPOTHESIS II(2): Men with wives working longer hours have more child involvement than males with wives working shorter hours or not working.

Table 3A shows that only men's involvement in child-care activities in the preschool sample is positively related with their wives' working hours (.12). Those whose wives work longer hours tend to spend more time in their preschool children's physical care. Table 3B shows that men's involvement with their school-age children is not related to their partner's working hours. This hypothesis is, then, only partially supported.

HYPOTHESIS II(3): Men and women with daytime work schedules have less involvement with their preschool children than those who have night schedules.

As shown in Table 4A, positive relationships between men and women's day-time schedules and their parental involvement exist for both males (.20) and females (.30), but this is the case only in child-care activities in the preschool sample. The more men and women work during the night, the more likely they are to be involved in child-care activities. Whether the job is shift or non-shift work has no relationship with any kind of parental

involvement with their preschool children for either males or females.

HYPOTHESIS III(1): Men and women who are dissatisfied with their jobs tend to value self-direction for their children.

This relationship is not significant in the data presented in Table 5. Job satisfaction generally has no relationship with parents' emphasis on self-direction. (However, in the multivariate analysis, job satisfaction is found to have a very weak positive effect on parents' valuation of self-direction). This hypothesis is not supported.

HYPOTHESIS III(2): Men and women who are more satisfied with their jobs have less involvement with their children.

The zero-order correlations in Table 5 indicate that in the preschool sample, men's job satisfaction level is positively related to their involvement in educational activities (.12), and with leisure activity consisting of playing with their children at home (.20). The more satisfied men are with their job, the more involved they are with reading to their children or playing at home with their preschool children. Job satisfaction is not found to have any effect on women's involvement with their preschool children, or on either men and women's engagement with their school-age children.

HYPOTHESIS III(3): Men and women who are less satisfied with their jobs are more likely to have negative responses.

As indicated in Table 5, only women's subjective reactions to their jobs are significantly associated with their negative responses (-.17) in the preschool sample, while both men and women's job satisfaction is related to their negative responses (-.13 for male and -.08 for female) in the school sample. Women who are more satisfied with their jobs are less likely to have negative responses to their preschool children. Both men and women who have more negative job experiences are more likely to respond negatively to their school-age children.

HYPOTHESIS IV(1): Men who are unemployed are more likely to be involved with their children, have negative responses and use more physical punishment.

As shown in Table 6, with regard to parental involvement, men's working status is related negatively to their involvement in child care (-.25) and an outing away from home (-.11) in the preschool sample, but positively to their involvement (.07) in the school sample. This result suggests that men who are not currently working spend more time in taking care of their preschool children's physical needs and taking children away from

home for an outing, while being involved less with their school-age children.

Men's employment status is not observed to be related to their negative responses in either subsamples, but it is related to their levels of physical punishment in the preschool sample. A negative relationship ($-.19$ in Table 6) between them implies that men who are unemployed have the tendency to resort to physical punishment more often as a way to control their children.

This hypothesis is partially supported.

HYPOTHESIS IV(2): Women who are working outside the home have less involvement with their children than full-time homemakers.

As shown in Table 6, significant negative relationships are found between women's employment status and their engagement with school-age children ($-.15$) and child-care activities with preschool children ($-.27$). This suggests no matter how old their children are, women who are not employed tend to be more involved with their children. But this relationship is not supported with regard to women's commitment in other types of involvement in the preschool sample.

HYPOTHESIS V(1): Women spend much more time than men in regard to involvement with children in all types of activities.

A one-way analysis of variance in Tables 7A and 7B shows that women are significantly different from men across all types of parental involvement in both subsamples. Females have higher means of parental involvement in all kinds of activities, indicating that women overall spend more time with their children. Among different types of activities with preschool children, women are especially involved more in child-care activities, with a mean of 6.40 compared with the mean of 2.40 for male. The difference between men and women implies that in a typical day, women on average spend 4 hours more than men in taking care of their children's physical needs. The differences are the least where parental involvement in leisure activities is concerned. This hypothesis is supported.

HYPOTHESIS V(2): Women tend to have more negative responses and use more physical punishment.

As shown in Tables 7A and 7B, the result indicates that females generally have more negative responses to both their preschool and school-age children and spank them more frequently when their children behave badly. However, this relationship, as we will see, is not supported by the multivariate analyses (Tables 9A and 9B).

With the significant level of F of .010 and .001 for the two types of parental positive responses in the preschool sample and .001 in the school sample, the data in Tables 7A and 7B also

suggest that women tend to have more positive responses.

MULTIVARIATE FINDINGS

The multivariate analyses involve multiple regression equations. These are shown in Tables 8A, 9A, and 10A for parents with children under 5, and Tables 8B, 9B and 10B for those with children from 5 to 18 years old. The results of the analyses are used in order to explain how much the work-related variables contribute to the variance in the dependent variables, and which variables have the most important impact in predicting the variance in parental behaviors and values.

PARENTAL VALUES

As shown in Tables 8A and 8B, where the value of conformity is concerned, with the addition of the work-related variables to the equations of the demographic variables (Equation 1 in Table 8A and Table 8B), the coefficients of determinants for the new equations (Equation 2) increase by .05 in the preschool sample and .04 in the school sample. Ten and five percent of the total variance is accounted for by all the independent variables in the preschool and school-age child samples, respectively. In the equations with all independent variables (Equation 4 in both Tables 8A and 8B), respondents' OSS is significant in both samples, suggesting that OSS has a significant impact in

determining parental emphasis on conformity for both their children.

The multiple regression equations for self-direction (Equations 3 and 4) are significant in Table 8B, but not significant in Table 8A, which indicates that variations in work conditions have some significant effects on parental valuation of self-direction for their school-age children, but not for their preschool children. However, in the school sample, only two percent of the total variance is explained by all the independent variables and one percent is contributed by the work-related variables. Therefore, the effects of work-related variables on the parental value of self-direction is quite small. Inconsistent with the bivariate analysis, when the other variables are held constant, respondents' job satisfaction becomes significant, though the effect is very weak.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Equations 1, 3, 5, and 7 in Table 9A and Equation 1 in Table 9B display the effects of the demographic variables on different aspects of parental involvement with preschool children, and Equations 2, 4, 6, 8 Table 9A and Equation 2 in Table 9B present the effects of all the independent variables.

When the work-related variables are added to the demographic equations, the coefficients of determinants increase no more than two percent, where the leisure activities are concerned, four

percent with respect to educational activities, seven percent with regard to child-care activities in the preschool sample and three percent in parental involvement in the school sample. For the preschool sample, all the independent variables together explain five percent of the variance in parental involvement in an outing away from home, 14 percent on at home playing, 23 percent in educational activities and 28 percent in child-care activities. For the school sample, 25 percent of the total variance is accounted for by all the independent variables. These results show that the work-related variables contribute the most to explain the variance in the child-care equation among all the parental involvement equations, indicating that variations in occupational conditions play the most important role in determining the time parents spend in child-care activities, in comparison to other parental involvement activities. This finding is consistent with the bivariate results.

In Equation 8, out of all the work-related variables, only the effect of the respondents' working hours (Beta=-.42) and the interaction effect between sex and working hours (Beta=.45) are significant, controlling for the effects of all other variables, as was shown in the bivariate results. Respondents' working hours is the most important factor in predicting parental involvement in child care if the children are under 5 (Beta=-.25). For parents with children from 5 to 18, working hours (Beta=-.09) and partners' OSS (Beta=.08) are both significant.

Gender effects can be seen in the multivariate analysis.

Women are significantly more involved in child-care activities with preschool children. Working hours has a stronger effect on women. Gender consistently has great impact in explaining the variance in parental involvement, except for leisure activities in the preschool sample.

PARENTAL NEGATIVE RESPONSES AND CONTROL TECHNIQUES

As indicated in Tables 10A and 10B, Equations 1, 3 and 5 are the equations with the demographic variables, and Equation 2, 4, and 6 are the equations with all the independent variables. With the addition of the work-related variables to the demographic variables, there is an increase of .02 to .03 in the explained variance in both parental negative responses and control techniques in the preschool sample and negative responses in the school sample. Thirty-four percent of the variance in negative responses and ten percent in control techniques is explained by all the independent variables in the preschool sample, while 20 percent of the variance in negative responses is explained in the school sample. When the other variables are controlled, out of all the work-related variables, only partner's OSS (beta=-.14) is significant for parental negative responses, and respondents' working hours (Beta=-.15) is significant for the use of control techniques in the preschool sample. Two work-related variables, job satisfaction (Beta=-.09) and partners' OSS (Beta=-.10), have significant effects on negative responses in the school sample.

Contrary to the findings of the one-way analysis of variance, gender has no effect in any of the equations, controlling for the effects of the other variables.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Differences in parental values and behavior have attracted researchers' attention over the decades. "What are the patterns of parental styles?", "Why do parents have different values and display different behaviors toward their children?" and "How do the different values and behaviors affect the values and behaviors of their children?" are the major sociological questions addressed. Sociologists have been trying to answer these questions from different theoretical perspectives. Focusing on the first two questions, the present study addresses the issue under the guidelines of the work socialization perspective and the social-stress perspective. The effects of variations in working conditions, such as occupational socioeconomic status, working hours and schedules, job satisfaction and employment status, on parental child-rearing styles were explored and examined.

Through bivariate and multivariate analyses, some of the hypotheses generated from the previous literature were supported.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The hypotheses generated from previous research are partially supported by the findings. The major findings can be summarized as follows:

1. Generally, there is a negative relationship between parents' OSS and their emphasis on conformity. Specifically, according to the bivariate findings, men's OSS is negatively associated with the valuation of conformity in both subsamples. The higher the men's OSS, the less likely they think conformity is important to their school-age and preschool children. Women's OSS is related to their valuation of conformity only for their school-age children. This result is supported by the multivariate findings.

2. Bivariate findings show that both men and women's OSS, as well as their partners' OSS, are inversely related to their negative responses in the school sample, and only women's and their partners' OSS is associated with females' negative responses in the preschool sample. Men and women of higher OSS, as well as those who have partners of high OSS, tend to have less negative responses to their school-age children. This relationship is supported for only mothers with children under 5 years old. This finding is only partially supported by the

multivariate findings. When the other variables are controlled, only partners' OSS is significant.

3. Bivariate findings indicate that men and women who work longer hours or work more at day-time tend to have less involvement in child-care activities associated with preschool children, which is supported by the multivariate analysis. The effect is significantly stronger for women. Only mothers working longer hours and working more at day-time are less likely to be involved with their school-age children.

4. Generally, fathers' involvement with their children is not related to their partners' working hours, except in child-care activities with regard to preschool children.

5. Only women's job satisfaction level is found to be negatively associated with their negative responses in the preschool sample. Both the bivariate and multivariate findings suggest that men and women who are satisfied with their job are less likely to have negative responses to their school-age children.

6. Both men and women who are not working outside the home spend more hours in taking care of preschool children's physical needs. Unemployed men tend to resort more to physical punishment toward their preschool children than men who are employed.

Working status has different effects on men and women when the school-age children are concerned. Mothers who are not working outside the home tend to spend more time with their children, while fathers spend less.

7. Gender is a very important factor in explaining parental values and behaviors. Generally, women are significantly more involved with their children than men are in every kind of parental involvement, with the greatest differences between them being with respect to child-care activities.

8. No type of job condition tested in this thesis is related to the parental value of self-direction for their children, except for job satisfaction in the school sample.

DISCUSSION

PARENTAL VALUES

The findings of the present study partially support the hypothesis generated by Kohn (1977) that people with high status jobs are more likely to value self-direction for their children, while those with low status jobs are more likely to value conformity. The value of conformity is observed to be negatively related to occupational socioeconomic status. As suggested by

Kohn (1977:190), "limited education and constraining job conditions" are characteristics of low status job. Low status jobs tend to be routinized, closely supervised, and dealing with things rather than people, which are more likely to lead adults to conform to external rules. Therefore, parents under these working conditions tend to put more emphasis on conformity, such as following family rules, for their children. Parents of lower job status tend to have lower educational level. Limited education and training might prevent them from seeking useful information from various sources, especially the expert advice. Therefore, "the internal standards", such as independence, responsibility, for their children's behavior tend to be ignored (Wright and Wright, 1976:528).

This study failed to find any relationship between OSS and the parental valuation of self-direction. Parents with both high and low occupational status place a similar degree of emphasis on self-direction values. Demo(1992:107), in his assessment of recent changes in parent-child relations, indicates that due to the shifting cultural values brought by the development of society, "there have been substantial changes in parental socialization values in the past few decades, with parents in the 1950s and 1960s stressing the importance of obedience in their children and parents in the 1970s and 1980s emphasizing greater personal autonomy and responsibility". He further suggests that "the changes occurred across American families of different religioethnic and socioeconomic categories and similar changes in

parental values have been observed in other industrialized societies" (Demo, 1992:107). Therefore, the failure to observe the relationship may be because of general social hypothesized changes. Parents with lower status jobs, who once neglected self-direction values, are more likely to realize its importance, and to reshape and readjust their conception. They may now be putting stress on independence along with obedience.

Although OSS, as well as other working conditions tested in this study, do not have much effect on parental valuation of self-direction, gender differences in parental values are significant. Women are more likely to score higher on the self-direction scales in both the preschool and the school samples. Spade(1991) offers several possible explanations with regard to this matter. He indicates that gender differences in parental values might be due to the different work experiences of men and women. The sexism and discrimination women confront in the workplace may have effects on women's value systems. Another interpretation he gives is that women's traditional position as primary child rearers would lead them to support the encouragement of independence for their children, so that they can get more time for themselves. He also suggests another possible explanation, that most women experience two sets of work demands, requiring "a high level of organization and self-direction" (Spade, 1991:355), which might increase their valuation of self-direction.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

With more and more women participating in the labor force, there is more and more research examining the relationship between occupation and parental involvement (Marsiglio, 1991; Volling and Belskey, 1991; Nock and Kingston, 1988). Working hours, working schedules, and employment status are found to have effects on parental involvement. Among them, working hours is the most important factor.

Consistent with the results of previous research, the findings of this study support the hypothesis that females still carry the major responsibility for their children, especially in child care. Results from this study show that women reported a higher level of involvement in every kind of activity than men did. Females generally spent more than twice as much time as males did in taking care of their preschool children's physical needs, such as feeding, bathing, dressing, etc. This result supports the notion that mothers are responsible for child-care, while fathers "help out." Whether father's behaviors are changing or not, when their wives are employed, has become a critical issue in recent years. Women's working hours are found to be a poor indicator for their partner's involvement. Men only increase their involvement with children in child-care activities when their partners work more hours outside home, but the contribution is rather slight. This might imply that females generally have little influence in "convincing their male

partners to contribute more time and energy to engagement-type activities" (Marsiglio, 1991).

Child-care activities are the only type of engagement to which females successfully convince their partners to contribute. This result shows that men are, at least in some way, responsive to their partners' life circumstances, though very little. Whether this response is voluntary or forced due to their partners' excessive demands remains unclear. Men's willingness to compensate for their partner's involvement when they work longer hours outside the home needs to be further explored.

Working hours has a more consistent effect on women's behaviors than on men's. Women, no matter whether they have preschool or school-age children, decrease their interaction with their children if they work more hours outside home. Men, in the same situation, only decrease their involvement with children in child care. Both males and females tend to substantially decrease their time in child care when they spend more hours at their workplace. This raises the question "Who is going to take care of the children?". A possible answer is that parents in dual-earner families might simply reduce the level of child care or they might be helped by non-family members.

A number of studies demonstrate the links between employment status and parental behaviors (McLoyd, 1989; Siegal, 1984). The findings of this study show that men and women have different interaction behaviors with their school-age children, but show similar patterns with their preschool children. While unemployed

women tend to increase their interaction with their school-age children, unemployed men tend to decrease it. This result might suggest that men who are unemployed tend to be depressed because they assume that they fail to be the financial supporter in the family, which would lead them to avoid the involvement with children even though they have more available time. Because of gender expectations, women are socialized to be major homemakers rather than breadearners. They are more likely to choose to stay at home without any discontent. Their involvement level is not likely to be decreased, but increased because they have more spare time at home. Males who are unemployed are more likely to be involved in child care probably because their partners need and demand more, since taking care of preschool children, especially infants, is very time consuming. With their greater involvement in child care, unemployed men also increase their level of physical punishment of their children. The different relationships between men's and women's working status and their behaviors are consistent with the notion that unemployment is a larger problem for married men than for married women in terms of interaction with their children.

Both parents working at night increase their time spent in child care significantly. Because preschool children are likely to be available during the day-time, parents working in the day-time might reduce their time to interact with them. Females working at night also increase their interaction with their school-age children, while males did just the opposite. However,

this relationship concerning the school-age children becomes insignificant, controlling the effects of other variables. The significant relationships in bivariate analysis might be due to a methodological effect, because people who are not employed are assumed to not work at day time. School-age children are more likely to engage themselves in activities outside home with peers or in school. Therefore, whether parents work during the day or at night might not have any effect on their involvement with their school-age children.

PARENTAL RESPONSE

Greater involvement may express more parental concern for their children. However, it is not necessarily good for children, especially when accompanied by a higher level of physical punishment or more negative responses. Examination of the quality of involvement is needed in order to make a better assessment of the impact of parental involvement. The major indicator for quality of involvement in this study is the level of negative responses.

Job satisfaction has the greatest impact on parental negative responses with regard to school-age children. Both men and women have more negative responses to their children if they have more negative job experiences. This finding supports the hypothesis generated from the social stress perspective that

negative employment experiences are more likely to generate a negative mood. Parents who suffer more strains and stresses in their workplaces are more likely to bring the negative mood home and have more negative responses to their family members as well as their children. Differential socialization emphasizes that men are to put their work first. Therefore, they may have a greater negative reaction if they are not satisfied with their paid work.

Where preschool children are concerned, only females who are not satisfied with their jobs are more likely to react negatively to their children, and this job satisfaction effect is stronger than that among males and females with school-age children. As suggested by other researchers (Menaghan, 1990; Mortimer, Finch and Maruyama, 1988), women's difficulties in jobs are more likely to come from the family, due to the conflict in demands between employer and husband, as well as children. Women with preschool children at home are especially likely to suffer from role overload and role conflict. Therefore, those who have more negative job experiences might have more stresses at home and be less patient with their children, resulting in more negative responses. Commitment of at least some substantial amount of time in interaction is a necessary condition for assessment of quality of interaction. As previously shown in Table 5, men who experience job dissatisfaction tend to withdraw interacting with their preschool children, which might be the reason that the relationship between men's job satisfaction and their negative

responses is not significant.

This study suggests, in sum, that different dimensions of working conditions tend to relate to different aspects of parental behaviors and values. Generally speaking, however, the variations in job conditions tested in this study have only small effects on parental values and behaviors.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Further studies are needed to estimate the effects of occupational conditions on parental values and behaviors. More dimensions of job conditions, such as job demands, the relationships with coworkers and employers, and time pressure need to be taken into account in order to get a better assessment.

The relationship between occupational conditions and parental values and behaviors is very complex. There may be many confounding nonwork variables bearing on it. These variables need to be identified and examined. As suggested by previous research, nonwork variables, including demographic variables, such as region, ethnicity, and family structures, and respondents' sex-role attitude, self-esteem, marital quality and their effectiveness in coping strategies might have mediating effects.

More attention needs to be paid to the "issue of

selectivity" (Spitze, 1991) when women's employment is concerned. The differences between those who choose to work for pay and those who choose to stay at home might have independent effects on their child-rearing styles.

Longitudinal data sets are necessary for a better understanding of the long-term effects of job conditions and the dynamic relationships between occupational conditions and parental behaviors and values. Longitudinal data will allow more adequate tests of how parental behaviors and values change in response to their working condition. For example, in order to answer the question "Do fathers change their parental behaviors when their wives get more involved in paid job?" and "How?", only cross-sectional data are not sufficient to address these questions.

LIMITATIONS

Several limitations to this study should be evident. A major limitation involves the secondary data analysis. The 1988 National Survey of Households and Families were designed to examine many different aspects of family life. Limited attention, though, is paid to parental behaviors and values, as well as to occupational conditions. The measurement of working conditions is especially limited.

This study relies on parents' self-reports on their behaviors and values rather than direct observation or children's

reports. Parents' reports of their behaviors might be different from their actual behaviors.

The lack of clear operational definitions of some occupational variables might lead to major measurement errors. For example, in this study, respondents who reported that they were currently employed are assumed to be in the state of employment. However, some of those who are categorized as currently employed might not have been employed in the past few months or past few years. The long-term effect of employment status can not be clearly shown. There also exist differences between "the unemployed, but seeking work" with "the unemployed, but not intending to work", which might affect parental behaviors.

Table 1A. Characteristics of the Preschool Subsample

Variables	Means or %	
	Male	Female
Respondent's Characteristics		
Age	30.11	26.98
Employed	93.8%	54.7%
Occupational socio-economic status	40.04	39.00
Working hours	44.80	28.61
Partner's Characteristics		
Occupational socio-economic status	36.56	39.19
Employed	34.3%	77.2%
Working hours	15.29	34.50
Focal Children's Characteristics		
Non-biological	4.6%	0.9%
Age of the youngest child	1.13	1.21
Number of children at home	1.41	1.36
Number of Respondents	347	464

Table 1B. Characteristics of the School Subsample

Variables	Means or %	
	Male	Female
Respondent's Characteristics		
Age	38.68	36.47
Employed	92.0%	64.3%
Occupational socio-economic status	41.00	37.54
Working hours	44.55	29.41
Partner's Characteristics		
Occupational socio-economic status	37.21	38.55
Employed	62.8%	71.4%
Working hours	19.05	31.69
Focal Children's Characteristics		
Non-biological	18.8%	9.4%
Age of the youngest child	8.05	8.17
Number of children at home	1.74	1.80
Number of Respondents	841	1117

Table 2A. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Occupational Socioeconomic Status (OSS) and Their Parental Behaviors and Values (Preschool Subsample)

Variables	OCCUPATIONAL SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS			
	Primary Respondents		Secondary Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	-.02	.03	-.00	-.01
Conformity	-.21**	-.06	-.13**	-.09
Parental Involvement				
On an outing	.05	.03	.08	-.05
Playing at home	.10	.11	.12*	.09
Educational activities	.14*	.18**	.21**	.22**
Child-care activities	-.02	-.06	-.05	-.03
Parental Negative Responses	-.05	-.23**	-.17**	-.08
Parental Control Techniques	-.11	-.09	-.14**	-.13

Note: * P< .05. ** P< .01

Table 2B. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Occupational Socioeconomic Status (OSS) and Their Parental Behaviors and Values (School Subsample)

Variables	OCCUPATIONAL SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS			
	Primary Respondents		Secondary Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	.02	-.06	-.03	.00
Conformity	-.16**	-.17**	-.06	-.15**
Parental Involvement	.10**	.02	.08*	.04
Parental Negative Responses	-.15**	-.10**	-.13**	-.15**

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01

Table 3A. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Working Hours and Their Parental Behaviors and Values (Preschool Subsample)

Variables	Working Hours			
	Primary Respondents		Secondary Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	.04	.09	-.02	.12*
Conformity	.01	-.00	.02	.00
Parental Involvement				
On an outing	-.11*	-.08	.13**	-.01
Playing at home	-.10	.04	-.06	.02
Educational activities	-.03	.01	.01	.08
Child-care activities	-.20**	-.40**	.04	.12*
Parental Negative Responses	-.02	.06	.01	-.02
Parental Control Techniques	-.22**	-.06	.02	.01

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01

Table 3B. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Working Hours and Their Parental Behaviors and Values (School Subsample)

Variables	Working Hours			
	Primary Respondents		Secondary Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	-.06	-.08*	.01	.04
Conformity	-.05	-.08*	.03	.02
Parental Involvement	-.05	-.15**	.07*	-.03
Parental Negative Responses	-.01	-.07*	.06*	-.08*

Note: * $P < .05$. ** $P < .01$

Table 4A. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Working Schedules and Their Parental Behaviors and Values (Preschool Subsample)

Variables	Shift Schedules		Night Schedules	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	-.01	-.05	.00	-.05
Conformity	-.07	-.07	.03	.05
Parental Involvement				
On an outing	-.02	-.01	.06	.04
Playing at home	.00	-.05	-.01	.02
Educational activities	.06	-.01	-.07	-.08
Child-care activities	.07	-.04	.20**	.30**
Parental Negative Responses	-.02	.03	-.05	-.01
Parental Control Techniques	-.02	.06	.21**	-.00

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01

Table 4B. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Working Schedules and Their Parental Behaviors and Values (School Subsample)

Variables	Shift Schedules		Night Schedules	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	.00	.01	-.03	-.07
Conformity	-.01	.00	.03	.07*
Parental Involvement	-.06	-.01	-.07*	.14**
Parental Negative Responses	-.04	-.01	.05	.10**

Note: * P< .05. ** P< .01

Table 5. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Job Satisfaction and Their Parental Behaviors and Values

Variables	Job Satisfaction			
	Children under 5		Children from 5-18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	.10	.09	.07	.06
Conformity	.13*	.10	.00	.02
Parental Involvement				
On an outing	na	na	.05	.08
Playing at home	-.02	.05	na	na
Educational activities	.20**	.10	na	na
Educational activities	.12*	.03	na	na
Child-care activities	-.02	-.02	na	na
Parental Negative Responses	.02	-.17**	-.13**	-.08*
Parental Control Techniques	-.10	-.11	na	na

Note: * P< .05. ** P< .01

na= non-applicable

Table 6. Zero-order Correlations between Men and Women's Working Status Their Parental Behaviors and Values

Variables	Working Status			
	Children under 5		Children from 5-18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Parental Values				
Self-direction	-.09	-.01	-.03	-.07*
Conformity	-.12*	-.11*	-.03	-.10**
Parental Involvement				
On an outing	na	na	.07*	-.15**
Playing at home	-.11*	-.02	na	na
Educational activities	-.06	-.06	na	na
Educational activities	.09	.06	na	na
Child-care activities	-.25**	-.27**	na	na
Parental Negative Responses				
Parental Negative Responses	-.06	.06**	-.00	-.11*
Parental Control Techniques				
Parental Control Techniques	-.19**	.01	na	na

Note: * P< .05. ** P< .01

na=non-applicable

Table 7A. The Comparative of Means between Male and Female's Parental Behaviors and Values (Preschool Subsample)

Variables	Cases	Means	Significance(F)
Parental involvement on an outing			.002
Male	342	3.27	
Female	462	3.58	
Parental involvement playing at home			.049
Male	344	5.70	
Female	463	5.79	
Parental involvement in educational activities			.000
Male	343	4.05	
Female	462	4.90	
Parental involvement in child-care activities			.000
Male	336	2.40	
Female	456	6.40	
Parental positive responses (verbal)			.010
Male	346	3.79	
Female	464	3.88	
Parental positive responses (behavioral)			.000
Male	347	3.92	
Female	464	3.99	
Parental negative responses			.013
Male	345	4.38	
Female	463	4.65	
Parental control technique			.001
Male	236	.94	
Female	324	1.63	
Parental value of conformity			.113
Male	342	17.16	
Female	462	12.84	
Parental value of self-direction			.001
Male	344	23.91	
Female	462	24.58	

Table 7B. The Comparative of Means between Male and Female in Parental Behaviors and Values (School Subsample)

Variables	Cases	Means	Significance(F)
Parental involvement			.000
Male	813	14.70	
Female	1085	17.17	
Parental positive responses			.000
Male	837	7.00	
Female	1109	7.49	
Parental negative responses			.019
Male	837	4.53	
Female	1111	4.66	
Parental value of conformity			.533
Male	837	17.44	
Female	1108	17.36	
Parental value of self-direction			.000
Male	833	23.67	
Female	1106		

Table 8A. Standardized Regression Coefficients of Parental Values with Demographic and Work-related Variables (Preschool Subsample)

Variables	Conformity		Self-direction	
	Equal	Equa2	Equa3	Equa4
Age of PR	-.17***	-.15**	.01	-.00
Sex of PR	.10*	.11	.09	-.08
No. of children	-.01	-.01	-.14**	-.13**
Age of the youngest	.03	.04	.02	.03
If all biological	-.14**	-.14**	-.03	-.03
PR's OSS		-.13*		-.02
PR's working hours		-.01		.05
PR's shift schedules		-.07		-.04
PR's night schedules		-.09		-.05
PR's job satisfaction		.17***		.08
SR's OSS		-.06		-.00
SR's working hours		.00		.03
R-squared	.05	.10	.03	.05

Note: * P< .05. ** P< .01. *** P< .001

PR=primary respondents. SR=secondary respondents

Equations 3 and 4 are not significant

Table 8B. Standardized Regression Coefficients of Parental Values with Demographic and Work-related Variables (School Subsample)

Variables	Conformity		Self-direction	
	Equal	Equa2	Equa3	Equa4
Age of PR	-.08*	-.03	.01	.02
Sex of PR	.09**	.12**	-.06	-.03
No. of children	.01	.00	-.03	-.03
Age of the youngest	.02	.00	.07	.08
If all biological	-.04	-.05	.07*	.07*
PR's OSS		-.15***		-.00
PR's working hours		-.09**		-.05
PR's shift schedules		-.02		.02
PR's night schedules		.00		.02
PR's job satisfaction		.02		.07*
SR's OSS		-.05		-.03
SR's working hours		-.00		-.01
R-squared	.01	.05	.01	.02

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01. *** P < .001

PR=primary respondents. SR=secondary respondents

Table 9A. Standardized Regression Coefficients of Parental Involvement with Demographic and Work-related variables (Preschool Subsample)

Variables	V1		V2		V3		V4	
	Equal	Equa2	Equa3	Equa4	Equa5	Equa6	Equa7	Equa8
Age of PR	.06	.05	.16**	-.01	.21***	.12*	.00	-.02
sex of PR	-.17***	-.12	-.08	-.07	-.29***	-.21***	-.41***	-.59***
No. of children	.06	.06	-.13**	-.12*	.17***	.18***	.00	.02
Age of the youngest	.09	.09	-.29***	-.28***	.22***	.24***	-.00	.01
If all biological	-.01	-.02	.13**	.12**	.11*	.10*	.02	.01
Age of children	na	na	na	na	na	na	-.16	-.17*
Sex of Children	na	na	na	na	na	na	-.06	-.02
PR's OSS		.06		-.01		.05		-.02
PR's working hours		-.07		.00		-.04		-.42***
PR's shift schedule		-.01		.02		.03		.05
PR's night schedule		.09		-.05		-.00		.07
PR's job satisfaction		-.02		.11*		.09		.02
SR's OSS		-.01		.04		.15**		-.02
SR's working hours		.02		-.02		.02		.08
IWHS		na		na		na		.45
R-squared	.04	.05	.12	.14	.19	.23	.19	.28

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01. *** P < .001

Variables: V1=parental involvement on an outing. V2=parental involvement playing at home. V3=parental involvement in educational activities. V4=parental involvement in child-care activities. PR=primary respondents. SR=secondary respondents. IWHS=interaction effect between sex and working hours. na=non-applicable

Table 9B. Standardized Regression Coefficients of Parental Involvement with Demographic and Work-related variables (School Subsample)

Variables	Parental Involvement	
	Equal	Equa2
Age of PR	-.02	-.02
sex of PR	-.26***	-.21***
No. of children	-.04	-.02
Age of the youngest	-.38***	-.37***
If all biological	.10***	.10***
PR's OSS		.06
PR's working hours		-.09**
PR's shift schedule		-.04
PR's night schedule		-.02
PR's job satisfaction		.06
SR's OSS		.08*
SR's working hours		-.01
R-squared	.22	.25

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01. *** P < .001

PR=primary respondents. SR=secondary respondents (Spouse of primary respondents)

Table 10A. Standardized Regression Coefficients of Parental Negative Responses and Control Technique with Demographic and Work-related Variables (Preschool Subsample)

Variables	Negative Responses		Control Technique	
	Equal	Equa2	Equa3	Equa4
Age of PR	-.13**	-.09	-.20***	-.18**
Sex of PR	-.07	-.05	-.08	-.01
No. of children	.45***	.46***	.04	.05
Age of the youngest	.45***	.43***	.07	.06
If all biological	.03	.05	.00	.01
Age of Children	na	na	-.13	-.13
Sex of Children	na	na	.08	.10
PR's OSS		-.02		.03
PR's working hours		-.05		-.15*
PR's shift schedules		.03		.06
PR's night schedules		-.08		.06
PR's job satisfaction		.01		-.03
SR's OSS		-.14**		-.07
SR's working hours		-.04		.02
R-squared	.32	.34	.07	.10

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01. *** P < .001

PR=primary respondents. SR=secondary respondents

na=non-applicable

Table 10B. Standardized Regression Coefficients of Parental Negative Responses with Demographic and Work-related Variables (School Subsample)

Variables	Negative Responses	
	Equal	Equa2
Age of PR	-.16***	-.11**
Sex of PR	-.04	-.05
No. of children	.04	.02***
Age of the youngest	-.28***	-.30***
If all biological	.09**	.09**
PR's OSS		-.05
PR's working hours		.01
PR's shift schedules		-.04
PR's night schedules		.03
PR's job satisfaction		-.09**
SR's OSS		-.10**
SR's working hours		.01
R-squared	.17	.20

Note: * P < .05. ** P < .01. *** P < .001

PR=primary respondents. SR=secondary respondents

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