INSTRUMENTAL COMPETENCY SOCIALIZATION AND YOUNG ADULT OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS: PERCEPTIONS OF INDEPENDENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION IN THE FAMILY ENVIRONMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

As an adjunct to Young and Friesen's (1990) research into parental influences on young adult career development, this study used hierarchical cluster analysis of the Independence and Achievement Orientation subscales of the Family Environment Scale (Moos & Moos, 1986) to identify groups of subjects sharing similar perceptions of instrumental competency socialization within their families of origin. Critical incidents (Flanagan, 1954) describing child-parent interactions were garnered in semistructured interviews with 50 young adults. This information was used to generate descriptive profiles of child-parent interactions and patterns of occupational choice within each of six distinct clusters identified by the cluster analysis procedure.

One way Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs) revealed significant between cluster differences. Qualitative descriptions of child-parent transactions revealed gender differences in perceived patterns of socialization within two clusters and aspects of competency enhancing socialization in three clusters. Young adult subjects of both genders tended to gravitate towards mid and upper status male-typed and gender neutral occupational choices while young men, consistent with earlier research findings, avoided aspiring towards female-typed career choices.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

In today's world of rapid social and technological change, environmental factors are creating new demands which are impacting the vocational roles of women and men. Changing economic conditions and family structures are resulting in more women than ever before taking paid employment outside the home with Canadian women currently comprising 41% of the labour force (Lips & Colwill, 1988). With such dramatic changes occurring, the traditional expectations that parents would raise their sons to become the primary wage earner in the family and their daughters the primary caregiver and homemaker may be shifting as families adapt to evolving societal demands.

Historical Background

Historically, since the Industrial Revolution of the early 19th century, male - female work roles have consisted of the male head of the family going out to work in order to provide for the family's financial needs while his female counterpart stayed at home to attend to the housework and to rearing the children. The popular viewpoint concerning the nature of childrearing has been that boys were traditionally socialized to be financially independent, to fill the role of "family breadwinner" and to competitively seek individual success outside the home (Block, 1983) through well paying or high status employment. Girls were socialized to remain at home (Block, 1981, 1983), financially
dependent on their fathers and, later, their husbands. As women, they were expected to fill the domestic roles of the nurturing mother and homemaker. (Scanzoni & Litton Fox, 1980; Westkott, 1986).

Since the Second World War, women have increasingly entered the labour force until today the majority of North American women are working in paid occupations outside the home (Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984; Gutek, 1988; Lips & Colwill, 1988). In Canada 64% of single women, 52.3% of married women and 35.1% of widowed, divorced and separated women are currently employed outside the home. At the same time most women still fill the domestic roles of mother and homemaker. Family structures are also changing with the result that more and more women are the sole providers for their children while a small number of men are choosing to stay at home to fill the domestic role of homemaker and to act as the primary parent involved in childrearing, roles on which society places a low value. The question arises, with such shifts occurring in the roles of fathers and mothers, as to whether the traditional view of gender differentiated socialization is applicable to adolescent and young adult children currently entering the work force.

Developmental Perspectives

Recent ecological and contextual theories of development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lerner, 1986) have viewed the individual as actively embedded in a multi-level, multi-dimensional environment. From this perspective, the individual and the
environment are involved in transactions which affect the development of both (Lerner, 1986). Lerner (1986) points out that "asymmetry of interlevel influences" (p. 78) can take place where changes occurring in the higher levels of a society suddenly and visibly impact lower levels. Bronfenbrenner (1979) states that the developmental process of an individual within a specific setting can be influenced by other settings and by contexts within which the setting is placed. He conceptualizes development as occurring within a set of nested, concentric structures, each contained within the next: the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems. Such scenarios would appear to provide a possible model for viewing the impact of societal economic changes and workforce requirements on such microsystems as the family.

The career environment forms one specific societal ecosystem where further focusing of the ecological perspective has occurred (See Law, 1981; Schulenberg, Vondracek & Crouter, 1984; Vondracek & Lerner, 1982; Vondracek, Lerner & Schulenberg, 1986; Vondracek & Schulenberg, 1986; Young, 1984). One of the settings in which career development occurs is the microsystem of the family. Through the family, role expectations and career aspirations develop as the child interacts with his or her parents.

Background of the Problem

A recent review of career development research focusing on familial influences has criticized the literature for its tendency to report socialization outcomes such as occupational
attainment rather than focussing on the developmental process (Schulenberg et al., 1984). Another criticism (Grotevant & Cooper, 1988) points out the sparsity of research around the nature of parent-child relations which occur during the childhood and adolescent phases of a young person's career development.

Where parental influences on young adult career development have been examined, the literature has concentrated on several parental characteristics which are involved in this process: parental attitudes and expectations, parental socioeconomic status (SES), parental educational attainment, maternal employment and so on. Very little research has been conducted to date utilizing a systemic, interactive model where perceived parental behaviors as well as young adult responses to such behaviors and perceptions of their career development are taken into account (See Grotevant & Cooper, 1988, for a review of such literature; Kidd, 1984; Young & Friesen, 1986; Young, Friesen & Pearson, 1988). Several recent papers, examining the influence of the family on career development (Friesen, 1984; Grotevant & Cooper, 1988; Herr & Lear, 1984; Schulenberg et al., 1984; Seligman, Weinstock & Owings, 1988) have called for further research into the area of parent-child relations as they pertain to career development.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to attempt to throw some light on the nature of parent-child interactions that foster or discourage independence and achievement orientations within the
child. It attempted to link such perceptions of the family environment with the occupational aspirations of young adults. More specifically, it attempted to identify differing family socialization patterns and to identify any significant gender differences in parent-child interactions recalled by young adult children.

**Rationale**

The rationale for the study emerged from the need to gain insight into the interactional aspects of the career development process as it occurs in a developmental context. Earlier research has demonstrated that parents have significant influences on their children's occupational aspirations (See Herr & Lear, 1984 and Schulenberg, Vondracek & Crouter, 1984, for reviews of this literature). For example, with young women influences such as mother's educational attainment and employment outside the home have demonstrable effects on whether they aspire to traditional female jobs or to pioneer previously male dominated occupations (Huston, 1983; Lemkau, 1979; Vondracek & Lerner, 1982).

With recent technological and economic changes resulting in women taking more of the provider role, a further reason for a study such as this one is to ascertain whether models of gender differentiated socialization within the family were currently applicable. Exploration of the actual parenting styles, or patterns of interventions, involved around two measurable aspects of the family environment, independence and achievement.
orientation, would provide valuable information for career counsellors working with a young adult clientele.

**Research Questions**

Investigation of two areas emerged from the above objectives. First, the nature of the perceived family environments of young adults was analyzed to determine whether young adults’ perceptions of achievement orientation and independence in their families of origin could be grouped into distinct patterns. From the six such clusters that did emerge, the question arose as to whether discernable patterns of occupational aspirations were also present? The study has attempted to ascertain whether gender differentiated occupational aspirations existed within such clusters.

Second, looking specifically at perceived parental behaviors and child responses, the study tried to determine whether any patterns, or styles, of perceived parental behaviors and young adult responses could be delineated within identified family environment profiles of independence and achievement orientation. At the same time the study has attempted to ascertain whether such perceived behaviors and responses were indicative of differential gender role socialization.

**Limitations of the Study**

Since the research conducted was exploratory in nature and used a small pool of subjects, the results are limited in their applicability to a more general population. A further limitation exists in the subjective nature of young adult recollections
which may result in time lag inaccuracies and in a possible perceptual bias.

Summary

Recent societal changes have resulted in the majority of Western women entering into key instrumental roles by entering the work force and contributing to the economic support of the family. As a result of such changing roles, this study attempted to determine whether young adults have gender differentiated occupational aspirations and examined two aspects of their perceived family environments: independence and achievement orientation. In addition to identifying family patterns of independence and achievement orientation, the study looked at specific perceived parenting styles and young adult responses within six identified clusters. The following chapter presents a review of the existing literature around the family environment and sex role socialization, focusing on research outlining gender issues around independence, achievement orientation, and occupational aspirations and presents the research questions in more detail than they have been outlined here. This chapter is followed by a third chapter which outlines the methodology utilized in this study, a fourth chapter delineating the results and a final, fifth chapter discussing those results in light of the research questions posed in Chapter 2 and suggesting avenues for future research in the area of family socialization processes and young adult career development.
Definitions

**Achievement orientation** - the extent to which one strives to achieve a high status occupation, involves a sense of competitiveness, the use of effective problem solving strategies and perseverance in working to meet goals.

**Family environment** - the perceived atmosphere or climate within a family which emerges out of interactions between family members.

**Gender differentiated socialization** - a socialization process through which socialization agent-child interactions are based on the child's gender and which result in the child adapting a gender identity to a greater or lesser extent. (See definition of **socialization** below.) For purposes of this study, socialization agent will be restricted to a parent or a parental figure in the child's family environment.

**Independence** - self-sufficiency, self-differentiation, the ability to make one's own decisions, autonomy.

**Instrumental competency** - competency in instrumental functions, characterized by ascendant, goal-oriented and self-determined behaviors. Also defined in terms of developing "social responsibility, independence, achievement orientation and vigor." (Baumrind, 1978, p. 249)

**Occupational aspiration** - "the single occupation named as one's best alternative at any given time" (Gottfredson, 1981, p. 548)
**Parenting style** - a recognizable pattern of parental interventions utilized in childrearing which can include disciplinary strategies, teaching the child and transmitting expectations to the child

**Socialization** - the process during which the child internalizes the values, expectations and mores of his or her culture in an interactive process with parents, educators and other socialization agents.
While reviewing the existing literature around vocational role development, this chapter will focus on gender differentiated socialization and its possible effects on subsequent young adult occupational aspirations which Marini (1978) argues play a directional role in future occupational attainment and Farmer (1985) sees as predicting achievement. Specifically, the importance of role expectations in the development of sextyped career choices will be outlined. Literature concerning the process of fostering or discouraging achievement orientation and independence in the family environment will be outlined within the framework of Parson's (1955) instrumental-expressive roles, Block's (1973) adaptation of Bakan's (1966, cited in Block, 1973) concepts of agency and communion and Broverman and her colleagues delineation of sex role stereotypes (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarksen, & Rosenkrantz, 1972). Since role development occurs as part of a larger developmental process, the discussion will begin with a brief overview of ecological and contextual developmental theory.

Developmental Models

In recent years models of human development have been expanded, from universally applied stage and intrapsychic
paradigms, to take account of the various contexts within which
individual development occurs. Whether conceived from a
contextual development perspective (Lerner, 1986) or an
ecological one (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), such models view the
developing individual in a process of dynamic interaction with a
complex, multilevel environment where both the individual and the
environment affect the development of each other.

**Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Development Model**

Bronfenbrenner (1979) created an ecological model of human
development where growth occurred in the context of a series of
nested structures known as the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems.
The immediate setting, or microsystem, in which an individual's
development occurs consists of a pattern of activities, roles and
interpersonal relations present in that setting with the family,
school or workplace being examples. Bronfenbrenner (1979)
defined activities as either molecular or molar in nature. A
molecular activity would be a fragmentary event whereas a molar
activity "is an ongoing behavior possessing a momentum of its own
and perceived as having meaning or intent by the participants in
the setting"(p. 45). Relations occur, according to
Bronfenbrenner, when "one person in a setting pays attention to
or participates in the activities of another"(p. 56).
Interrelational dyads can take the form of observational dyads
where one person pays close attention to the activities of
another or joint activity dyads where interaction usually takes
the form of complementary activities. The third component of
Bronfenbrenner's microsystem, are roles. A role, according to Bronfenbrenner, is "a set of activities and relations expected of a person occupying a particular position in society and of others in relation to that person" (p. 85).

The mesosystem consists of interrelationships between two or more settings, such as family and school or family and work, in which the developing person actively participates. In the exosystem such active participation by the developing individual does not occur since it consists of one or more systems where events occur that can affect or are affected by happenings in the person's settings. Of more importance for the purposes of this study, the macrosystem exists at the cultural or subcultural level and "refers to consistencies in the form and content of lower order systems (micro-, meso-, and exo-) ... along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 26). Included here would be work and gender related values as well as significant global events and socio-historical movements which could impact upon the various systems involved in the individual's development process.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), development, a process of differentiation, involves interdependency between person and environment. During this process, ecological transitions occur where "a person's position in the ecological environment is altered as the result of a change in role, setting or both" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 26). The movement of a young adult from the family into the labour force is one such transition.
Environmental-Contextual Processes of Career Development

Others have incorporated Bronfenbrenner's model into theories of career development (Collin, 1986; Vondracek & Lerner, 1982; Vondracek et al., 1986; Young, 1984; Young & Friesen, 1986). Collin (1986) combined Bronfenbrenner's (1979) approach with a systems model and discussed the importance of systemic dynamics such as homeostasis, entropy and feedback upon the developmental process. She called for a biographical approach to the study of career development. Young (1984) incorporated Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model into an ecological perspective where he viewed career as one specific ecosystem in which the individual was embedded, occupying an ecological niche or life space where reciprocal interaction between the person and the environment takes place.

Others, while not directly related to Bronfenbrenner's approach, have also incorporated systems theory into career development models. Brachter (1982) stresses the importance of family rules, and boundaries on career choice. In his community interaction theory, Law (1981) viewed young adult career development in light of transactions between individuals and others within an ecological or community territory. Modes of community influence, which could be transmitted through the family, included expectations, feedback, support, modelling and the provision of information.

Vondracek and his colleagues (Vondracek et al., 1986) combined Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model with a contextual
developmental approach, stressing the importance of the microsystem in the career development process. Schulenberg et al. (1984) called for further research into the processes by which the family influences career development. Vondracek and his colleagues saw activities, roles and interpersonal relations as "the mechanisms of occupational socialization" (Vondracek et al., 1986, p. 50). Key contextual developmental concepts such as dynamic interaction, or bidirectional interaction between the individual and his or her environment, and the plasticity, or flexibility, of developing individuals were outlined in their theory.

This model described career development as a life long process where development occurred simultaneously at multiple levels which could interact with one another. Developing persons were seen as producers of their own development: acting as stimuli, having possession of certain capabilities and/or initiating active behavioral interventions that may shape subsequent development. Vondracek et al. (1986) perceived vocational role development as an early phase of the life long career development process and saw young people having more plasticity and, therefore, more alternatives than their older counterparts. They called for a focus on the developing child within the immediate context of the family.
The Development of Gender Roles

Roles, the behavioral and attitudinal expectations that others have of persons occupying specific positions or niches, are important in the context of career development and in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model develop within the microsystemic context. Gender roles refer more specifically to "the overt expression of behaviors and attitudes that indicate to others the degree of one's affiliation to maleness or femaleness" (Reber, 1985, p. 296) and are one of the basic means by which individuals and societies define themselves. In Western culture, the division of labour which developed since the Industrial Revolution resulted in the now traditional roles of external masculine "Good Provider" (Bernard, 1981) which provided instrumental survival needs for the family and the domestic feminine role of primary caregiver and nurturer (Scanzoni & Litton-Fox, 1980, Westkott, 1986).

Some individuals experience role conflict or strain where they are unable to fulfil the expectations of roles in two different settings or when changing macrosystemic demands are not consistent with the expectations and demands of a specific microsystem. Common examples of gender role strain may be found in the careers of women who are attempting to fulfill both the traditional roles of homemaker and mother and also the role of paid employee or where men and/or women occupy occupational niches traditionally filled by members of the other gender such
as a male secretary or a female engineer. In such cases the
difficulties arising from setting expectations are further
compounded by perceived discrepancies with traditional gender
role expectations.

The Nature of Gender Roles

In their study of gender role stereotypes, Broverman and her
colleagues (Broverman et al., 1972) identified specific trait
clusters attributed to men and women which they named the male
competency cluster and the female warmth-expressiveness cluster. The
male competency cluster included traits such as independence,
competitiveness, objectivity, logic, adventurousness, decision
making ability, self-confidence, leadership orientation, ambition
and so on which were more highly valued than the female warmth-
expressiveness traits of gentleness, sensitivity to others'
feelings, tactfulness, expressiveness of feelings and so on.
These researchers found that each sex role stereotype, in
addition to possessing positive traits such as those listed
above, was characterized by a lack of the traits considered
positive for the other gender. For example, men were generally
seen to be insensitive to the feelings of others while women were
perceived to be dependent and lacking in competitiveness.

Parsons (1955) understood sex roles in terms of family
systems maintenance. In his model interactions may be located in
quadrants along a vertical axis with poles of high and low power
and a horizontal axis with instrumental and expressive function
poles. Instrumental functions were concerned with the system's
relationship to the outside world where the system maintains itself in equilibrium with its environment. These functions involve active and effective capabilities for dealing with the environment in a competent, assertive, self-directed, self-sufficient and independent fashion (Spence & Helmreich, 1980). Instrumental functions assist in maintaining the family system through the acquisition of income and other physical resources necessary for family survival. Expressive functions are concerned with internal systems affairs, maintaining integrative relations between family members as well as regulating interaction patterns and tension levels within and between family subsystems.

Within the family, fathers tended to be more powerful in instrumental functions and mothers, in expressive ones. Children were socialized accordingly with sons developing primarily instrumental roles where they were expected to be assertive, ambitious, self-disciplined, objective, successful in competitive situations and achievement oriented (Baumrind, 1978) while being committed to an outside occupation in an autonomous fashion (Borman & Guido-DeBrito, 1986). Daughters developed expressive roles where they were expected to be receptive, nurturing and empathic (Baumrind, 1978) while avoiding competition and focusing on hard work occupationally (Borman & Guido-DeBrito, 1986). Since Parsons developed his model, however, the role expectations for women have been changing with the majority of adult women currently being employed outside the home in more instrumental
roles while maintaining their traditional expressive functions within the home. At the same time there has been a smaller movement on the part of some middle class men to become more involved in childrearing tasks, a more expressive function. The question arises as to whether the socialization processes within the home have shifted with such macrosystemic changes in values and the increasing economic necessity for more women workers.

In her conception of gender roles, Block (1973) adapted Bakan's (1966, cited in Block, 1973) concepts of agency and community. In Block's model, agency, generally identified with the masculine role, is concerned with the organism as an individual and is manifested in terms of self-interest, self-assertion and self-extension (Block, 1973). Communion, identified with the feminine role, is concerned with the individual organism as it exists within some larger organism such as the family of which it is a part. Communion is manifested in terms of being at one with other organisms and is characterized by mutuality, interdependence and common welfare (Block, 1973). Like Parsons' instrumental and expressive functions, agency and communion are divided along an external goal oriented versus an internal relational dichotomy. While personality traits described in communion include dependency, relationship focus and cooperation, descriptions of agentic traits, like those of instrumental roles, include competency, decision making ability, goal orientation, achievement orientation and independence. Both Block's (1973) and Parsons' (1955) conceptualizations of gender
role appear consistent with Broverman et al.'s (1972) description of sex-role stereotypes: the relationship oriented woman and the instrumentally competent man. All three models describe the differences between the female role which focuses primarily on interactions within the family boundaries and the externally oriented male role of provider. It would thus appear that descriptors such as competency, agency and instrumentality overlap as do those of warmth-expressiveness, communion and expressive functions (Baumrind, 1978; Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983; Poole & Evans, 1989). All appear to indicate the importance of gender as a means of delineating roles within Western culture.  

**Traditional Gender Roles and Occupational Choice**

Parents have traditionally expected their daughters to fill expressive roles, acting in a "feminine" manner and to secure a good marriage, avoiding any excessive displays of agentic or instrumental traits such as competitiveness, independence, assertiveness, competency and so on (Block, 1983). Girls have traditionally been socialized to be kind, affectionate, polite and selfless and to develop into good mothers and housekeepers: expressive roles that have little status in society at large. Feminine occupations outside the home have tended to be either related to the traditional nurturing and supportive roles of women, as in professions such as teaching, social work and nursing, or to be occupations which have moderate status and low economic rewards such as clerical and service oriented work. Ehrhardt, Ince & Meyer-Bahlburg (1981) uncovered a non-
significant tendency for young women who had opted to aspire to such traditional occupations being more likely to have experienced considerable parental demands for feminine behaviors. Women often find themselves working at jobs which underutilize their abilities or where they are paid less than equally skilled, trained and experienced male colleagues. In line with the traditional expectation that women fill the primary caregiving role within the home, one major consideration in female occupational choice resulting in restrictive occupational aspirations has been the role strain between the domestic, maternal role and that of paid employee. This often results in a desire to find a job which will allow the woman to take time out of her career to raise her children (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984).

Block (1981, 1983) and Huston (1983) point out that parents expect far more from their sons in terms of occupational achievement. However, Danziger (1983) found that male occupational aspirations were less affected by such parental expectations than were those of females. Young men have been expected to fill more instrumental roles and display agentic traits. While fewer men experience the instrumental-expressive role conflict that often shapes the occupational choices of women, they are expected to be competent and to achieve success in their chosen occupation. Traditional male occupations cover a wider range of status and pay. Upper and mid-status male occupations frequently involve leadership roles where traits such as competitiveness, goal orientations and aggressiveness are
valued along with strong problem solving skills. Lower status jobs requiring physical strength and/or the acquisition of a skilled trade have also been traditionally male domains.

The Development of Occupational Aspirations

Astin (1984) and Brizzi (1986) have argued that women have more restricted occupational aspirations than men because their perceptions of actually attaining the occupation are more realistic. According to Astin (1984), men and women have the same motivational needs to work but the structure of opportunity available to women has traditionally been more limited than that available to men. She points to recent shifts in young women's occupational aspirations and explains them in terms of a widening structure of opportunity brought about by macrosystemic changes. These changes include increased longevity of the population, creating the need for some type of occupation to fill survival, pleasure and contributitional needs after the childrearing years; a declining birthrate where one or two children is the normative societal expectation; as well as an increasing divorce rate. Astin also describes a proliferation of alternative lifestyles where the traditional two parent family is no longer the norm and where women are filling more instrumental roles as they find themselves the main source of financial security for the family.

The structure of opportunity, in Astin's (1984) model, is closely intertwined with gender differentiated socialization experienced by boys and girls. Gottfredson (1981), in her model of occupational aspiration development, argues that sextyping of
occupations occurs in early childhood as children become aware of gender roles and appropriate related activities and there would appear to be some supporting evidence in the research (e.g., O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Shepard & Hess, 1975; Women's Bureau of Labour Canada, 1986). According to Gottfredson's model the development of occupational aspirations is a process of progressive elimination of alternatives. Young children learn early that certain occupations are more appropriate for one sex than for the other. Although the sexual stereotyping of occupations decreases as children mature (O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Shepard & Hess, 1975), women are more likely to select female-typed occupations, such as teaching, nursing, social work and secretarial work (Kenkel & Gage, 1983), which are compatible with their perceptions of the female sex role, or gender neutral occupations such as counselling or journalism (see Church, 1983, and Shinar, 1975, for other examples of sextyped occupations). These occupations are usually mid status in nature and are lower paid than the male typed occupations which extend across a wider range from low status jobs such as unskilled labourer to high status occupations such as senior management positions and professions.

**Sextyping and Occupational Choice**

In a study involving 60 university students, Shinar (1975), drawing from a list of 160 occupations from Roe's occupational category system (Roe, 1956, cited in Shinar, 1975), found that gender stereotypes of occupations were clearly defined along the
lines of Broverman et al.'s (1972) gender role stereotypes even though there was a slight, significant tendency for females to view occupations as less masculine than men. Lifschitz's (1983) results indicating that stereotyping occurring in high school students' sextyping of jobs was based more on occupation and not strictly on gender replicate Shinar's (1975) study.

Lueptow (1981), looking at the influences of instrumental-expressive sextyped socialization upon the occupational aspirations of American students from 13 Wisconsin high schools, found that while the structure of opportunity appeared to be opening more widely for female students, these moves were mainly into traditional male white collar occupations. Males, in this study using a list of occupations drawn from the 1960 Census of Occupational Titles (cited in Lueptow, 1981), were moving out of aspiring to such occupations towards highly sextyped blue collar jobs. Although the percentage of young women aspiring to traditionally female occupations dropped from 79.7% in 1964 to 49.8% in 1975, these changes in occupational aspirations were mitigated by the emergence of several new sextyped occupations for women. Lueptow concluded that sextyping of occupations was continuing to develop as an important structure in the development of occupational aspirations.

Marini and Greenberger (1978), also looking at the aspirations of high school students, had earlier found a significant tendency for boys to aspire to more sextyped occupations than girls consistent with similar patterns in other
age groups (see O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Shepard & Hess, 1975; Women's Bureau of Labour Canada, 1986 for examples of such studies). While girls were more likely to aspire to cross-sex occupations, boys were more confident that they would achieve the higher status occupations they aspired to. However, Marini and Greenberger's (1978) findings indicated that differentiation of occupational aspirations and expectations by gender was still highly dominated by sextyping of those occupations. They also found that a negative relationship existed between occupational prestige and sextyped occupations for girls but not for boys and noted, as did Baker (1985) and Geller (1984), that female occupational aspirations tend to cluster in the middle and upper middle range of prestige, a finding which apparently lends credence to Gottfredson's (1981) model.

Poole and Cooney (1985) found significant gender differences in adolescent awareness of occupational opportunities. Females in their study listed significantly more occupations than males. In apparent support of Gottfredson's (1981) theory and Lueptow's (1981) research, they found that males were significantly more aware of proportionally more low status occupations and that females were more significantly aware of middle status occupations. There were no gender differences regarding the awareness of high status occupations. Again, in apparent support of Gottfredson's (1981) theory, they found significant patterns where males were more aware of high and low status occupations.
while females were significantly more aware of mid status occupations as suitable for themselves.

**Changing Gender Roles and Occupational Aspirations**

The research literature concerning occupational aspirations of adolescents and young adults indicates that traditional gender role expectations play a decreasing role in the aspirations of young women while still delineating the occupational choices of young men. For example, Harmon (1971) found that the most popular occupational choices of college women continued to be housewife, followed by occupations in the educational and social services fields. By the mid-80s, Geller (1984) discovered that young women no longer aspired to be housewives. Comparing aspirations between samples taken in 1973 and 1983, she noted a decrease in the choice of traditional occupations, with 38% of the 1983 sample aspiring to traditionally female occupations compared with 48% of the 1973 sample. Fifteen percent of the 1983 group versus 11% of the 1973 group aspired to "(i)ntermediate-type positions" such as "social work, interior decorating, etc." (Geller, 1984, p. 18) while the choice of nontraditional occupations had risen from 20% in 1973 to 30% in 1983.

These young women saw their future life roles differently than Parsons (1955) had anticipated in his description of expressive functions. While 50% of them aspired to marriage and children, over 70% of those who indicated such choices did not mention housework. Geller (1984) indicates that societal role
changes appear to be most apparent in the career choices of upper class young women and that there appears to be a lag in their adaptation by middle class women. Further support for this downward transfer of changing gender roles into occupational aspirations emerges in Kenkel and Gage's (1983) findings that low income girls aspired to a narrow range of traditional female occupations.

Consistent with Lueptow's (1981) results, Geller (1984) also found that moves towards nontraditional occupations tended to cluster around higher status aspirations. Baker (1985) found a similar pattern with 53% of her sample of adolescent women expecting to be working in professional or management fields by age 30 as opposed to approximately 23% seeing themselves as clerical, sales or service workers and approximately 24% seeing themselves as housewives. The choices of the few males in her sample indicated a low status/high status split with 72% aspiring to professional or management positions and 24% selecting manual labour occupations. Only 4% of these males expected to be working in clerical, sales or service occupations by age 30 and none of them indicated that they planned to perform the role of homemaker. Such evidence would appear to support the research with younger children that indicated that males were less flexible than females with regard to aspiring towards cross-sex or gender neutral occupations (O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Women's Bureau of Labour Canada, 1986).
Such hesitancy on the part of males to enter female typed occupations may be related to Hartley's (1959) and Tooley's (1977) theories that males are socialized to feel threatened at the thought of taking females roles they perceived to be inferior and less powerful. Another possible explanation might be found in Grotevant and Thurbecke's (1982) findings that adolescent males appeared to relate occupational commitment to an instrumental orientation while their female counterparts were more concerned with working hard and avoiding competition.

Indications are that sex role orientation plays an important role in the development of traditional versus non-traditional occupational aspirations. Harren, Kass, Tinsey and Moreland (1979) found that the most influential predictor of gender dominated career choices was gender. The self-attribution of gender characteristics was also an important influence in career choice. Therefore, men, as well as women, who ascribed female sex role characteristics to themselves, were more likely to select occupations typed as female. Comparing female university students in home economics and engineering, Jones and Lamke (1985) found that the women in home economics possessed a more feminine sex role orientation while their engineering counterparts were more oriented towards the masculine role. However, Rotberg, Brown and Ware (1987) found that the range of occupational choice was more related to interest in male or female dominated occupations than to gender role orientation. They note that these results contradicted earlier research.
One might conclude from the above survey of the literature that although males aspire to a wider range of occupations than females, they tend to aspire to more sextyped occupations. Young women increasingly appear to be moving away from a tendency to select mid-status and upper mid-status occupations in the clerical, services and health fields towards less traditional occupations. However, the general direction of such moves appears to be towards higher status professional and business related occupations which suggests that young men still will aspire to a wider selection of occupations than young women. Research such as Lueptow's (1981) finding that some of the new occupational niches aspired to by young women are now being sextyped as female occupations, resulting in lower prestige and power, indicates the continuing strength of the perceived gender appropriateness of occupations for males and females.

Gender Differentiated Socialization

Even though Astin's (1984) and Gottfredson's (1981) models focus on different aspects of career development, they both outline the importance that internalizing traditional gender role expectations plays in the restriction of female occupational aspirations. Weitz (1977) termed the process by which such role expectations were transmitted as gender differentiated socialization.
Various models have been developed to explain this differentiation process. For example, Hartley (1959) and Tooley (1977) proposed that boys experienced a harsher upbringing where they were separated earlier from their mothers (Tooley, 1977) and developed anxiety resulting from the pressure to fill harsh but preferred masculine role expectations (Hartley, 1959). From this perspective, girls were seen to be allowed more leeway in behavioral exploration and experienced a more protected upbringing. Scanzoni and Litton-Fox (1980), with a preference for a social learning model, proposed that parents and others acted to shape a child's behavior by rewarding roles which were in accordance with expressed expectations and punishing behavior which ran contrary to those expectations (see also Block, 1978).

Block (1981, 1983) developed a model to explain gender differentiation in which girls experienced a more restrictive socialization process where they were encouraged to imitate others while remaining in close proximity to their mothers. According to Block, boys experienced less structure and were encouraged to develop problem solving strategies of their own, often outside the home. She saw parental distancing as advantageous for boys and parental closeness as an inhibiting factor in the socialization of girls as it could decrease the number of situations in which a girl was able to develop adaptive problem solving skills. Others (Astin, 1984; Eccles & Hoffman, 1984; Huston, 1983) have presented models of gender differentiated socialization processes, similar to Block's (1978,
1981, 1983) model, which they apply to the career development process. Astin (1984), for example, outlined the differing activities in which boys and girls are encouraged to participate. Boys often play outdoors at competitive games which Astin (1984) argues translate into resources, such as power, prestige and income, for gainful employment later in life. According to Astin, boys are encouraged in activities which entail developing job related skills such as building things as well as problem solving strategies (see also Block, 1981, 1983). Their chores typically involve working in the yard and helping dad to repair various items (Astin, 1984; Huston, 1983). Their sisters, on the other hand, play indoors with toys such as dolls which encourage the nurturing role. Girls help mother around the house and assist in the care of their younger siblings. Such tasks often are expanded into the first paid employment for many girls, babysitting, again a domestic role which differs from boys' early jobs as paper carriers. Huston (1983), in her review of the literature, identified parents as responding more quickly to requests for help by daughters than by sons, a process confirmed by Grotevant and Cooper (1985). She argues that such behaviors may communicate lower competency evaluations of female children while the opposite apparently occurs for males. Young and Friesen (1986), in their study of parental interventions in adolescent career development, found that parental interventions favoured boys over girls. Parents, in their study, perceived themselves as providing more encouragement for their sons, giving
them more information than their sisters, affirming and understanding sons more frequently than daughters and displaying more interest in their sons. They also found that fathers perceived themselves as challenging their sons' ideas and actions more often (see also Young, Friesen, and Pearson, 1988). Smith (1981) found that fathers were more likely to provide overt encouragement than mothers. Such processes within the home may be responsible for the gender differentiated levels of self-perceived competency reported by Poole and Evans (1989).

Changing macrosystemic demands appear to be calling for the development of competency in young women. While Baumrind (1978) and Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) defined competency in terms of instrumentality, Poole and Evans (1989) partially define the term as agency. For them, like Baumrind (1978), competency includes the achievement of personally or socially desirable outcomes as well as the independent pursuit of goals. Consistent with sex role expectations (e.g., Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), Poole and Evans (1989) found that adolescent females perceived themselves to be competent in specific situations especially those involving life, or interpersonal, skills while males perceived themselves to be competent in a diversity of situations. Such differing perceptions of competencies between genders leads one to look at the socialization experiences of male and female children specifically the availability of processes occurring within the family microsystem.
Eccles and Hoffman (1984), relating competency to career development, identified six processes through which family experiences result in gender differences. They described the first of these processes as identification with the same sex parent. Parsons (1955), in his instrumental-expressive model, saw the parent with whom the child identifies as occupying an envied status because he or she is in control of all resources desired by the child. Eccles and Hoffman (1984) argue that children's observations of mothers and fathers occupying gender differentiated roles, involving differing occupational commitments, and identification with the same sex parent results in the maintenance of gender differences.

In describing the second process, differential parental use of reward and punishment, Eccles and Hoffman (1984) posit that sex role training of boys is more rigorous than that of girls. Like Hartley (1959), they note the anxiety experienced by boys around exhibiting behavior which is inappropriate to the male sex role and identify girls as being allowed more behavioral leeway than their brothers. Eccles and Hoffman (1984) attribute this leeway as perhaps coming from girls' lower status in the family. Ferriera and Thomas' (1984) finding that adolescent sons perceived themselves as receiving more physical punishment appears to provide some support for this position. One result of the more rigid sex role training for boys, the authors argued, may be that sex differences in occupational aspirations are a
result of male reluctance towards involvement in an occupation sextyped as female. This would appear to be strongly substantiated by the literature on male-female occupation aspirations (Lueptow, 1981; Marini & Greenberger, 1978; O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Shepard & Hess, 1975; Shinar, 1975; Women's Bureau of Labour Canada, 1986).

Direct teaching by parents, the third process, involves different content as parents teach their children behaviors and skills that they perceive will be useful to them in later life. Some of these teachings are overtly related to sex roles while others are more covertly so. Like Astin (1984), Block (1981, 1983) and Huston (1983), Eccles and Hoffman (1984) point out in the fourth process, assignment of household tasks, that boys are assigned tasks outside the home at an earlier age which "are more independent of adult supervision and specified routines" (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984, p. 388) while girls are given housekeeping chores such as vacuuming which involve work inside the house.

The fifth process outlined by Eccles and Hoffman (1984) is parental attribution of certain sex stereotyped traits to their children. These attributions impact on the nature of parent-child interrelations and also on the child's own self concept. One example is perceived female vulnerability which begins at birth and continues as the child develops. Such perceived vulnerability likely results in parental protection of their daughters which provides another source of restrictiveness in the gender socialization of female children and adolescents. A
second example of such parental attributions is the perception that girls have to work harder than boys to achieve in mathematics. Again, such perceptions are not consistent with children's actual abilities.

In the final process, parental expectations, Eccles and Hoffman (1984) cite literature in which parents described qualities that they wished to see in their children. Such expectations are an important aspect of role development. For sons they included "occupational success, work, ambition, intelligence and education" while for daughters they included "being kind or unselfish, loving, attractive or well mannered, having a good marriage and being a good parent" (p. 391). Fathers were more likely to emphasize competitiveness and achievement with sons while mothers were more likely to expect sons to attain a higher education and aspire to higher status occupations. Daughters who did strive to attain post secondary education were expected to concentrate on the humanities and social sciences while sons were to study physical sciences and advanced mathematics. Like Amato and Ochiltree (1986), these authors stress the importance of parental encouragement and confidence on the child's self confidence, achievement patterns and eventual occupational status.

In summary, Eccles and Hoffman (1984) outlined the importance of six socialization processes occurring in the family: same sex child-parent identification, sex differentiated rewards and punishments, direct parental teaching, children's
household tasks and play activities, parental stereotypical attributions and interrelations with the child, and sex differentiated parental expectations of children. These processes combine to encourage different coping styles where males are more independent and achievement oriented and females are more interpersonally oriented. In this way, the socialization processes experienced by boys in the home prepare them more for the labour market while girls are still socialized to fulfill the traditional roles of mother and homemaker. Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) note, in their review of the literature, that while males are socialized to begin with making an occupational choice as to how to support themselves and their future families, females must first decide whether they wish to work outside the home before selecting an occupational path. Another way of putting it would be to describe boys' socialization resulting in the development of more agentic traits and instrumental functions while girls develop more in terms of communion and expressive functions.

Eccles and Hoffman (1984) make a strong case for the position that parental socialization practices are inherently conservative in nature, being based on the parents' own childhood experiences with their parents. These authors argue that, in a world undergoing rapid social change, socialization is preparing children to take roles up to two generations old. Thus young women in particular emerge from the parental home poorly equipped to deal with the realities of the future they will face where
paid work outside the home may occupy more of their time than the homemaker role for which they have traditionally been socialized. However, as noted above, there appears to be an increasing tendency for young women to aspire to nontraditional occupations.

**Family Resources and Nontraditional Career Choice**

Amato and Ochiltree (1986) identified family structural and process resources as strongly influencing the child's development of competency. Structural resources included variables such as family income, parent's occupational status, parent's education, quality of housing, parental health and so on while process resources included parental aspirations and expectations, family cohesion and parental behaviors such as helping, talking, showing interest and conflict with the child. These authors developed a model of benign and vicious socialization spirals which emphasized family process resources. In benign spirals the child experiences family support and encouragement to attempt new challenges. This results in the child aspiring to higher levels of achievement. Vicious spirals, where family support and encouragement is lacking, result in the child lowering self-expectations and attempts at mastery. Such children develop lower levels of competency than those who experience a benign socialization process. Using this model, one could argue that nontraditional occupational choice may be a result of benign socialization resources resulting in the development of instrumental competency.
Among the well documented structural resources present in the family backgrounds of women occupying traditionally male occupational niches are: high family socioeconomic status (Auster & Auster, 1981), well educated parents (Auster & Auster, 1981; Sandberg, Ehrhardt, Mellins, Ince & Meyer-Bahlburg, 1987), fathers with atypical careers (Lemkau, 1979) and working mothers (Auster & Auster, 1981; Sandberg et al., 1987; Vondracek & Lerner, 1982). Lemkau (1978) identified important process resources found in the family socialization of such women which included more opportunity to explore and develop independence, exposure to a wide range of male and female role models, and the opportunity to attain a higher level of education.

These women perceived themselves being openly encouraged toward achievement, and possibly toward independence, by their parents, who tended to model androgynous behaviors rather than sextyped ones. Others (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1988) have also identified encouragement as an important resource in developing nontraditional female occupational aspirations. Values attached to specific tasks were found to be influenced by parental encouragement (Eccles, 1987) and such task valuation may be related to the identification of parental support and encouragement as an important variable in the background of women aspiring to nontraditional occupations (Auster & Auster, 1981; Grotevant & Cooper, 1988; Lemkau, 1979).

Fathers of such women tended to be successful while mothers were perceived as achievement oriented and active outside the
home. These daughters enjoyed a close, stable relationship with their parents and perceived themselves as special, especially to their fathers. Lemkau (1979) found support for the importance of enrichment activities in the development of these women which led to a less stereotyped, more flexible understanding of the female role where instrumentality appears to be developed along with expressiveness.

Independence and Achievement Orientation

Eccles and Hoffman (1984) noted that a relationship existed between sex-role ideation and occupational aspirations with more traditionally oriented women aspiring to more modest, sextyped occupations than their non-traditional counterparts. Where women do occupy traditionally male occupational niches, they have been described as sharing male personality and motivational characteristics (Borman & Guido DeBrito, 1986) rather than being perceived as conforming to the female role. Eccles and Hoffman (1984) cite arguments for a link between sex differentiated achievement patterns and sex differences in early independence training which suggests that socialization of girls traditionally results in more dependence with a negative effect on their achievement aspirations. They further argue that sextyping of activities results in gender appropriate areas of achievement (see also Veroff, 1983, cited in Eccles, 1987). For example it has traditionally been gender appropriate for men to achieve high
status and financial rewards in their careers while, for women, success has often been perceived in terms of social situations or as vicariously experiencing the successes of a male partner.

Baumrind (1978) saw independence and achievement orientation as instrumental competency. She defined independence as self-determining, ascendant, goal oriented behavior as opposed to submissive, aimless and conforming behavior. Achievement orientation was defined as seeking intellectual stimulation and persistent, efficient problem solving. Block (1978) found that both parents appeared to emphasize achievement and independence more for their sons than for their daughters.

Eccles and Hoffman (1984) note that boys receive more of a push towards independence and achievement orientation than girls through their experience of harsher parental punishments. As a result of differential socialization, girls learn to depend on others while boys develop active problem solving skills which increase their independence (Block, 1981, 1983; Hoffman, 1972, cited in Eccles & Hoffman, 1984). Eccles and Hoffman (1984) along with Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) argue that girls' dependence on others results in achievement orientations and occupational preferences that fulfill affiliation and interpersonal goals for women as opposed to a male task oriented achievement orientation. Block (1978) found that parents of young men appeared to give them more freedom and to encourage their sons to take chances and assume responsibility as means of developing independence while young women appeared to be
encouraged to differentiate themselves from their parents. One could argue that the processes which encourage imitative behaviors in girls (Block 1981, 1983) and the tendency of parents to "chaperone" (Newson & Newson, 1976, cited in Huston, 1983) or "supervise" (Block, 1978) their daughters inhibits the development of independence. One might further argue that differing patterns of socialization exist that result in the development of achievement orientation and independence, two characteristics of "male" instrumental competency while other foster more expressive characteristics. The result of such outcomes may account for differing patterns in occupational aspirations.

The Family Environment

The differential socialization experienced by boys and girls within the family microsystem has been tied to the differing agentic and communion traits that have traditionally been included in sex-role stereotypes. Huston (1983), in her extensive review of the literature, notes several differences in the socialization of boys and girls. One example of such differences lies in situations where boys are encouraged to take external employment such as paper routes while girls are more
restricted and "chaperoned" (Newson & Newson, 1976, cited in Huston, 1983). She argues that:

Agentic patterns of assertiveness, leadership, and social confidence seem to be associated with high demands, control, and encouragement of independence in a context of moderate warmth. (Huston, 1983, p. 433)

Huston appears to be outlining two important domains in her description of "moderate warmth". One of these is the climate or environment within the family microsystem.

Several studies utilizing the Family Environment Scale or FES (Moos & Moos, 1986) have attempted to measure individuals' perceptions of the family environment. Personal growth is one area measured by this scale and independence and achievement orientation are subscales within this domain. Billings and Moos (1982) identified independence oriented families as having good organization without emphasizing rules and controls with various family members holding strongly congruent perceptions of the family climate. Achievement oriented families were described as well organized and controlled with less concern for independence or social activities.

Forman and Forman (1981), seeking connections between the perceived family environment and adolescent personality factors, found that high independence scores were associated with relaxed, outgoing, socially bold and independent children while high achievement orientation scores were associated with enthusiastic, independent and self-sufficient adolescents. Children from
families supporting independence and achievement orientation emerged as assertive and self-sufficient. Consistent with Erikson's developmental theory, Enos and Handel (1985) found that older adolescents scored significantly higher on independence while adolescent males scored significantly higher than females on achievement orientation on the FES. Bell and Bell (1982) found that adolescent girls who scored high on ego development and personal functioning perceived their families to be more cohesive, more likely to express feeling and more independent with less rigid control than low scoring girls.

Looking at high risk adolescents and environmental mediators, Felner, Aber, Primavera & Cauce (1985) discovered that independence scores were significantly and positively related with adolescent self concept. Fox, Rotatori, Macklin, Green and Fox (1983) found that socially maladjusted adolescents had significantly lower FES scores on independence and achievement orientation but that no gender differences were perceptible. Tyerman and Humphrey ((1981) found that lower FES independence scores, along with lower cohesion, expressiveness, intellectual-cultural orientation, and higher conflict, indicated inhibitions in personal growth and development, differentiating youths attending a psychiatric clinic from non-clinical adolescents. These youths were further distinguishable from the control group by a lack of harmony in their personal relationships and restricted opportunities for personal growth.
Parenting Styles and Instrumental Competence

The presence or lack of harmony within the home may be resulting partially from the second domain covered in Huston's (1983) description of "a context of moderate warmth" (p. 433), that of patterns of parental behaviors. Baumrind (1978) coined the term "parenting style" to delineate recognizable patterns in parental strategies. She found that a parenting style which lacked coherence, swinging from permissiveness to authoritarianism resulted in learned helplessness on the part of the child. She also learned that certain consistent styles, the harmonious, authoritative and culturally determined authoritarianism, were more effective than others such as permissiveness or authoritarian parenting.

Richardson, Galambos, Schulenberg and Peterson (1984) saw a balance between restrictiveness and permissiveness in parenting styles as being key to the development of independence. They argued that overstrictness would inhibit the development of independence while overlenience would inhibit responsibility developing. The adolescents in this study described their relations with their parents as generally harmonious and perceived parental limit setting as supportive guidance. Huston (1983) described independent, assertive, achievement oriented girls as having parents who held high expectations of maturity and achievement oriented behaviors while displaying moderate warmth and permissiveness.
Such descriptions appear to be consistent with Baumrind's (1966, 1978) earlier research into parenting styles. Her results indicated that an authoritative parenting style was the most effective means of promoting social competence which she defined in terms of "such attributes as social responsibility, independence, achievement orientation and vigor" (Baumrind, 1978, p.24) Such a parenting style was characterized by the parents directing the child's activities in a rational, issue oriented manner, encouraging verbal give and take, sharing the reasoning behind parental policies and soliciting the child's objections. These parents valued autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity, exacted firm controls without restricting the child, affirmed the child's qualities and set standards for future conduct, while using reason and power in shaping the child's behavior, through regimen and reinforcement, to meet parental objectives. Baumrind further indicated that, in contrast to other parenting styles, authoritative parents were more child focused, taking the child's developmental level into account when deciding how to intervene. In apparent support of such parental awareness of developmental needs, Power and Shank (1989) found that parents moved from the use of forced compliance and direct commands toward less directive techniques such as reasoning and explanation as their children grew older.

**Components of Parent-Adolescent Interactions**

Ferriera and Thomas (1984), using the perceptions of adolescent children, described coercive and inductive parenting
styles, describing the perceived parental behaviors which constituted such styles. Their results indicated support for Block's (1978, 1981, 1983) contentions that male children have more independence and for Eccles and Hoffman's (1984) position that males receive more punishment than females. The young men in this study perceived their parents as giving them more freedom to come and go, administering more physical punishment and maintaining companionship relations with their fathers while the young women described more physical expressions of affection coming from both parents, perhaps indicating one means by which girls are socialized to be relationship oriented.

Focusing more specifically on achievement socialization, Block (1978) identified several variables which she indicated were important for research in this area. These included parental praise and/or criticism, standards set for intellectual performance, parental expectations regarding a child's possible college education, pressure applied around competent task completion, expectations of helping around the house, the relationship between the child's age and expectations for mature behaviors, the amount of maternal direct assistance and number of task oriented suggestions, the number of anxious parental intrusions during a child's task performance, observed achievement pressure, pressure for success in memory tasks, demands on the child during joint problems solving sessions and concern for the child's intellectual achievement.
Others have described specific achievement related attitudes and behaviors of parents. In a study which again underscores the relationship between achievement orientation and independence, Hilliard and Roth (1969) found that underachieving high school boys tended to be less differentiated from their mothers than achievers. Underachievers' perceptions of their mothers' attitudes of rejection towards them was significantly correlated with the self-reported attitudes of the mothers while no such relationship existed between the perceptions of achievers and their mothers' attitudes. The mothers of achievers were significantly more accepting and less rejecting of their sons than mothers of underachievers. In an earlier study Roth and Meyerburg (1963) identified behaviors exhibited by parents of underachievers where the parents paid no attention to the child's accomplishments and/or reinforced failures. The result was that underachievers were significantly more intrapunitive than achievers.

Hilliard and Roth (1969) argue that underachievers tend to be dependent in an attempt to maintain a relationship with their parents and to stave off the developmental task of becoming independence. From a systemic perspective, one might interpret the higher correlation between underachievers' and their mothers' perceptions as indicative of personal boundaries which appear to be more enmeshed than is the case between achievers and their mothers.
These differences would appear to provide support for Amato and Ochiltree's (1986) argument that encouragement is an important process variable in the development of competency, specifically in developing achievement orientation (Huston, 1983; Lemkau, 1979; Marjoribanks, 1985, 1986, 1987) and independence (Block, 1978; Huston, 1983; Lemkau, 1979; Power & Shanks, 1989). Daughters perceived their mothers as encouraging their independence (Block, 1978) by encouraging them to individuate (Block, 1978; Huston, 1983) and make their own decisions (Block, 1978). Marjoribanks (1988) found no gender difference between adolescents' perceptions of parental support. He further found that perceived maternal and paternal support had a moderate to strong relationship with the adolescents' occupational aspirations.

Another parental intervention, perceived by either parents or adolescents as encouraging or inhibiting the development of independence and achievement orientation, is parental role modelling. Fathers, especially, appear to be important providing occupational (Lemkau, 1979) and achievement role models (Auster & Auster, 1981; Block, 1978; Lemkau, 1979) while mothers who work outside the home provide nontraditional role modelling for their daughters (Huston, 1983; Lemkau, 1979). Another gender differentiated intervention appears to be the tendency for parents to take over and assist their daughters rather than standing back and allowing them to develop independent problem solving skills (Grotevant & Cooper, 1988; Huston, 1983). Block
(1978) reports that fathers pressure sons more concerning the cognitive aspects of achievement while daughters are encouraged to develop assimilative styles by staying in close physical proximity to their mothers and assisting in household tasks (Block, 1981, 1983). Adams and Jones (1983) found that where identity achievement was advanced, fathers were perceived as fair in their administration of punishment, and minimal in their use of praise while mothers were seen to encourage autonomy and independence while minimizing control over their daughters' behaviors.

In a study where families were observed during an assigned task, Grotevant and Cooper (1985) noted that the interaction between highly individuated adolescents and their parents were characterized by an open communication style. Fathers were observed to interact in a complementary fashion with their sons, coordinating the task, infrequently interrupting or expressing their own views and encouraging assertiveness in their sons who did not hesitate to express disagreements and suggestions directly. With highly individuated daughters, fathers made more frequent relevant comments and resorted less frequently to indirect suggestion. Mothers in such families expressed their own ideas directly and coordinated the family discussion.
Conclusions

In summarizing the above literature one might conclude that, as occurred earlier in the Industrial Revolution, macrosystemic changes of a social, technical and economic nature are impacting on the nature of gender roles in the microsystems of the family and the workplace. Women are increasingly taking roles as wage earners where they are required to develop behaviors and personality traits more consistent with what until recently has been delineated as the masculine role.

With regard to the nature of family socialization processes, the literature indicates the possibility of a lag in the transmission of such new role expectations with young women from upper class homes more likely to select nontraditional careers. Even so the direction of such changes appears to be limited towards selection of mainly professional and business related occupations with fairly high status. It appears that young women and men still make occupational choices on the basis of sextyping. The literature indicates more flexibility on the part of women and girls in moving away from occupying sextyped occupational niches but also indicates that their male counterparts still maintain a wider range of occupational aspirations.

With societal changes resulting in the need for more instrumental or agentic qualities in young women entering the workforce, the importance of the socialization experiences in the
home arise. Traditionally, it would appear that boys and girls have been socialized in a gender differentiated fashion where boys received a harsher upbringing but one that allowed them more freedom from the home and the opportunity to develop effective problem solving skills while girls experienced a more restrictive upbringing where they were protected, encouraged to develop imitative behaviors and developed a relationship orientation. Boys were traditionally socialized to become independent and to be more achievement oriented in terms of career attainment. However, in recent years women who have successfully entered traditionally male occupational niches have been described as having masculine personality traits. Whether such traits, or related behaviors, are described in terms of agency, instrumental functions or masculine competency, the socialization experiences of these young women appears to be similar to that experienced more traditionally by men. Therefore, it would appear that certain patterns of parental activities and expectations in the home are influential in the development of instrumental competency, characterized by independence and achievement orientation, in children regardless of their sex.

Such activities and expectations can be described through the use of Baumrind's term, parenting styles. It would appear that different parenting styles may result in the development of instrumentality, or agency, and expressiveness, or communion. An instrumentality enhancing parenting style appears to be characterized by parental distancing which enhances the
Research Procedure

Keeping in mind the changing nature of young adult occupational aspirations and the possible existence of patterns of parental expectations and behaviors influencing the development of independence and achievement orientation, the intent of this study was to generate descriptive data in an attempt to identify differing patterns of parent child interactions. The basic activity involved was the utilizing a cluster analysis approach to establish clusters of perceived independence and achievement orientation within the family of origin environments of a sample of young adults. Having established the clusters in the above activity, the following questions were addressed.

1. Are there any indications of the existence of identifiable patterns of occupational aspirations within each cluster? If indications of possible patterns exist, are there further indications that gender differences may be present in the type of occupation aspired to?

2. Are there indicators that discernable patterns may exist in the socioeconomic status aspired to within each cluster? If such patterns are indicated, are there possible gender differences in the levels of socioeconomic status aspired to?
3. Do there appear to be any consistently differing patterns of parental activities, or parenting styles, which delineate each cluster?

4. Is there any evidence of identifiable patterns of young adult responses to possible perceived parenting styles which may delineate each cluster?
The overall intention of this study was a heuristic one – to generate descriptive data concerning the family environments of young adults which impinged on the development of instrumental competence and resulting occupational aspirations. Chapter 3 outlines the procedure for delineating the clusters of perceived independence and achievement orientation within the family environments of young adults. It also outlines methods by which such perceptions may be related to possible sextyped socioeconomic differentiations in occupational aspirations. Since a major objective of this research project was to provide descriptions of parenting styles and adolescent responses to such styles within identified clusters of perceived independence and achievement orientation, descriptions will be generated in Chapter 4 to delineate such styles and responses.

This study utilized data collected by Young and Friesen (1990) in the second phase of their study of young adults' perceptions of parental influences on career development. A modified version of Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique has been used to elicit incidents in which subjects described parental activities they considered important in their career development. The young adults also completed the Family Environment Scale (FES) (Moos & Moos, 1986) and a short
demographic questionnaire which included questions regarding their present occupations and occupational aspirations.

Sample

The sample consisted of 50 young adults interviewed during the second phase of Young and Friesen's research into parental influences on young adult career development (Young & Friesen, work in progress). It consisted of 22 men and 28 women, between the ages of 18 and 25 ($M = 21.94$ years; $SD = 2.19$), who participated directly in the research. Young adults were recruited for this study by the placement of notices in various locations around the city of Vancouver. Such locations included colleges and university campus sites, community centres and federal government employment offices. (See Appendix A for a sample recruiting poster). The sample was intended to be voluntary and representative of wide range of young adults in the metropolitan Vancouver area. Volunteers were offered an incentive payment of $20.00 to take part in the interviews and signed consent forms. (See Appendix B for a sample consent form.)

In order to determine the representativeness of the sample with respect to the Vancouver metropolitan area population, comparisons were made between the sample demographics and the most recent census data (Statistics Canada, 1986a. b. & c). Accurate comparisons proved difficult because census groupings
did not correspond exactly with the sample's age range of 18 to 25. Therefore, comparisons were made with the census' 15 to 24 age group. Keeping this inexact comparison in mind, sample males, at 44.0%, were underrepresented compared with the census date which indicated proportions of 50.2% males and 49.8% females. While the sample trend toward a higher proportion of single members was similar to the trend in the Vancouver population (Statistics Canada, 1986a), fewer sample women were single, 64.3% (n = 18) versus 79.9% for the Vancouver population, and a slightly higher proportion of sample men were single, 95.5% (n = 21) versus the Vancouver population's 90.4%. Sample members had attained higher levels of education: 35.0% (n = 7) of the men and 22.2% (n = 6) of the women had attained university degrees compared with 3.75% of the men and 4.37% of the women in the metropolitan area population. Fewer sample members were participants in the labour market, 58.0% (n = 29) versus 86.3% for the Vancouver area population. Unemployment levels of this group (42.0%; n = 21) were 2 1/2 times the rate of 16.7% for the metropolitan population of 15 to 24 year olds (Statistics Canada, 1986a). Parents of sample members, compared with the census data for adults between the ages of 35 and 69 (Statistics Canada, 1986a), were characterized by a higher divorce rate, 24.5% (n = 12), which was approximately three times that of the general population, at 8.2% (Statistics Canada, 1986a).
Data Gathering Procedures

As in the initial study involving parents (Young & Friesen, 1986), the primary data gathering procedure in this study consisted of a semi-structured interview designed to solicit incidents perceived by young adults, to be critical to their career development. As outlined above demographic information collected included age, parental occupation and marital status, educational and employment status, level of education achieved and occupational aspirations (See Appendix C for a sample questionnaire). Subjects were also asked to complete the Family Environment Scale, or FES, Form R (Moos & Moos, 1986).

The Critical Incident Interview

A semi-structured interview format was used to elicit specific events and experiences recalled by young adults, involving interactions with their parents, which they saw as an important influence in their career development. Each subject was informed of the purpose of the interview and signed an agreement to take part in the study (Appendix B). The interviews were audiorecorded.

The interviewers consisted of two female and one male graduate student from the Department of Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia. Each student, in addition to completing graduate courses in clinical interviewing methods, received 20 hours of specific training in the interview procedure
utilized in this research. Subjects were randomly assigned to
the interviewers. Due to time restraints and other commitments,
the two female research assistants each interviewed approximately
twice as many subjects as their male colleague.

The interview consisted of two parts. The purpose of the
first segment was to focus the young adults on their own career
development and to have them identify the general nature of any
parental influence within this process. Subjects were asked to
describe where they currently saw themselves in their career
development including such areas as planning, decision making,
routes followed, life goals, relationship of current daily
activities to career, and hopes for the future. Descriptions of
perceived positive and negative parental influences exerted on
the subjects' career development and young adult perceptions as
to whether such influences were helpful or a hindrance to them
personally were elicited. Subjects were asked what they
understood to be the priorities in the lives of their parents,
how such priorities were manifested in their parents' activities
and whether similarities or differences existed between their
mothers' and their fathers' life priorities. The interviewers
requested that each young adult outline an important message,
which s/he had received from her/his father and/or mother
concerning what s/he should be doing, or aiming for, in life and
to describe what methods the parents had utilized to transmit the
message.
During the second part of the interview, specific incidents were elicited in which the subjects perceived their parents had influenced them. Each participant in the study was asked to specify what had occurred in the incident by providing background information, describing the parents' behavior, describing their own response, what they said, did and felt, and, finally, attributing an intention to their parent which may have been behind his/her behavior. Subjects were also asked to judge the incident helpful or harmful to their career development, describe how it affected them and how it may have affected their parents and the parent-child relationship. They then selected the most salient aspect of the incident and described what they had hoped to accomplish through their response.

After a series of such incidents were described, each subject completed the FES questionnaire and the interview was concluded with a series of questions which were designed to elicit the degree of compliance with or resistance against parental wishes around the child's future occupation, the degree of optimism each young adult was experiencing about attaining personal goals, the sources of current and future support, the current amount of communication with parents around career goals, the current status of the parent-child relationship, and the degree of autonomy that the young person understood his or her parents to typically grant.
Family Environment Scale

Near the end of the interview, each subject completed the Family Environment Scale (FES), Form R (Moos & Moos, 1986). The FES is a 90 item true-false questionnaire which is divided into ten subscales: Cohesion, Expressiveness, Independence, Achievement Orientation, Intellectual-Cultural Orientation, Active-Recreational Orientation, Moral-Religious Emphasis, Organization and Control. The scale is also divided into three dimensions, within which specific subscales are placed. The Relationship dimension contains the Cohesion, Expressiveness and Conflict subscales; the Personal-Growth dimension contains Independence, Achievement Orientation, Intellectual-Cultural Orientation, Active-Recreational Orientation and Moral Religious Emphasis, and the Systems Maintenance dimensions contains the Organization and Control subscales. Table 1 provides definitions for each of the subscales. Moos and Fuhr (1982) grouped these subscales to represent the three elements in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) microsystem. The relationship element is measured by the Cohesion, Expressiveness and Conflict subscales, the goal orientation element, by the Independence, Achievement Orientation, Moral-Religious Emphasis, Intellectual-Cultural and Active-Recreational Orientation subscales, and the role element, by the Organization and Control subscales.
Moos and Moos (1986) reported acceptable internal consistencies (Cronbach's Alpha), ranging between .61 and .78 and two month test re-test reliability (.61 to .78). The independence and achievement orientation subscales themselves show moderate internal consistencies with Independence at .61 and Achievement Orientation at .64. Test-retest stabilities over four and twelve month periods were relatively high while profile stabilities, also over the same period, were acceptable. Again the Independence and Achievement Orientation subscales showed moderate test-retest reliability ranging from .52 to .68 for independence and from .66 to .74 for achievement orientation. Subscale intercorrelations, calculated separately on samples of 1468 adults and 621 adolescent children from 534 normal and 266 distressed families, were low. This indicates that the FES measures distinct but somewhat related aspects of family social environments.

Content validity of the FES was determined by formulating definitions of specific constructs—selecting items conceptually related to a particular dimension by independent raters, using empirical criteria such as item intercorrelations, item-subscale correlations and internal consistency analysis and by placing each item in only one dimension. Support for construct validity
### Table 1

FES Subscales and Dimension Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Dimension and Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship Dimension</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Cohesion</td>
<td>the degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Expressiveness</td>
<td>the extent to which family members are encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Conflict</td>
<td>the amount of openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict among family members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Growth Dimension</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Independence</td>
<td>the extent to which family members are assertive, are self-sufficient, and make their own decision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Achievement Orientation</td>
<td>the extent to which activities (such as school and work) are cast into an achievement-oriented or competitive framework.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Intellectual Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>the degree of interest in political, social, intellectual and cultural activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Active-Recreational Orientation</td>
<td>the extent of participation in social and recreational activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Moral-Religious Emphasis</td>
<td>the degree of emphasis on ethical and religious issues and values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>System Maintenance Dimensions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Organization</td>
<td>the degree of importance of clear organization and structure in planning family activities and responsibilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Control</td>
<td>the extent to which set rules and procedures are used to run family life.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Moos & Moos, 1986)
has been provided by subsequent research (Moos & Moos, 1986). Comparisons between FES subscales and similar indices from other family and couples scales such as the Spanier Dyadic Adjustment Scale, or DAS, (Abbott & Brody, 1985) and the Beaver Timberlawn Family Assessment Guide have also been found to support the constructs utilized. Further support comes from comparisons between reports of individuals from distressed families and trained raters' judgements of family cohesion, expressiveness, conflict and religionist emphasis. The subscales were also found to have discrimination validity with a low relationship between them indicating they provide measurements of different constructs.

**Blishen Socioeconomic Scale**

The socioeconomic status (SES) of the subjects' occupational aspirations was rated using the 1981 Blishen scale (Blishen, Carroll & Moore, 1987). This instrument provides a socioeconomic index for 514 occupations in Canada based on 1981 census data concerning income and education levels of both males and females. The Blishen index is calibrated to the Pineo-Porter prestige scores (Pineo & Porter, 1967, cited in Blishen et al., 1987) but is not a measure of occupational prestige. Originally designed in 1967, based on male occupational data collected in the 1961 census, the scale has been revised twice. In the 1976 revision
(Blishen & McRoberts, 1976), the authors delineated six class intervals based on tens intervals:

- 70.00+
- 60.00 - 69.99
- 50.00 - 59.99
- 40.00 - 49.99
- 30.00 - 39.99
- Below 30.00

For purposes of this study, these categories were collapsed as follows: 70.00+ indicating high status occupations; the three categories, 40.00 - 49.99, 50.00 - 59.99 and 60.00 - 69.99 indicating mid-status occupations and the two categories below 30.00 and 30.00 - 39.00 indicating low status occupations.

At the time of the latest revision (Blishen et al., 1987), a weak negative relationship between gender composition and socioeconomic status of an occupation was noted and attributed by the authors to a strong tendency for women to locate in low-income occupations. Since this tendency was mitigated by another tendency for women to locate in occupations where higher education is required, the authors concluded that the countervailing trend tended to obscure the strong relationship between gender and median income.

The advantage of this index is to be found in the ease with which one can determine socioeconomic status from the occupation described along a graduated scale. The scale is designed to be utilized in conjunction with the Canadian Classification and

Incident Identification

The incidents were identified using Flanagan's (1954) criterion of any observable human activity that was sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made. Flanagan also delineated critical incidents in terms of extreme, not ordinary, behaviors which had a definite effect. In addition to including episodes identified by Flanagan's criteria, incidents were included which were perceived as important to career development because of the repetitive nature of the parental behaviors described. The young adults identified their own incidents by recalling events in which they felt that one or both of their parents had influenced their career development in some way. A small group of incidents were also included in which another adult male or female had filled the parental role. Most frequently these other significant adults were grandparents. Additionally, five incidents were included in which no specific mention of parental involvement was made but which were considered important to career development by the subjects involved. In this way 329 incidents were identified by the 50 subjects (M = 6.58, SD = 1.52) with young women tending to identify slightly more incidents (M = 6.75, SD = 1.77) than young men (M = 6.36, SD = 1.72). These incidents described events that
occurred at any time between early childhood and the time of the interview.

To record specific incidents, each interviewer wrote a summary of the incident, verifying the accuracy of the summary with the subject at the interview. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) description of an "activity" provided a guideline for clarification and division of incidents. Incident summaries were later typed and used for data analysis. The complete, original audiotapes were retained for clarification purposes.

Perceived parental behaviors, identified in the incidents, were categorized by using a modified version of the parental intervention categories devised by Young and Friesen (1986) (See Appendix D for details) while a new category system of child responses was devised for purposes of the current study. Four category groups were outlined: Emotional Responses, Perceptual Responses, Behavioral Responses and Self Development Outcomes. Within each of these categories were several sub-categories. (See Appendix E for details.)

Statistical Procedures

The FES profiles of the 50 subjects were subjected to a computerized, hierarchical cluster analysis using the "U.B.C. C Group" program developed by Paterson and Whitaker (1978) and later modified by Lai (1982). In light of the research questions for this study, this statistical procedure was selected because
it groups similar units of data, maximizing both within group homogeneity and between group heterogeneity by progressively pairing individual Independence and Achievement Orientation scores so that within group variation (error) increases minimally at each pairing step. The pairing procedure was stopped at the first major jump in error term because this indicated a high level of dissimilarity between profiles being paired. Utilizing this method, six FES profile clusters were identified where the reporting young adults shared similar assessments of their family environments.

"UBC C Group" (Lai, 1982), an agglomerative hierarchical clustering program, is constructed from Ward's algorithm (Ward, 1963, cited in Lai, 1982, and in Milligan & Cooper, 1987). Milligan and Cooper (1987), in their review of clustering methodologies, found Ward's method was generally recognized as being the most effective means for validating results in hierarchical clustering methods. More generally, they indicated that hierarchical clustering methods were the most popular means of cluster analysis and produced non-overlapping clusters. Larson, Heppner, Ham and Dugan (1988) indicated that cluster analysis was particularly well suited for grouping people and that it was based on less stringent assumptions than factor analysis. They also found that cluster analysis allows for the description of more variables in a parsimonious fashion. Mangen and McChesney (1985), in their study of parent-child relations in older families, utilized both linear additive bivariate
correlations and hierarchical cluster analysis, based on Ward's (1963) criterion, when analyzing six dimensions of intergenerational cohesion. They found that cluster analysis accounted for much more of the variance than did linear correlations (78.14% of total variance and over 70% of variance for each indicator). Cluster analysis resulted in a nonlinear typology thus allowing for the complexity of the data and providing more extensive descriptions of patterns of family connectedness.

**One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

To determine whether any significant statistical differences exists between clusters, one way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were performed on these mean scores. ANOVAs were selected over the t-test procedure as this method reduces the chances of type one error occurring (Glass & Hopkins, 1984).

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, the Student-Newman-Keuls multiple range test was selected over more conservative procedures such as the Tukey test. The Newman-Keuls test allows for contrast based pairwise comparisons between cluster mean scores where each comparison is based on the same alpha level (.05). This test was more lenient in determining cluster mean differences, allowing group means to be closer together than family-wise comparisons used where larger differences between group means were required (Glass & Hopkins, 1984).
Qualitative Analysis

While agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis, with its resultant nonoverlapping clusters, is effective in providing for the complexities of profile types utilizing people, the approach does have some limitations. Both Larson and her colleagues (Larson et al., 1988) and Mangen and McChesney (1985) expressed concerns about cluster stability and replicability especially where clusters containing a small number of subjects emerged. Clusters were criticized as being instrument specific (Larson et al., 1988) and membership was possibly subject to change if the instrumentation was changed. Finally Mangen and McChesney (1985) expressed concerns that clusters resulted only in descriptive profiles of subject subgroups' scores and fail to explain the phenomena being analyzed. This study will hopefully overcome this problem by looking into related data and attempting to tie perceptions of independence and achievement orientation in the family with young adult occupational aspirations, perceived styles of parental behavior and young adults responses to such parenting styles.

Occupational Aspirations

For each cluster, occupational aspirations were delineated utilizing both the SES levels involved and possible gender typing of the occupation. Socioeconomic levels were determined by using the 1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index (Blishen et al., 1987) while possible sextyping was determined from Shinar's (1975) and
Lueptow's (1981) categorization systems. Shinar's (1975) sextyping system uses a 7 point Likert scale with low scores indicating male typed occupations; mid range scores, gender neutral and high scores, female-typed occupations. She utilized a sample of 60 college students who were given 160 occupations based on Roe's (1956, cited in Shinar, 1975) category system to sextype. Lueptow (1981) used a larger sample, drawing students from 13 American high schools and utilized a list of occupations based on the 1960 Census of Occupational Titles (Lueptow, 1981). Descriptions of the occupational SES distribution were outlined as part of the profile description for each cluster. This would be consistent with the research literature involving sextyping of occupations (e.g., Baker, 1985; Geller, 1984; Gottfredson, 1981; Lueptow, 1981; Poole & Cooney, 1985) where gender differences in occupational aspirations were identified in terms of frequency clusters around status levels. Possible sextyping of occupational choice was also be determined by the type of job aspired to (Lifschitz, 1983; Shinar, 1975). Due to the small sample size, determining any statistical significance in such patterns was of minimal use. Therefore, the outcomes provided in Chapter 5 are descriptive in nature and intended to generate questions for future research.

**Qualitative Descriptions**

In order to further highlight these similar family environments, prototypical family profiles were created for each cluster by calculating mean Independence and Achievement
Orientation scores. The critical incidents recalled by the individuals within each of these mathematically constituted clusters were then referred to in order to provide a description of perceived parental interventions and young adult responses.

Patterson and Reid (1984), in their review of methodology involved in studying social interaction, emphasized both the complexity of such data and the mutual interdependence of the subject's and the other's behaviors. It is proposed here to delineate each individual's incidents and then identify recurring perceived parental behaviors between subjects within each cluster. Following a similar procedure, young adult responses to such parenting behaviors were also identified. In the latter case, the definition of behavior included both observable, overt actions and covert phenomenon such as descriptions of emotions and thoughts. The object here was to formulate descriptions of parenting styles which either facilitate or hinder the development of independence and achievement orientation within the family of origin and to further identify patterns of young adult responses to such styles. In this way a qualitative description of perceived parent-child interactions at the microsystemic level was provided for each of the prototypical cluster profiles.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

In summarizing the results of the study, this chapter will look not only at the clusters delineated around the FES Independence and Achievement Orientation scores of sample members but will also attempt to provide descriptive profiles of perceived parenting styles and young adult responses within each cluster. As part of the descriptions provided, differences and similarities in male and female descriptions of either parental interventions and/or young adult responses will be outlined. Additionally, information concerning the nature of occupational aspirations within each cluster will be summarized and any patterns regarding occupational types and/or SES range noted. Initially however, the total sample will be described with emphasis being placed on patterns of occupational aspirations among sample members.

Description of the Sample

In describing the sample members themselves, males, with a mean age of 22.42 years (SD = 2.06), were slightly older than females (M = 21.57 years; SD = 2.25). A higher percentage of males had completed an undergraduate degree (35.0%; n = 7) than had females (22.2%; n = 6). During the period subjects were being interviewed (1987 - 1988), 40.0% (n = 9) of the men and
39.3% (n = 11) of the women were full-time students, 4.5% (n = 1) of the men and 14.3% (n = 4) of the women were part-time students while 54.5% (n = 12) of the men and 46.4% (n = 13) of the women were not attending an educational institution. Within this period of time, 59.1% (n = 13) of the men and 57.1% (n = 16) of the women were employed.

Participants were asked whether they lived in their own home or their parents' home. 78.2% (n = 16) of the men and 60.7% (n = 17) of the women lived in their own homes. Ninety-five percent (n = 21) of the males were single and 5% (n = 1) were living common-law while 66.7% (n = 18) of the 27 females who provided information were single, 11.1% (n = 3) married, 14.8% (n = 4) living common-law, 3.7% (n = 1) separated and 3.7% (n = 1) were divorced. The mean current socioeconomic status (SES) score for males was 40.3 and that of females was 38.9 on the 1981 Blishen Socioeconomic Index (Blishen, Carroll & Moore, 1987), a measure of SES developed for application to the Canadian population.

Concerning occupational aspirations, females indicated a wider range of socioeconomic status (SES) in the occupations they selected. These varied from low status child care jobs, through mid level gender neutral or female professions such as teaching, social service work or occupations in the arts to high status occupations such as lawyer and doctor with the Blishen scale (1987) range stretching from 23.70 to 101.32. Males had a
Figure 1: Distribution of Blishen Socioeconomic Scale Scores by Gender by Percentage
narrower range of occupations (43.38 to 101.32), ranging from mid status jobs such as that of a writer or journalist to high status professions such as a medical doctor. Looking more closely at this distribution, 2 females aspired to low status jobs involving childcare early childhood education (Blishen score 23.70). In the mid status occupational levels, 4 females and 1 male aspired to occupations ranging between 40.00 and 49.99; 8 males and 8 females to occupations ranging between 50.00 and 59.99 and 5 females and 1 male to occupations scoring between 60.00 and 69.99 on the Blishen 1981 Socioeconomic Index (Blishen, Carroll & Moore, 1987). To allow for easier comparisons, Figure 1 divides occupational aspirations, by gender and status levels, in terms of percentages.

Regarding the sextyping of occupational aspirations, the majority of choices outlined, 10 males and 15 females, indicated gender neutral choices with traditionally masculine choices coming next, 9 males and 7 females (Lueptow, 1981; Shinar, 1975). Continuing males reluctance to move into occupations traditionally designated female (Lueptow, 1981; Marini & Goldberg, 1978; O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Shepard & Hess, 1975; Women's Bureau of Labour Canada, 1986) was apparent when only 7 females indicated a preference for female typed occupations (Lueptow, 1981; Shinar, 1975).
Cluster Analysis Results

Cluster analysis resulted in the delineation of six distinctive clusters of similar Independence and Achievement Orientation scores on the FES. Appendix E provides the hierarchical tree analysis while Figure 2 outlines the six clusters identified during this process. Table 2 provides details of cluster membership and of the mean Independence and Achievement Orientation scores for each cluster.

One way ANOVAs revealed significant differences \((p = .05)\) between several cluster means of Independence and Achievement Orientation scores. Comparing the mean cluster scores for the Independence subscale, Cluster 5, with a mean Independence score of 17.00, 3 SDs below the FES mean, was significantly different \((p = .05)\) from the other five clusters while the Cluster 6 mean of 26.00 (approximately 2 1/2 SDs below the test mean) was significantly different from the Independence mean scores of Clusters 1 through 4. The Independence mean score of Cluster 3 (48.29) differed significantly from the mean scores of Clusters 2 (65.20) and 4 (61.14) as did the Cluster 1 mean (49.46). While the Cluster 1 and 3 means were near the test mean, the Cluster 4 mean was 1 1/2 SDs and the Cluster 4 mean, 1 SD above the FES mean, indicating a strong perceived emphasis on developing autonomy existed among members of these two clusters. As Table 3 indicates, the between group F-ratio was very high \((47.914, p = .0000)\) and the Bartlett Box-F test for homogeneity
Figure 2: Hierarchical Cluster Analysis Results:

Independence and Achievement Orientation
### Table 2

**Independence and Achievement Orientation Mean Scores and Standard Deviations by Cluster**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Independence M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Achievement Orientation M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>49.46</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>66.55</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>65.20</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>46.50</td>
<td>6.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48.29</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>50.53</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>61.14</td>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>28.29</td>
<td>5.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>50.17</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26.00</td>
<td>10.76</td>
<td>33.89</td>
<td>6.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3

**One Way Analysis of Variance: FES Independence Scores by Cluster**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Mean Squares</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14105.3070</td>
<td>2821.0614</td>
<td>47.9140</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2590.8130</td>
<td>58.8776</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16695.9200</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4

**One Way Analysis of Variance: FES Achievement Orientation Scores by Cluster**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Mean Squares</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
<th>Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8345.5876</td>
<td>1669.1175</td>
<td>52.1565</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1408.0924</td>
<td>32.0021</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9763.6800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2.023, p = .073) indicated that the variance for each cluster was the same. Thus these between cluster score differences may be accepted without a high degree of caution.

Such was not the case, however, for the between cluster score differences identified for the Achievement Orientation cluster means. In this case, although several significant between cluster differences were identified at the p = .05 level, the Bartlett Box-F test (.681, p = .638) indicated unequal variances for each cluster. Therefore homogeneity was violated indicating the need for extreme caution in interpreting these results. However, the F-ratio was again very high (F = 52.157, p = .0000) indicating the probability of Type 1 error was low and between group differences could be considered significant.

Between cluster differences were identified by the Student-Newman-Keuls multiple range test (p = .05) as follows: Clusters 4 and 6, with low Achievement Orientation mean scores of 28.29 and 33.89 respectively, were each significantly different from Clusters 1, 2, 3 and 5. These two means were approximately 2 1/2 and 1 1/2 SDs below the test mean. Clusters 2, 3 and 5 whose mean scores of 46.50, 50.53 and 50.17 were near the FES mean were each significantly different from Cluster 1 where the Achievement Orientation mean was 1 1/2 SDs above the FES mean.
Descriptive Cluster Profiles

Descriptive profiles of each cluster outlined below include young adults' perceptions of their parents' activities, their own perceived responses to such interventions and also a summary of occupational aspirations of cluster members. Such descriptions are ordered in terms of most frequent to least frequent perceived parental behavior and/or young adult response.

**Cluster 1: High Achievers, Average Independence**

This cluster of 11 individuals, six males and five females, had an Achievement Orientation mean of 66.55 (SD = 5.66) indicating the subject perceived a strong family emphasis on achievement around school and work activities. A mean Independence score of 49.46 (SD = 9.51) indicated that Cluster 1 subjects perceived that an average emphasis was placed on developing autonomy within their families of origin.

Young adult descriptions garnered from the critical incidents indicated males and females differed in some of their perceptions of socialization experiences around the transmission of instrumental competence. In 12 incidents, parents were perceived as criticizing and blaming both sons and daughters. Such criticism appeared to focus on shaping the child's behavior into what the parent thought appropriate. For example, one mother, who was seen to consider nursing an inappropriate career for a male, criticized her son for wishing to enrol in a nursing course. Another mother was perceived as attempting to motivate
her small daughter to perform better, first by knocking down her attempts at building a block tower and, later in the girl's childhood, criticizing the girl's poor math marks. Aside from these career and achievement oriented criticisms, other parents focused on their children's social behaviors.

Some of the differences between male and female memories of parenting styles included the stronger likelihood that sons would be the recipients of parental instrumental incentives, often offered, as one son put it, as a "carrot". This boy's father offered him a car if he would obtain a "quality degree" in the areas of science, math or law. In addition to the above six incidents, three sons and one daughter described their parents as transmitting values while six sons and three daughters indicated their parents communicated expectations. In one example, a mother communicated her dissatisfaction with her son's Grade 11 marks and proposed placing him in a private school so he could qualify for the university education she desired for him. Four young men also described their parents support of their school or career related decisions. In one case, a boy recalled his parents' pleasure when he decided to complete the last two years of high school in one. Three Cluster 1 sons and one daughter saw their parents as communicating with their children. Four males and two females described their parents as providing instrumental support: for example, in the form of assisting the son to find financial funding for studying overseas. Three sons and one daughter recalled parents encouraging them both to do well
academically and to pursue new interests. Such approaches appeared to be consistent with the perceived emphasis on achievement revealed by the FES results.

Four daughters and two sons described their parents as intruding upon them. Such memories often involved issues around male-female relations. In one case, a mother was described as challenging her daughter for dating a second boyfriend while she listened to the young woman talking on the phone. A second area of parental intrusion described by these young women appeared to involve personal boundaries. One subject described her mother repeatedly entering her bedroom and putting extra, unasked for food upon her plate at mealtimes. Girls more frequently recalled their parents as challenging their decisions and actions: described in five female versus three male incidents. In one example, a adult daughter in her mid twenties found her mother unsupportive when she wished to leave her job and her marriage.

In response to perceived parental behaviors, two sons described themselves as becoming excited; three sons and one daughter, as feeling supported and three sons and one daughter, as validated. One subject recalled feeling excited and affirmed at age eight when his father allowed him to steer a 43-foot boat in a busy shipping area. A 22-year-old youth felt supported but regretted his father's perceived inability to share his passion for writing. His father had attempted to show the youth that a career as an architect was a satisfactory compromise between his desire to enter into a creative career and the father's own
business way of life. This same young man felt validated by his mother a year later when she accepted his plans to write out of the mainstream by becoming a poet. Four female subjects reported feeling invalidated as did two males. In one incident a young girl's father told her off for giggling about boys on the telephone. She described herself as feeling embittered, belittled and like a tramp as a result.

Four male incidents versus two female ones indicated that Cluster 1 sons were more likely to accept their parent's message than were daughters. For example, one youth took his mother's advice that he should learn to cope with a math teacher he didn't like rather than avoiding his homework. Three of these young men perceived themselves as conforming to parental expectations while four felt free to reject the parent's values, behaviors lacking in the responses made by Cluster 1 daughters. One youth recalled conforming during Grades 9 through 12 with his mother's insistence that he study. Another son, aged 16, although initially dazzled by his father's offer of a car for taking a university degree his father considered appropriate, subsequently became more concerned with being happy than with material possessions and perceived the offer as tarnished. Three Cluster 1 females and one son responded by experiencing emotional closeness with their parents; two daughters and one son received mixed messages while two daughters and one son rejected a parent's behavior. Three sons and three daughters expressed a desire to please their parents. Consistent with the perceived
family emphasis on achievement and competitiveness, such approval seeking often revolved around academic or sports achievements with the child wishing to do well for the parents' sake. In contrast to this emphasis, a young woman described an incident where she felt she had pleased her mother when she became engaged to be married. As in other incidents of approval seeking behavior, this child appeared to be attempting to fill the parental model of success. Six Cluster 1 subjects, three males and three females, also coped by erecting personal boundaries or walling themselves off either against perceived parental intrusion or to protect themselves from disapproval.

Consistent with the perceived push to achieve, three males and four females in Cluster 1 responded to parental interventions by becoming motivated to achieve or succeed. Such motivation was frequently the long term outcome of incidents where the young adult had attempted to please the parent. In other examples, one youth appeared to have internalized a competitive ethic from his father's ski instructions when he was five or six. A young woman who left a troubled home with mother and subsequently developed a close relationship with her father found she wanted to pick up her school grades and stabilize herself. Four of these young adults, two males and two females, described themselves as developing autonomy from their parents. In the case of one young man, this process culminated in a physical conflict where he broke away from a father he saw as attempting to dominate his life course. In another example, a daughter developed autonomy
through her father's guidance and encouragement to explore an opportunity to work away from home. Three female descriptions versus one male report indicated that girls were more likely to develop their own values while the reverse ratio showed that boys were more likely to set their own expectations. One young woman decided that she would treat her future children equally after rejecting her mother's overt preference for her brother. A young man, on the other hand, developed an avid interest in sailing, an activity his mother had originally suggested. Three boys saw themselves as developing awareness of others while only one girl did so. For one youth this included an understanding of his parents' political views as well as of their possible personal concerns. Three male subjects and two females were able to make their own decisions. One example here lies in the case of the young man who decided to apply for a fellowship instead of returning to his family in another country. He made this decision by himself after supportive input from both parents. Two young males also responded by developing a sense of self competency, responses lacking in the incidents recalled by their female counterparts. Such emphasis on the development of autonomy appears inconsistent with the perceived average emphasis on independence indicated in the FES profiles of these subjects.

The perceived push for high achievement described by these young adults was not necessarily reflected in the occupational aspirations of the subjects as can be seen in Table 5. Of the six males in the cluster, two aspired to the high status
Table 5

Cluster 1 Occupational Aspirations. Occupation Name and Blishen SES Scores by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Blishen Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venture Capitalist</td>
<td>50.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>75.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>101.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>54.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;, Program Director or Physical Education Coordinator</td>
<td>57.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer Education</td>
<td>53.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual/Family Therapist</td>
<td>67.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGA Accountant</td>
<td>59.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with Children</td>
<td>23.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> In cases where two or more occupations were given, the occupation with the highest score on the Blishen scale was used to determine SES.

occupations of lawyer and medical doctor while three others aspired to mid status careers as a writer, a researcher/program
director or physical education director and a venture capitalist, or corporate fundraiser. Three out of five of these choices were male-typed occupations (Shinar, 1975): venture capitalist, lawyer and doctor while the boy who aspired to write and the future physical education instructor were seeking gender neutral careers. Of the four females who had indicated career aspirations, three aspired to mid status and upper mid status occupations in gender neutral areas such as computer education and individual and family therapist as well as the male-typed Chartered General Accountant. The remaining female subject aspired to a low status female typed occupation working with children.

Cluster 2: Highly Independent, Average Achievers

The ten members of Cluster 2 consisted of four males and six females who had a mean Independence score of 65.20 (SD = 4.13) and an Achievement Orientation mean of 46.50 (SD = 6.82). Such results indicated subjects perceived a high family emphasis on developing assertive self-sufficiency and an average emphasis on achievement orientation. Thus these subjects saw a stronger emphasis on developing decision making abilities than they did on competitiveness.

Looking at the incident material, parental expectations in Cluster 2 appeared to be more child centered when compared with Cluster 1. However, this focus on the child was not always a consistent one. For example, a young woman whose father wrote to tell her to go back to university found this to be confusing as
his previous advice had been to become a maid. In incidents perhaps more consistent with fostering achievement orientation than the perceived high emphasis on independence, Three sons and four daughters recalled their parents setting expectations with them at an early age. Five Cluster 2 subjects, two males and three females, recalled their parents teaching skills which were generally job or education related. For example, one son recalled his father teaching him to use a hammer. A daughter remembered her mother teaching her how to use a university calendar. These parents were perceived by four subjects as sharing activities in the form of family vacations or outings or, alternately, sharing a school field trip with their children.

Four sons in this cluster described their parents as communicating values, an activity absent in reports made by daughters. In one incident, a father let his son know it was important for him to do his share for the family by cutting the grass. Five daughters as opposed to two sons perceived their parents to be supportive of their academically oriented decisions, behavior consistent with facilitating both independence and achievement orientation. One girl recalled her parents agreeing with her decision to take creative writing instead of math. She further remembered them helping her make the change. These parents were also perceived to criticize daughters (four incidents) more frequently than sons (one incident). In one example, a young woman remembered her mother castigating her for becoming somebody she didn't like when she
started dating a young man. This daughter perceived her mother as being concerned that she would drop out of school, a concern perhaps indicating a stronger emphasis on achievement orientation than was seen in the FES scores of these subjects. Three Cluster 2 daughters saw their parents as providing emotional support in a variety of situations: for example, a father soothed a child when she had made a mistake, a mother supported another girl against a teacher's unfair evaluation and a grandmother was a source of nurturing for a young woman from a troubled home.

In Cluster 2, young men were more likely to respond with resentment (three male incidents to one female report) while young women more frequently reported feeling validated or invalidated: with ratios of five female to two male and five female to one male incident respectively. One 11-year-old boy whose mother had reminded him to practice his piano felt she was unfair because he did not need reminding. In an incident which appears to support the perceived strong family emphasis placed on independence, one young woman reported feeling great that her parents, after initially challenging her plans, were supportive of her decision to move to another city. An example of feeling invalidated was cited by another young woman who was frustrated that her parents had to read a copy of a letter of recommendation before they would accept that she was musically gifted.

Five Cluster 2 daughters recollected feeling supported by their parents in this cluster while no such reports were made by sons. For example, the girl who wished to move to another city
felt supported when her parents affirmed her decision. Other emotional responses indicated by Cluster 2 girls and not boys included two descriptions of a sense of disappointment. For example, a 4-year-old felt disappointed when she awoke to find she had missed her father's visit to her hospital bed. Relief was experienced by two daughters whose parents intervened for them with teachers or school authorities. In such cases independence of choice seemed to be important with the individual child's needs appeared to come before achievement. In one such case, a girl's parents assisted her in implementing her decision to drop a math course and to change to one in creative writing.

In Cluster 2 three males and four females described themselves as accepting messages transmitted by their parents. Such was the case of an unemployed young man whose parents encouraged him to aspire to something more than a menial job and to consider returning to school. Six young women described themselves as wishing to please their parents while only one man did so and three females differentiated themselves from their parents as opposed to one male. Such developments were consistent with the high perceived stress on independence which characterized Cluster 2. An example of pleasing the parent can be seen in the case of a young woman who decided to take a business course. She felt happy and relieved with her mothers approval when she stated that she was considering going to college. Three Cluster 2 daughters reported appreciating their parents' interventions while three sons described improved child-
parent relations as an outcome of various incidents. One procrastinating daughter appreciated the fact that her supportive parents stood back and did not help her with a late school project. An unemployed youth reported that his relations with his father improved after dad had communicated his disgust with an apparent dearth of job searching activities.

Consistent with the high FES Independence scores, three Cluster 2 girls reported that they perceived themselves as developing autonomy, learning skills; three, as developing a sense of self competence while, in four incidents, boys saw themselves as developing self-reliance. Developing autonomy for these young women appeared to occur through the process of the differentiation of the self. One young woman described her response to her parents building her a cabin as "I'm different but I see myself living their lives, independent but close". Earlier, at age 15 she had seen herself as getting along well with her mother because they had similar interests but different personalities. In a related example, a female subject learned her multiplication tables in response to her dislike of her parents assisting her with math. This reactive skill development was opposed to situations such as that of the daughter who found mother teaching her to use a university calendar helpful. Concerning the development of self-competency, one young woman described herself as feeling pleased with mother's endorsement and encouragement of her helping Grade 1 children with reading
and also feeling pleased that she was doing a good job. The sense of developing self-reliance, an aspect of independence

Table 6
Cluster 2 Occupational Aspirations. Occupation Names and Blishen SES Scores by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blishen Score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist or Writer</td>
<td>54.58</td>
<td>55.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Teacher</td>
<td>70.19</td>
<td>63.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologist or Lawyer(^a)</td>
<td>75.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Historian/Curator</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job in Anthropology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Childhood Education (Daycare Worker)</td>
<td>42.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Choral Director</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services Area</td>
<td></td>
<td>44.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) In cases where two or more occupations were given, the occupation with the highest Blishen score was used to determine SES.
described by Cluster 2 males in four incidents, can be seen in the case of the Japanese Canadian youth. He learned to rely on his own resources by finding a job and buying his own wardrobe after his father refused to provide him with new clothes.

Several Cluster 2 males and females aspired toward either artistic and cultural occupations or to work in closely related fields such as English teaching, fields where independence would be highly valued. The remaining individuals also indicated gender neutral choices in the social sciences or social services areas (Shinar, 1975). Table 6 indicates that Cluster 2 males tended to aspire toward mid and high status occupations and four out of six female subjects aspired to mainly mid status occupations.

**Cluster 3: Average Independence and Achievement Orientation**

Cluster 3 which consisted of two males and five females had a mean Independence score of 48.29 (SD = 6.60) and an Achievement Orientation mean of 50.43 (SD = 3.21). Such subscale means indicated that subjects perceived both the stress placed on developing self-sufficiency and the emphasis on school and career related achievement in their families of origin to be average.

Based on the incident descriptions, it appeared that the actions of Cluster 3 parents were perceived by their children as giving mixed messages around instrumental competency socialization. In four incidents, daughters described their parents as supporting decisions around areas like moving to another city or taking a first after school job.
parents were also perceived as structuring their daughters' environments on three occasions. In one case a father arranged a living situation for his daughter in the Far East after offering her the opportunity to travel there. Three other daughters saw their parents intervening on their behalf. One example can be seen in the case of a father who checked out his 18-year-old daughter's future work site in a travel agency. Both men and four women in Cluster 3 described their parents as communicating values while one male and three females remembered their parents facilitating decision making. The higher frequencies of such incidents reported by females may be indicative of the higher number of young women in this cluster. An example of value communication can be seen in the mother who was described as being glad when her pregnant daughter dropped math and took English because "Math was not very feminine." Another girl recalled her parents communicating their values of the importance of a healthier environment by moving the family to a farm. Decision making for Cluster 3 subjects was facilitated by the giving of advice or providing relevant information and by standing back and affirming the child's option, actions consistent with fostering independence. This is evident in the case of one young man who planned to change his university program when his parents told him whatever he decided would be appropriate. Two sons and two daughters perceived their parents as communicating expectations to them usually directly but sometimes in a confusing manner. For example a young woman who
had a baby recalled her father telling her "It's too bad you had
the baby because now you can't finish your degree". He had
previously devalued her university education. When she was 10,
this same subject's parents had told her that she would turn out
like a fussy maiden aunt if she maintained her decision not to
have children. Other perceived expectations revolved around work.
In an example of work related value transmission, one young man
recalled his janitor father becoming angry with his slapdash
efforts at assisting dad on the job. He insisted the son do the
work again because he was only doing "half a job".

In incidents which appeared to be enhancing independence,
two Cluster 3 females reported that their parents stood back and
allowed them to experiment behaviorally. One very worried mother
placed her daughter's opportunity before her own concern and
allowed the girl to go to England as an exchange student. These
parents were twice perceived to communicate with their daughters
and to validate them. One father of an 18-year-old woman had a
heart to heart conversation with her when she came home for
Christmas while a mother validated her 18-year-old daughter by
buying her new clothes even though the family could little afford
the expense. Cluster 3 sons, on the other hand, remember their
parents as requesting information from them in two incidents and
showing interest twice. These requests for information included
incidents such as the one where a mother asked her 16-year-old
son why he failed in Social Studies. Later the same mother
showed interest and concern over her 19-year-old son's plans to take up white water rafting.

Three males in Cluster 3 described their responses to perceived parental behaviors in terms of resentment while seven females recalled feeling supported. One son resented his father whom he perceived as attempting to bribe him to take a job rather than continuing his studies. This same young man later resented his father's bragging about his achievements in trade school. Such apparently conflicting parental activities could have resulted in the son receiving mixed messages concerning achievement expectations, perhaps explaining the average stress on achievement perceived by Cluster 3 subjects. On the other hand a young woman felt supported when her father helped her return home from another province where she had been involved in an abusive relationship with a man. Five daughters and one son felt validated or affirmed by their parents as well as happy and glad. Daughters responded with anger in four instances while sons responded thus once. For example, one young woman, who won a gold medal for synchronized swimming at age 13 was initially furious but later thankful and extremely happy when her mother forced her to go through with her routine after she froze with fear.

The most frequent behavioral response, described by four daughters, was to reject the parent's message as did the young girl whose parents kept insisting she should have children when she indicated she didn't want any. On three other occasions,
however, these young women accepted such messages. One female subject believed her mother's premise that women were not mechanical even though she was initially shocked at the assertion. Two Cluster 3 daughters further described themselves as appreciating parental interventions. For example, the synchronized swimmer appreciated her mother taking over. They also recalled forming alliances with one parent against another on two occasions. In one case, a girl who was angry with her father when he refused to allow her out on a date described her mother allying with her to help her sneak out anyway. A third response to perceived parental activities, described by two females, was continuing with behaviors which the parent felt was undesirable. An example here can be seen in the young woman whose mother saw math as unfeminine. She continued taking her equally "unfeminine" physics course.

Two male and three female Cluster 3 subjects perceived their mothers and/or fathers to be intrusive. For example, one son felt stupid when his father insisted that the boy wear his jacket to a job interview after driving him there. One son and two daughters experienced emotional closeness with parents and one son and two daughters communicated with them. One girl who went to England as an exchange student provides examples of both responses. She became closer to her concerned mother by writing her frequent letters. Two Cluster 3 sons provided information to their parents. In one incident, a 19-year-old youth who was taking up white water rafting communicated with his mother and
provided information by attempting to explain his decision to her.

When it came to self development, four girls in this cluster reported developing the motivation to achieve or succeed, an outcome which appears somewhat inconsistent with the perceived average emphasis on achievement indicated by the FES subscale scores. It seemed that this development may have resulted from mixed messages received from the parents. For example a young woman whose father had discouraged her university education found out he was bragging to his friends about her academic success. As a result of this discovery, she wanted to do even better in school. Four Cluster 3 women indicated that they also learned skills while three developed their own interests. In one case, a girl whose parents gave her a microscope for Christmas was able to pursue her interests in science as a result. Another subject whose father had provided her with a dentist contact developed research skills and the ability to focus more on topics of interest like dentistry. Cluster 3 males described themselves as developing autonomy in three incidents as opposed to two such incidents for females. Both sons and two daughters described themselves as developing an awareness of others. For example, a 15-year-old was aware that her father's return to school provided him with a personal goal.

Due to the fact that only one of the two males in this cluster indicated an occupational preference, the mid status, male-typed (Shinar, 1975) occupation of wildlife management, it
was difficult to ascertain whether any gender differences in occupational aspirations were evident. As Table 7

Table 7

Cluster 3 Occupational Aspirations. Occupation Names and Blishen SES Scores by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Blishen Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wildlife Management</td>
<td>54.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be Arranged</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinarian</td>
<td>72.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>75.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Science</td>
<td>55.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research/Teaching</td>
<td>46.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography related Graduate work</td>
<td>49.87</td>
</tr>
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</table>

indicates, all five of the female subjects indicated occupational aspirations which were professional in nature and normally required specialized, often graduate level, university training. These proposed occupations ranged from mid to high levels of SES on the Blishen Socioeconomic Index and included the male-typed occupations of veterinarian and lawyer, the gender neutral
careers of geography and research and teaching and the female-typed job of librarian.

**Cluster 4: Highly Independent Low Achievers**

Cluster 4 consisted of seven subjects, four males and three females. The mean Independence score was 61.14 (SD = 6.28) indicating that these subjects perceived their families placing a strong emphasis on developing autonomy. On the other hand, the mean Achievement Orientation score of 29.29 (SD = 5.31) demonstrated that Cluster 4 members recalled little emphasis being placed on achievement and/or competitiveness in school or career situations.

Incident material revealed that young adults in Cluster 4 remembered their parents as showing interest in their sons on four occasions but only twice for daughters. For example, one young man perceived that his divorced parents were showing interest in him when they came to see him perform in a school concert. Earlier, at 13, he perceived his mother's interest when she offered to protect him from a group of bullies. Cluster 4 sons described their parents as communicating values on four occasions while only one such incident was provided by daughters. In once case, a male subject recalled several such incidents involving his father. For example, the son recalled his father telling his 17-year-old son never to change his shirt in front of a girl after catching the boy doing so. Such incidents where the father appeared to be imposing his values on the son seem to contradict the high FES Independence scores of cluster members.
Another male subject remembered three incidents which were consistent with Cluster 4's high perceived push to independence where his parents stood back and allowed him to experiment with behaviors and decision making. At age 15, he recalled his parents went off and allowed their children to spend a day exploring Switzerland. At 14 this boy remembered his father telling that he now had a choice as to whether he would attend church or not.

Family relations, rather than school or career, were the strong emphasis here perhaps accounting for Cluster 4's low Achievement Orientation mean. Daughters recalled three examples of sharing activities with their parents while sons described such sharing once. One young woman remembered going for a drive in the wilderness with her parents when she was 15. She remembered this incident as a happy time before her parents separated and perceived that her family was comfortable together, arguing amiably as father drove and mother pointed out birds' nests.

A young man recalled his parents modelling behaviors on four occasions when, for example, he saw them entering into discussions about politics, religion and civil liberties during Christmas celebrations. In three incidents, daughters saw their parents as providing instrumental incentives in what they saw as harmful situations. In one example, the young woman who enjoyed the trip with her parents at age fifteen recalled another trip taken two years later at the time of her parents' separation
This time her father criticized her hair and clothing and offered her $100.00 to wear a pink Tee-shirt five times. One female and two male Cluster 4 subjects perceived their parents as intervening on their behalf and providing emotional support. Once again, the emphasis in such incidents appeared to be on family relations rather than school or work related situations. For example, a son recalled his mother intervening on his behalf in a dispute with his father at age seven. An 11-year-old daughter perceived her mother as providing emotional support when she felt hurt by a friend's critical remarks. The parents of two males and one female were described as instituting logical consequences (Dreikurs & Soltz, 1964) as a form of discipline. In one case, a young man remembered an incident when, at age seven, he took a toy car from a store. After he admitted the theft to his mother, she had him return the car and apologize to the store owner and face the consequences. Such disciplinary tactics seem consistent with fostering the development of self-responsibility, an aspect of autonomy or independence.

Cluster 4 sons perceived themselves as responding to parental interventions by feeling supported on eight occasions, a more frequent response than that of daughters who describe such emotions twice. For example, a 21-year-old drama student who explained to his father that he did not feel spontaneous enough to be a good actor felt supported when his father proceeded to focus on his strength as a writer and encouraged him to be a playwright. Three young women, on the other hand, responded with
feelings of distress lacking in the descriptions provided by sons. One 18-year-old daughter perceived that her mother was not focusing her attention on her attempt to share her intimate thoughts. She felt very upset as a result.

These subjects remembered experiencing a wide array of emotional responses: five sons and three daughters felt validated; three sons and two daughters, angry; two sons and one daughter, resentful; one son and two daughters, amazed or surprised and one son and two daughters, hurt. An example of validation can be seen where a young man recalled his mother speaking to him as an equal at a family Christmas celebration when he was eighteen. He understood her behavior to be a symbolic gesture which indicated he was grown up in her eyes. An example of an angry response can be seen in the case of a young woman who recalled being angry at age 14 when her stepfather grounded her for staying out late while her mother was away. A young man resented his policeman father telling him, at age 17, that he should go to military college. He recalled feeling hassled and thinking "Oh no, here it comes again!" Another son felt hurt when dad commented "You live and learn" after he had told him that he'd just found out his girlfriend had secretly been seeing another man.

Cluster 4 females recalled responding to parental activities with happiness on four occasions, versus one male description, and felt disappointed twice. When a 19-year-old daughter talked about a course she was thinking of taking, she felt happy that
her father showed interest. A subject whose father had promised her the airfare to Australia if she worked three summers for him felt disappointed and crushed when he took responsibility from her, lowered her wages and finally told her that he was not going to pay for the trip.

In Cluster 4, boys accepted their parents' messages four times and conformed with parental expectations three times while girls only described such responses once. For example, a university student attempted to please his sick father by taking his advice to become more involved in sports. A case of conforming with parental expectations can be seen in another youth who learned, at age nine, never to swear when his mother apologized to his brother and him for swearing in response to their provocation. In responses which appeared consistent with developing independence, three young men recalled distancing themselves from their parents while one daughter did so. In one case a subject recalled feeling estranged from his father at age eight when his mother threatened her children with the absent father's discipline. Three Cluster 4 girls perceived themselves as experiencing family cohesion as did one boy. One example of this can be seen in the lack of tension and the comfort in being together experienced by the 15-year-old daughter on the wilderness trip with her parents. Two sons and two daughters described improved relationships with their parents as an outcome. The young drama student was one example. He perceived his relations with his father as being strengthened when the
latter encouraged him to become a playwright. At times these subjects saw their parents as intrusive. Such perceptions were outlined by two males and one female. For example, the young woman who talked with her father about her proposed course enrollment was aggravated as she perceived him nagging her to consider another area of zoology. Two girls described appreciation of parental interventions and two described deteriorating relations with their parents. In one example of appreciation, a 15-year-old was grateful when her uncle provided her with a summer school experience in Switzerland. A case of deteriorating relations could be seen in another young woman whose parents separated. She lost respect for her father whom she saw as immature when he failed to maintain any structure in the home. She also felt hurt and resented being told what to do by her father who expressed his disappointment in her and used her as a "dumping ground" for his problems.

Regarding self development, three Cluster 4 males and one female reported becoming aware of others. They also developed self-reliance. For example, a boy who missed out on learning how to improve his bowling as a consequence of a temper tantrum discovered that he must stick up for himself and be responsible for his actions. Such self-reliance and self-discipline, described in two of this young man's incidents, appeared to be consistent with the high FES Independence mean score of Cluster 4 members. This same youth developed an understanding of his mother's inner vulnerability and was also aware of his father's
values which he did not always share. He also developed a sense of tradition from participating in family rituals such as Christmas and by sharing an interest in the family heritage as, for example, the family coin collection. Cluster 4 girls who

Table 8

Cluster 4 Occupational Aspirations. Occupation Names and Blishen SES Scores by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Blishen Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher with training in Counselling Psychology</td>
<td>43.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics/Computers(^a)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter - Russian</td>
<td>57.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource Policy Analyst</td>
<td>79.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist, Psychologist(^b), Graphic Designer</td>
<td>65.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Response too vague to classify.

\(^b\) Where 2 or more occupations were indicated, the job with the highest Blishen score was used to determine SES.
tended, in two cases, to lack trust, also described themselves as developing self identity in two incidents, one important aspect of autonomy development. In one example a young woman felt encouraged to be herself by her grandmother's statement "Set the styles. Don't follow them."

Males in Cluster 4 tended to aspire to mid-status occupations while females tended to select upper mid-status or high status jobs as described in Table 8. It was difficult to determine any pattern of occupational aspirations as only two males gave responses where SES could be determined while one of the two females who responded indicated three choices. The occupations selected by the two men who did respond appeared to be in gender neutral service occupations while females also selected gender neutral occupations and appeared to be interested in professional or technical careers.

Cluster 5: Low Independence, Average Achievers

In this cluster of two males and four females, the Independence mean score was 17.00 (SD = 4.65) indicating these subjects recalled very little emphasis being placed on the development of self-sufficiency in their families of origin. However the Achievement Orientation mean of 50.17 (SD = 5.38) revealed that they perceived an average emphasis on competitiveness and achievement in school and the workplace.

Based on the incident data, Cluster 5 was a cluster defined by descriptions of abusive, intrusive parents who were perceived as being rigid and/or unpredictable. Parent-child relations were
often conflictual in nature and parents in this cluster were perceived as engaging in criticizing and blaming behaviors eight times as well as venting their anger on their children on five occasions. At times these behaviors occurred separately; at others, in tandem. In an example of parental criticism, a young Chinese Canadian woman recalled that just before they entered an aunt's home, her mother told her "Your aunt is going to ask you what you're doing with your life and you'll say 'nothing'. I'm so ashamed of you." A case where criticism and venting of anger occurred together can be seen in an incident where a young man remembered his father displaying anger by blaming the 11-year-old boy for his recent unannounced stay at a psychiatric hospital. This father also provided an example of withholding key information from the child, an activity described in four Cluster 5 incidents, when he left the boy with a relative and did not inform him of his whereabouts.

Cluster 5 daughters perceived their parents to communicate expectations to them on three occasions while sons described one such incident. A young Chinese woman provides two examples of this. First, from age 10 onward, her mother repeatedly entered the room where the girl was watching television, lecturing her for up to half an hour, "I want you to be independent so no man can dominate you or take advantage of you. Look at your aunt, who is a lawyer. Be like her." The daughter felt cornered during this process. Her grandmother also gave her the same message to emulate her lawyer aunt but did so in a way that was
more acceptable to the young woman, as part of a casual conversation in a car. These older women were providing the young woman with a role model of successful career achievement outside of the nuclear family.

Three daughters in Cluster 5 perceived their parents to be intrusive in a manner consistent with the low emphasis on independence which characterized this group of subjects. For example, one young woman recalled her parents' intrusiveness when they rummaged through her book bag finding birth control pamphlets the 16-year-old had obtained from her doctor. Cluster 5 daughters twice remembered their parents invalidating them. The young Chinese woman recalled, at age 20, she and her mother lined up to buy lottery tickets. Her mother turned to her and said, "If I win the $15 million, I'll give your brother $1 million and I'll give you $100,000.00." Parental encouragement was recalled as an infrequent event. In an example which perhaps explains the average perceived stress on achievement, one subject recalled a rare event at age 22 where she perceived her parents encouraging her decision to return to university. Two of these daughters described their parents making emotional displays. The same young woman whose parents had encouraged her returning to university recalled an independence inhibiting incident a year earlier where her Portuguese father cried when he came to see an apartment she planned to rent. He felt the neighbourhood was not a good one and that good Portuguese daughters should live at home with their parents. On two other occasions where autonomy
development seemed to be inhibited, young women described their parents as utilizing the strategy of shunning, or ostracism, to discourage behaviors not meeting with their approval. In one such incident, a young woman who had moved in with her boyfriend recalled that her parents refused to pay for her wedding, making it clear that she was no longer welcome in their house.

The most frequently reported emotional response by Cluster 5 subjects was the sense of being invalidated described in four male and six female incidents. For example, a daughter who perceived her mother's constant of her breath and eyes after the drinking episode at 14 as intrusive still cringes when she recalls the incident. Another common response were anger, described in three male and seven female incidents; feeling unsupported, reported by three sons and two daughters; and isolated or alienated as did one son and two daughters. In some cases the sense of alienation was deep. A 17-year-old, readmitted to a psychiatric hospital seven months after a suicide attempt, felt alone and scared. He perceived his father as wanting him out of the way so he could see his wife before their divorce was finalized. One Cluster 5 male and one female described rare instances of happiness. Feelings of fear were described by one son and two daughters. Examples here included the daughter who was afraid of her Portuguese father who disapproved of her joining a choir. On the way home from a concert he yelled at her and, when they got home, struck the girl.
Cluster 5 daughters responded to such perceived parental abuse with a variety of negative emotions. For example five subjects felt hurt and three experienced guilt. One subject whose parents had rifled through her book bag felt guilty for a long time after the incident while the Chinese Canadian daughter whose mother had invalidated her was hurt and furious. Sadness, depression and unhappiness were other emotional responses recalled by three Cluster 5 females. In one case, a young Portuguese woman who described her unhappiness about compromising with her father moved into a basement suite in his home. Sons twice described feelings of rejection. A young man reported feeling rejected by his father at age seven. After a month's absence, the son discovered that his father was really at the school where he worked not on a "business trip" as the boy had been told.

Six Cluster 5 subjects responded to their parents' perceived behaviors by rejecting their parents' values in some instances and five subjects desired to please the parents in others. For example, one young woman who was taking a typing course in Grade 11 had received mixed messages from her mother regarding the latter's expectations for her career development after high school. She felt that her mother's idea that she should take algebra and sciences was ridiculous. Earlier she had received the message to focus on traditional female pursuits. An example of the desire to please the parents can be seen in one young man's recollection that, at age 13, he started drinking with his
father in an attempt to please and become close to him. As a rule this youth felt like a ping pong ball as a result of his father's shifting attitudes to him.

Three girls saw themselves as accepting parental messages as did the daughter who recalled accepting her parents' encouragement of her plans for university. These subjects responded to perceived parental restriction of independence by developing strategies to achieve autonomy. For example, three daughters distanced themselves from their parents. In one case a young woman wanted to get out of the home permanently when her Christian mother lashed out at her and her young aunt for staying out all night at a rodeo. Another female response, described in three incidents, was cutting off communication with the parent. In one such incident an 18-year-old told her mother that she could not go to her with her problems. She did not see her mother's recurring advice to go to church and pray as helpful. This daughter also felt that her mother did not wish to hear any of her views which might challenge her maternal authority. Through a group of four incidents, Cluster 5 females also perceived their fathers and mothers as manipulative and intrusive. In her frustrated attempt to move out of her parents' home, the Portuguese Canadian girl whose father had cried felt pressured into a "no win" situation to meet his expectations. She and two other young women perceived relationships with their parents deteriorating while only one son saw this occurring. In two examples, one subject saw the mother who struck her with a
stick as a tyrant and ended up hating her parent as did another young girl whose stepfather had sexually abused her since age five.

Further examples of such independence attempts made by three Cluster 5 subjects included erecting personal boundaries for themselves. In one case, the daughter whose parents shunned her found that she was too proud to speak with her mother even though she wished to do so. Three of these young people also responded by continuing with behaviors which were undesirable as far as the parents were concerned. In one such incident, a 16-year-old son whose mother grounded him after a night in jail for drinking stated he did not care about her opinion and decided to be more discrete the next time he drank.

Both sexes in Cluster 5 experienced conflictual relationships with their parents, described in three instances. In the case of at least one son, conflict with his father resulted in a physical fight after which he left home. Other conflicts were more verbal in nature as was the dispute between father and son over visiting the son's girlfriend in another town. Another response of three subjects to such parenting was to leave home. In one case, a young woman persisted with her plans to leave home even though her religious mother shouted at her and cried, accusing her daughter of abandoning her.

As a result of such experiences, four Cluster 5 subjects developed negative self-images or low self-esteem. The young man whose father blamed him for his psychiatric problems recalled
that he felt like a whipped dog while the young woman who left home to live with her boyfriend felt that she was not a good as the other children in the family. At least one Cluster 5 son described himself as developing self-competency but it seemed to come as a surprise. In this case a 19-year-old young man was enrolled in a work program for the mentally handicapped and performed exceptionally well. Both Cluster 5 males developed difficulties in trusting others as did the subject whose parents had not informed him of their separation. Three girls and one boy developed a sense of responsibility, sometimes as a parentified child. Assuming such a role could further tie the young adult to the family of origin. In one incident, an older sister blamed herself and took responsibility for her siblings' behavior when their mother punished them for accidentally almost drowning some puppies. Despite such ties, two female subjects did describe themselves as developing autonomy. For these young women, independence appeared to be a result of both erecting personal boundaries and of differentiating themselves from their parents. One example of this occurring was the young woman who stopped communicating with her religious mother. The outcome of this young woman's experience was a desire to be different from her mother even in her career choices. She saw herself as becoming more independent and learning to deal with her own problems because she perceived that no help was available to her.

Occupationally, the two males in this cluster aspired to mid and high status careers of social worker and lawyer or
accountant. In two of these jobs, social worker and lawyer, their roles would be to act as advocates for others while in the third, accountant, they would create structure and monitor others' performances. One of the females was undecided and the Table 9
Cluster 5 Occupational Aspirations. "Occupation Names and Blishen SES Scores by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Blishen Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer or accountant</td>
<td>75.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>60.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work in film as director, writer, cinematographer</td>
<td>57.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airline pilot</td>
<td>64.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminologist, pilot, psychoanalyst</td>
<td>101.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where 2 or more occupations were indicated, the job with the highest Blishen score was used to determine SES.

remaining three aspired to a variety of occupations which were often nontraditional ones for women: work in the film industry as a director, writer or cinematographer; airline pilot;
criminologist, psychoanalyst or pilot. What is of interest here is the apparent indecisiveness of two of the three, shown by the several choices they indicated, and the glamour often associated with the occupations selected. As Table 9 indicates, these jobs ranged between mid and high levels of SES. Interestingly enough all of these occupations were either gender neutral or male-typed (Shinar, 1975). Male-typed jobs included the male subjects' choices of lawyer and accountant as well as the female choices of airline pilot and psychoanalyst. The remaining male choice of social worker and the majority of female choices were gender neutral.

Cluster 6: Low Independence, Low Achievement Orientation

This cluster of four males and five females had an Independence mean of 26.00 (SD = 10.76) and an Achievement Orientation mean score of 33.84 (SD = 6.05). It appeared that this group of subjects perceived little emphasis being placed on either autonomy development or on competitiveness. Such scores also indicated that areas such as decision making and school or career achievement were given short shrift in these families.

Two parenting styles emerged from the incident descriptions, the first of which as characterized by critical parents and high levels of perceived conflict between parents and children. The other parenting style was identified by close child-parent relations, perceptions of parental support and perceptions of parents who emphasized values and family togetherness. However, as a rule, these mothers and fathers appeared to be distant
and/or disinterested in their children with the incidents of support and child-parent closeness being recalled due to their rarity rather than as recurring experiences.

Looking more closely at the descriptions of parental behaviors, four sons and one daughter perceived their parents as communicating expectations while three sons and one daughter recalled their parents communicating values to them. For example, a youth recalled his grandfather telling him, at age eight, "You should be doing your homework. You've got to work hard", emphasizing the work ethic rather than possible academic achievement. Three Cluster 6 sons and one daughter described their parents as sharing activities with them. For example, one young man recalled a camping trip with his mother and siblings while another youth remembered sharing intimate thoughts with his father, at age 14, as they drove home from a fishing trip.

Cluster 6 daughters described parental behaviors which were absent in the incidents of males. These included five instances of criticism of the child and four incidents of physical abuse. In one case, a daughter recounted that her heavy mother criticized her, at age 18, for her improved, slimmer appearance by telling her "You're looking underfed. Do something about your hair. You look like a hippy." Another young woman described an incident where her mother criticized the boy she was dating by telling her he was terrible and asking her what she was doing with him. Examples of physical abuse can be seen in the mother who chased her daughter with a cutting board, hitting her on the
arm and another mother who dragged her 5-year-old daughter around the house then stuck her hands into steaming hot dishwater. On two other occasions these young women described rare incidents where their parents validated them. One girl who had run away from home at age 16 remembered her father telling her, over the telephone, "I know we don't say it much, but we love you." One daughter recounted incidents where her father formed an alliance with her. In one such case the subject remembered her father sharing the secret truth about a pet rabbit's death and exhorting her not to tell her mother. Cluster 6 daughters described their parents as withholding key information. For example, one mother merely said "Oh that's nothing much" when her terrified 11-year-old was wiping up the blood from her first menstruation. The child thought that she had seriously injured herself falling from a bicycle. Beside withholding information these parents were seen by their daughters to withhold instrumental support, to neglect the child and to use the child for their own ends. One young woman recounted incidents where her mother exhibited all three of these behaviors. This mother, after obtaining $500.00 from a social services agency to buy her daughter a winter wardrobe, bought the girl a sweater and jeans then proceeded to spend the rest on alcohol for herself. This subject further described her mother as lying down on the couch all day drugged with tranquillizers while the young girl and her brother fended for themselves. Another mother was perceived by her 20-year-old daughter as being unwilling to break out of a traditional female
role when she got upset because the father got his own tea, saying "What am I good for? Are you in such a big hurry that you can't wait for me to get your tea?" The daughter was upset and angry because her mother modelled the opposite behavior to her espoused view of equal rights for women.

In apparent contradiction to the low Cluster 6 emphasis on achievement, two female subjects recounted incidents where parents used instrumental incentives to motivate the child to pursue post secondary education. For example, a young woman recalled sharing her plans to become a librarian with her father at age 11. He told her that he had put money aside for her education. Two female subjects and one male further perceived their parents as requesting information. One son and one daughter recalled their parents providing them with support while two daughters and one son received advice. One young woman recalled her mother asking her if she liked her piano teacher when she announced "I'm not taking piano lessons anymore." When the daughter said yes, this mother suggested that the girl try for one more month. However descriptions of independence and achievement promoting parental behaviors such as modelling behavior, providing instrumental incentives, requesting information, providing emotional support and advising the child were infrequent.

In Cluster 6, three male and six female subjects perceived themselves responding emotionally by feeling validated while four females and three males felt invalidated. Examples of validation
included the 6-year-old boy who experienced the unusual feeling of being loved when he went fishing with his great-grandfather and the daughter who felt grown up after she and her sister had an open discussion about sex with their parents. An example of feeling invalidated was to been seen in a daughter who felt pushed away from her mother who had failed to assist her with her first period. Three Cluster 6 daughters and one son responded with feelings of amazement and surprrize at their parents' behavior. For example, one 17-year-old recalled being surprized that her mother came to her support around her dismissal from a job while a daughter whose mother neglected her was shocked that her mother would throw her out of the house, improperly clothed, in -20 degree weather. While feelings of being unsupported were experienced equally by both sexes, daughters again experienced feelings of emotional distress which were not described by sons. In at least two of these incidents, emotional distress appeared as the response to perceived physical abuse. For example, the child whose mother had plunged her hands into hot water recalled feeling terrified and traumatic. Young women also described themselves as feeling angry, sad or depressed in three incidents and isolated in one. In one incident, a subject felt unsupported, sad and alone when her mother failed to attend the Midnight Mass she was singing at on her 21st birthday. Another young girl, aged 10, was angry with her mother when she refused to let the child attend a sleep over party at a friend's home, a parental intervention which could inhibit independence. By way
of contrast, three sons responded to perceived parental activities with feelings of gratitude; two, with excitement and three, with happiness. One young man, aged 18, was grateful when his father assisted him with university registration, a task he could have done himself. This assistance resulted in the avoidance of a late registration penalty. A boy was excited about joining the Air Cadets and thankful to his mother who signed the application form and another young man felt happy to contribute financially to the family by saving his mother money when he repaired her car.

Behaviorally, Cluster 6 subjects described themselves as conforming with parental expectations in nine incidents while rejecting parental values in four, responses which may explain the low perceived emphasis on developing independence in Cluster 6. In one example, a daughter tried to please her mother by enrolling in a local university's fine arts programme after her mother had criticized an out of town theatre school she had planned on. In contrast to such conformity, another young woman rejected her mother's lifestyle by deciding that her own family would be very different from the conflict ridden home in which she lived.

Daughters, who provided four examples, were more likely than sons, who provided one, to describe incidents where they experienced emotional closeness with their parents, often father. In one example of such rare closeness, a young girl's father rocked her and hugged her after an experience of being ridiculed
by her classmates. Three daughters also experienced
deteriorating relations developing with their parents. A young
woman who felt close to her father after he shared poetry he had
written also described herself as feeling dead inside when her
parents made no response to a wrist slashing suicide attempt.

Three Cluster 6 sons and one daughter distanced themselves
from their parents. One young man, for example, described
himself as feeling more distant from his mother, at age four,
after she had spanked him for breaking an object. Unlike the
daughters, two Cluster 6 sons reported appreciating their
parents' behaviors, as did the subject whose father assisted him
with university registration. The young women also described
behavioral responses not found in the incidents of young men.
These included four incidents describing perceptions of child-
parent conflict and three outlining conflict avoidance behaviors.
In one example of conflict, a 7-year-old daughter started
screaming at her mother who was attempting to help her with her
arithmetic. Mother's response was to spank the child. Another
young woman provided an example of conflict avoidance when she
wished to stay with her grandparents rather than return to a home
where there was continuing conflict with her mother and her
brothers. Leaving home, the response of three Cluster 6 females,
was sometimes undertaken openly as in the case of the young woman
who left for the night after the cutting board incident and
subsequently left home for good immediately after she graduated
from school. It also took place under more covert circumstances.
In one case, a daughter whose mother had not wanted her to attend theatre school in another town left home for good under the guise of taking a summer job in another province.

In the area of self development, two sons and two daughters reported rare occurrences of developing improved self-esteem. This self-esteem seemed to come from a sense of achievement which sometimes occurred despite the parent's behavior and which, in at least two cases, centered around body image. An example here involves the young woman who lost weight and felt even better about herself as she learned to value her own opinion about herself over her mother's criticisms. A young man recalls developing increased self-esteem and self-confidence in Grade 8 when he took up weight lifting, an activity for which he perceived his father to be mildly supportive. Consistent with the low emphasis on achievement and independence the motivation to achieve or succeed was a rare development described by only one young woman whose grandmother was perceived as attempting to spur her into action around post-secondary education by threatening to withdraw promised financial support. The girl decided to hurry up and select a path for herself, describing grandmother's push as coinciding with a feeling that she was ready for more education and more mental stimulation than she got from working. Two sons and one daughter saw themselves developing awareness of others. In one case, a young man acknowledged that people have strengths and weaknesses after his father became more distant when the boy started university.
Three of the four males in this cluster indicated occupational aspirations which were in the mid to high status levels while the remaining male subject was still unsure of what he wished to do. The three males who selected occupations all

Table 10
Cluster 6 Occupational Aspirations. Occupation Names and Blishen SES Scores by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Blishen Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource management</td>
<td>79.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitness &amp; Athletics Coordinator/Director</td>
<td>53.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher, Management</td>
<td>56.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education - Elementary</td>
<td>63.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiotherapist(^a), Masseuse</td>
<td>56.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Script Writer</td>
<td>54.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>55.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Where two or more occupations were indicated, the job with the highest Blishen score was used to determine SES.
indicated interest in work which involved supervisory or management skills: the male-typed occupations of resource/environmental management researcher/management and the gender neutral fitness or athletics coordinator/director. On the other hand, the four women who indicated occupational choices tended to select female-typed or gender neutral jobs where such skills were less likely to be required: elementary educator; physiotherapist or masseuse; script writer and librarian. (See Table 10).

Comparison of Clusters

Patterns of similarities and differences emerged during a comparison of the six clusters identified by hierarchical cluster analysis. Concentrating on the descriptive profiles, members of the first three clusters described patterns of child-parent interactions where instrumental competency was inculcated in at least some cluster members. (Appendix F outlines such competency enhancing parental activities and young adult responses.) In Cluster 1 socialization practices encouraging career success appeared to be aimed more at sons while daughters described an emphasis on relationships. In Clusters 2 and 3, the emphasis differed. Cluster 2 subjects indicated instrumental socialization patterns encouraged academic achievement for females while males recalled emphasis on work related skills and values. Cluster 3, parents were perceived to be more
Figure 3: Distribution of Cluster Means along Independence and Achievement Orientation Axes
egalitarian, using instrumental and expressive strategies with both males and females.

Supporting the child's decision emerged as the key parental behavior in Clusters 1, 2 and 3. Other competency enhancing behaviors described in these three clusters included the use of instrumental incentives, communicating expectations, teaching skills and communicating values. Decision making was facilitated through advice, information giving and standing back to allow the child to experiment with options.

The young adults at whom such practices were aimed tended to feel validated and supported, especially around the area of decision making, and to accept their parents' messages. While the young men in Cluster 1 described themselves as responding with enthusiasm and excitement, the young women of Clusters 2 and 3 demonstrated more ambivalent emotional and behavioral responses. Cluster 1 males made their own decisions, set their own expectations, developed self competency and so on. Cluster 3 women also developed self-competency and, with their Cluster 2 counterparts, described themselves as having learned skills. Male subjects in these two clusters tended to resent their parents' actions with Cluster 2 males perceiving themselves as developing self-reliance while their Cluster 3 counterparts described themselves as providing information to their parents and developing autonomy.

An interesting similarity emerges in the responses of young adults from at least two of these clusters. Both males and
females in the Achievement Oriented Cluster 1 developed the motivation to achieve as did the females in Cluster 3, who perceived only an average emphasis on achievement existing in the family. In both cases, this response is found in conjunction with approval seeking. Yet Cluster 3 females aspired to professions with higher levels of SES than did the Cluster 1 males. These female children appeared to be receiving mixed messages from their parents regarding occupational and educational expectations. In contrast, Cluster 2 females who described parents placing a strong emphasis on achievement emerged, with their male counterparts, as perceiving the greatest push for independence in the family. Both genders in this cluster tended toward gender neutral occupations in the arts or social services.

While the child-parent relationships of Cluster 1, 2 and 3 young adults emerged as a background feature in descriptions of career socialization, Clusters 4, 5 and 6 subjects described child-parent relationships taking a more prominent role as can be seen in Appendix G which outlines parental activities and child responses for these three clusters. For example, several Cluster 4 subjects recalled incidents that occurred around the time of their parents' marital breakdown while young women in Cluster 5 described their parents' ethnic or religious backgrounds as influential. Young adults in Clusters 5 and 6 remembered conflictual relations with one or both parents. In Cluster 6 a pattern of mother-daughter conflict emerged whereas
in Cluster 5 conflict occurred with either parent. Males in Cluster 6 recalled distant relations while young women in this group emphasized episodes of physical and sexual abuse and neglect. Such a male-female discrepancy was not apparent in Cluster 5 where all subject perceived their parents as abusive. This cluster stands out due to consistency of perceived parental criticism and abuse. It also stands out as the cluster where young adults responded by developing a poor self image and low self-esteem.

Males in Clusters 4 and 6 generally responded in a more positive manner to their parents than did their female counterparts. Cluster 4 daughters responded to their parents in a similar manner to the daughters in Clusters 2 and 3. They described themselves experiencing mixed emotions such as happiness and disappointment and diverse responses ranging from appreciating parental interventions to perceiving their relations with the parent deteriorating.

While Cluster 6 females also described deteriorating relationships, usually with mother, they also spoke of rare times of emotional closeness with their fathers. Such closeness contrasted with the sense of isolation, sadness and depression described elsewhere in these incidents. Males in Cluster 6 responded in a somewhat similar fashion to Cluster 1 males: with emotions of happiness, gratitude, and excitement while appreciating their parents' interventions and developing a sense of distance from the parents. What seemed to differentiate these
two groups of males was the emphasis on achievement orientation described by Cluster 1 males and illustrated by the instrumental incentives provided by their fathers. The push to achieve developed by Cluster 1 youths was lacking in Cluster 6 males who were reinforced for behaviors consistent with traditional male roles reflected in their occupational aspirations towards management positions. Despite occasional parental use of instrumental incentives encouraging post secondary education, Cluster 6 females also aspired to more traditionally female occupations in service oriented professions, in contrast to young women in the other five clusters.

Finally, an interesting anomaly in the use of parenting strategies emerged across the different clusters. For example instrumental incentives were frequently used by achievement oriented fathers in Cluster 1 and on rare occasions by Cluster 6 parents of both sexes to promote attendance at post secondary institutions. However, the same strategy was used in Cluster 3 to discourage such aspirations. In Cluster 4 instrumental incentives were used to achieve different parental goals. For example, one daughter described her father using this strategy in an attempt to have her change her appearance. Similarly criticism was described as being focused on achievement or traditional gender role expectations in the three competency enhancing clusters, while in competency inhibiting clusters, this same parental activity took on a different quality where parents were remembered as attempting to undermine their children's self-
esteem by making negative comments about their appearance or
other personal qualities. With such divergent applications of
the same parenting strategies, one wonders whether differential
use of reward and punishment is not based on the parent's
personal goals rather than on gender differentiated perceptions
of the child. (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984).

In summary competency enhancing socialization experiences
were characterized by harmonious child-parent relationships which
emphasized academic and career success. Such parenting styles
were characterized by support for the child's efforts at decision
making, the use of instrumental incentives, communication of
expectations and values, skill instructions and facilitation of
decision making. Young adult outcomes included the development
of self-competency and autonomy and a tendency to aspire towards
male typed or gender neutral occupations in the mid to upper
ranges of SES. In contrast, competency inhibiting socialization
experiences were characterized by an emphasis on family relations
which were often distant or conflictual in nature. Young adults
experiencing this form of socialization were more restricted in
their opportunities to experiment behaviorally, received little
or no encouragement to attain post secondary education and, at
times, described deteriorating relations with their parents.
They responded to such parenting with anger or defiance with some
subjects becoming depressed and developing low self esteem.
Career aspirations were either a reaction against the parenting
these young adults had received or were consistent with
traditional male instrumental and female expressive sex roles. Thus competency enhancing socialization allowed for more experimentation in the career aspirations of young adults than did competency inhibiting practices.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

The cluster analysis performed on the FES Independence and Achievement Orientation scores of 50 young adult subjects divided sample members into six distinct clusters. One way ANOVA performed on FES Achievement Orientation cluster means identified Cluster 1, with its high mean score, as unique. Important differences also appeared between the perceptions of Achievement Orientation in the families of the low scoring Clusters 4 and 6 subjects compared with subjects in the remaining three clusters. Regarding cluster differences revealed by one way ANOVA of the FES Independence means, Clusters 2 and 4, identified by high mean scores, emerged as significantly different from the remaining clusters while Clusters 1 and 3, with average Independence means were significantly different from Clusters 5 and 6 whose mean scores were low. Cluster 5, with a mean score of 17.00, three SDs below the test mean, was significantly different from Cluster 6.

A rich variety of perceived parental behaviors and young adult responses described within each cluster served to underscore Patterson and Reid's (1984) emphasis on the complexity of parent child interactions. The first three clusters appeared to provide examples of competency enhancing parenting while parenting strategies delineated by Cluster 5 and 6 subjects seemed to inhibit the development of instrumental competence.
Young adults in Cluster 4 described patterns of child-parent transactions which contained aspects of both competency enhancement and inhibition. Descriptive cluster profiles appeared to outline different parenting approaches perceived by each cluster's members. An emphasis on academic performance and occupational choice was described by members of the first three clusters while Clusters 4, 5 and 6 subjects appeared more concerned with family relations than with career development issues. Such a priority may have been a function of problematic child-parent relations overwhelming the career issues.

**Competency Enhancing Parenting Strategies**

In Clusters 1, 2 and 3, patterns of parental behaviors could be termed instrumental in nature. However, the sex of the children on whom such behaviors were focused differentiates the three clusters from one another. Young adults in Cluster 1, the Achievement Oriented families, perceived their parents' activities in a similar light to Young and Friesen's (1986) earlier study, based on parental perspectives, which indicated sons were favoured over daughters. Cluster 1 sons were more likely to see their parents as encouraging them, providing instrumental support and incentives while supporting their decisions. Male and female subjects in this cluster described apparently differentiated emphases on career and success for boys and male-female relations for girls which appeared to be consistent with Block's (1973) model of agency and communion, with Parson's (1955) model of instrumental and expressive
socialization patterns and with Block's (1981, 1983) and Huston's (1983) contentions that parents expect far more from their sons regarding career development. One of the most distinctive aspects of this parenting approach was the use of instrumental incentives to shape the son's career aspirations towards a university degree or an occupational niche approved of by the father.

Such use of instrumental incentives appears to lend credence to Eccles and Hoffman's (1984) description of sex differentiated rewards as a process of differential socialization. Instead of describing such support and incentives, daughters perceived their parents as intrusive and challenging their decisions. The intrusiveness at least may be related to Block's (1981, 1983) position that girls experience a more closely supervised upbringing and to Newson and Newson's (1976, cited in Huston, 1983) descriptions of parental chaperonage.

Child-parent transactions in Clusters 2 and 3 were distinguished by the perceived involvement of both parents. Cluster 3 parents were remembered by the subjects as being somewhat more child centered than their Cluster 2 counterparts. However, such a child centered approach was not consistent and instances were described by both groups where parental desires were considered before those of the child. Competency enhancing behaviors such as supporting the child's decisions were outlined in both clusters as well as in Cluster 1. While young men reported these parental practices in the first cluster, Cluster 2
descriptions of such behaviors were provided more frequently by young women while Cluster 3 descriptions were provided by both sexes. One might argue that Cluster 3 parents were using a more egalitarian approach in the socialization of their children. However, aspects of more gender traditional parenting were also described by these young adults who, at times, perceived themselves as overcoming obstacles constructed by their parents. One example is the young woman who described her parents as initially transmitting traditional female role expectations to her, i.e., that she should have children and not enroll in "unfeminine" courses such as mathematics, and later communicating mixed messages concerning university education. Such perceived inconsistencies serve to raise the question as to whether Clusters 2 and 3 represent perceptions of two groups of parents in transition regarding their expectations for their sons' and daughters' life roles. The emphasis, in some instances, on traditional gender role expectations is perhaps a manifestation of Eccles and Hoffman's (1984) viewpoint that parenting practices are essentially conservative in nature. However, the descriptions of Cluster 3 parents appears to indicate that, while males and females experienced instrumental socialization practices, this group also experienced the expressive practice of their parents sharing activities with them. This leads to speculation that Cluster 4 may represent a developing androgynous parenting style.
Competency Inhibiting Parenting Strategies

From the perspective of Amato and Ochiltree's (1986) model of benign and vicious spirals of socialization, Cluster 5, with its pattern of critical and abusive parents interacting with children who developed low self esteem and a poor self image, would appear to provide an example of a vicious spiral of socialization. One could also argue that the consistencies in perceived parenting behaviors delineate an abusive parenting style (Baumrind, 1978) which appeared to be characterized by a restricted number of parenting strategies. Parental behaviors which occurred most frequently, often in tandem, were criticism and/or blaming the child and venting anger upon the child. These parents were also described as intrusive and invalidating. At times they were reported to utilize strategies like shunning the child and withholding key information. A similar parenting style appears to fit the interactions between Cluster 6 females and their mothers. Such descriptions of abusive parents were absent in the incidents recalled by Cluster 6 males who described distant parents who seemed, at times, uncaring. Although such perceptions appear to support Eccles and Hoffman's (1984) argument that gender differentiated application of punishment is a key socialization process and to challenge Ferriera and Thomas' (1984) findings that adolescent males perceived themselves as receiving more physical punishment than females, one questions here whether gender differentiated parenting was occurring or
whether females were more open in their willingness to disclose recollections of abuse.

Although Cluster 4 subjects do not recall such consistent patterns of parenting behaviors, they do share, in common with the members of Clusters 5 and 6, an emphasis on family relationships. Several of these young adults described themselves as strongly impacted by their parents' marital breakdown. Parents in all three clusters are presented as preoccupied with their own needs over those of the child and the emphasis on academic achievement or career development is either non-existent, minimal or discouraged.

**Young Adult Responses to Perceived Parenting Strategies**

As might be expected, young adults emerging from the first three clusters appeared to be more career oriented and to have developed instrumental coping strategies. However, such development of instrumentality or agency differed in its subject applicability from cluster to cluster. Cluster 1 males and females described differing responses. Males responded to parental interventions in a positive fashion while females experienced a sense of invalidation. What is of interest here is that both males and females emerged from exposure to such a parenting style with the motivation to achieve. In contrast, Cluster 2 females who had described their parents as encouraging them to achieve perceived, with their male counterparts, their families as fostering a high degree of independence.
Cluster 2 and 3 females emerged with more mixed responses to their parents' behaviors than did the males who appeared to resent their parents' actions. These two groups of young women also tended to portray themselves in terms similar to descriptions of instrumental competency (Baumrind, 1978; Poole & Evans, 1989), placing strong emphasis on the skills they have developed, including educationally related decision making skills, an important aspect of independence (Moos & Moos, 1986). They described developmental outcomes of such competence enhancing parenting in traditionally male terms. For example, Cluster 2 females described themselves as self-competent, autonomous, skilled, etc. while young women in Cluster 3 saw themselves as motivated to achieve, developing their own interests and again developing skills, specifically around decision making. One key link between Cluster 2 and 3 females and Cluster 1 males who experienced competency enhancing socialization appeared to be the emotional response of feeling supported in decisions they made.

Recipients of perceived competency socialization frequently described emotional responses of validation, usually accepted the message that their parents were attempting to transmit and perceived themselves as competent. Cluster 1 males and Cluster 3 females also felt free to reject their parents' perceived values, indicating that differentiation of the self may have been occurring. Concerning Cluster 1 males, such findings appear to expand upon Hilliard and Roth's (1969) earlier findings that
achievers were more differentiated from their mothers than underachievers. However, it appears that, as Block (1978) asserted, young women generally differentiated themselves from their parents while young men developed such agentic traits as self-reliance.

**Family Process Resources and Occupational Aspirations**

While Clusters 2 and 3 appear to be representative of benign spirals of socialization, Cluster 5 seemed to represent a vicious socialization spiral (Amato & Ochiltree, 1986). It was characterized by descriptions of a restricted number of parental behaviors such as criticism, venting of anger and lack of encouragement and support and young adult developmental outcomes of poor self image and low self esteem. What is interesting here, however, is the pattern of occupational aspirations. Males in this cluster appeared to be aspiring to occupations where they take advocacy roles whereas the females were aspiring to mid and high status occupations with an aura of glamour, choices which may reflect attempts to compensate for the low self esteem which these subjects developed.

The child-parent relations outlined by Cluster 2 and 3 females indicate some support for Lemkau's (1979) results indicating that women in nontraditional occupations experienced an instrumental socialization process, especially in the case of Cluster 3 women who focused on upper mid and high status professional occupations requiring extensive university training (see also Baker, 1985; Geller, 1984; Lueptow, 1981). This is of
interest in light of the fact that this group of young adults perceived only an average emphasis on independence and achievement orientation within their families of origin and that both males and females recounted incidents where they perceived themselves to be opposing parental expectations regarding future gender roles and career paths.

However, some of the described child-parent transactions challenge this perspective as do the Cluster 5 females' descriptions of such transactions. These subjects described instrumental socialization practices more frequently than did Cluster 5 males yet chose gender neutral occupations in the arts and social services like their male cohorts. Cluster 3 females, while indicating occupational aspirations similar to the pattern of professional and business related niches occupied by Lemkau's (1979) women subjects, also describe instances where they had to combat parental assumptions around traditional gender roles which influenced the parents' expectations of them (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984). Cluster 5 females provide the greatest challenge to Lemkau's (1979) results. Like males, they described a consistently abusive parenting style. However, these young women aspired to nontraditional occupations which did not conform with those chosen by Lemkau's subjects. Rather they seemed drawn to careers requiring daring and glamour, such as airline pilots or working in movie production. The vicious socialization processes (Amato & Ochiltree, 1986) that these young women described run counter to the warm family relations and encouraging parents that
Lemkau's (1979) subjects remembered. Such occupational aspirations may therefore reflect attempts to compensate for low self-esteem through high status, high profile careers.

In Cluster 6, it is interesting that the young men who had experienced distant relations with their parents aspired to management occupations where they would have the opportunity to supervise or control the behavior of others and perhaps maintain some distance, in the work environment. This was the one cluster where female occupational choices approached traditional sextyped careers in the educational and social services fields (Harmon, 1981). The rare descriptions of competency enhancing behaviors described by these young women, including instrumental incentives to achieve, argue for the importance of frequent and consistent utilization of such parenting strategies to encourage the development of occupational aspirations. The stronger tendencies to perceive parenting as either abusive and/or distant was related to patterns of occupational choice close to sex role stereotypes where the male plays a instrumental leadership role while the female fulfills a primarily nurturing expressive function.

Another process resource and occupational choice pattern which is of interest was found in Cluster 2. Where young adults also perceived their family environments to be high in encouraging the development of independence, the occupational choices of both males and females were predominantly in the fine arts and social services fields. Male and female subjects both
described parental behaviors, a process resource according to Amato and Ochiltree (1986), which included the agentic or instrumental behaviors of communicating expectations to their children (Block, 1978), direct teaching of work or educationally related skills (Eccles & Hoffman, 1984) and the expressive behavior of sharing activities with children of both sexes. It appears that such children develop a sense of personal and social competency from such parenting.

One must also note the move away from rigidly male-typed career reflected in the occupational aspirations of young men in Cluster 2 and the mix between male-typed and gender neutral occupational aspirations provided by youths in the other five clusters. Although these young men still appear to be staying away from selecting female-typed occupations, these results somewhat contradict the findings of earlier studies which indicated that male occupational choice is rigidly sextyped (Lueptow, 1981; Marini & Greenberg, 1978; O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Shepard & Hess, 1975; Women's Bureau of Labour Canada, 1986). Could this pattern in favour of mid and upper status gender neutral and male-typed career paths be related to the high rate of parental separation and divorce outlined by these sample members, resulting in an absence of male role models, or could it be indicative of a shift towards more androgynous gender role socialization processes.
Limitations of the Study

Several limitations to the current research exist including the unrepresentative nature of the sample. Young adults who participated in this research were generally better educated than the Vancouver area population from which they were drawn and came from homes with a higher incidence of parental divorce. Therefore, such findings as the wider range of female occupational choices and male occupational aspirations moving away from rigid sextyping which appeared to contradict earlier study results (Lueptow, 1981; Marini & Goldberg, 1978; O'Keefe & Hyde, 1983; Shepard & Hess, 1975; Women's Bureau of Labour Canada, 1986) cannot be generalized and must be viewed with extreme caution. The exploratory nature of the study, the small sample size and the resulting small membership in certain clusters emphasize the need for caution when interpreting differences between Achievement Orientation cluster means. Since this study was exploratory in nature, its main purpose was to generate questions for future research. Therefore, the results outlined above cannot easily be generalized. Rather these findings provide some guidelines for future research in the area of parent-child transactions and their impact on career development.
Implications for Parents, Teachers and Counsellors

The above results provide several directions where those who interact with children may wish to focus their activities. The importance of perceived parental behaviors such as encouraging the child, supporting a child's decision, and facilitating attempts at decision making in the development of instrumental competency could be kept in mind by both parents and teachers. For teachers, this could involve providing encouragement and support around skill development as well as creating curricula to teach decision making skills. In order to facilitate skill development and, subsequently, a sense of self-competence, curricula could be designed to promote mastery learning experiences for students starting at an early age. For parents facilitating, supporting and encouraging their children's attempts at decision making, standing back to affirm young adults' decisions and sharing activities with their children emerge as key activities for assisting in competency development. Both parents and teachers need to communicate clear and consistent expectations for performance to children and adolescents.

Counsellors may wish to utilize these findings when working with either children or adolescents and their families as well as with adults who experienced competency inhibiting socialization in the family of origin. In family therapy, counsellors could work to facilitate clear communication patterns between children.
and their parents as well as parental encouragement and support of children's moves towards achievement autonomy as well as encouraging shared activities within the family. The importance of parental encouragement in particular has also been stressed by a large body of research (see Amato & Ochiltree, 1986; Block, 1978; Huston, 1983; Lemkau, 1979; Marjoribanks, 1986, 1987 and Power & Shanks, 1989 for examples of such studies). For those counsellors working with adults who have emerged from competency inhibiting homes, therapy may take the approach of reparenting the adult using competency enhancing behaviors; encouragement, support, communication of clear expectations and so on. Counsellors may also wish to integrate aspects of individual and family approaches to assist such clients in working through the roots of low self-esteem and perceived incompetence thus assisting clients in developing new interpersonal skills and new self-images where a sense of competency comes into being.

Implications for Future Research

Keeping in mind the limitations of this study, several implications for future research exist. One strongly recommended direction would be the attempted replication of the results found here. Such research would probably be more effective if larger samples were utilized. This would allow for the possibility of a more representative sample and for the development of larger clusters whose characteristics might be more generalizable. A
questionnaire could be developed from the child response categories generated here and Young and Friesen's (1986) parental intervention category system which might be utilized in survey based research to further validate and test the reliability of such category systems within a larger population base.

One limitation of this study is the retrospective nature of the investigation wherein young adults recalled the effects of perceived parental activities on their career development. Future researchers might wish to examine such parental interventions from the perspective of both parent and child during and after the socialization process perhaps through the use of longitudinal research methods which might serve to help determine the possible lasting effects of such experiences. Cross sectional research approaches could also be utilized with samples of adults in various age cohorts in an attempt to determine whether the results outlined here are cohort specific (Stevens-Long, 1988) or whether they are developmental experiences common across generations. Such research could determine the lasting nature of effects of varying parenting styles and strategies upon the child as well as following the actual occupational paths taken by young adults.

Concluding Remarks

In summation, this study has provided some groundwork aimed at filling the gap in our understanding of young adults'
responses to various perceived parenting behaviors. It has served to validate the complexity of ecological (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Young, 1984) and contextual (Lerner, 1986; Vondracek, Lerner & Schulenberg, 1986) models of development in which developing individuals, interacting with their environment, impact upon one another affecting both the individual’s career path and the structure of the ecosystem in which such development occurs. It has indicated support for Eccles & Hoffman’s (1984) view that parenting is basically conservative in nature yet has also provided some evidence, in the mixture of parental approaches apparent in at least two cluster, that parents are slowly moving towards more egalitarian styles of rearing their children: an approach which appears to foster the development of instrumental competence and the movement away from sextyped occupational choices for young men and women.
References


Appendix A: Sample Recruitment Poster
PAID RESEARCH

participants wanted!!!

influences on your career choice and life plan

we are looking for young people between the ages of 18-25 who are willing to participate in a research study examining the ways in which parents have attempted to influence young adults regarding their occupation, career, and life plan.

if you are between the ages of 18-25 and are willing to complete a questionnaire on this topic, requiring approximately one hour of your time, you will be paid $10.

if you are between the ages of 18-25 and are willing to participate in a two hour interview on this topic you will be paid $20.

the questionnaires and interviews will take place during scheduled appointments at the counselling psychology building (5700 toronto road), university of british columbia.

if you would like to apply to be a part of this research study please call richard young or john Schneider at 228-6380.

this study is under the direction of dr. richard young and dr. john friessen of the counselling psychology department, university of british columbia.

please note: individuals will be selected to participate in this study so that there are equal numbers of males and females of a variety of ages (18-25) and representing full-time employed, unemployed, college students, and university students.
Appendix B: Subject Consent Form
Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire
PARENT-CHILD INTERACTIONS IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT
INTERVIEW
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

AGE: _____ SEX: MALE _____ FEMALE _____
HIGHEST GRADE IN SCHOOL, COLLEGE, OR UNIVERSITY COMPLETED: ___
ARE YOU ATTENDING SCHOOL, COLLEGE, OR UNIVERSITY AS:
   FULL TIME STUDENT _____
   PART TIME STUDENT _____
   NOT ATTENDING NOW _____
ARE YOU NOW EMPLOYED? YES _____ NO _____
IF YES, WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT OCCUPATION? ______________
ARE YOU NOW LIVING IN YOUR PARENTS' HOME? YES _____ NO _____
FATHER'S OCCUPATION: ____________________________
MOTHER'S OCCUPATION: ____________________________
PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED _____ SEPARATED _____
   DIVORCED _____ COMMON-LAW _____ RE-MARRIED _____
AGE AND SEX OF SIBLINGS: AGE MALE FEMALE
1st _____________________________________________
2nd _____________________________________________
3rd _____________________________________________
4th _____________________________________________
YOUR MARITAL STATUS: SINGLE _____ MARRIED _____
   COMMON-LAW _____ DIVORCED _____
   SEPARATED _____ RE-MARRIED _____
AGES AND SEX OF YOUR CHILDREN: AGE MALE FEMALE
1st _____________________________________________
2nd _____________________________________________
WHAT OCCUPATION OR CAREER WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE WHEN YOU FINISH
ALL YOUR SCHOOLING OR TRAINING?
Appendix D: Parental Activity Categories
PARENTAL ACTIVITIES

**Instrumental Activities**
15. Gathers information
16. Intervenes on behalf of child
17. Provides instrumental support for the child
18. Provides access to personal social network
19. Structures the environment for the child
20. Observes the child
21. Provides instrumental incentives
22. Withholds instrumental support

**Interactive Activities**
23. Gives information
24. Advises/suggests action
25. Requests information
26. Develops alternatives
27. Demonstrates
28. Sets expectations
29. Gives feedback
30. Teaches
31. Challenges ideas and/or actions of child
32. Rejects ideas, proposals, actions (of the child)
33. Creates novel environment
34. Incorporates other ideas
35. Initiates compromise
36. Sets personal limits
37. Sets limits
38. Shows interest
39. Communicates values and beliefs
40. Encourages.
41. Dialogues
42. Allows freedom to experiment (standing back)
43. Joins in ventures/participates
44. Models behavior
45. Takes over
46. Monitors
47. Criticizes, blames child
48. Disciplines child
49. Uses child to meet own needs
50. Shows disinterest
51. Supports child's ideas, proposal, actions, decisions
52. Provides emotional support for child
53. Seeks interpersonal support
54. Initiates physical intervention/sexual contact
55. Makes demands on child
56. Censures child
57. Rejects/neglects child
58. Withholds emotional support
59. Intrudes on child
60. Communicates indirectly with child
61. Validates child
62. Facilitates decision making
63. Fails to communicate with child
64. Displays emotions
65. Communicates at intimate level
66. Discourages child
67. Vents anger on child
68. Verbally threatens child
69. Invalidates child
70. Fails to set limits
Appendix E: Child Response Categories
CHILD RESPONSES TO PARENTAL INTERVENTIONS

Emotional Responses

01. Amazed/Surprised
02. Ambivalent
03. Angry
04. Anxious
05. Confused
06. Defensive
07. Depressed/Sad/Unhappy
08. Disappointed
09. Distressed
10. Embarrassed
11. Encouraged
12. Enjoyment
13. Excited
14. Exploited
15. Fearful
16. Frustrated
17. Grateful
18. Guilty
19. Happy/Glad
20. Hurt
21. Insecure
22. Invalidated
23. Isolated
24. Misunderstood
25. Rejected
26. Relaxed/Calm
27. Relieved
28. Resentful
29. Restricted
30. Satisfied
31. Supported
32. Trapped
33. Trusted
34. Understood
35. Untrusted
36. Validated
37. Violated
38. Vulnerable

**Perceptual Systemic Responses**
39. Differentiates self from parent
40. Experiences emotional closeness with parent
41. Experiences family togetherness (cohesion)
42. Experiences stability
43. Perceives deteriorating relationship with parent
44. Perceives improved child-parent relations
45. Perceives parental intrusion
46. Perceives parental manipulation
47. Perceives parent/child conflict
49. Receives mixed message
50. Receives value message
51. Sees self as getting own way
52. Sees situation as no win
53. Triangulated communication

**Behavioral Responses**
54. Accepts parent's message
55. Affirms parent/offers emotional support
56. Appreciates parental behavior
57. Avoids conflict
58. Challenges/Defies parent
59. Communicates with parent
60. Compromises with parent
61. Conforms with parental expectations
62. Continues undesired behavior
63. Covert rebellion
64. Desires to please parent/seeks approval
65. Distances self from parent
66. Enjoys shared activity
67. ERECTS personal boundaries/walls off
68. Forms alliance with parent
69. Identifies with parent
70. Implements parental advice
71. Leaves home
72. Meets needs outside family
73. Minimizes importance of parental behavior
74. Provides information
75. Rejects parental behavior
76. Rejects parental message
77. Rejects parental values
78. Shares parental perceptions/views/values
79. Surrenders own plans
80. Withholds information

**Self Development Outcomes**
81. Develops autonomy
82. Develops awareness of others
83. Develops financial independence
84. Develops low self esteem/negative self image
85. Develops own interests
86. Develops own values
87. Develops responsibility
88. Develops self awareness
89. Develops self-competence
90. Develops self-discipline
91. Develops self identity
92. Develops self reliance
93. Develops sense of tradition
94. Enters personal crisis
95. Improves self esteem
96. Initiates risk taking
97. Lacks confidence
98. Lacks desire to achieve
99. Lacks trust
100. Learns skill
101. Makes own decisions
102. Motivated to achieve/succeed
103. Motivated to self-improvement
104. Motivated to learn
105. Sets own expectations
Appendix F: Cluster Comparisons Outlining Competency Enhancing Parental Activities and Young Adult Responses
Characterized by perceived emphasis on academic achievement and career within the family and the development of instrumental competency within young adult children.

### Competency Enhancing Parental Behaviors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster 1</th>
<th>Cluster 2</th>
<th>Cluster 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- criticize &amp; blame re. achievement and career</td>
<td>- transmit expectations&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;- support decisions (daughters)&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>- transmit values&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;- facilitate decision making (give advice/information, stand back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- instrumental incentives (sons)&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>- share activities</td>
<td>- transmit expectations&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;- stand back and allow child to experiment behaviorally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- transmit values&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>- transmit values&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;- support school decisions (daughters)&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>- communicate with child (daughters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- transmit expectations&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt; (sons)&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>- validate (daughters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- support school and career decisions (sons)&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>- request information (sons)</td>
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<td>- intrude on child (daughters)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- show interest (sons)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- challenge decisions and actions (daughters)</td>
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</table>

<sup>a</sup> Activity described in all three clusters

<sup>b</sup> Activity consistent with Eccles and Hoffman's (1984) processes of differential socialization
## Child Responses to Competency Enhancing Parenting Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emotional Responses</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- excited (males)</td>
<td>- resentful (males)(^a)</td>
<td>- resentful (males)(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- supported (males)(^a)</td>
<td>- validated (females)</td>
<td>- supported (females)(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- invalidated (females)(^a)</td>
<td>- invalidated (females)(^a)</td>
<td>- validated (females)</td>
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<td>- supported re. decisions (females)(^a)</td>
<td>- happy/glad (females)</td>
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<td>- disappointment (females)</td>
<td>- anger (females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- relief (females)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Behavioral/Perceptual Responses</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- accept parental message(^a)</td>
<td>- please parents (females)</td>
<td>- provide information (males)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- reject parental values (males)</td>
<td>- accept parental message(^a)</td>
<td>- perceive parental intrusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- emotional closeness with parents (females)(^a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- emotional closeness with parents(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- receive mixed message (females)</td>
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<td>- communicate with parents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Developmental Outcomes

- set own expectations (males)\(^b\)
- develop awareness of others (males)
- make own decisions (males)\(^b\)
- develop own interests (males)\(^b\)
- develop self-competence (males)\(^{ab}\)
- develop own values (females)
- motivated to achieve/succeed\(^b\)
- develop autonomy\(^{ab}\)

- develop self-reliance (males)\(^b\)
- differentiate self (females)
- develop autonomy (females)\(^{a,b}\)
- develop skills (females)\(^b\)
- develop self-competence (females)\(^{ab}\)

- develop autonomy (males)\(^{ab}\)
- develop awareness of others\(^a\)

\(^a\) Response found in two or more clusters
\(^b\) Response indicative of instrumental competency
Appendix G: Cluster Comparisons Outlining Competency Inhibiting Parenting Activities and Young Adult Responses
**CLUSTER COMPARISONS**

**COMPETENCY INHIBITING CLUSTERS**

Characterized by a perceived emphasis on parent-child relations with conflict and/or parental intrusion/distancing being present. Young adult responses are highly emotional in nature and daughters more frequently perceive relations with their parents to be deteriorating.

**Competency Inhibiting Parental Activities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster 4</th>
<th>Cluster 5</th>
<th>Cluster 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| - show interest  
(sons) | - criticize/ blame child<sup>a</sup>  
- vent anger on child | - transmit  
expectations  
(sons)<sup>ab</sup> |
| - transmit values  
(sons)<sup>a</sup> | - transmit  
expectations  
(daughters)<sup>ab</sup> | - transmit  
values (sons)<sup>a</sup>  
- share  
activities  
(daughters)<sup>a</sup> |
| - stand back and  
allow child to  
experiment behaviorally (sons) | - provide role model  
(daughters) | - share  
activities  
(daughters)<sup>a</sup>  
- criticize  
child |
| - share activities  
(daughters)<sup>a</sup> | - intrude on child  
(daughters) | - physical  
abuse  
(daughters)<sup>ab</sup> |
| - model behaviors  
(sons)<sup>a</sup> | - invalidate child  
(daughters)  
encourage  
(daughters) | (daughters) |
| - instrumental incentives  
(daughters)<sup>ab</sup> | - emotional display  
(daughters) | - validate  
child  
(daughters) |
| - intervene on  
child's behalf  
(daughters)<sup>ab</sup> | - shun/ ostracize  
child  
(daughters)<sup>b</sup>  
- withhold information<sup>a</sup> | - form alliance  
with child  
(daughters)  
- withhold information<sup>a</sup>  
(daughters)  
- withhold  
instrumental support  
(daughters)<sup>b</sup> |
| - emotional support  
(daughters)<sup>a</sup> | - withhold information<sup>a</sup>  
(daughters)  
- neglect child  
(daughters)  
- use child for  
own ends  
(daughters) | |
- model behaviors (daughters)\textsuperscript{a}
- instrumental incentives (daughters)\textsuperscript{ab}
- request information (daughters)
- provide emotional support (daughters)\textsuperscript{a}
- advise child (daughters)

\textsuperscript{a} Activity common to two or more clusters
\textsuperscript{b} Activity consistent with Eccles and Hoffman's (1984) processes of differential socialization
### Child Responses to Competency Inhibiting Parental Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster 4</th>
<th>Cluster 5</th>
<th>Cluster 6</th>
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<td><strong>Emotional Responses</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emotional Responses</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emotional Responses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- supported (males)</td>
<td>- rejected (males)</td>
<td>- happy (males)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- happy (females)</td>
<td>- hurt (females)</td>
<td>- grateful (males)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- disappointed (females)</td>
<td>- guilty (females)</td>
<td>- excited (males)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- validated (females)</td>
<td>- depressed/sad (females)</td>
<td>- surprised (females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- anger</td>
<td>- invalidated (females)</td>
<td>- anger (females)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- resentment</td>
<td>- unsupported (females)</td>
<td>- depressed/sad (females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- amazed/surprised (females)</td>
<td>- isolated/alienated</td>
<td>- validated (females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- rejects parental message (sons)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- unsupported (females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- conforms with parental expectations (sons)</td>
<td>- perceives parental manipulation (daughters)</td>
<td>- distances self (sons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- distances self (sons)</td>
<td>- perceives parental intrusion (daughters)</td>
<td>- appreciates parental intervention (sons)</td>
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<td>- appreciates parental intervention (daughters)</td>
<td>- does not communicate with parent (daughters)</td>
<td>- emotional closeness with father (daughters)</td>
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<td>- perceives deteriorating relations with parent (daughters)</td>
<td>- perceives deteriorating relations with parent (daughters)</td>
<td>- perceives deteriorating relations with parent (daughters)</td>
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<td>- percepte deteriorating relations with parent (daughters)</td>
<td>- seeks approval from parent</td>
<td>- parent-child conflict</td>
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<td>- perceives improved relations with parents</td>
<td>- rejects parental values</td>
<td>- avoid intrusion conflict (daughters)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- perceives parental conflict</td>
<td>- erects personal boundaries</td>
<td>- leaves home</td>
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<tr>
<td>- parental conflict</td>
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</table>
- leaves home (daughters)\textsuperscript{a}
- conforms with parental expectations\textsuperscript{a}
- rejects parental values\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Developmental Outcomes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- develop awareness (sons)\textsuperscript{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>develop self-reliance (sons)\textsuperscript{b}</td>
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<tr>
<td>- develop sense of tradition (sons)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- develop self-discipline (sons)</td>
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<td>-develop self-identity (daughters)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-develop lack of trust (daughters)\textsuperscript{a}</td>
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<tr>
<td>- develop self-competence (sons)\textsuperscript{b}</td>
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<tr>
<td>- develop lack of trust (sons)\textsuperscript{a}</td>
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<tr>
<td>- develop sense of responsibility (daughters)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- develop autonomy (daughters)\textsuperscript{b}</td>
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<td>- negative self-image</td>
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<td>- low self-esteem</td>
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<td>- improved others self-esteem re. - body image</td>
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<td>- motivated to achieve/succeed\textsuperscript{b}</td>
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<tr>
<td>- develop awareness of others\textsuperscript{a}</td>
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\textsuperscript{a} Response found in two or more clusters
\textsuperscript{b} Response indicative of instrumental competency
Appendix H: Hierarchical Cluster Analysis Tree Diagram
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**ITEMS GROUPED**

**STEP** | **I** | **J** | **ERROR**
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