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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF ADOLESCENT
POWER, CONFORMITY, AND INDEPENDENCE

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ABSTRACT

Power is one of the most fundamental of all social interactions. "How one influences others" or becomes "powerful" is an important issue because individuals who are perceived to possess power often enjoy additional attributes such as greater material resources, higher social status, and greater levels of self-confidence. Children learn about power interactions within the environmental context of the family. That is, families (parents) function as "socializing agents," interpreting to sons or daughters behavior patterns that have been defined as culturally appropriate for males and females. Given the complexities in the origins of "power," it is important to understand what factors may influence parents' attribution of power to their sons or daughters.

The purpose of this study was to examine gender differences in the manner that parents with traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes attribute power, conformity, and independence to their adolescent offspring, while controlling for parents' education and family size. A self-report questionnaire was used to collect data from 367 mothers and 367 fathers comprising the parent sample. Multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine relationships between the dependent and independent variables within: (1) the total sample of parents, and (2) four subgroups consisting of (a) mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, (b) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, (c) mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, and (d) fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes.

Results from the regression analysis for the total parent sample indicated that no significant gender differences were apparent for adolescent reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, conformity, or independence. However, when the parent sample was divided into traditional versus non-traditional groups for testing the hypothesized relationships, results indicated significant gender relationships because (a) mothers having traditional sex role attitudes perceived sons to have greater legitimate power than daughters, and (b) mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes perceived their daughters to be more independent than sons. Thus, the additional information from the second analysis provided evidence that sex role attitude is an important variable influencing parents' perceptions of legitimate power and independence.

In the case of the control variables, parents' education and family size, for mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes, education significantly affected their perceptions of legitimate power and independence, both in the positive direction. Family size, on the other hand, influenced (a) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes to perceive their adolescents as less rewarding, (b) fathers having non-traditional sex role attitudes to perceive their adolescents as less independent, and (c) mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes to perceive adolescents as less conforming and more independent.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The position of women in society's power structure is an issue that has received increased attention in both the current research and conceptual literature of the social sciences (Johnson, 1976; Polk, 1974; Bardwick, 1977; Gillespie, 1975). This is an important issue because individuals who are perceived to possess higher levels of power often enjoy additional attributes such as greater material resources, higher social status, and greater levels of self-confidence (Schopler, 1965; Hollander, 1964). Although males have been the primary occupants of powerful positions in our society (Domhoff, 1970; Bird, 1971), recent societal trends including decreased family size and increased numbers of employed women have contributed to the reexamination of such questions as, "Who has the power within families?" and "How does one influence others?"

That power as a pervasive aspect of all human interactions has been well documented in a variety of scholarly studies (Second & Backman, 1964; Adams, 1975; Blau, 1964; Cartwright, 1959; Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Nagel, 1975; Tedeschi, 1972; French & Raven, 1959; Cromwell & Olson, 1975; McDonald, 1977, 1980). Although there is considerable agreement regarding the significance of this aspect of social relationships, there is much confusion about an appropriate definition or conceptualization for the power dimension.

The term "power," therefore, represents a broad range of concepts and little consensus exists among social psychologists regarding the referent phenomena delimited by the concept "social power." Conceptual issues that are repeatedly encountered throughout the social power literature include: (1) whether social power is defined as actual power or potential power (Cartwright, 1959; French & Raven, 1959), (2) whether intentionality on the part of the agent is essential to the conceptualization of power (Walster & Gestinger, 1962; Nagel, 1968; Wrong, 1968), (3) whether conflict is a necessary condition of the interactions in which power is involved (Raven & Kruglanski, 1970), and (4) whether power is conceived as a dynamic or static process (Sprey, 1972).

This lack of conceptual agreement, in turn, has lead to substantial confusion in the terminology used to discuss power in human relationships. Several terms that are used synonymously with social power are "influence," "control," "persuasion," "force," "threat," "authority," and "dependence" (Henderson, 1981). Such confusion in the terminology and concepts used to analyze power in social relationships make evident the need for additional theoretical and empirical work in this area. Consistent with this need for more attention to power in human relationships, this study examined parental perceptions of adolescent power, conformity, and independence.

Who has the power? To the extent that the parent-adolescent dyad may reflect power relationships found in the larger culture, it is important to examine society's existing power structure. From the requests that people make of each other, to the demands that

governments hand down to the citizenry, power or influence is an important aspect of everyday life for males and females.

A reoccurring theme in contemporary American society, however, has been the relative powerlessness of women in political, economic, educational, and occupational domains of life. Some scholars suggest, for example, that the key to explaining male/female differences in power and prestige is quite simple. That is, traditionally, women have been assigned to the domestic part of life, whereas, men have been assigned to the public domain--the part of life that counts in terms of power and prestige (Rosaldo, 1970, Lamphere, 1977). Surveys repeatedly show that men hold the majority of the highest and most prestigious positions in government, education, and industrial management (U. S. News and World Report, 1972). The assumption, in this case, is that men are suited to govern the world and women are expected to tend the hearth.

Consistent with this idea, Talcott Parsons proposed a theory explaining the complementary structure and function of domestic and public roles (Parsons & Bales, 1955). In his perspective, male roles were described as the instrumental "work and activities" part of life (public roles), while female roles were the expressive "nurturing others" side of life (domestic roles). Parsons believed that such roles were both complementary and necessary to promote the equilibrium of social systems through role maintenance. Nevertheless, daily observations of the society around us makes evident the realization that the economic-opportunity system bestows its prestige, power, and material gain not on those who perform expressively (predominately females),

but on those who function in instrumental capacities (predominately males) (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1981).

Statement of the Problem

Given the male/female differences in power that seem to exist in our society, this study was concerned with the effects of adolescent gender on parents' perceptions of their teenage offspring's: (1) power (reward, coercive, expert, legitimate), (2) conformity to parents' expectations, and (3) independence from parents. To accomplish this, tests for gender differences were conducted within four subgroups of the sample used for this study: (1) mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, (2) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, (3) mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, (4) fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes. In addition to analyses for gender differences, each of the analyses within the four groups included controls for the effects of family size and parents' education. Analyses also were conducted for gender differences in parents' perceptions of adolescent power, conformity, and independence without distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional sex role attitudes.

Rationale

Power is one of the most fundamental aspects of all social relationships. For example, Haley (1963) has proposed that: "Every social act is an exercise of power, every social relationship is a power equation, and every social system is an organization of power." Viewing power as an important element of interpersonal relationships

contrasts sharply with the ideas of writers' (Machiavelli, Hobbes, Russell) who were concerned primarily with the philosophy and practice of government. Topics discussed under the concept "power" have dealt typically with forms of government, war, and diplomacy (Cartwright, 1959). This limited application of the power concept to the discipline of political science continued until the late 1950's and early 1960's when social psychologists began to conduct research and write about power in reference to social interaction.

Since that time, societal movements including those which addressed minority issues, equality, and liberation, have increased the interest of a wide variety of social scientists in the power concept. Exploring such questions as "who has the power" in today's society might lead one to suspect that resources and power (monetary and positional) exist as a "cause and effect" relationship. Given the importance of these issues, there is little wonder that the question "how power is acquired and allocated" is a timely subject for investigation.

Parental perceptions, attitudes and behavior within family life provide an important context in which children learn about and acquire power and influence. To some extent, the family environment serves as a "microcosm" of the larger society's norms prescribing how individuals are expected to behave. That is, socialization for appropriate gender behavior and associated power relationships are accomplished from the culture to the family--from the family to the child.

Parental perceptions regarding gender role prescriptions appropriate for males/females are affected by their own educational,

occupational and social status (Scanzoni, 1979). These dimensions often determine whether parents adhere to traditional or non-traditional (egalitarian) sex role attitudes. Parents with traditional sex role expectations generally accept the gender role norm in which females are expected to take their husband's name, share his income, and rely on him for status and identity. Males, on the other hand, are responsible for earning a living to support their wives and children.

In contrast, parents with non-traditional sex role expectations believe that females should have the same opportunities and responsibilities as males within educational, occupational, and domestic spheres. These parents tend to encourage greater independence, autonomy, and achievement orientations in both male and female offspring (Barnett, 1981).

In keeping with traditional sex role stereotypes, adjectives describing male behavior are: powerful, independent, aggressive, objective, active, direct, competitive. Conversely, female behavior frequently is described by such adjectives as conforming, emotional, subjective, tender, passive (Broverman, 1971). Adult expectations for this type of behavior may become self-fulfilling through a variety of influence processes. For example, different forms of media constantly convey to adolescent females the importance of physical beauty to secure male attention. At the same time, adolescent males are expected to be involved in activities consistent with such qualities as being powerful, strong, and independent.

Examining and comparing the effects of parents' traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes regarding attribution of

power, conformity, and independence to either sons or daughters will increase our understanding of: (1) changes in society's norms defining sex role behavior specific to adolescent power, conformity, and independence, (2) the possible convergence of traditional and non-traditional sex role norms, and (3) parental perceptions being possible "precursors" determining parental behavior. This information will be important for understanding the influence of sex role stereotypes in which females are characterized as conforming, while males are seen as independent and powerful.

To date, investigators (McDonald, 1977, 1980; Rollins & Thomas, 1975; Smith, 1970) have examined the power issue between parents and children from the adolescent's perspective of parental power. Variables such as adolescent identification and compliance have been examined as dependent variables in relation to dimensions of parental power (as perceived by the adolescent) used as independent variables. In contrast, the present study examined adolescent power, conformity, and independence from the parent's perspective. Examining these dimensions from the parent's rather than the adolescent's perspective is significant because a parent's perception of the adolescent's power, conformity, or independence may have substantial influence on the socializing techniques that parents use with adolescents.

Increasingly, literature pertaining to the socialization process emphasizes not only the "effects of parents" on adolescents, but also the reciprocal "effects of youth" on parents. This bidirectional influence between parents and offspring begins with the birth process and includes the issues addressed in the present study. That is,

parents are affected by the presence, actions, qualities (e.g., independence, conformity) and power of their children. For example, if a parent ascribes expert power to a son or daughter, a logical response is for parents to use reasoning or negotiation more frequently because they have been influenced by their offsprings' apparent demonstration of superior knowledge. Likewise, attribution of coercive power to sons or daughters might lead to punitive responses on the part of parents. Thus, adolescents, as well as parents, occupy positions as "significant others" and influence the behavior of parents over the life span (Peterson & Rollins, in press).

Identifying factors which may influence parents to attribute power, conformity, or independence differently to sons and daughters may provide important information about techniques parents choose for child-rearing. This kind of information could be meaningful for the development of parent education programs.

Theoretical Framework

Various conceptual models have been developed to explain the nature of the power construct (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955; Cartwright, 1959; King, 1975; Kelman, 1958, 1961, 1974; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959; Pollard & Mitchell, 1972; Biddle & Thomas, 1966). For examining the factors which affect parental perceptions of adolescent power, French and Raven (1959) proposed one of the most influential models concerned with the sources of social power. This theoretical orientation was derived from the cognitive-field-theoretical tradition, particularly fostered by Lewin (1951), and further developed by several other

authorities (Cartwright, 1959, 1965; Festinger, 1954, 1957; Lippitt, 1939). Field theory is based on Lewin's notions that behavior is a function of the needs or tensions that occur within a given space or field of interaction. Included in an analysis of influence is the tension or need system of the person (P), the act of the influencing agent (O) as perceived by (P), and barriers or restraining forces against the influenced behavior. Lewin defined the power of O over P as the quotient of maximum force that O can induce on P and the maximum resistance that P can offer. He conceived power as potential as well as overt behavior acts.

Cartwright (1959), on the other hand, defined power as "the influence of O over P with respect to a given change at a specified time equals the maximum strength of the resultant force which O can set up in that direction at that time." In this definition, O's act can be seen as creating in P both a force to comply and a force to resist. Thus, while Lewin tended to define power as a ratio between compliance and resistance, Cartwright defined power in terms of the difference between them.

Within the version of field theory used in this study, French and Raven (1959) provided additional insight regarding the multidimensional quality of power. By defining power as the perceived capacity or potential to influence others, inherent in their definition was the understanding that the potential power of person O required the perception by person P that O had some basis providing him/her with influence in their relationship. For French and Raven, therefore, power comprised the linking element between the resources of the

powerholder and the needs or "motive base" of the powergiver (or perceiver). This relationship between O and P and French and Raven's perception that power varies as the person, the situation, and area of concern changed, was the basic premise for their development of a typology concerned with the social bases of power.

The first of these bases, reward power, is concerned with P's perception that O has the ability to mediate rewards for him/her. Reward power depends on P's perception of O's ability to administer positive sanctions and to remove or decrease negative sanctions. The strength of reward power depends upon the probability that O can mediate the reward as perceived by P.

An example of reward power is the perceived ability of a parent to offer monetary reward to an adolescent in exchange for performing household chores. In this situation, the adolescent values money and believes that the parent has the capacity to provide such funds. Initially, sources of reward were characterized primarily in terms of material rewards, although more recently such interpersonal or social psychological consequences as the perceived capacity to provide approval and love have been included in this formulation.

The next power base, coercive power, refers to P's perception that O has the ability to mediate punishments for him/her. This concept is similar to reward power in that coercive power also involves O's ability to manipulate the attainment of desired goals. Coercive power, in this case, stems from the expectation on the part of P that O has the capacity to punish or provide him/her with adverse consequences. For example, an adolescent female drives the family car

directly home from a football game because she knows that her use of the car might be discontinued in the future if she fails to comply with the parent's wishes. The strength of coercive power depends on the perceived magnitude of the negative sanction multiplied by the perceived probability that P can avoid the punishment by conformity.

Legitimate power is based on the perception by P that O has a legitimate right to prescribe behavior for him/her. For instance, a father tells his 12 year-old-daughter that until she is 16 years-of-age, she will be allowed to group date only. The daughter complies with the father's wishes because as her father he has the right, as designated by social norms, to control her behavior. That is, legitimate power often results from P's acceptance of a specific kind of relationship with O based on social norms. The source of O's legitimate power, in turn, is a function of P's internalization of the appropriate norms and values.

A fourth base, referent power, pertains to P's identification with O. By identification is meant that a feeling of oneness or identity is desired by P with O. If O is a person toward whom P is highly attracted, P will desire to become closely associated with O. Suppose, for example, that a daughter perceives her mother as attractive and powerful because the mother projects a liking for herself and is productive in work and community activities. Referent power refers to the daughter's admiration of these qualities and her desire to acquire the same traits by identifying with her mother.

Expert power is based on the perception by P that O has some special knowledge or expertise in a particular area. For example, a

father who is a doctor often is perceived as having expert knowledge in the field of medicine. It is likely, therefore, that a son or daughter would concur with their father's wishes regarding specific physical illnesses. Furthermore, in view of the bidirectionality that occurs in parent-adolescent communication, parents may attribute increased expert power to adolescents. That is, parents provide information to adolescents regarding their beliefs, values, and expectations and, in turn, adolescents socialize parents regarding their values and expectations. Whether the reference is to parents or adolescents, expert power stems from the attribution of superior knowledge or ability to the influencing agent by a particular person.

Although these bases of social power are classified into five separate categories, in reality, several bases may be operating at the same time in any particular relationship. Furthermore, the social bases of one's power also may change as the nature of the contact between parties changes. The sources of social power emerge out of dynamic interaction and the perceived resources controlled or possessed by the agent (Henderson, 1981).

Nominal Definitions

Power was defined in this study as the perceived capacity or potential to influence others (French & Raven, 1959). French and Raven's concept of the "social bases" of power refer to the sources of power that derive from interpersonal relationships and is basically synonymous with the concept resources. A resource, in turn, was anything that person 0 is perceived as having which can satisfy the needs or goals of

person P. According to this conception, a person is characterized as having the ability to provide positive or negative resources. That is, if the powerful person's potential for influence rests on their ability to dispense rewards, they have reward power. If their resource is the capacity to punish, or bring about adverse consequences, they have coercive power.

The legitimate power of O to P was defined as that power which derives from internalized values or norms in P which dictate that O has a legitimate right to influence P and that P has a social obligation to accept this influence. Legitimate power is consistent with the idea that authority must be justified or legitimized before it is effective.

The expert power of O to P is defined as the influence that O has because of P's perception that O has greater knowledge or ability. Expert power results primarily from social influence on P's cognitive structure as P attributes superior knowledge about specific areas to O.

Parental sex role attitudes consist of one's opinion, disposition, or mental set related to appropriate behavior for men and women. Parents with traditional sex role attitudes believe that a woman's primary responsibilities are homemaking and child-rearing, that men are responsible for financial support of the family, and that women with children should not expect to have a career. Parents with non-traditional sex role attitudes, on the other hand, believe that both men and women should have equal opportunities to pursue their educational and occupational goals. Furthermore, parents with non-traditional sex role attitudes believe that men and women both should share child-rearing responsibilities.

Conformity and independence are dimensions that have characteristically been applied differently to both genders, with females characterized as conforming (low power) and males as independent (high power). Independence often is believed to be positively associated with the acquisition of power, while conformity is thought to be negatively associated with the power construct (Fagot, 1978; Hoffman, 1977; Barnett, 1981). By definition, conformity to parents means action by adolescents following the dictates or expectations of the parent as the authority figure. Individuals characterized as conforming tend to be concerned with obedience--not rocking the boat. By contrast, independence occurs when adolescents rely on their own ideas and judgements to direct their behavior. This self-direction involves thinking for oneself and making one's own decisions--the opposite of following the dictates of authority.

Assumptions

In the development of this theoretical model, the following assumptions were made:

1. Relative power does not exist independent of the perceptions of the individuals involved. That is, the potential power of person O requires the perception by person P that O has some basis (or resource) which provides him/her influence in their relationship. Situational requirements and the socioeconomic history of the individuals within the relationship determine their willingness to be influenced.

2. Power is a relationship between two agents and not an absolute attribute of a single individual. Instead, it refers to the relative power of parents and adolescents and is conceived as a characteristic of social interaction between two or more persons.
3. Various sources of power may exist in differing configurations and combinations. One basis of power (expert, legitimate, reward, coercive, referent) may be dominant in one situation, and another in a different situation. For example, the power base of an adolescent son relative to his father may be quite different from the base that is relevant to the adolescent-coach relationship.
4. For individual fulfillment and happiness, human beings need to possess some degree of power to influence others.

Objectives

The primary objective of this research was to examine differences in the manner that parents with traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes perceive their adolescents' power, conformity, and independence based on their offspring's gender.

More specifically, this objective involves the following subcomponents,

1. To determine the degree to which the gender of adolescents predicts differences in parental perceptions of adolescent reward power, contingent on parents' traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.

2. To determine the degree to which the gender of adolescents predicts differences in parental perceptions of adolescent coercive power, contingent on parents' traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.
3. To determine the degree to which the gender of adolescents predicts differences in parental perceptions of adolescent legitimate power, contingent on parents' traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.
4. To determine the degree to which the gender of adolescents predicts differences in parental perceptions of adolescent expert power, contingent on parents' traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.
5. To determine the degree to which the gender of adolescents predicts differences in parental perceptions of adolescent conformity, contingent on parents' traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.
6. To determine the degree to which the gender of adolescents predicts differences in parental perceptions of adolescent independence, contingent on parents' traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.
7. To examine the gender difference issues in objectives one through six while controlling for the effects of family size and parents' socioeconomic standing (parents' educations).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of social power processes is a central concern for much of contemporary social psychology, family studies, and other social or behavioral science disciplines. As a social variable, power has been investigated across disciplines as both an independent and dependent construct--as cause and effect.

Parental perceptions of adolescent (1) reward power, (2) coercive power, (3) expert power, (4) legitimate power, (5) conformity, and (6) independence were treated as the dependent variables for this study. The first section of this chapter provides an overview of different theoretical orientations explaining conceptualizations of social power. The second section directs attention to the nature of the adolescent and the issue of power in the adolescent-parent relationship. Studies in the third and fourth sections pertain to parental perceptions of gender differences in adolescent conformity and independence.

Gender, the major independent variable for this study, was discussed in terms of male/female differences relevant to adolescent power, conformity, and independence. Attitudes pertaining to male/female differences often are embedded in and transmitted through cultural norms which may influence parents' perceptions of appropriate gender behavior. Empirical studies are reviewed which focus on the agentic characteristics of males versus females as "by-products" of cultural norms and parents' sex role attitudes.

Other variables besides gender account for differences in parents' perceptions of adolescent power, conformity, and independence. Thus, family size and parents' educational level are discussed in this literature review because these dimensions have been identified as important control variables affecting the dependent variables for this study. The hypotheses that will be examined in this study are as follows:

Hypothesis One: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater reward power to female adolescents than male adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent reward power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis Two: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater coercive power to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent coercive power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis Three: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater legitimate power to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent legitimate power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis Four: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater expert power to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent expert power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis Five: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater independence to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent independence are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis Six: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater conformity to female adolescents than male adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent conformity are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes.

Power

The diversity of conceptualizations defining the power variable is evidence of the changing nature of social relations. Various ideas, analogies, classifications and concepts that are distinctive to specific models of power make it imperative that researchers specify the conceptual differences involved in their particular use of social power concepts. In the following section, therefore, four major theoretical perspectives of social power will be discussed: field theory, exchange theory, decision-making theory, and role theory.

Field theory. French and Raven's model of power sources (1959), the basis for this study, originated from the field theory tradition advanced by Lewin (1951) and further developed by Cartwright (1959) and others. Cartwright (1959), for example, looked to field theory as a means of coordinating the work done in social psychology at the individual, group and organizational level. Power was defined as a

mathematical equation involving "the induction of psychological forces by one entity O upon P and to the resistance to this induction set up by P." The behavior of P was determined by the totality of forces operating upon him/her at any given time, but the power of O over P was concerned only with those influences on P's behavior originating with O. "Force," in this case, did not refer to coercion or the application of sanctions but rather pertained to a tendency to change some property of the life space. Cartwright listed three types of force:

1. Own: Based on a need of the tension system of the individual.
2. Induced: Originating in the will of another person.
3. Impersonal: Derived from an impersonal segment of the environment.

Force was one of the elementary concepts in field theory and was defined as a set of seven factors:

1. Agent: Any entity which can produce effects or suffer consequences.
2. Act of an agent: Event which activates an event.
3. Locus: A region, position on a scale indicating rate of performance or attitude, position in a group.
4. Direct joining: Spatial interrelation.
5. Motive base: Need, drive, or other predispositions which result in behavior.
6. Magnitude indicator: Strength.
7. Time indicator: The duration of any event.

Cartwright emphasized conceptual rigor in the study of power and the result was a sophisticated conception of power in social relationships.

Closely related to Cartwright's conception is the typological analysis of social power proposed by French and Raven (1959). Using the theoretical constructs of field theory, French and Raven clarified Lewin's use of needs or "motive bases" of P by attempting to show how the range of O's power over P may vary depending on the particular bases of O's power. They delineated five types of power as follows: (1) reward power, based on the ability of O to provide rewards for P, (2) coercive power, based on O's ability to mediate adverse consequences for P, (3) legitimate power, based on P's beliefs that O has the right to control his/her behavior or opinions, (4) expert power, based on P's perception of superior knowledge and skill in O, (5) referent power, based on P's identification with a powerful other. This typology of power provided an identification of at least five different motive bases involved in O's power over P. The idea being that an act of O must signal a motive base in P to activate a force. Furthermore, P's motive base functions as the basis of O's power over him/her.

Exchange theory. Authors of exchange theory view the power construct quite differently from field theorists. Although the concept, resource, is an important one to exchange theorists, resources must be used before an actor can change or modify the behavior of another. The basic premise in social exchange theory, therefore, is that people in all social interactions attempt to maximize rewards and minimize costs in an effort to obtain the most profitable outcomes. Social

interaction, in turn, is conceptualized as the mutual exchange of rewards (benefits) and punishments (costs).

According to Homans (1958), exchange underlies all of human behavior. He regarded social behavior as an exchange of goods, material goods, but also non-material goods, such as symbols of approval or prestige. According to this perspective, persons who get much from others are under pressure to give much to them. Social power, in this case, is determined by the amount and range of control one individual has over the rewards and punishments of another.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959), for example, suggest that social power is defined as the capability or potential that one person has to affect another person's outcomes. They propose that each person in an interaction has a repertoire of possible behavior that could be performed. Moreover, the experience of reward or punishment by each person in an interaction depends jointly on the action of both persons in the relationship and the outcome of an interaction is the balance between the rewards and costs that result.

Another interpretation of exchange theory proposed by Emerson (1962) complements that of Thibaut and Kelley. Power is defined as the "amount of resistance on the part of P which can be potentially overcome by O." He proposed that the power of O resided implicitly in P's dependency and argued that power in such a relationship was equal to, and based upon, the dependence of P upon O. Emerson suggested that there is a tendency for power relationships to move toward a state of balance or mutual dependency over time.

Basically, exchange theorists argue that an individual's power over another is dependent on the ability to manipulate or determine another's rewards and costs in exchange for desired behavior. If this is true, one might expect to find a positive correlation between the possession of power resources and the use of power.

Decision-making theory. Tedeschi, Bonoma, and Schlenker (1972) and Pollard and Mitchell (1972) have proposed another conception of power referred to as a decision-making analysis of social power. This theory assumes that individuals will choose actions with the maximum overall utility. That is, those actions that result in the most positive or least negative outcomes. Social power, in this analysis, refers to "intended effects" and is concerned with the agent's ability to effect the decisions that are made by a target person. Assessing social power using decision-making theory requires the determination of both the agent's intentions and the effects the agent has on the target's decision-making.

Role theory. A role theory perspective of social power (Biddle & Thomas, 1966; Sarbin & Allen, 1968), on the other hand, is concerned with socially learned role behavior that is prescribed by social norms for interaction, status, and power. Within this theoretical perspective, social power is primarily defined in terms of sanctions and information control. The overall role structure of a group, as well as individual relationships, defines a person's power relative to other individuals. Certain roles seem to empower their occupants with the opportunity to alter significantly their social relationships within the social system.

Although roles prescribe certain actions, they also function to place individuals in hierarchical social relations that have established rules of interaction and power. The power structure of a relationship rests on the fact that certain kinds of transactions are dictated between various positions.

Adolescence

Adolescence, sometimes referred to as the period of preadulthood, represents a time when adolescents are typically acquiring power in relation to their parents. Examples of this "passage-of-power" are adolescents earning their own money, owning their own cars, and making decisions about various aspects of their lives (time, friends, career). Therefore, this stage is important for examining parental perceptions of male and female adolescent power, conformity, and independence.

There seems to be little question that adolescence is a time of change, both physically and psychologically. In conjunction with rapid body growth, adolescents generally are experiencing significant psychological and social changes. That is, changes in their power relationships with parents, the beginning of separation from parents, increased involvement within the peer group, a conscious search for individual uniqueness, and an exploration of gender identity are important developmental issues during adolescence. These tasks are enhanced by expanding intellectual capacities to think abstractly and, therefore, to question social norms that were unquestioned during childhood. As such capacities broaden, adolescents begin to think seriously about their future roles, a capacity that can be both anxiety producing and exhilarating (Coleman, 1980).

The chief interpersonal theme in adolescence is the gradual movement from childhood dependence on parents toward greater involvement with the larger social context. In the case of some young people, this process is fraught with tension and conflict. Power struggles sometimes occur between parents and adolescents over various rights, needs, and life-style issues (e.g., clothing styles, choice of friends) in which a satisfactory conclusion cannot be reached. Some adolescents react by leaving home and becoming "runaways," often refusing to let parents know of their intentions (Nye, 1982). For the most part, however, adolescents disengage gradually from their families with only minor turmoil (Coleman, 1980).

A cross-national study by Kandel and Lesser (1972), for example, found numerous indications that effective relationships with both parents and peers are compatible and very typical. These researchers reported that adolescents tended to rely on parents for major decisions (career and educational plans), advice about serious personal problems, and report extensive closeness combined with feelings of responsibility toward their families. At the same time, adolescents who were greatly involved in peer activities also reported that they fulfilled high amounts of family responsibilities. It was Kandel and Lesser's conclusion that the two worlds of youth (parent and peer) often are mutually reinforcing. Contrary to the common stereotype of a "generation gap," many adolescents share the diverse values, beliefs, and attitudes characteristic of their elders. In addition, research by Douvan and Adelson (1966) supports the idea that harmonious relationships with parents are typical of young people who are full participants in adolescent society.

Parental Sex Role Attitudes and Adolescent Power,
Conformity, Independence

Besides the major independent variable (gender of adolescent) and dependent variables (adolescent power, independence, and conformity), another important variable for this study was the sex role attitudes of parents. Much of the literature pertaining to this variable, in turn, has been conducted primarily with infants and preschoolers. As a result, inferences from these studies to the power relationship of the adolescent-parent dyad are necessary. This is a reasonable assumption, given that the cumulative history of the parent-child relationship is crucial for predictions about outcomes occurring in adolescence (Heilbrun & Waters, 1968).

Many studies have been conducted investigating parental perceptions and behavior regarding gender differences at birth (Rubin, Provenzano & Luria, 1974; Meyer & Sobieszek, 1972; Seavey, Katz & Zalk, 1975; Sidorowicz & Lunney, 1980; Moss, 1974; Lewis & Weinraub, 1974; Fagot, 1974). Generally, when the participants were parents or other adults, the gender of the infant was the causal factor determining many of their attitudes and responses. Male babies were described as active, big, and tough, whereas, females were described as delicate, pretty, and small. In teaching tasks to infants, fathers showed more concern for their sons; achievement than for their daughters. In the case of sons, fathers concentrated upon the cognitive aspects of the teaching situation, while showing a sensitivity to the interpersonal aspects of the teaching situation with daughters. Fathers also were

more protective of and applied less achievement pressure to daughters than sons.

The parents' perceptions of appropriate male/female behavior, therefore, most likely will affect how parents respond to their sons or daughters. Consequently, the parents' sex role attitudes will be the criteria (or contingent variable) used in this study as a means of stratifying parents into four groups: (1) mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, (2) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, (3) mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, and (4) fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes. Separate multivariate models involving parents' education, family size, and gender of adolescent (independent variables) in relation to conformity, independence, and the power dimensions (the dependent variables) will be analyzed for each of these groups (see Figures 1 through 3).

Perceived Gender Differences in Adolescent Power

Contrary to previous studies where parental power was investigated from the adolescent's perspective, this study examined the issue of adolescent power from the parent's perspective. Specifically, will parents perceive reward, coercive, expert, and legitimate power differently for sons versus daughters.

Hypothesis One: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater reward power to female adolescents than male adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent reward power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes (see Figure 1).

Independent Variables

Dependent Variables

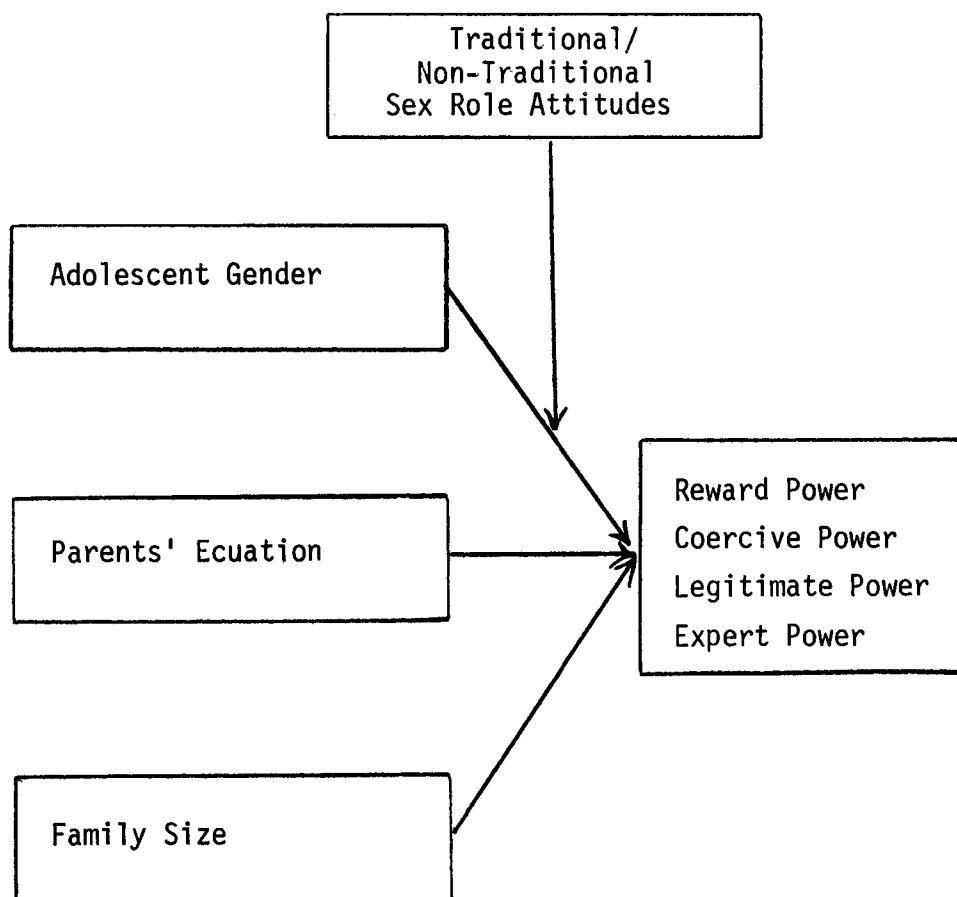


Figure 1. Parents' perceptions of gender differences and reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, and expert power.

Independent Variables

Dependent Variables

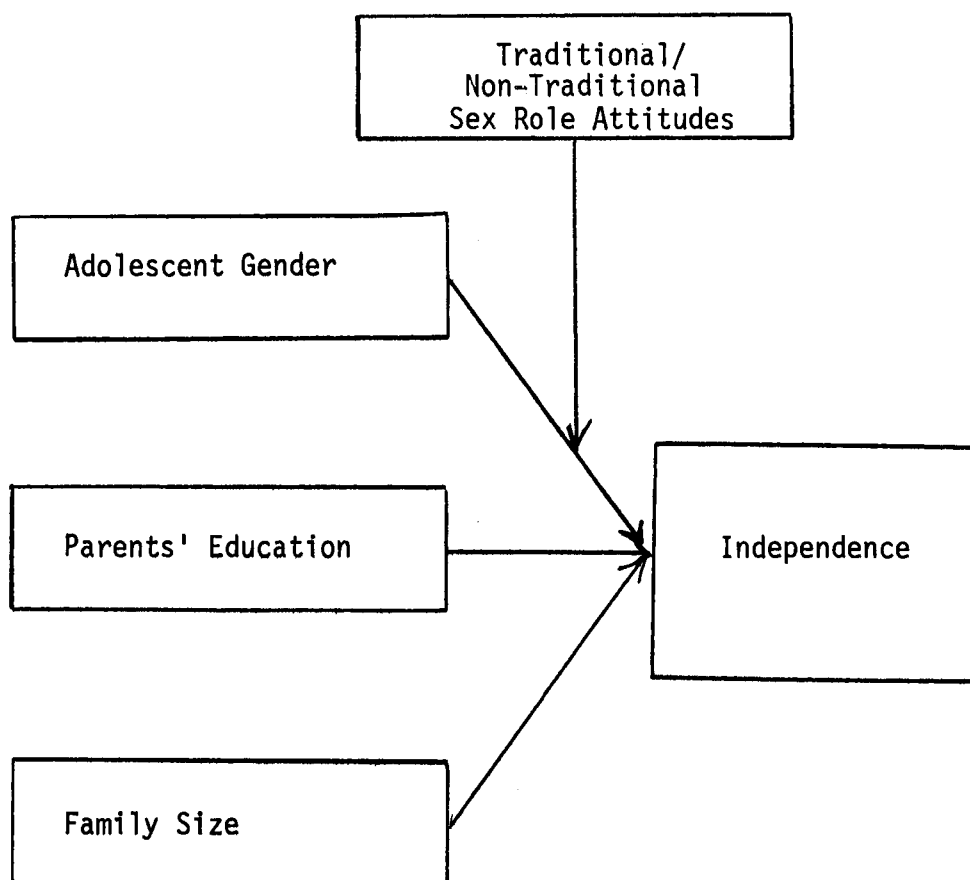


Figure 2. Parents' perceptions of gender differences and independence.

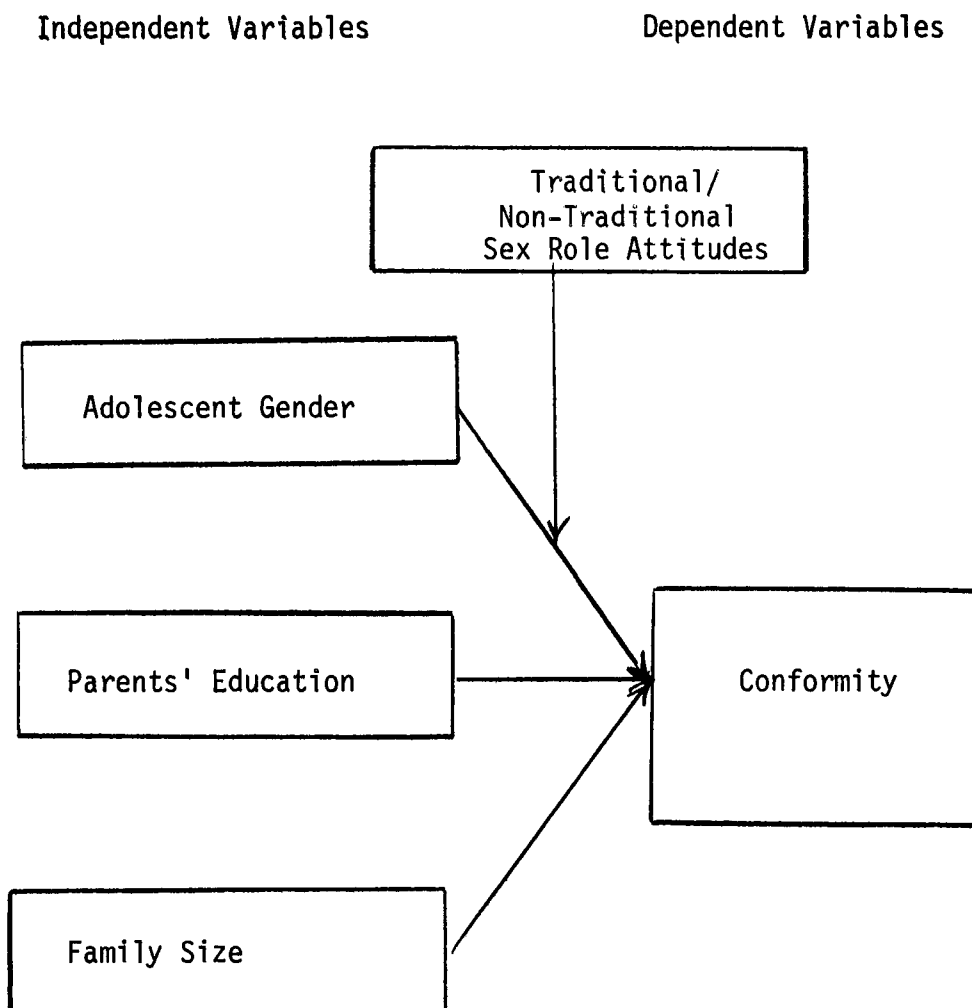


Figure 3. Parents' perceptions of gender differences and conformity.

Hypothesis Two: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater coercive power to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent coercive power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes (see Figure 1).

Hypothesis Three: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater legitimate power to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent legitimate power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes (see Figure 1).

Hypothesis Four: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater expert power to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent expert power are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes (see Figure 1).

From the parent's perspective, social power was defined as the adolescent's perceived capacity or potential to influence others. Parents attribute power to either their sons or daughters in terms of four power bases: reward, coercive, legitimate, and expert power.

In prior studies of adolescents' perceptions of parental power, both legitimate and referent power (Smith, 1970; McDonald, 1977) have been identified as factors which determine adolescent identification and compliance to parents. For example, in a study examining relationships between adolescent identification and parental power,

McDonald (1977, 1980), argued that the power structure has become an increasingly important factor in understanding family relationships. McDonald utilized French and Raven's conceptions to create a theory of social power and identification in which the controller of resources (the parent) is conceptualized as the main source of imitative behavior in the adolescent. That is, parents who are perceived by youth to control the valued resources become influential and are the main source of imitation or modeling by offspring. In these studies, perceived outcome-control (reward, coercive) power was the weakest power variable and perceived referent power was generally the strongest variable.

In addition, Rollins and Thomas (1975) developed an exchange/ social power theoretical model which supported the idea that parental effectiveness in the socialization of children is, in part, the result of high parental power. Furthermore, studies by Smith (1970a, 1970b, 1977) have indicated that separate bases (outcome-control, referent, legitimate, expert) of social power or perceived resources of parents were positively related to the compliance of adolescents to parental desires. Part of Smith's model was a modified version of the ideas conceptualized by French and Raven (1959) from social power theory. Smith's model provided power bases for interpersonal influence with levels of power determined by the interaction of resources, dependences, and alternatives. Findings from this research indicate that parental power resources account for far more of the variance in parental influence upon adolescents than dependencies or alternatives. Also, of the power variables, outcome-control power had the smallest correlation with adolescent's compliance to parents and legitimate power the highest.

Currently, no studies exist in which investigators have used French and Raven's power bases to measure the differences in parental attributions of power for adolescent males and females. However, literature on general cultural and parental attitudes toward their children may support predictions about gender differences in the perceptions of parents concerning their offspring.

Appropriate power interactions relevant to males/females are, in part, patterns of behavior dictated by cultural norms. Reviewing studies regarding parents' perceptions of gender differences pertaining to their sons' or daughters' power, conformity, and independence should provide information about power and gender differences affecting parents' perceptions of their children's influence.

In terms of gender role socialization, cultural traditions dictate that males and females are perceived and should be treated differently from the moment of birth (blue blanket versus pink blanket). Simply the fact that male infants are preferred by parents at birth is evidence of a cultural bias valuing males. Binitz, Dynes, and Clarke (1954) and Hammer (1970), for example, provided evidence indicating an overwhelming preference for males by adult respondents (10 percent of males preferred males; 78 percent of females preferred males). Hoffman (1977), in turn, found that boys from a nationwide sample were the preferred gender and that parents of daughters were more likely to continue having children as a means of having a son.

The fact that males are preferred seems to continue throughout adolescence and adulthood. This preference pertaining to males was supported in studies by Broverman (1970), Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee,

Broverman, and Broverman (1968), and Broverman, Bogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972), in which mental health clinicians and college students reported information regarding male/female sex role stereotypes. Participants were asked to define a healthy person, a healthy man, and a healthy woman. According to these results, while a mentally healthy man was seen as aggressive, independent, objective, and autonomous, a mentally healthy woman was seen as submissive, dependent, subjective, and suggestible. The mentally healthy person of unspecified sex, however, was described in the same terms as a healthy man. Thus, clinicians and college students, appear to define mental health in terms of characteristics that are most commonly associated with the masculine role. It would seem, therefore, that if one gender (male adolescent) is perceived as "better" or more "agentic," than this preferred gender might influence parents to attribute power or other special qualities to them.

Johnson (1976), for example, investigated how adults interact in daily life situations regarding sex role stereotypes and the use of power. Traditional norms have long existed which specify that males should use power directly, while females are expected to utilize indirect forms of power. Although it might be effective in the short run, the use of indirect (or manipulative) power may have negative consequences for its users in the long run. That is, indirect power could easily keep its user in a subordinate position because the source of power is concealed.

Results from Johnson's study indicated that men were perceived as being more direct in their use of power techniques, have more

concrete power resources (money, knowledge, physical strength), and are less inclined to use helplessness as a means of gaining power. In contrast, women are socialized to use power through such indirect ways as manipulation, expressions of approval, and helplessness. Using French and Raven's model of power bases, Johnson also asked students to identify who the "influencer" was in particular power situations. Findings indicated that coercive, legitimate, expert, and informational power were significantly more expected of males than females. Reward power, on the other hand, was the type of power associated with females.

Additional reasons why gender has implications for power attribution include: (a) sex as a characteristic of the person being evaluated, (b) sex as subject variable which moderates causal judgements, and (c) sex as a defining characteristic of the task (Deaux, 1976; Deaux & Emswiller, 1974). Apparently, sex role stereotypes were directly linked to an individual's judgement about causality. In other words, whether the individuals were male or female influences whether they were judged successful on task performances and the reasons for success. In the case of males, success was attributed to skill, whereas, success in females often was attributed to luck.

Felman-Summers and Kiesler (1974), in turn, found similar results when measuring the traits of a successful medical career. Success for females was attributed to greater effort, an easier task, and more luck, but ability was the successful factor for males. In reference to a mechanical task, Etaugh and Brown (1975), found that the male's success was attributed to ability and the woman's success was attributed to the more temporary cause of extra effort. Such

results imply that women, when compared with men, are perceived as having less innate ability to be successful in task performance. That females, as well as males, concurred with this notion seems to suggest how important sex role stereotypes may be in influencing perceptions of adults.

Goldberg (1968) studied perceptions and evaluations of male/female performance by assigning the name John McKay or Joan McKay to the same articles. Consistently, the articles were evaluated higher when written by a man, indicating that the perceived value of the article was dependent upon the author's gender. In both tangible and intangible ways, the message reoccurs--males are perceived as being more competent and powerful.

Perceived Gender Differences in Adolescent Independence

Hypothesis Five: It is predicted that parents will attribute greater independence to male adolescents than female adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent independence are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes (see Figure 2, page 29).

The foundations for the development of an independent individual lie in infancy, when a child who has been given affection, acceptance, and understanding develops a secure base from which to undertake the many steps toward independence. This process seems to be more characteristic of males than females because it is more frequently associated with high than low power. Findings from research (Hoffman, 1977; Collart, 1964) indicate that between infancy and adolescence, males

are socialized for and expected to exhibit behavior consistent with independence and competence (i.e., not crying, standing up for oneself, being tough, providing for others, and not showing fears). If independence and power are closely related phenomena, then it is important to examine parental perceptions of independence in reference to their offspring.

From the parent's perspective, independence exists when adolescents rely on their own ideas and judgements to direct their behavior. Furthermore, adolescents pursue independence within boundaries that are acceptable to parents and consistent with basic expectations and values of the family.

Studies pertaining to independence and gender differences have been conducted with very young children as well as adolescents. These studies of young children, in turn, need to be reviewed because adolescent behavior very often originates in childhood. White (1960), for example, describes all infants as dependent with strivings toward the effectance motive--the child's need to have an effect upon his/her environment. Thus, the child grasps and releases, reaches and pulls, and in the course of doing this they learn about their environment and the ability to manipulate it. As the infant matures, activities which offer more challenge are undertaken. Increasingly, they involve separating the self from the mother and leaving the security of that unity. Early independence explorations seem to take place most successfully with the parent being present. As the child gains confidence, the parent's presence becomes less and less necessary. The time period between one to four years of age, in turn, is critical for the

development of independence and competence in young children.

Another important point is that even with an adequate effective base, children's independent behavior does not happen automatically (Baumrind & Black, 1967; Baumrind, 1972). It requires not only opportunities for independent behavior, but also actual parental encouragement. As research by Baumrind (1967, 1972) indicates, competence comes not from permissiveness, but from guidance and encouragement. The first steps a child takes are both exciting and frightening, with cues (either encouraging or discouraging) from the mother greatly influencing the child's subsequent behavior. The mother's delight is part of her independence training--her apprehension constitutes training in dependence.

Collart (1964) asked mothers of four-year-olds to indicate the ages they thought parents should expect or permit certain independent child behaviors. For example, parents were asked at what age they believed parents should: (a) begin to allow their child to use sharp scissors with no adult supervision, (b) tie one's own shoes, (c) begin to allow their child to play away from home for long periods of time, and (d) take a bus ride. The answers to these questions yielded two measures--independence granting and achievement induction. Mothers of girls responded with later ages than mothers of boys. Gender differences of this kind were significant for the independence-granting items and particularly strong to the middle class.

Observing parent-child interactions in the home, Fagot (1978) found that the parents of toddlers responded differently to dependency in boys and girls. That is, when their daughters asked parents for

help, they were more likely to react positively, but when sons asked for help, a negative response was more likely. Although Fagot was examining parents' behaviors, their responses to males and females could be indicative of their perceptions relevant to appropriate gender behavior.

It appears that parents' independence training begins much earlier for boys than for girls (Hoffman, 1977). Generally, females have (a) less encouragement for independence, (b) more parental protectiveness, (c) less cognitive and social pressure for establishing an identity separate from the mother, and (d) less mother-child conflict which highlights this separation. As a result, boys learn effectance through mastery, but girls are effective through eliciting the help and protection of others.

This pattern of gender differences relevant to independence continues throughout adolescence. A study by Murphy (1963), for example, examined the development of autonomy during the first year of college in terms of previous parent-child interactions. Adolescents who were successful in establishing autonomy tended to have parents that maintained a realistic framework of control and demonstrated an inductive quality by clarifying values and standards through frequent communication.

The power of one person, Emerson (1962) argues, resides in the other's dependency. While the adolescent acquires instrumental independence in the peer group and other areas, they also remain dependent upon other areas. Successful and responsible independence retain elements of dependence as a component part. Logically, as

adolescents mature and make other contacts outside the family, parents gradually perceive them as more proficient, responsible, and better able to make decisions. However, evidence seems to suggest that parents may perceive these independent skills as more important for sons than daughters.

Perceived Gender Differences in Adolescent Conformity

Hypothesis Six: It is predicted that parents will attribute attribute greater conformity to female adolescents than male adolescents. Furthermore, greater gender differences in adolescent conformity are expected to be attributed by parents with traditional rather than non-traditional attitudes (see Figure 3, page 30).

Every person lives in a society, shares in a culture, and must conform to the "ground rules" of their society if they are to function effectively. Each society assigns roles to women and men composed of expectations for socially defined patterns of behavior. Through the process of socialization, males and females acquire a set of beliefs, attitudes, and a range of behaviors which are consistent with the role to which they are expected to conform. A degree of conformity is necessary to be a functioning member of a family or a society. When individuals are characterized as highly conforming, however, one would suspect that they are defined as having low power and status.

Conformity, from the parent's perspective, occurs when adolescents follow the directions or agree with the expectations of parents as authority figures. Individuals characterized as conforming tend to be

concerned with obedience to others. Findings from various studies indicate that culturally defined gender roles encourage conformity in females. Brown (1982), for example, suggests that the sex role system as it functions in American society creates a difficult double bind for women. Domestic roles and the traditional feminine behaviors of nurturing, dependence, conformity, passivity, and submissiveness are not valued by our society. Instead, value is placed on productivity, profits, and achievement in both the educational and economic spheres. Thus, if women conform to prescribed roles, they often are excluded from opportunities to share in highly valued occupational activities. On the other hand, if women defy convention, they often risk alienation and doubts about their own femininity.

Studies involving females and conformity reflect that traditional acceptance of dependent and passive behavior may be appropriate during the preschool years. For example, females performing in compliant and dependent roles does not conflict with adult expectations, and may even facilitate school performance and achievement during the elementary and junior high school years. Conformity to a feminine sex role, however, may also limit intellectual or cognitive development by restricting the child's exposure to certain types of experience or learning situations (Serbin, 1972). Although compliant and dependent behavior is acceptable for females during the preschool years, this behavior may cause stress and conflict during adolescence and adulthood when they have to assume adult responsibilities and make independent decisions. Role conflict between "feminine" behavior considered acceptable in young children, and those expected of adult women may well

be responsible for increased psychological problems as females mature (Fodor, 1974; Powell & Reznikoff, 1976). Thus, the stereotype of the conforming female is a general cultural expectation that functions to influence parents' perceptions of their adolescents' conformity.

Control Variables

Parent's educational status is an important control variable which has been studied to identify relationships relevant to power, conformity, and independence. Different levels of education expose individuals to certain value systems and certain occupations. Kohn (1977), for example, suggests that different levels of formal education are related to the development of personal characteristics such as intellectual flexibility, breadth of perspective, and tolerance of non-conformity. Persons of higher social status are more likely to value self-direction, non-conformity, and more egalitarian power relationships. Persons of lower education attainment, on the other hand, tend to be characterized by a greater emphasis on conformity and the tendency to follow the dictates of authority. The educational level of parents, therefore, was examined as a control variable in relation to adolescent power, conformity, and independence (see Figures 1 through 3, pages 28, 29, and 30, respectively).

Family size, also included as a control variable (see Figures 1 through 3), influences parents' perceptions/behaviors of their adolescents' power, conformity, and independence. That is, as the number of children increases, parents generally emphasize the need for greater conformity, less independence and less egalitarian power relations. Furthermore,

results from studies indicate that parents having several children desire to use more control, higher levels of physical punishment, and more authoritarian techniques than parents of fewer children (Bossard & Boll, 1956; Elder & Bowerman, 1963; Peterson & Kunz, 1975; Scheck & Emerick, 1976). How parents perceive differences relative to their sons' or daughters' power, independence, and conformity may depend, in part, on the number of siblings comprising the family unit.

Summary

Literature reviewed in this chapter predicts gender differences in parents' perceptions of adolescent power, conformity, and independence. As indicated throughout the literature review, it is expected that parents with traditional sex role attitudes will perceive greater gender differences in their offspring than parents with non-traditional sex role attitudes. Gender differences in adolescent independence, conformity, and power were examined separately for groups of parents with traditional sex role attitudes and groups of parents having non-traditional sex role attitudes.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

This research focused on parental perceptions of gender differences relevant to their adolescents' conformity, independence, and power. The design for this study was an ex post facto cross-sectional design. Six dependent variables, adolescent reward power, coercive power, expert power, legitimate power, adolescent conformity, and adolescent independence were examined. Each of the six dependent variables were predicted by three independent variables: (1) adolescent gender differences, (2) parents' educational level, and (3) family size. Relationships were examined by computing separate analyses for parents having traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.

Sample

The sample used for this study was acquired as part of a research project funded by the Agricultural Experiment Station, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, to study parent-adolescent relationships. Participants comprising the sample were parents whose sons/daughters attended the only public high school in an area of eastern Tennessee. The sample school was located in a small rural community having a mixture of socio-economic levels represented in the population. Generally, families included in the study were white, lower middle class, blue collar, and Protestant.

The total enrollment of the high school was 956 students. Of that number, 657 (69 percent) students chose to participate in this study. Demographic information about the sample revealed that:

1. The mean age of the 271 males and 381 females participating in the study was 16.3 years.
2. Eight hundred, twenty-two (822) parents participated in the study, with 445 being mothers and 367 being fathers.
3. Fathers had an average occupational prestige score of 38.6 (Duncan's Socioeconomic Index, 1961) with an average educational attainment of 12.01 years of formal schooling.
4. Mothers had an average occupational prestige score of 37.8 (Duncan's Socioeconomic Index, 1961), with an average educational attainment of 11.94 years of formal schooling.
5. There were 369 rural families versus 279 town residents involved in the study.
6. Of the 822 parents participating in the study, 367 represented intact families in which both parents filled out and returned the questionnaire.

This study was concerned with the 367 fathers and 367 mothers from intact families who responded to and returned the project questionnaire.

Procedure

Data from the sample were obtained by acquiring permission from school officials to conduct the study and arrangements were made to assess students in English classes. English classes were chosen because

this provided access to the entire student population. Letters describing the nature of the project were sent home to parents. Similar letters also were distributed to adolescents in English classes. Both parents and adolescents who participated in the study signed informed consent forms.

The Survey of High School Students questionnaire was distributed and responded to by students in English classes. Trained members of the research team were present to give directions and answer questions. A packet of questionnaires was sent home to the parents containing two forms of the Survey for the Parents of High School Students to be completed separately by the mother and father. A stamped, self-addressed envelope was enclosed in the packet for the convenience of the respondents. Students whose parents (or guardian) mailed back the questionnaire were given a school t-shirt.

Measurement

The Survey for Parents of High School Students

The measurement instrument for both the parent and adolescent sample was a self-report pencil and paper questionnaire. The parent questionnaire entitled Survey for Parents of High School Students contained: (a) measures of general sociodemographic information, and (b) items pertaining to adolescent power, parental behavior, adolescent independence, adolescent conformity, sex role attitudes, familism (family responsibilities), locus of control, adolescent autonomy, and parental satisfaction. The variables used for this study were the parents' self-reports of adolescent independence, conformity, reward

power, coercive power, expert power, legitimate power, gender, family size, and their own (the parent's) educational level.

Adolescent Power

The instrument measuring parental perceptions of adolescent power was developed specifically for this project. Thirty-five Likert-type items were initially developed for the scale. After examination for content validity by social science professionals, 8 items were dropped from the scale based on these evaluations. Two initial principal components, factor analyses with varimax rotations, were then conducted on the responses of mothers and fathers to the remaining 27 items. Results for these analyses, in turn, indicated that 6 additional items failed to attain factor loading of .5 and were dropped from the scale. Two additional principal components factor analyses with varimax rotations (one for mothers, one for fathers), were applied to the responses of the remaining 21 items (see Tables 1 and 2). Identical five factor solutions consisting of reward, coercive, legitimate, expert, and referent power dimensions resulted for mothers and fathers. Eighteen items representing four adolescent dimensions were used in this study (reward, coercive, expert, legitimate). Reliability for each dimension was established by computing Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficients.

Parental perceptions of adolescent reward power. Parents marked four Likert-type items pertaining to the reward power of their sons or daughters. These items were concerned with an adolescent's potential ability to mediate such rewards as making others feel good in different situations (see Appendix A, Item 1). An example of a reward power item

Table 1

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix of Items Pertaining to Mothers' and Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Reward Power and Coercive Power

Factor Name Items	Reward Power		Coercive Power	
	MOTHERS Factor Loading	FATHERS Factor Loading	MOTHERS Factor Loading	FATHERS Factor Loading
This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel very good by choosing the right kind of friends.	<u>.78</u>	<u>.76</u>	This teenager is the kind of person who can make me feel bad when we have a hard time talking about important family matters.	<u>.72</u> <u>.74</u>
This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel very good by choosing the right kind of educational goals.	<u>.85</u>	<u>.88</u>	This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel bad by choosing the wrong kind of friends.	<u>.86</u> <u>.83</u>
This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel very good by choosing the right kind of occupational goals.	<u>.83</u>	<u>.89</u>	This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel bad by choosing the wrong kind of educational goals.	<u>.90</u> <u>.88</u>
This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel good by choosing the right kind of dating partner.	<u>.83</u>	<u>.86</u>	This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel bad by choosing the wrong kind of occupational goals.	<u>.85</u> <u>.84</u>

Table 1 (continued)

	Reward Power	MOTHERS Factor Loading	FATHERS Factor Loading	Coercive Power	MOTHERS Factor Loading	FATHERS Factor Loading
Factor Name Items						
				This teenager is the kind of person who could make me suffer by choosing the wrong kind of dating partners.	.83	.82
				This teenager is the kind of person who could make me suffer by not doing what I tell him/her to do.	.77	.76

Table 2

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix of Items Pertaining to Mothers' and Fathers' Perception of Adolescent Legitimate Power and Expert Power

Factor Name Items	Legitimate Power			Expert Power		
	MOTHERS Factor Loading	FATHERS Factor Loading	Factor Name Items	MOTHERS Factor Loading	FATHERS Factor Loading	
This teenager has the right to choose his/her own occupational goals.	<u>.49</u>	<u>.83</u>	This teenager's wishes should be given a great deal of importance when it comes to making decisions about his/her relationships with members of the opposite sex.	<u>.86</u>	<u>.81</u>	
This teenager has the right to choose his/her own educational goals.	<u>.55</u>	<u>.83</u>	This teenager's ideas are not very good when it comes to deciding what persons of the opposite sex he/she should or should not get involved with.	<u>.81</u>	<u>.81</u>	
This teenager has a right to choose his/her own dating partners.	<u>.82</u>	<u>.42</u>	This teenager's opinions should be given much weight when it comes to making decisions about his/her education.	<u>.70</u>	<u>.80</u>	
This teenager has a right to choose his/her own friends.	<u>.78</u>	<u>.53</u>	This teenager's opinions should be given a great deal of importance when it comes to making decisions about his/her education.	<u>.16</u>	<u>.68</u>	

was: "This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel good by choosing the right kind of friends." Reward power was measured by summing the scores for the responses of parents to the four Likert-type items. A score could range from one to four with the value one representing the strongly agree category and the score of four representing the strongly disagree category. The Alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for this variable were .86 for mothers and .85 for fathers.

Parental perceptions of adolescent coercive power. There were six Likert-type items measuring adolescent coercive power as perceived by parents. These items were concerned with an adolescent's ability to punish or make others feel bad in different situations (see Appendix A, Item 2). An example indicating coercive power was: "This teenager is the kind of person who could make me suffer by not doing what I tell him/her to do." Coercive power was measured by summing the scores for the responses of parents to the six Likert-type items. For example, a score could range from one to four with the value one representing the strongly agree category and the score of four representing the strongly disagree category. The Alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for this variable were .90 for mothers and .90 for fathers.

Parental perceptions of adolescent expert power. Parents' perceptions of their adolescent's expert power was measured by four Likert-type items. These items were concerned with an adolescent's knowledge and ability to provide information regarding educational or

occupational goals (see Appendix A, Item 3). An example of an expert power item was: "This teenager's opinions should be given a great deal of importance, when it comes to making decisions about his/her education." Expert power was measured by summing the scores for the responses of parents to the four Likert-type items. For example, a score could range from one to four with the value one representing the strongly agree category and the score of four representing the strongly disagree category. The Alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for this variable were .80 for mothers and .81 for fathers.

Parental perceptions of adolescent legitimate power. Parents also responded to five Likert-type items pertaining to their adolescent's legitimate power. These items were concerned with the adolescent's right to make their own choices and influence the parent (see Appendix A, Item 4). An example of a legitimate power item was: "This teenager has the right to choose his/her own friends." Legitimate power was measured by summing the scores for the responses of parents to the five Likert-type items. For example, a score could range from one to four with the value of one representing the strongly agree category and the score of four representing the strongly disagree category. The Alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for this variable were .83 for mothers and .73 for fathers.

Parental Perceptions of Adolescent Conformity

The nine Likert-type items measuring adolescent conformity composed a modified version of an instrument developed by Thomas et al. (1974) that measures adolescent conformity to parents in such areas

as choice of movies, educational goals, choice of careers, choice of friends (see Appendix A, Item 5). An example of a conformity item was: "If I asked him/her to stop, this teenager would not talk in ways that I do not like." Conformity was measured by summing the scores for the responses of parents to the nine Likert-type items. For example, a score could range from one to four with the value of one representing the strongly agree category and the score of four representing the strongly disagree category. The Alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for this variable were .73 for mothers and .76 for fathers.

Parental Perceptions of Adolescent Independence

Parents responded to ten Likert-type items based on a scale developed by Elder (1963) on adolescent independence. These items concerned adolescents making their own decisions and the degree of freedom they were perceived to have (see Appendix A, Item 6). An example of an independence item was: "I believe that most of the time this teenager feels that he/she can make his/her own decisions." Independence was measured by summing the scores for the responses of parents to the ten Likert-type items. For example, a score could range from one to four with the value one representing the strongly agree category and the score four representing the strongly disagree category. The Alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for this variable were .83 for mothers and .81 for fathers.

Parental Sex Role Attitudes

Parents' sex role attitudes were measured by summing the responses of parents to eight Likert-type items from a scale developed by Smith and Self (1980). These items concerned the views of parents on different male/female behavior ranging from traditional to non-traditional attitudes about male and female roles (see Appendix A, Item 7). For instance, the question, "Women are by nature more emotional than men," was a traditional statement, while the statement, "In general, working women are just as happy as housewives," is representative of a more-non-traditional statement. A score could range from one to four with the value of one representing the most traditional response and a score of four representing the most non-traditional response. The way the question was written determined which response (strongly agree or strongly disagree) was a traditional versus a non-traditional sex role attitude. The Alpha reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for this variable were .70 for mothers and .68 for fathers.

Parents' Educational Level

Parents' educational level was measured by the responses of parents to an item asking them to indicate the number of school years they had completed (see Appendix A, Item 9).

Family Size

Family size was measured by recording the responses by parents to items requesting them to indicate the number and gender of children in the family (see Appendix A, Item 10).

Adolescent Gender

The gender of adolescent variable was measured by an item that requested adolescents to indicate whether they were a male or a female (see Appendix A, Item 8).

Data Reduction and Transformation

After the data were collected, the adolescents were matched with their parents and ordered by number. The data on the questionnaires were transformed to coding sheets by two trained coders. Subsequently, the data were key punched on cards and verified by the key punch operators. From the cards, the data were transferred to a magnetic computer tape and a disk. A code book was then developed and each variable was labeled on the tape and the disk for use with two programs, Statistical Analysis System (Helwig & Council, 1979) and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner & Bent, 1975). Means, frequencies, and standard deviations were then calculated on all the variables.

Plan of Analysis

Two multiple regression analyses were used to test the relationships between the independent variables and dependent variables within four subdivisions of the sample: (1) mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, (2) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, (3) mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, and (4) fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes. The first type of regression analysis was conducted to determine if gender differences existed in

the manner that mothers and fathers comprising the total parent sample perceived their adolescents' power, independence, and conformity. The second regression procedure was used to examine the six hypotheses of this study. Each of the adolescent outcomes (reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, independence, conformity) was predicted by the gender variable (used as a dummy variable in a multiple regression model to analyze for sex differences of adolescents), and by two control variables, family size, and parents' educational level. Separate models were analyzed for parents having traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The statistical results for the effect of adolescents' gender, parents' education, and family size on the parents' perception of their adolescents' reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, independence, and conformity are presented in this chapter. Two types of multiple regression analyses were used to test the relationships between the independent and dependent variables.

The first type of regression analysis was conducted to determine if gender differences existed in the manner that mothers and fathers perceived their adolescents' power independence, and conformity, without stratifying the sample into traditional versus non-traditional groups. To accomplish this, each dependent variable (i.e., reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, independence, and conformity) was examined in separate regression equations for mothers and fathers with adolescent's gender, parent's education, and family size as independent variables. Twelve separate regression equations were required to examine these issues.

The first regression procedure was both comparable to and more sophisticated than t-test procedures for statistical significance. That is, similar to the t-test procedure, differences in the group means for male and female adolescents on each dependent variable were tested by the gender-of-adolescent dummy variable. Furthermore, these regression analyses were more precise procedures than t-test analyses

because they controlled for the effects of family size and parents' education, at the same time that gender differences were examined. Results of this kind were used to highlight the effects of subsequent analyses in which distinctions were made between parents having traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes.

The second type of regression analysis was conducted to test the six hypotheses of this study. To accomplish this, each dependent variable (i.e., reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, independence, and conformity) was examined in terms of four regression equations having adolescent's gender, parents' education, and family size as independent variables. Twenty-four separate regression equations (i.e., four equations for each of the six dependent variables) were required to test the hypotheses for this study. The four regression equations for each dependent variable consisted of separate analyses for: (1) mothers having traditional sex role attitudes, (2) mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes, (3) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, and (4) fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes.

Gender Effects for Total Parent Sample

(Regression I)

As previously indicated, the initial regressions tested for gender differences between mothers' and fathers' perceptions of adolescent power, conformity, and independence without subdividing the sample by level of sex role attitudes (see Table 3). This overview provided some indication which regression equations could be significant for subsequent analyses.

Table 3

Multiple Regression Results of Differences Between Mothers' and Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Power, Conformity, and Independence Contingent Upon Gender, Family Size, and Parents' Education

	<u>Mothers' Perceptions</u>		<u>Fathers' Perceptions</u>	
	Beta	F	Beta	F
<u>Reward Power</u>				
Education	0.09059	2.069	-0.08484	1.928
Family Size	-0.04124	0.441	-0.15353	*6.365
Gender	-0.07486	1.475	-0.01885	0.096
<u>Coercive Power</u>				
Education	-0.08757	1.910	-0.08919	2.091
Family Size	-0.04777	0.585	-0.05011	0.665
Gender	-0.00433	0.005	-0.00366	0.004
<u>Legitimate Power</u>				
Education	0.16708	*7.153	-0.01229	0.040
Family Size	0.00272	0.002	-0.10154	2.740
Gender	-0.06440	1.109	-0.03774	0.379
<u>Expert Power</u>				
Education	-0.04328	0.464	-0.12631	*4.234
Family Size	-0.04999	0.638	-0.07286	1.420
Gender	-0.01667	0.072	-0.00123	0.023
<u>Independence</u>				
Education	0.14176	*5.082	0.00027	0.000
Family Size	-0.02061	0.111	-0.13210	*4.671
Gender	0.07394	1.443	0.05522	0.817
<u>Conformity</u>				
Education	0.05903	0.888	0.05420	0.794
Family Size	-0.11104	3.238	-0.15507	*6.553
Gender	-0.08998	2.153	-0.07016	1.343

* $p < .05$.

The most important result was that no gender differences were apparent for any of the twelve regression equations that examined the mothers' and fathers' perceptions of adolescent reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, independence, and conformity. In the case of the control variables, however, parents' education and family size were predictive of power, independence and conformity in several of the regression equations. That is, family size demonstrated significant negative betas in the equations concerned with the fathers' perceptions of adolescent reward power ($-.154$), independence ($-.132$), and conformity ($-.155$). For parents' education, on the other hand, significant positive betas were evident in the equations concerned with mothers' perception of adolescent legitimate power ($.167$) and independence ($.142$). A negative beta was significant for the relationship between fathers' education and adolescent expert power ($-.126$) in the equation concerned with the fathers' perceptions of adolescent expert power (see Table 3).

Gender Effects for Hypothesized Relationships

(Regression II)

For the second regression test, the parent sample was divided into four models (mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes). This analysis provided an examination of parents' perceptions of adolescent power, conformity, and independence for each of the six hypotheses.

Hypothesis Number One proposed that both traditional and non-traditional parents would perceive females as having greater reward power than male adolescents. It was further expected that perceived gender differences for adolescent reward power would be greater for traditional than for non-traditional parents. Analysis of the data did not substantiate this prediction for either traditional or non-traditional parents (see Tables 4 and 5). None of the betas for the gender of adolescent dummy variable were significant for any of the four equations involving non-traditional and traditional mothers and fathers. Although no significant gender differences were found, the control variable, family size, predicted reward power significantly (negative beta coefficient, $-.183$) within the equation involving fathers with traditional sex role attitudes.

Hypothesis Two predicted that both traditional and non-traditional mothers and fathers would perceive adolescent males as having greater coercive power than adolescent females. It was further expected that perceived gender differences for adolescent coercive power would be greater for traditional than for non-traditional parents. This prediction was not substantiated for either traditional or non-traditional mothers or fathers (see Tables 6 and 7). None of the betas for the gender of adolescent dummy variable were significant for any of the four equations involving non-traditional and traditional mothers and fathers. Neither of the control variables, parents' education or family size, predicted significant relationships in the equations concerned with traditional or non-traditional mothers or fathers (see Tables 6 and 7).

Table 4

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Mothers' Perceptions of Adolescent Reward Power

	Independent Variables								
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F
<u>Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.112	.077	.013	.013	0.758				
Family Size	-.070	-.037	.015	.003	0.172				
Gender	-.183	-.165	.041	0.26	3.464	.203	.041	.019	.838
TOTAL									
<u>Non-Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.109	.096	.012	.012	1.097				
Family Size	-.082	-.0557	.015	.003	0.389				
Gender	-.011	.012	.015	.000	0.018				
TOTAL						.122	.015	-.007	.670

Table 5

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Reward Power

	Independent Variables								
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F
<u>Traditional Fathers</u>									
Education	.052	.071	.037	.005	0.664				
Family Size	.119	.183	.032	.032	4.491*				
Gender	.022	.014	.032	.000	0.026				
TOTAL						.191	.037	.014	1.66
<u>Non-Traditional Fathers</u>									
Education	-.078	-.097	.021	.009	1.194				
Family Size	-.107	-.118	.011	.011	1.770				
Gender	-.022	-.021	.022	.000	0.056				
TOTAL						.144	.021	-.002	.898

*p < .05.

Table 6

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Mothers' Perceptions of Adolescent Coercive Power

	Independent Variables									
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F	
<u>Traditional Mothers</u>										
Education	.003	.010	.000	.000	0.012					
Family Size	.038	.039	.002	.002	0.192					
Gender	.007	.003	.002	.000	0.001					
TOTAL						.040	.002	-.022	.067	
<u>Non-Traditional Mothers</u>										
Education	-.127	-.166	.016	.016	3.351					
Family Size	-.077	-.123	.300	.014	1.914					
Gender	.008	-.021	.031	.000	0.060					
TOTAL						.174	.030	.009	1.400	

Table 7

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Coercive Power

	Independent Variables									
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F	
<u>Traditional Fathers</u>										
Education	-.142	-.144	.030	.020	2.742					
Family Size	.074	-.092	.005	.005	1.115					
Gender	.060	.050	.010	.004	0.327					
TOTAL						.174	.030	.008	1.357	
<u>Non-Traditional Fathers</u>										
Education	-.025	-.033	.003	.001	0.137					
Family Size	-.040	-.042	.002	.002	0.220					
Gender	-.018	-.018	.002	.000	0.040					
TOTAL						.053	.003	-.021	.120	

Hypothesis Three predicted that both traditional and non-traditional parents would perceive males as having greater legitimate power than female adolescents. It was further expected that perceived gender differences for adolescent legitimate power would be greater for traditional than for non-traditional parents. Results for this prediction indicated that significant gender differences (negative beta coefficient, $-.221$) were apparent for the regression equation concerned with mothers having traditional sex role attitudes (see Tables 8 and 9). A negative beta indicated that traditional mothers perceived male adolescents to have more legitimate power than female adolescents. Gender differences were not apparent in the equations involving traditional fathers as well as non-traditional mothers and fathers. The control variable, parents' education, predicted legitimate power significantly (positive beta coefficient, $.251$) for mothers who held non-traditional sex role attitudes (see Tables 8 and 9).

Hypothesis Four predicted that both traditional and non-traditional parents would perceive adolescent males as having greater expert power than adolescent females. It was further expected that perceived gender differences for adolescent expert power would be greater for traditional than for non-traditional parents. Results for this prediction indicated there were no significant gender-of-adolescent dummy variables for any of the four regression equations that addressed this hypothesis (see Tables 10 and 11). Neither of the control variables, parents' education or family size, demonstrated significant betas either for traditional or non-traditional mothers or fathers in the four regression equations (see Tables 10 and 11).

Table 8

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional
Mothers' Perceptions of Adolescent Legitimate Power

	Independent Variables								
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F
<u>Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.085	.052	.007	.007	0.344				
Family Size	-.001	.036	.007	.002	0.168				
Gender	-.226	-.221	.054	.047	6.363*				
TOTAL						.233	.054	.032	2.45
<u>Non-Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.243	.251	.059	.059	7.991*				
Family Size	-.089	-.023	.059	.001	0.069				
Gender	.016	.071	.064	.005	0.680				
TOTAL						.253	.064	.043	3.065

*p < .05.

Table 9

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional
Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Legitimate Power

	Independent Variables								
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F
<u>Traditional Fathers</u>									
Education	.017	-.011	.039	.000	0.017				
Family Size	-.165	-.115	.027	.027	3.246				
Gender	-.125	-.112	.039	.012	1.686				
TOTAL						.199	.039	.017	1.795
<u>Non-Traditional Fathers</u>									
Education	.029	.029	.001	.001	0.107				
Family Size	-.015	-.013	.000	.000	0.021				
Gender	.014	.197	.000	.000	0.048				
TOTAL						.036	.001	-.122	.056

Table 10

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Mothers' Perceptions of Adolescent Expert Power

	Independent Variables									
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F	
<u>Traditional Mothers</u>										
Education	-.121	-.148	.015	.015	2.741					
Family Size	-.016	-.023	.016	.001	0.065					
Gender	-.108	-.131	.032	.016	2.177					
TOTAL						.180	.032	.010	1.427	
<u>Non-Traditional Mothers</u>										
Education	.050	.051	.003	.003	0.318					
Family Size	-.080	-.070	.007	.047	0.610					
Gender	.083	.097	.016	.009	1.222					
TOTAL						.127	.016	-.006	.734	

Table 11

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional
Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Expert Power

	Independent Variables								
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F
<u>Traditional Fathers</u>									
Education	-.085	-.099	.017	.009	1.266				
Family Size	-.083	-.088	.007	.007	1.021				
Gender	-.036	-.040	.008	.001	0.208				
TOTAL						.131	.017	-.005	.761
<u>Non-Traditional Fathers</u>									
Education	-.136	-.143	.022	.020	2.590				
Family Size	-.042	-.064	.002	.002	0.518				
Gender	.024	.012	.003	.001	0.019				
TOTAL						.150	.022	-.001	.977

Hypothesis Five posited that both traditional and non-traditional mothers and fathers would perceive male adolescents as more independent than female adolescents. It was further expected that perceived gender differences would be greater for traditional than for non-traditional parents. Results for this prediction indicated that significant gender differences (positive beta coefficient, .204) were apparent for the regression equation concerned with non-traditional mothers' perceptions of adolescent independence (see Table 12). Contrary to expectation, the significant positive beta indicated that non-traditional mothers perceived female adolescents as being more independent than male adolescents. Gender differences were not apparent in the equations involving traditional mothers and fathers as well as non-traditional fathers (see Tables 12 and 13).

In addition, both control variables, parents' education and family size, predicted significant relationships. Education predicted independence significantly (positive beta coefficient, .250 in the equation for mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes, while family size predicted independence significantly (negative beta coefficient, $-.179$) in the equation for fathers having non-traditional sex role attitudes (see Tables 12 and 13).

Hypothesis Six predicted that traditional and non-traditional parents would perceive female adolescents as being more conforming than male adolescents. It was further expected that perceived gender differences for adolescent conformity would be greater for traditional than for non-traditional parents. Results for this prediction indicated that there were no significant gender differences apparent

Table 12

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Mothers' Perceptions of Adolescent Independence

	Independent Variables								
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F
<u>Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.040	.026	.002	.002	0.082				
Family Size	-.027	-.014	.002	.000	0.026				
Gender	-.075	-.068	.007	.004	0.579				
TOTAL						.081	.007	-.017	.282
<u>Non-Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.203	.250	.041	.041	8.043*				
Family Size	-.046	.014	.041	.000	0.026				
Gender	.152	.204	.081	.040	5.816*				
TOTAL						.285	.081	.061	3.941

*p < .05.

Table 13
Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional
Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Independence

	Independent Variables									
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F	
<u>Traditional Fathers</u>										
Education	.054	.041	.021	.002	0.219					
Family Size	-.138	-.133	.019	.019	2.358					
Gender	-.023	-.006	.019	.000	0.005					
TOTAL						.144	.021	-.002	.929	
<u>Non-Traditional Fathers</u>										
Education	-.019	-.030	.041	.001	0.112					
Family Size	-.161	-.179	.026	.026	4.155*					
Gender	.197	.114	.040	.014	1.690					
TOTAL						.201	.041	.018	1.80	

*p < .05.

for either traditional or non-traditional mothers or fathers in the four regression equations that addressed this hypothesis (see Tables 14 and 15). However, the control variable, family size, predicted conformity significantly (negative beta coefficient, $-.234$) for mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes (see Table 14).

In summary, six hypotheses were tested to determine gender differences in parents' perceptions of adolescents' power, conformity, and independence. Results for the six hypotheses tested indicated that two relationships were significant: (1) mothers having traditional sex role attitudes perceived sons to have greater legitimate power than daughters, and (2) mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes perceived daughters to be more independent than sons. Although results from the first regression analysis for the total parent sample indicated no significant gender differences were apparent for adolescent power, conformity, or independence, the additional information from the second analysis conducted for the hypothesized relationships provided evidence that sex role attitudes is an important variable influencing parents' perceptions of adolescent legitimate power and independence.

Table 14

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Mothers' Perceptions of Adolescent Conformity

	Independent Variables								
	r	Beta	R ²	R ² Change	F	R	F ²	Adj. F ²	F
<u>Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.052	.028	.003	.003	0.100				
Family Size	-.027	-.006	.003	.000	0.005				
Gender	-.132	-.127	.018	.015	2.007				
TOTAL						.136	.018	-.005	.800
<u>Non-Traditional Mothers</u>									
Education	.148	.071	.022	.022	0.646				
Family Size	-.257	-.234	.072	.050	7.336*				
Gender	-.082	-.056	.075	.003	0.440				
TOTAL						.274	.075	.055	3.634

*p < .05.

Table 15

Multiple Regression Results of Traditional Versus Non-Traditional Fathers' Perceptions of Adolescent Conformity

	r	Beta	R ²	Independent Variables					F	Adj. F ²	F	
				R ² Change	F	R	F ²					
<u>Traditional Fathers</u>												
Education	.047	.019	.042	.000	0.047							
Family Size	-.172	-.161	.298	.030	3.495							
Gender	-.124	-.107	.042	.012	1.525							
TOTAL						.205	.042	.020			1.910	
<u>Non-Traditional Fathers</u>												
Education	.108	.085	.037	.007	0.927							
Family Size	-.173	-.160	.030	.030	3.297							
Gender	-.035	-.004	.000	.000	0.002							
TOTAL						.192	.370	.014			1.638	

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

Parents' perceptions of adolescent power, conformity, and independence were the dependent variables examined in this study. These variables, in turn, were tested for the effects of (a) adolescent gender, (b) parents' education, and (c) family size within groups of mothers and fathers with traditional sex role attitudes versus groups of mothers and fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes. Two analyses were conducted to determine relationships between the dependent and independent variables. Initially, the total sample of parents was examined to determine whether mothers and fathers perceived different levels of adolescent power, conformity, and independence in male and female adolescents, while controlling for parents' education and family size. Subsequent analyses were conducted to test the hypothesized relationships specific to four subgroups within the parent sample: (1) mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, (2) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, (3) mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, and (4) fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes. The results of these analyses pertaining to parents' perceptions of adolescent power, independence, and conformity are summarized and discussed in this chapter.

Discussion of the Results

The purpose of this study was to examine differences in the manner that parents with traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes perceived their adolescents' power, conformity, and independence based on their offspring's gender. In addition, parents' education and family size were included in these analyses to control for the possible effects of these variables on adolescent power, independence, and conformity.

Results from the analyses conducted with the general parent sample (i.e., no distinctions were made in this analysis between traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes) indicated that no gender differences were apparent for any of the dependent variables tested. However, when the parent sample was divided into four groups (i.e., mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes) and the hypothesized relationships were tested, significant gender differences indicated (a) that mothers with traditional sex role attitudes perceived sons to have greater legitimate power than daughters, and (b) that mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes perceived daughters to have greater independence than sons. Evidence from this analysis suggested that parents' sex role attitudes may have important influence on parents' perceptions of adolescents' legitimate power and independence. Thus, by dividing the parent sample into traditional versus non-traditional groups, significant gender differences were apparent,

whereas, no significant relationships were evident when the analysis was conducted for the total parent sample.

Legitimate power, in turn, refers to influence that is derived from internalized norms dictating the right of one individual to influence another and the reciprocal responsibility of that person to accept this influence. Legitimate power is consistent with the idea that authority must be justified or legitimized before it is effective.

In almost every society, formal authority or legitimate power resides with men. Women, on the other hand, may utilize a large degree of informal power and exert a great deal of influence through various forms of subtle manipulation. Today, as in past societies, if women gain legitimate power it is often inherited through the private sphere--her family. That is, if a respected and prominent male in our society dies, it is common for them to pass on some of the power they have achieved and legitimize the wife's position. Examples of this inherited power are widows of deceased congressmen who are elected to Congress, when in fact, they would be unlikely to achieve that position on their own (Richard, Abbott, 1983). Thus, traditionally, males rather than females have been socialized for and provided greater access to positions of legitimate authority in our society (Broverman, Bogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Edelsky, 1976; Peterson, Rollins, Thomas & Heaps, 1982; Birns, 1976; Block, 1980; Servin, 1980).

Results from this study indicated that mothers with traditional sex role attitudes perceived sons as having greater legitimate power than daughters. This finding is consistent with and supports literature pertaining to the greater legitimized power of males. As the

"heads of the households (the authority," fathers have traditionally been viewed as disciplinarians and the decision-makers for the family unit. Given the existence of these attitudes, "traditional" mothers may have perceived sons as "potential fathers" who because of their gender, are expected to assume instrumental roles and legitimized authority. Thus, the responses of mothers with traditional sex role attitudes were consistent with the prescriptions of cultural norms indicating that legitimate power belongs to males.

That legitimate power rather than reward, coercive, or expert power was the variable demonstrating significant results is in keeping with studies by Smith (1970a, 1970b, 1977) and McDonald (1977). Although these researchers investigated parental power from the adolescent's perspective, results from their studies indicated that legitimate power predicted adolescent compliance to and identification with parents more effectively than any of the alternative power bases (reward, expert, coercive, legitimate). Whether legitimate power is viewed from the parent's or adolescent's perspective, it is a dimension that has significant impact within the parent-adolescent relationship.

Another important finding concerned with gender differences in adolescent independence as perceived by non-traditional mothers was contrary to Hypothesis Five for this study. In contrast to the prediction that parents with traditional and non-traditional sex role attitudes would attribute greater independence to male than female adolescents, mothers with more liberal sex role attitudes attributed greater independence to daughters than sons. Although contrary to the expected outcome, this finding may coincide with the philosophy of the

women's liberation movement. Over the past decade, proponents of this "cause" have awakened society to the inequalities inherent in gender roles and have encouraged non-traditional attitudes regarding roles of women (Richard/Abbott, 1983; Polk, 1974; Gillespie, 1975; Johnson, 1976). In short, the present result for independence may reflect that mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes both believed and desired that their daughters were more independent than males. It seems logical that mothers having egalitarian sex role attitudes are more likely to attribute instrumental qualities to their daughters and want them to become independent as a means of gaining future occupational and economic attainment.

Generally, writers such as Thorton and Freedman (1977), Osmond and Martin (1975), and Albrecht, Bahr, and Chadwick (1977) have viewed the women's movement primarily in terms of "attitude change" rather than actual (or behavioral) changes in male/female roles. Most likely, women with egalitarian sex role attitudes were the "pioneers" initiating and advocating awareness of gender role socialization. However, the "cause and effect" relationship between attitude and behavioral change in sex role differences (the bridge between thinking and doing) is still a challenge for the future.

Although some gender differences were apparent in the second analysis, the significance of this issue for our society raises the question, "Why weren't more of the relationships between the dependent and independent variables significant?" One explanation might be the possibility that respondents to questionnaire items often give "socially desirable responses." According to Kerlinger (1973):

People tend to give responses that are socially desirable, responses that indicate or imply approval of actions or things that are generally considered to be good. We may ask a person about his feelings toward children. Everybody is supposed to love children. Unless we are careful, we will get a stereotyped response about children and love. Also when we ask a person if he votes, we must be careful since everyone is supposed to vote. If we ask respondents their reactions to minority groups, we again run the risk of getting invalid responses. Most educated people, no matter what their "true" attitudes, are aware that prejudice is disapproved.

In other words, parents also may have answered questionnaire items about power, independence, and conformity conveying the most desirable attitudes prescribed by contemporary societal norms. For instance, Arnold Toynbee (1979), the historian, has said that the greatest emancipation of the twentieth century would be the emancipation of women--an impression that has partially permeated the conscious of American society. This might suggest, therefore, that parents will not perceive their sons and daughters differently in terms of power, independence, and conformity when responding to questionnaire items pertaining to these dimensions. An underlying theme influencing parent responses may have been--"I'm a good parent and, of course, I value and see my daughter as being competent like other males." The fact that parents reported information pertaining to their attitudes rather than behavior may have produced answers more characteristic of "wishful" thinking rather than "actual" behavior. Being able to differentiate between what one believes and what one actually does may not be an easy task for many respondents.

That parents were not asked to choose between sons and daughters who were siblings when responding to questionnaire items is another point to consider as a means of explaining the limited gender

differences in these results. Although families comprising the sample generally had more than one child, instructions for completing the questionnaire did not specify that parents compare sons and daughters within the same family in terms of power, conformity, or independence. This could be an important deficiency because other research concerned with adolescent agentic behavior has found substantial gender differences when parents were asked to make comparisons between siblings (Peterson, Rollins, Thomas & Heaps, 1982). For example, suppose a mother with traditional sex role attitudes is reading an item related to reward power which states, "This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel very good by choosing the right kind of friends." If no comparison between a son and daughter (or their daughter compared to some specific male) within the same family was involved, the mother's evaluation is likely to be more abstract in character and subject to socially desirable responses.

Discussion of Control Variables

Besides the results for gender differences, parents' education and family size (control variables) demonstrated significant relationships in several of the equations concerned with adolescent power, conformity, and independence. First, parents' education was positively related to mothers' perceptions of legitimate power and independence in equations involving mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes. Kohn (1977) suggested, for example, that education has implications for parents' value systems by encouraging autonomy, intellectual flexibility, and tolerance of non-conformity. In the

case of mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, increased education may influence these women to be more egalitarian and to perceive their adolescents to have a right to influence them and to be more autonomous.

Family size, on the other hand, demonstrated negative relationships with (a) adolescent reward power as perceived by fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, (b) adolescent independence as perceived by fathers having non-traditional sex role attitudes, and (c) adolescent conformity as perceived by mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes. These findings indicate that as numbers of children increase, fathers having traditional and non-traditional sex role attitudes perceived their adolescents as less rewarding and less independent, whereas, mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes perceived adolescents as being less conforming. Apparently, fathers of a large number of children view their adolescent offspring as being less competent to make their own decisions, to act on their own, and as having less valuable resources than fathers of a smaller number of children. On the other hand, non-traditional mothers may view their adolescents as more difficult to manage (less conforming) when there are larger numbers of children within the family. Non-traditional mothers may identify with parenting roles somewhat less than traditional mothers and view numbers of children as difficult to control.

Limitations

There were four methodological issues which may have influenced the findings for the present study. The issues, listed below, pertain

to the instrumentation and sampling procedures that were employed.

1. Questionnaire Format. Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study relates to instructions to parents for completing the questionnaire. Parents were not asked to compare sons or daughters when marking the questionnaire items. Choosing either sons or daughters for attribution of power, conformity, or independence might have elicited greater gender differences than resulted with the present methodology.
2. Socially Desirable Response Patterns. This refers to the notion that when individuals complete questionnaires, they often respond with the most desirable attitudes prescribed by societal norms rather than reporting actual attitudes or behavior.
3. Validity. As with most social science instrumentation, the power scales used in this study have received limited evaluation for validity. In the present study, however, the power scales were factor analyzed and items which did not achieve a factor loading of .5 were deleted. These deletions and the identification of constructs (or factors) had the effect of evaluating the power instrument for construct validity.
4. Sampling Procedure. An important aspect of this study involved comparisons between mothers and fathers with traditional sex role attitudes versus parents with non-traditional sex role attitudes. Because the parent sample tended to be white, lower middle class, blue collar, and

Protestant, these demographic characteristics often are associated with traditional rather than non-traditional views regarding gender role attitudes. Thus, the sample may have been more representative of parents with traditional sex role attitudes.

Theoretical and Research Implications

Although the issues of power attribution, independence, conformity, and gender socialization have increasingly been the focus of studies in the past decade, deficiencies are still prevalent in this area of research. Because the existing studies examined parental power from the adolescent's perspective, the present study was the first attempt in which adolescent power was investigated from the parent's perspective. Given the significance of this issue, more studies examining gender differences in the parents' attribution of adolescent power need to be conducted.

In addition, studies need to be developed in which comparisons between offspring occur within the same family unit. Simulation episodes could be presented in such a way that parents would have to make choices between the attributes of sons or daughters who are siblings. This process would provide information regarding actual behavior of parents pertaining to gender differences rather than attitudinal or hypothetical differences.

More information regarding various dimensions of gender role socialization is needed to help parents understand the long term implications regarding their child-rearing techniques. Certainly,

more knowledge is needed about (a) the effects of socioeconomic levels on male/female stereotypes, (b) how parents' perceptions effect the sex role socialization process, and (c) the effects of sex role stereotypes on gender role development.

Practical Implications

This study has dealt with parents' attitudes or perceptions, not behavior, regarding adolescent power, conformity, and independence. Limited gender differences in parents' perceptions of these dependent variables were apparent, regardless whether their sex role attitudes were traditional or non-traditional. This may indicate, in turn, that parents desired to perceive the qualities of their sons and daughters as being equal. Thus, if attitudinal change precedes behavioral change, perhaps gender role behavior (male/female behavior) will reflect a more androgynous (behavior characteristic of both males and females) character in the future, rather than based on male/female differences. This may enable females to gain the positions of power and status which in the past have been considered the exclusive domains of males. Males, on the other hand, might feel more comfortable in exhibiting some of the nurturant behavior that has been the purview of females.

Societal changes including the emergence of dual career families (i.e., both mothers and fathers being career oriented), changes in the economic structure, and attention to the conditions of minorities, have created needs to redefine the roles performed by males and females. Perhaps intervention programs designed to examine sex role behavior could be developed for use in public school systems.

Already the curricula of many colleges and universities include the study of sex role socialization, but the elementary and high school populations provide the primary target group in which attitudes and value systems are most likely to be developed and defined. Because this population represents the parents of the next generation, helping high school and elementary students to clarify their beliefs and values pertaining to male/female behavior is an important object for future intervention programs.

If major changes are to occur in sex role stereotypes, fathers, as well as mothers, must become "change agents." When daughters and sons see their father in nurturant and helping roles and their mothers in decision-making capacities, then, youth will have a clearer conception of egalitarian roles within the family unit.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine gender differences in the manner that parents with traditional versus non-traditional sex role attitudes attributed power (reward, coercive, legitimate, expert), conformity, and independence to their adolescent offspring, while controlling for parents' education and family size. Multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine relationships between the dependent and independent variables within: (1) the total sample of parents, and (2) four subgroups consisting of (a) mothers with traditional sex role attitudes, (b) fathers with traditional sex role attitudes, (c) mothers with non-traditional sex role attitudes, and (d) fathers with non-traditional sex role attitudes.

Results from the regression analysis for the total parent sample indicated that no significant gender differences were apparent for adolescent reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, expert power, conformity, or independence. However, when the parent sample was divided into traditional versus non-traditional groups, significant gender differences were apparent in the legitimate power and independence of adolescents. More specifically, mothers having traditional sex role attitudes perceived sons to have greater legitimate power than daughters, and mothers having non-traditional sex role attitudes perceived their daughters to be more independent than sons.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

I. Items Related to Reward Power

1. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel very good by choosing the right kind of friends.
2. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel very good by choosing the right kind of educational goals.
3. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel very good by choosing the right kind of occupational goals.
4. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel good by choosing the right kind of dating partner.

II. Items Related to Coercive Power

1. This teenager is the kind of person who can make me feel bad when we have a hard time talking about important family matters.
2. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel bad by choosing the wrong kind of friends.
3. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel bad by choosing the wrong kind of educational goals.
4. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me feel bad by choosing the wrong kind of occupational goals.
5. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me suffer by choosing the wrong kind of dating partners.
6. This teenager is the kind of person who could make me suffer by not doing what I tell him/her to do.

III. Items Related to Expert Power

1. This teenager's wishes should be given a great deal of importance, when it comes to making decisions about his/her relationships with members of the opposite sex.
2. This teenager's ideas are not very good, when it comes to deciding what persons of the opposite sex he/she should or should not get involved with.
3. This teenager's opinions should be given much weight when it comes to making decisions about his/her education.
4. This teenager's opinions should be given a great deal of importance, when it comes to making decisions about his/her education.

IV. Items Related to Legitimate Power

1. This teenager has a right to choose his/her own occupational goals.
2. This teenager has a right to choose his/her own educational goals.
3. This teenager has a right to choose his/her own dating partners.
4. This teenager has a right to choose his/her own friends.

V. Items Related to Conformity

1. This teenager would not go to a particular movie that I believe he/she should not see.
2. If I asked him/her to stop, this teenager would not talk in ways that I do not like.

3. This teenager would go to a different high school in this county if I wanted him/her to go.
4. This teenager would go around with a particular group of friends that I wanted him/her to see.
5. This teenager would try to get as much education as I would like him/her to get.
6. This teenager will probably marry someone that is acceptable to me.
7. This teenager will probably live at home as long as I want him/her to.
8. This teenager will probably choose a career that I think is a good one.
9. Generally speaking, this teenager does what I believe that he/she should do.

VI. Items Related to Independence

1. I believe that this teenager has enough freedom.
2. This teenager chooses his/her own friends quite often without my control.
3. This teenager decides what is right and wrong quite often without my control.
4. This teenager decides what clothes he/she should wear quite often without my control.
5. This teenager chooses the person that he/she should date quite often without my control.
6. I have confidence in this teenager's ability to make enough of his/her own decisions.

7. This teenager is often very helpful by contributing to decisions about family matters.
8. This teenager makes enough decisions on his/her own about career goals.
9. This teenager makes many decisions on his/her own about educational goals.
10. Quite often this teenager is his/her "own person."

VII. Items Related to Parents' Sex Role Attitudes

1. Women are by nature more emotional than men.
2. The achievements of women in history have not been emphasized as much as those of men.
3. Unless it is absolutely necessary, women who have young children should restrict their activities and interests to the home.
4. In general, men tend to have more common sense than women do.
5. In general, working women are just as happy as housewives.
6. It is as important for a woman to be well educated as it is for a man.
7. No woman's life is really complete until she marries.
8. Women who choose not to have children are denying their true roles in life.

VIII. Item Related to Gender of Adolescent

1. What is your sex? Circle your answer.
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

IX. Item Related to Parent's Educational Level

1. Circle the highest grade in school that you have completed.

Grade School/High School

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

College

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

X. Item Related to Family Size

1. How many children and teenagers are there in your family?

APPENDIX B

Table 16
Descriptive Statistics for the Independent
and Dependent Variables

Variables	Mean	SD
MAREWP	12.865	1.792
MACOP	14.794	3.841
MALEGP	12.859	1.663
MAEXP	12.053	2.048
MAIND	28.329	3.501
MACON	24.572	3.276
FAREW	12.576	1.827
FACOP	15.194	3.530
FALEGP	12.537	1.536
FAEXP	11.687	2.112
FAIND	28.019	3.280
FACON	24.823	3.461
SEXA	1.580	.494

MAREWP = Mothers' Perception of Adolescent Reward Power.
 MACOP = Mothers' Perception of Adolescent Coercive Power.
 MALEGP = Mothers' Perception of Adolescent Legitimate Power.
 MAEXP = Mothers' Perception of Adolescent Expert Power
 MAIND = Mothers' Perception of Adolescent Independence.
 MACON = Mothers' Perception of Adolescent Conformity.
 FAREWP = Fathers' Perception of Adolescent Reward Power.
 FACOP = Fathers' Perception of Adolescent Coercive Power.
 FALEGP = Fathers' Perception of Adolescent Legitimate Power.
 FAEXP = Fathers' Perception of Adolescent Expert Power
 FAIND = Fathers' Perception of Adolescent Independence.
 FACON = Fathers' Perception of Adolescent Conformity.
 SEXA = Gender of Adolescent.

VITA

Jane Smith Hall was born in Mocksville, North Carolina, on November 30, 1944. She attended elementary schools in that city and was graduated from Davie County High School in June, 1963. The following September, she entered Western Carolina University, and in June, 1967, she received a Bachelor of Science degree in Home Economics Education. In the fall of 1968, she accepted a teaching assistantship at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and began study toward a Master's degree in Child and Family Studies. The degree was awarded in August, 1968. Ms. Hall began part-time work toward the Doctorate degree at The University of Tennessee in 1978 and completed the Ph.D. program in Child and Family Studies in 1983.

Ms. Hall married David J. Hall in 1968. They have a son, JoeDavid, who was born in 1974. Prior to moving to western North Carolina in 1975, the family resided in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where Jane held a position with the Frank Porter Graham Research Institute.

The author is presently an Assistant Professor teaching in the Department of Home Economics at Western Carolina University. Ms. Hall's professional interests include curriculum development for training and supervision of students in child and family studies, marital enrichment, confrontation and conflict management, and human development throughout the life span.