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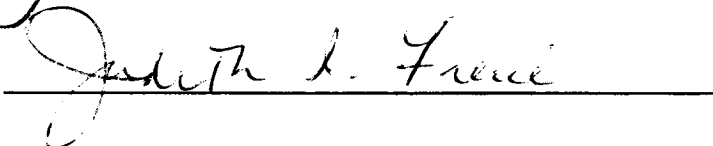
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Barbara Ann Taylor entitled "The Influence of Adolescent Employment Experience on the Development of a Work Ethic." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Human Ecology.


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We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

**The Influence of Adolescent Employment Experience
on the Development of a Work Ethic**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Barbara Ann Taylor

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband,
William E. Taylor,
and children,
Emma Lorraine Taylor and Brett McCully Taylor,
who have given me their patience, support, and inspiration
in my educational pursuits.

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ABSTRACT

In-depth interviews were conducted with 16 working high-school students from a sample of 353 students who had completed questionnaires regarding part-time employment. The purpose of this study was to discover aspects of adolescent employment that influence the development of a work ethic, which was defined as the desire to work with diligence and responsibility and to take pride in a job well done. Interview questions explored the adolescent part-time employment experience from a phenomenological perspective. Probes focused on indications of burden or satisfaction derived from the work experience. Qualitative analysis of the student interviews uncovered aspects of adolescent employment that influenced students' work attitudes and their evaluations of their jobs' worth. Aspects of adolescent employment experience that fostered a positive work ethic were purposeful job selection (choosing jobs that reflected their interests, skills, and expertise), a high level of activity and varied duties, bosses who were described as friends and mentors, a sense of being trusted by employers, the ability to make decisions at work, working with age-mates, and having a flexible work schedule in order to coordinate work with school and peer activities. Wages did not appear to influence adolescents' work ethic.

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1. Introduction

Research on the adolescent work experience has centered on the controversy over whether or not part-time work has a positive or negative influence on an adolescent's development. Adults generally believe that adolescent work experience is positive, citing the adolescent's acquisition of a sense of responsibility, knowledge of the value of the dollar, and the American work ethic (Phillips & Sandstrom, 1990). This belief is not supported by empirical evidence (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1981). On the contrary, research has exposed several detrimental outcomes related to adolescent part-time work--for example, lowered academic aspirations, increased alcohol and other drug use, and school disengagement (Marsh, 1991; Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991). Should adolescents be encouraged to work or not? Is the adolescent part-time work experience beneficial to adolescent development with regard to work-related attitudes? Is adolescent part-time work beneficial to the economic community in helping adolescent workers adopt a positive work ethic?

Importance of Topic

Adolescents have more opportunities to work today with the growth of the service sector and, in fact, have been increasing their participation in the workforce since the

1960s (Lipsitz, 1985). The most common adolescent work experience is in a "part-time formal job," defined for this study as paid employment with a regular schedule of less than 30 hours per week, for an employer other than a relative, in an established business. As today's adolescent workers join tomorrow's adult workforce, hopefully, during the transition, adolescents will have acquired an academic education, some work skills, and a positive work ethic. A positive work ethic, by American standards, is the desire to work with diligence, responsibility, and pride and to value a job well done. Ideally, adolescent work experience should have a positive long-term impact on both employers and individual adolescents. Short-term rewards for both are obvious; adolescents gain money to spend and/or save, and employers gain low-cost employees. From a long-term perspective, if part-time work experience should develop poor work habits and cynical attitudes in adolescents and lower their academic achievement and aspirations, then both employers and adolescents will be affected negatively in both the short- and long-term. It would be worthwhile to discover how experiences of working influence adolescent attitudes about work in general. Do adolescent work experiences shape the development of a work ethic, or do adolescents arrive at their first jobs with an already constructed work ethic? There is a need to explore the quality of the work experience from the adolescent's perspective. An explanation of how

work experience contributes to the adoption of positive work-related attitudes would guide employers in structuring adolescent jobs. Researchers, when measuring some of the changes that occur for adolescents who work, have used their own value systems to determine if these changes are positive or negative for adolescents and their families. There is scant research into how adolescents perceive their work experience or how their perceptions might influence their behavior. Adolescent work experience has been evaluated mainly from an adult's perspective, using check-list survey questionnaires for data collection (Steinberg, Fegley, & Dornbusch, 1993; Marsh, 1991; Mortimer & Finch, 1985). Discovering the most salient issues for adolescents with regard to working and understanding adolescents' perceptions about these issues will help adults to prepare and guide adolescents for a more positive work experience or to encourage postponing working until the decision is considered. An exploration of the meanings adolescents attach to working would help determine whether adolescents do adopt the American work ethic, as is often assumed by adults.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research project is to discover how adolescents perceive their work experience in order to determine how adolescent work experience contributes to their development of a work ethic. No matter what the outcomes of

working are, the meanings adolescents assign to their work experiences construct their reality. From this perspective, two demographically similar adolescents working the same number of hours at the same job might have very different outcomes based on the differences in their perceptions of their experience of work. On the other hand, they might have the same outcomes but perceive these outcomes very differently—one as success, the other as failure. How adolescents perceive their work should influence their behavior at work.

A secondary objective of this research project is to be able to identify and describe common experiences of work for a population of 3000 high-school students residing in a county with a tourist-based economy in East Tennessee.

Theoretical Perspectives

A qualitative approach was selected for part of this study in order to explore the phenomenon of the adolescent work experience in-depth. A phenomenological perspective will provide access to adolescents' lived experience that will give meaning to the concept of "work." The goal is to interpret the adolescent's experience of part-time work based on the meanings the experience has for the adolescent. An adolescent's lived experience of work should create a framework of understanding. A qualitative methodology allows for discovery and a shift from an adult to an adolescent value perspective.

Adolescent work must be viewed within the context of school and family, key components in an adolescent's development. In this century, the workforce has expanded to include the majority of the nation's women and adolescents, and yet work has remained a separate sphere, mostly inflexible to the demands of family life (Hochschild, 1989). The integration of work and family, which has become a necessity to families, has been slow in coming. For men and women, greater involvement in family responsibilities usually translates into lower incomes and impeded careers (Rossi, 1984). For adolescents, a greater involvement in work during the high-school years is correlated with lower educational achievement and aspirations (Mortimer & Finch, 1985; Marsh, 1991). Little integration has been found between the adolescent experiences of school and part-time work (Steinberg, 1982). Competing demands from the separate spheres of work and family can be a source of stress not only for adult men and women (Hochschild, 1989) but, with the addition of school demands, for adolescents as well (Shanahan, Finch, Mortimer, & Ryu, 1991). A recent movement to encourage family-supportive workplace policies is an attempt to integrate the spheres of work and family for men and women (Clinton, 1996; Pleck, 1993). There is a similar need to encourage school-supportive workplace policies and structures to blend the school and work experience for adolescents. An exploration of the perceptions of

adolescents who have made the transition to part-time work could contribute to understanding how school, work, and family can be integrated.

Definitions of Terms for This Study

Nominal definitions of the concepts referred to in this study are provided here for the purpose of clarity. *Work* is defined as an individual's performance of any goal-oriented task. *Informal work* is defined as the performance of goal-oriented tasks with or without pay in any of the following conditions: in a home setting, not on a regular schedule, and/or for a relative. Examples of informal work are babysitting, yard work, or working at a business location for a relative. *Formal work* is performing goal-oriented tasks with a regular schedule of hours and regular pay for a non-related employer in an established business. *Part-time employment*, for the purposes of this study, is considered to be working less than 30 hours per week at a formal job. *Child labor* is formal work performed by a child below the age of 18. (This study focuses on working adolescents between the ages of 14 to 18 who also are enrolled in high school.) *Child labor laws* refer to legislation enacted by each state to limit the number of hours and working conditions of child laborers according to the age of the child. A *drop-out* is an adolescent who stops attending school with no intention of returning. A *work ethic* is the desire to accomplish any task

with diligence, responsibility, and pride and to value a job well-done. *Adolescent outcomes of part-time employment* refer to a variety of measures from previous studies of adolescent employment, including educational achievement and aspirations, school disengagement, deviant behavior, drug and alcohol use, autonomy from parents, depression, self-esteem, work-related attitudes, and social skills.

2. Literature Review

Historical Perspective

Adolescent Employment. Fine, Mortimer, and Roberts (1990) pointed out that historically, the jobs adolescents held were on farms, in factories, or as apprentices to craftsmen. Early work experience often led to a career in the same field. In today's world, the most common jobs available to adolescents are in the expanding service or retail sales industries. In 1994, wholesale and retail trade and service jobs represented 50% of the employment in Tennessee (Park, 1995). Due to tourism, Sevier County, Tennessee (the setting for this project), had the highest sales tax collections in the state (Park, 1995). This tourism boom has created a surplus of low-paying jobs, and adolescents have been recruited to remedy the labor shortage. Today in Sevier County and elsewhere, adolescent laborforce participation is expected to be transient and not necessarily related to an adolescent's career interests. Before World War II, adolescents became workers in order to contribute to the family income. Modern-day adolescents work to have their own spending money, with fewer than 10% of adolescents contributing any money to family expenses (Manning, 1990; Pritchard, Myers, & Cassidy, 1989).

The U.S. Bureau of the Census reported that 6,826,000 adolescents, aged 16 to 19, were employed during 1993, that number representing slightly more males than females (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1994). Only about 48% of teens had jobs in 1960, compared to 60% in 1979 (Lipsitz, 1985). The number of employed youths (age 16-24) increased by a million in 1977 and by another million in 1978, even though the number of youths (age 16-19) in the population declined slightly during this time (Young, 1979). Most of this increase of employed youths was attributed to high-school students. In 1978, the employment rate for African-American high-school students (age 16-19) was only half that of white students (Young, 1979). In fact, the number of African-American teens in the workforce decreased from 45% in 1960 to 41% in 1979 (Lipsitz, 1985). In the 1988 National Survey of Families and Households, it was reported that 70% of the adolescents (age 16-18) in the sample worked, and the mean number of work hours was 17.5 per week (Manning, 1990). In a study of adolescent work participation in one high school in Iowa, of the students who worked, 23% reported having more than one job (Workman, 1990). A comparison cross-culturally revealed that in Japan only 2% of teens worked after school and in Sweden, only 20% of teens were employed (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986).

The number of younger adolescents who are joining the workforce also is increasing. In a sample of 1000 St. Paul

ninth graders, Mortimer, Finch, Owens, and Shanahan (1990) found that 78% of boys and 87% of girls answered "Yes" to having a steady job. Some of their jobs would be considered informal work and would not be reflected in the current labor statistics. While girls did mostly babysitting, boys did yard work and restaurant work and also were employed as laborers and clerks.

As adolescent employment has increased, marketing aimed at adolescents also has increased. Adolescents have become consumers of such high-priced items as compact discs, computers and software, sports equipment, and designer-label clothing, not to mention cars and motorcycles. Workman stated that "...young people are the targets of advertising that offers glamorous products and instant maturity" (1990, p. 629). No doubt, most adolescents desire to become consumers of these products, especially if their peers have buying power. Part-time employment can raise the standard of living for adolescents, sometimes beyond the parents' standard-of-living. The monetary rewards of part-time work may come to outweigh an adolescent's perceived rewards of going to school, leading some students to leave school to pursue full-time employment.

School Drop-outs. Major increases in high-school attendance occurred during the prosperous years of the 1950s and 1960s (Starr, 1986). School enrollment of adolescents aged 14-17 increased from 76.8% in the beginning of the 1950s

to 92.7% at the end of the 1960s. High-school graduation rates increased from one-half to about three-fourths during this same time period. At the present time, the national high-school graduation rate is 83.3%, with a national goal set at 90% (Reaching the Goals, 1993). Drop-out rates vary by state and by county, with the inner-city poor populations having the highest rates, some as high as 50% (Starr, 1986). Sevier County, Tennessee, the location of this study, had a drop-out rate of 33% in 1988, and currently has a drop-out rate of 11%, due in part to a new Tennessee state law that denies school drop-outs a driver's license until their 18th birthday (J. Parton, Sevier County School Superintendent, personal communication, Aug. 12, 1995). The unemployment rate in the United States for adolescents who dropped out of school was twice that of high-school graduates in 1978 (Young, 1979). High-school completion has been shown to be a better predictor of future employment than part-time work experience during the high-school years (Steinberg, 1982). To guarantee that children had an opportunity to obtain an education and to help minimize the impact of working on a child's school involvement, child-labor laws were created.

Child Labor Laws. By the 1920s, all of the states of the United States had passed compulsory education laws (Starr, 1986). In order to uphold these laws, truant officers were hired by the school systems and child-labor laws were passed. Tennessee's Child Labor Act of 1976 is the

most recent guideline for the employment of its adolescents. Fourteen- and fifteen-year-olds may be employed--the only prerequisite being a birth certificate kept on file at the place of employment. Work restrictions for this age group include: not during school hours, not after 7:00 p.m. if the next day is a school day, never after 9:00 p.m. or before 6:00 a.m., not more than 3 hours a day on school days, not more than 18 hours a week during a school week, not more than 8 hours a day on nonschool days, and not more than 40 hours a week in a nonschool week. For sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds who are enrolled in school, the restrictions for working are: not during school hours and not after 10:00 p.m. on school nights (except if parents provide a notarized statement of consent, in which case the adolescent may work until midnight up to three nights a week). Certain types of employment that are considered a risk to health and well-being are prohibited for all minors. Twenty categories of occupations are listed and some examples are: occupations in or about establishments that store explosives, motor vehicle driving occupations, any mining occupations, occupations involving any type of wood milling or wood-working machinery, occupations involving slaughtering or meat-packing, occupations involving any hazardous power-driven machinery, occupations involved in demolition, in roofing operations, or excavation operations, occupations that involve serving alcohol or even working in an establishment in which more

than 25% of gross receipts are from the sale of intoxicating beverages, and occupations involving the engagement of sexual conduct for photographs or films. There are certain exemptions from these laws, such as if a minor is married, has children, is employed in agricultural work, or is self-employed (Tennessee Code Annotated, 1991).

Violations of Child Labor Laws are difficult to monitor. Sevier County, Tennessee, has only one person (from Knox County) who periodically checks the time cards, birth certificates, job duties, and work environments of adolescent employees in randomly selected establishments. Even with such limited monitoring, the U.S. General Accounting Office has been able to document an increase in Child Labor Law violations in the U.S. from 9000 in 1983 to 22,500 in 1989 (Walker, 1989). As job opportunities for youth increase, these violations can be expected to increase. Ongoing interest in restricting adolescent work hours was noted with the introduction of a bill to the Tennessee legislature in March of 1995 which, if passed, will further restrict work hours of students with less than a C average in each subject ("Bill would tie...", 1995).

Adult Perceptions of Adolescent Employment

Although the government has recognized the need to limit adolescent participation in the workforce with child labor legislation, this does not mean that the government is

unsupportive of adolescents' working. On the contrary, several national task forces have encouraged greater adolescent participation in the workforce (Panel on Youth, 1974; National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education, 1976; National Commission on Youth, 1980). These committees have pointed out a lack of integration between school and the world of work. They argued that adolescents are not provided with enough exposure to adults who represent various roles nor to opportunities for exercising responsibility for tasks that affect others. Greenberger and Steinberg (1981) questioned whether the modern adolescent work setting provides the same learning opportunities as work settings in years past, which were in "small stable communities." In this common setting of the past, employers were more apt to know employees for a lifetime and could view the socialization of youth employees as an investment for the community. The expectations of the government task forces, with regard to early work experience benefits, may not be realistic in today's society. Still, the prevailing perceptions of adults concerning adolescent work experience is that it is a necessary part of adolescent development. Starr (1986), in an essay about today's youth, stated that one of the "keys to a successful transition to adulthood" for adolescents is "the availability of part-time and/or temporary jobs to develop the work discipline needed for later full-time employment" (p. 325).

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Phillips and Sandstrom (1990) explored parental attitudes toward youth work as a part of the Youth in Transition Study. They collected data from 1575 parents of 9th graders using questionnaires with both fixed-format and open-ended questions. Two-thirds of these parents reported that their ninth grader was employed. Most of the parents were in favor of adolescent employment, with only nine parents stating that they wished their teen did not work. Twenty percent of parents had no opinion on the appropriateness of teen employment, which leads one to believe that parental involvement in matters of teen employment is minimal for some. A majority of parents reported that their adolescents' employment did not affect the quality of the parent/adolescent relationship, while 25% of parents felt their relationship with the adolescent had improved as a result of their adolescents' working. Only 25% of parents reported that their adolescents were spending less time with the family, even though other studies have shown that the amount of time spent with family decreases as work hours increase (Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Greenberger, Steinberg, Vaux, & McAuliffe, 1980). Eighty percent of the parents reported that their adolescents' school performance and attitudes about school had not been affected by their adolescents' employment. Some parents reported that work enhanced school performance and they attributed this to the adolescent's increased sense of responsibility. Most parents

were satisfied with their adolescents' jobs. Among the complaints voiced by a few parents were a desire for either more work hours for the adolescent, more flexible scheduling of the adolescent's work, or better pay. Both mothers and fathers valued early work experience for adolescents. Their suggestion for a good age to begin work was between twelve and thirteen years. In this study, informal work, such as babysitting and yard work, was considered to be adolescent employment. Estimates for an age to begin formal work may have been different. Regardless of the gender of the adolescent, the higher the educational aspirations fathers had for their teen, the earlier they expected the teen to begin working. This effect did not hold true for mothers.

There is a widely held belief among parents that working gives adolescents a taste of "real life" that "builds character" (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986). Besides becoming more responsible, parents believe that working teaches adolescents to communicate more effectively and to better understand others (Steinberg, Greenberger, Jacobi, & Garduque, 1981). It may be possible that parental perceptions of the benefits of adolescent work are influenced by parents' personal benefits resulting from their adolescents' part-time employment. Some benefits for parents might be alleviation of financial support for the adolescent and the peace of mind of knowing where the adolescent is during working hours. If the adolescent is working to pay

for a car, the freedom the adolescent experiences in owning his/her own car is probably equal to the freedom the parent experiences from not having to drive them everywhere they want to go.

Theoretical Perspectives

Adolescent work has been viewed from two basic theoretical perspectives, the zero-sum model and the developmental model (Marsh, 1991). According to the zero-sum model, the more time an adolescent invests in working, the less time he or she will spend on academic pursuits. Working is viewed as detrimental to academic success. This model has been supported by several studies (Steinberg et al., 1993; Marsh, 1991; Mortimer & Finch, 1985) and discredited by others (Mortimer, Finch, Ryu, Shanahan, & Call, 1993; Gottfredson, 1985). The relationship between work and academics appears to be more complicated than the zero-sum model postulates.

The developmental model is based on the premise that work experience builds character in the adolescent, such as responsibility and a desire to work diligently. Adolescent work experience is seen as a bridge to adult work experience. Some support has been found for this model. Steinberg, Greenberger, Garduque, Ruggiero, and Vaux (1982) found that adolescent work experience does develop personal responsibility, in the form of self-reliance, but not social

responsibility which was measured as commitment to the well-being of others and the tolerance of differences in others. These authors questioned whether or not part-time work provides more valuable socialization experiences for adolescents than do family and after-school peer-related activities.

Santilli and Furth (1987) noted that most studies of adolescent work experience focus on behavioral outcomes rather than the adolescent's perceptions of the meaning of work. From a developmental perspective, adolescents construct a meaning of work, as a concept, based on their cognitive abilities combined with their increasing social understanding. Work is not just a job, but rather the act of performing any task, whether it be job-related, school-related, or self-initiated. These authors found that as adolescents age, their understanding of worker attributes expands from a global perspective of job skills and training to a focus on personal social qualities, such as trustworthiness, cooperativeness, self-confidence, and diligence. This study did not compare workers to nonworkers, but assumed that increases in cognitive abilities were a function of age and increases in social understanding were due to increasing cognitive abilities and direct interactions with parents, teachers, peers, and employers, collectively representing society's institutions. Discussion and debate about the nature of work with these people may be more

influential in gaining social understanding than actual work experience. The reported differences between older and younger adolescents in this study may have been inflated due to the data-collection method. Participants responded to a paper-and-pencil, open-ended questionnaire, and responses were evaluated as to their depth and breadth of social understanding. Face-to-face interviews with the use of probes might have revealed greater understanding in instances in which responses were brief and global in nature. Reported differences may have been due to the greater ability and willingness of older adolescents to express themselves through writing.

According to Erikson's theory of development, the developmental task that is the focus of the adolescent years is identity achievement (Erikson, 1968). Peer-group involvement is important for an adolescent to obtain feedback in trying out new identities. Identity achievement may be a life-long process, but a substantial portion of identity achievement is reached when a person no longer depends on parents or peers to validate their identity choices (Erikson, 1968). Identity achievement usually does not occur until late adolescence. Marcia, who expanded Erikson's theory, stated that, before identity achievement can occur, adolescents need a period of moratorium, a time when they are not pressured into making any commitments to career decisions (Muuss, 1988). If an adolescent's identity has been greatly

influenced from early indoctrination in a job experience or any ready-made belief system, without time spent in moratorium, this would be considered identity foreclosure. This term means to accept prematurely an identity without a conscious choice based on self-exploration. In cases of identity foreclosure, this identity may be rejected at a later point in life, and the task of identity achievement may begin anew. Examples of this might be adolescents who are integrated into a family business without exploring other alternatives or adolescents who start a part-time job and continue it beyond high school to avoid the career-seeking process. Shanahan et al. (1991) questioned whether or not the adolescent identity achievement process should be more related to family, peers, and school than to employment. Is work experience premature if adolescents are denied socialization experiences with family and friends due to the time constraints of working? On the other hand, does the work experience facilitate the detachment from parents process, which is another developmental task of adolescence (Steinberg et al., 1981)?

Raphael and Xelowski (1980) made the argument that true identity achievement rarely occurs during the high-school years. Students who appear to have reached this stage of development in high school later may revert back to identity moratorium or identity diffusion, the latter being a stage

marked by the avoidance of career development or a search for self.

Young adolescents usually start out with very unrealistic career goals (e.g., actress, athlete, astronaut) without the knowledge of the diligence required to pursue such careers (Grotevant & Durrett, 1980). Part-time jobs available to adolescents provide a stark reality to the idealized career aspirations of young adolescents. It appears that the first job experience would change an adolescent's perceptions of work and career aspirations, since it has been found that the time when people are most vulnerable to change is soon after adopting new social roles (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

Young (1983) provided an ecological framework using Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979) Ecological Systems Theory model as a perspective for studying adolescent career development (see Figure 1). Young contended that all aspects of the adolescent's environment should be considered as an influence on choices and outcomes regarding work experience. The four contexts of environment Bronfenbrenner described are micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-systems, and these systems were incorporated by Young to create an adolescent career-development model.

Young identified four micro-systems with which an adolescent has direct involvement--the family, the peer

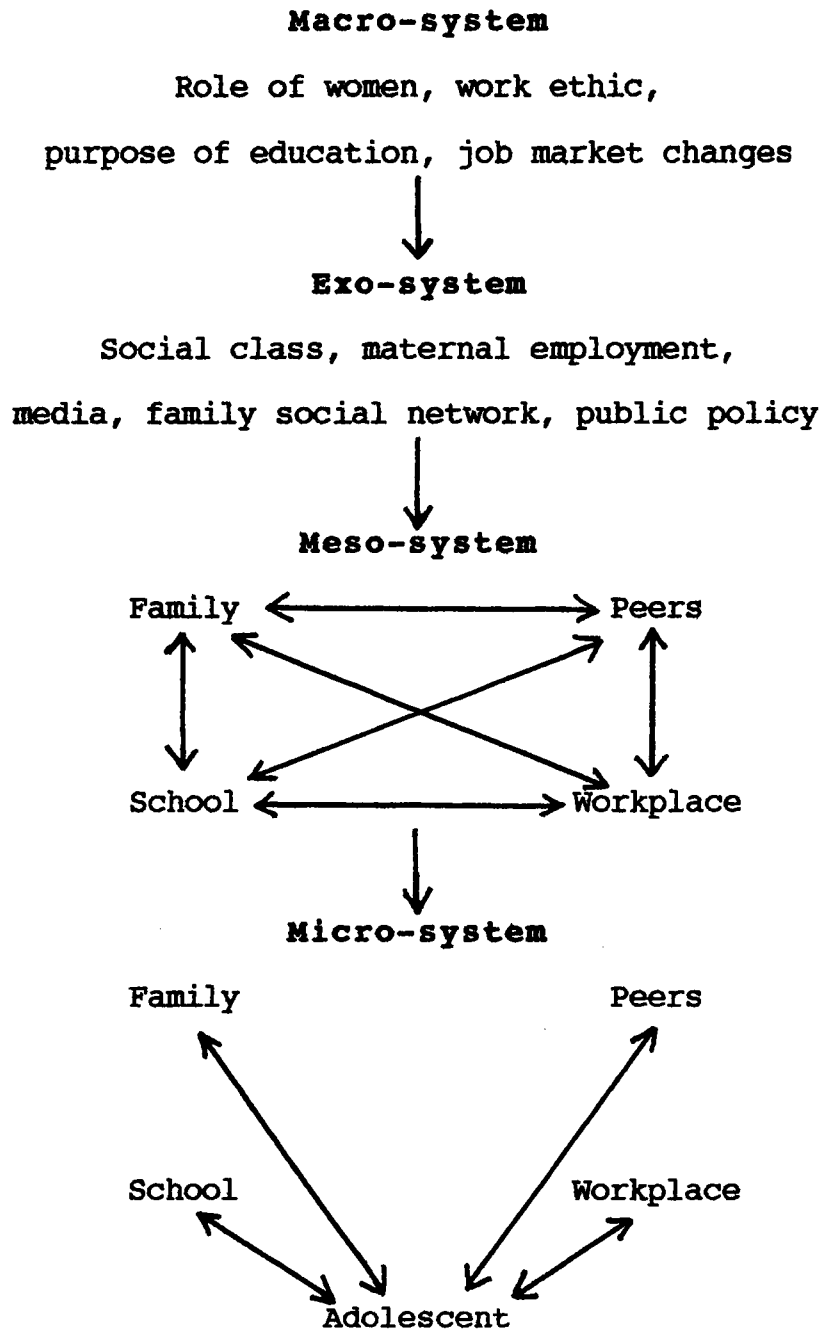


Figure 1. A depiction of an adolescent career development framework as described by Young (1983). This model indicates the directions of influence within and between systems in the adolescent's environment.

group, school, and the workplace--if employed. Interactions between the adolescent and each micro-system are reciprocal in nature, so not only should attention be paid to the influences these systems have on the adolescent's career development but also to how the adolescent influences changes in each of these systems. Most studies of adolescent employment have focused on these micro-systems, but only in terms of adolescent outcomes. The interrelations between these micro-systems would represent the adolescent's meso-system. The incorporation of work experience into high school curricula, their parents' involvement in the school, and the approval or disapproval of the adolescent's job by peers would all be examples of the adolescent's meso-system. Young described five contexts of the exo-system that have been recognized in research as affecting adolescent career development: social class, maternal employment, the media, the family social network, and public policy. The macro-system represents cultural influences on each of the other systems. Young considered the role of women, the work ethic, the purpose of education, and technological and job market changes as issues to consider in the overall picture of the adolescent employment experience. He encouraged readers to formulate hypotheses regarding work experience only after performing a detailed analysis of each system for the population under study. Testing these hypotheses would require multi-disciplinary methods but would yield clearer

implications for intervention programs by specifying influences at each system level.

Vangelisti (1988) also suggested that research in the area of adolescent employment should consider multiple sources of adolescent socialization into the workplace and the eventual outcomes of this process. The sources of adolescent socialization that this author identified are parents, peers, schools, the media, and part-time jobs. Adolescents enter the workplace with information from these sources about the nature of work and also gain information during the work experience. This information can be cognitive, behavioral, or affective. It can be learned either implicitly (through trial and error and watching others) or explicitly (through direct communication and training). Vangelisti offered these distinctions to help guide researchers in exploring the process and outcomes of adolescent socialization into the workplace.

Past Research Findings

Number of Work Hours. There is evidence from students' self-reports that more extensive hours of work (over 20 per week) are associated with an increase in school misconduct, diminished investment in school, and increased drug use (Steinberg et al., 1993). Students who choose to work long hours tend to be less invested in school and have

poorer grades before entering the workforce as compared to students who do not work (Steinberg et al., 1993).

In response to the question, "How has your job affected your school attitudes and performance?" (p. 630), Workman (1990) obtained four times as many negative responses as positive. While "having money to spend" was the theme of most of the positive responses, negative responses included fatigue, declining grades, lack of time for homework, and an inability to participate in after-school activities.

Collectively, the studies of the effects of adolescent part-time employment have produced conflicting results using varied outcome measures. Some researchers found that as work hours increased past 10 per week, a student's GPA and time spent on homework decreased significantly (Brown & Steinberg, 1991; Marsh, 1991), with intensive work of 20 hours or more being the most detrimental to academic involvement (Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991). Mortimer et al. (1993), in a longitudinal study of four years' duration, found that work intensity did not affect a student's GPA or time spent on homework. Interestingly, students who work less than ten hours a week have been reported to have significantly higher GPAs than nonworkers (Brown & Steinberg, 1991; Mortimer et al., 1993). Other longitudinal studies of high-school students did find that working during high school is linked to lowered academic aspirations and educational attainment (Mortimer & Finch, 1985; Marsh, 1991). The number of hours

worked in the sophomore year of high school has been positively related to dropping out of school, although school absenteeism, low grades, and deviant behavior were more strongly related to dropping out than was employment (Marsh, 1991). In a cross-sectional study of over 4,000 students from rural, urban, and suburban high schools in California and Wisconsin, Steinberg and Dornbusch (1991) found no difference between workers and nonworkers in their orientation toward school, thus attributing the lower school performance of employed students to working. In a later study with a longitudinal design, Steinberg et al. (1993) found pre-employment differences between students who subsequently become workers and those students who remained nonworkers. The former had lower grades, lower educational aspirations, did less homework, and reported being more disengaged from school. Working increased these differences over time.

For a sample of minority, inner-city youth, part-time employment did not detrimentally affect their educational pursuits, nor did it increase delinquency (Gottfredson, 1985). In Steinberg et al.'s (1993) large heterogeneous sample of high school students, intensive hours of work were found to be related to an increase in delinquent behavior, with drug and alcohol use increasing 33% more for workers than for nonworkers over time. There was no pre-selection effect to suggest that students who used drugs and alcohol

were more likely to work. Furthermore, when workers quit their jobs or decreased their work hours, they did not decrease their drug and alcohol use. Separating measures of alcohol, marijuana, and tobacco use, Mortimer et al. (1993) found that work intensity is linked specifically to increased alcohol use. The authors suggest that alcohol use may be linked to the stress of combining long work hours with school or possibly to more after-work socialization with adults and their leisure activities. In a small scale, short-term (1 year), longitudinal study, Steinberg et al. (1982) found that workers had an increase in marijuana and tobacco use, but not in alcohol use. These differences in findings may reflect different social and cultural climates of different samples.

It has been reported that there is an increase in social self-concept during the first year of an adolescent's employment, but this is followed by a steady decrease in subsequent years of employment (Marsh, 1991). Beginning workers enjoy the status benefits of having spending money while they are still somewhat involved in peer relationships at school. Over time, work hours usually increase, and these students become more isolated from peers and school activities, which are their major source of social self-concept (Marsh, 1991).

Earning Money. Marsh (1991) speculated that an adolescent's level of commitment to school and to academic aspirations, as measured by saving for educational purposes,

may be a major factor in determining how adolescent work experience affects academic outcomes. Marsh found that adolescents who saved their earnings for college had positive outcomes in measures of academic success, especially in actual college attendance. However, less than 10% of 1619 seniors in the 1982 High School and Beyond Study reported saving most of their earnings for future needs (Pritchard et al., 1989). Adolescents who spend most or all of their earnings may adjust their aspirations to short-term rewards unrelated to academics. Buying power can be a distraction to the process of obtaining the long-term rewards of an education. Marsh (1991) proposed that work and school are basically antagonistic unless work is perceived by the student as an extension of school. That extension, Marsh claimed, is determined more by what motivates an adolescent to work than by how closely the work is related to an adolescent's school interests.

The majority of adolescents who work spend the bulk of their earnings on themselves (Manning, 1990; Williams & Prohofsky, 1986; Steinberg et al., 1993; Workman, 1990). While 36% of a sample of working Indiana youth reported contributing to family expenses (Williams & Prohofsky, 1986), other studies across the country have found that less than 10% of working teens contribute to family expenses (Manning, 1990; Pritchard et al., 1989). An adolescent's decision to work generally was not due to the family's economic needs.

In fact, the higher the income of the household, the more likely an adolescent was to work (Manning, 1990; Young, 1979). The most common reason teenagers provided for why they worked was "to buy things" (Mortimer et al., 1990). Despite this apparent affluence of working teens, not all teens had complete control over the use of the money they earned (Greenberger et al., 1980; Williams & Prohofskey, 1986). The more hours an adolescent worked, the greater the likelihood parents would attempt to control their adolescents' spending (Manning, 1990). One-third of the working students in Steinberg et al.'s (1993) study earned over \$200 a month. Compare that to the average monthly allowance of nonworkers of \$25 (Greenberger et al., 1980). Although parents actually had less surveillance over working adolescents (Manning, 1990), they expressed concern about how their adolescents' money was spent. Even so, less than half of working adolescents were encouraged by parents to save any portion of their earnings (Manning, 1990; Pritchard et al., 1989).

Work Characteristics. Attention has begun to shift from the quantity of time adolescents work to the quality of the work experience (Mortimer et al., 1993). Adolescents find work primarily in the service industry, specifically in restaurants and retail stores (Steinberg et al., 1993; Workman, 1990). Steinberg (1982) found that adolescents are rarely challenged to develop skills in their jobs. Even

simple skills like reading, writing, and arithmetic are unnecessary for performance of most job duties assigned to adolescents. If jobs do not challenge adolescents to use existing skills or teach them new skills, adolescents may develop cynical attitudes about work in general (Stern, Stone, Hopkins & McMillion, 1990; Steinberg, 1982). Greenberger and Steinberg (1981), through interviews, questionnaires, and observations, found very few students who were motivated to go beyond the call of duty in their jobs. Steinberg et al. (1982) found that working students gained in personal responsibility, but not in their commitment to others or in their tolerance of differences in people. In order for adolescents to gain social responsibility through job experience, the workplace needs to be designed with more emphasis on team effort and cooperation (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1981).

Steinberg et al. (1981) interviewed 100 tenth and eleventh graders who had their first paid part-time job. The authors were interested in the development of adolescents' social cognitive abilities as a result of interpersonal interactions on the job. They noted two aspects of the workplace that expands the adolescent social experience. First, an adolescent is required to assume many different roles during the work shift. He or she may be following instructions or giving others instructions. Adolescents may be interacting with a supervisor, a peer, or a customer,

collectively representing a wide range of ages and temperaments. The second aspect is the opportunity to interact with a steady flow of strangers, which broadens one's exposure to human differences. Analyses of interview data demonstrated that adolescents gained in social sensitivity, social insights, and in their abilities to communicate effectively in situations that require social awareness. The authors commented on the difference in adolescent behavior in the workplace versus with friends and family:

With all due respect to theorists who posit egocentric social behavior as an inherent part of the adolescent's repertoire, our observations of adolescent workers suggest that the incidence of egocentrism can be dramatically diminished when adolescents are paid to behave in a nonegocentric fashion. (Steinberg et al., 1981, p. 147)

Working may provide a social arena for adolescents that fosters detachment from parents (Steinberg et al., 1981), and helps integrate adolescents into an adult social network. The parents of these adolescents also were interviewed and their responses mirrored their adolescents' with regard to their gains in social understanding. However, some parents complained about negative aspects of their adolescents' social experience with regard to working. These negative aspects included exposure to prejudicial attitudes and hearing profanities at work. Such concern again points to the need to giving more attention to structuring the

adolescent work experience in order to maximize benefits for the adolescent.

A weakness in the methods of the study by Steinberg et al. (1981) may make their findings questionable. There was no evidence of a systematic analysis of the interview material that would allow for the emergence of themes (Haaken & Korschgen, 1988). Themes of interest were chosen before the analysis of data, and then interview excerpts were selected to fit these themes. There may be an equal number of examples of social insensitivity and problems with effective communication embedded in the interview data.

The workplace is potentially a source of stress for adolescents. Some jobs are more stressful than others by the nature of the work. Shanahan et al. (1991) identified some work stressors as time pressure, dirty work, heaviness of work, excess workload, role conflict and ambiguity, resource inadequacy, lack of control, and unpleasant working conditions. The authors noted that adolescents may be more affected by work stressors than adults, due to a lack of resources and coping behaviors. They found that the conditions of work were better predictors of depressive affect than the number of hours worked. If adolescents report jobs as stressful, they are more likely to score higher on measures of depressive affect (Mortimer, Finch, Shanahan, & Ryu, 1992; Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991). Mortimer et al. (1993), without considering the conditions of

work, found no differences in measures of depression or self-esteem between high-intensity and low-intensity workers and nonworkers over time. These findings suggest that the quality of employment for adolescents may be a more important factor in determining outcomes than the quantity of employment (Mortimer et al., 1993).

Jobs that provide work autonomy enhance self-esteem over time. Mortimer and Lorence (1979) operationally defined work autonomy as "the respondent's decision-making latitude, the amount of innovative thinking required by the job, and the degree of challenge encountered by work" (p. 313). Their ten-year follow-up of college graduates concluded work autonomy as the most influential occupational feature in predicting a sense of competence. Income, education, and socioeconomic attainment did not affect self-concept directly, only through work-autonomy variables.

Steinberg (1982) noted a lack of evaluation of government sponsored work programs for youth. He noted that even though students have been offered structured programs of career education and youth employment and training, none of these programs have been shown to have any long-term effect on employment success. Neither has research demonstrated any long-term benefits of adolescents' participation in the naturally occurring part-time employment that is the most common form of adolescent employment (Steinberg, 1982). The outcomes for adolescents in school-based, work-study programs

have not been found to differ from regular adolescent employment (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986).

Family and Peer Relationships. Changes in family dynamics are bound to occur when an adolescent begins to work, but this subject has been given little attention by researchers (Peters, 1987). One of the most common variables measured in studies of adolescent employment is the amount of time the adolescent spends with the family. Numerous studies have found that there is a negative relationship between the number of hours an adolescent works and the amount of time spent with the family, which is not surprising (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986; Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg et al., 1982; Greenberger et al., 1980). Since adolescence is a time when youth are supposed to begin the separation process from parents, this finding can be interpreted positively, as a normal part of this separation process. Some researchers view it negatively, as a lack of parental involvement and guidance for the developing teen. The few studies examining changes in the quality of the parent/adolescent relationship when adolescents become employed have yielded conflicting results. There is some evidence that working has very little impact on the quality of this relationship (Greenberger et al., 1980; Gottfredson, 1985), and other evidence demonstrating that working adolescents have weaker emotional ties to parents (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986). There appears to be a pre-selection effect for females who are less

close to parents to choose to work (Greenberger et al., 1980). Manning (1990) specifically measured differences in the amount and types of disagreements in the parent/adolescent relationships of 16- to 18-year-old workers and nonworkers. She found significantly more disagreements for workers in the areas of helping out at home, staying out late, smoking, drinking, drug use, money, school, and getting along with other family members. As work hours increased, there were fewer disagreements about school and family but more about staying out. The higher the adolescent's earnings, the more likely there were to be disagreements about adolescent spending. Family income has not been found to be a significant factor in disagreement over adolescent finances (Williams & Prohofskey, 1986).

Working has not been found to reduce the quality of adolescent peer relationships, although the quantity of time spent with peers was reduced (Greenberger et al., 1980; Steinberg et al., 1982). Relationships that adolescents formed in the workplace were not generally described by them as close personal friendships, yet workers did report having more opposite-sex relationships than nonworkers (Greenberger et al., 1980).

Measures of adolescent autonomy from parents as an outcome of working has been another area of interest in research. Steinberg et al. (1993) found that working adolescents gained more autonomy from parents, but also

scored higher on autonomy measures before working than nonworkers who remain nonworkers. More specifically, workers did not have to inform parents of their whereabouts as much as nonworkers and were less likely to have television viewing and homework completion monitored by parents (Manning, 1990). Steinberg and Dornbusch (1991) found that working students were granted more decision-making autonomy than nonworking students, but this held true only for students whose parents were college-educated. Conversely, Greenberger et al. (1980) found no greater decision-making autonomy for workers than nonworkers. It has been debated as to whether or not working adolescents develop more egalitarian relationships with parents or if adolescent employment thwarts parental monitoring attempts (Steinberg et al., 1993).

Working adolescents may come to expect less parental involvement over time. A lack of parental support has been found to predict depressive affect for nonworking adolescents but not for working adolescents (Shanahan et al., 1991). Working may lessen dependence of adolescents on parents, both financially and for making less important decisions. Regarding major decisions, working adolescents appeared to have no more autonomy than nonworkers (Greenberger et al., 1980).

Research on how adolescent work affects their relationships with family and friends represents one direction of influence. The opposite direction has been

largely ignored in research; what information do parents and peers give adolescents to prepare them for the workplace (Vangelisti, 1988)? How do family and peer relationships influence an adolescent's perception of work? Another consideration is how a family's social class affects outcomes for working adolescents.

Social Class. The reported negative effects of part-time work on adolescent school-related outcomes in heterogeneous samples have been found to be reasonably consistent across sex, ethnicity, and levels of SES (Marsh, 1991; Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991). For a sample of low-income, inner-city youth, part-time work did not hinder academic or extra-curricular pursuits (Gottfredson, 1985). In fact, part-time work may have the benefits of providing an adult mentor, the acquisition of skills, and an alternative to the street which are needs not otherwise easily met in inner-city populations (Cress, 1992). It has been found that students from higher income households were more likely to seek part-time employment (Manning, 1990), and they also were more likely to choose higher status part-time jobs than students from lower income households (Poole & Cooney, 1985).

Differences have been found in the attitudes of adolescents about their work experience based on class. Haaken and Korschgen (1988) separated 40 students working at McDonald's into 2 groups; working-class and middle-class (based on their father's job autonomy). If the job provided

self-direction and decision-making latitude for the father, the family was labeled "middle-class." If these measures of job autonomy were low, then the label "working-class" was applied. The main difference found in the two groups of adolescents was the way they related to their managers. Middle-class students were more apt to form friendships with managers or view them as allies, whereas working-class students were more critical of and emotionally distant from managers.

Separating working students' families into professional, white-collar, and blue-collar groups, Steinberg et al. (1982) found that adolescents from white- and blue-collar families became more cynical about working over time. Adolescents from professional families became less cynical about their work experience over time. While white-collar students became more accepting of unethical business practices over time, students from professional families became less accepting of unethical practices. Blue-collar students' attitudes remained unchanged on this issue.

Traditionally, a family's occupational class is based on the father's line of work. Recently, Mannheim and Seger (1993) explored Israeli adolescents' work values based on the mothers' occupational characteristics and sex-role orientation. The work values measured were pride in work, activity preference, humanism, altruism, social status, attitude toward earning, preference for leisure, and upward

striving. This study was unable to demonstrate that mothers' occupations were associated with work values in their adolescents.

Students classify themselves and other students into social groups within schools. When students in a high school in Iowa were asked to describe the cliques in their school, "work" was a part of their descriptors (Workman, 1990). Students who did not work were most likely labeled "Intellectuals" or "Deepsters." A "Hick" was someone who worked on a farm, usually for the family. A "Jock" was described as someone who busses tables in restaurants while a "Party Type" works at a fast-food restaurant. A "Druggie" was someone who would do anything that would pay for drugs. An adolescent's part-time job selection may be influenced by his self-identified social group at school.

Using interviews and questionnaires, Downs and Rose (1991) asked students to describe the social group to which they belonged and to describe the other social groups in their school. A content analysis distinguished four social groups based on attitudes about school, involvement in school and social activities, values concerning alcohol and drug use, and academic achievement and aspirations. A status hierarchy was noted, with those students who were perceived as the least involved in school activities being the most negatively labeled group. This group was found to have higher measures of psychosocial problems than the other

groups. The adolescent peer-labeling process may serve to further alienate students who are only marginally involved in school activities or who are heavily invested in working during the school year.

Gender. For the most part, the outcomes of adolescent part-time work in relation to school performance have shown little difference between males and females (Marsh, 1991; Mortimer et al., 1993). This is surprising in light of demographic data that portray different work experiences for adolescent males and females. There is basically the same sex segregation in the adolescent workplace as in the adult work place (Steinberg et al., 1982; Mortimer et al., 1990). Boys are more likely to be employed than girls and are more likely to have a formal job (Yamoor & Mortimer, 1990). In a study of St. Paul ninth-graders, females earned only 60% of what males earned, yet both sexes reported satisfaction with their wages (Mortimer et al., 1990). Females' employment consisted mostly of babysitting, while males did mostly yard work and restaurant work. When questioned about salary expectations, female adolescents provided lower salary estimates than male adolescents, even though the females were less likely to stereotype occupations by gender than were males (Morrison, Bell, Morrison, Murray, & O'Conner, 1994). With regard to playful behavior in the workplace, Borman (1988) found that for adolescents, playful behavior served as

a bonding agent for males but was more likely to be denigrating for females.

Females in American society may not have a clear sense of what it means to be successful as a woman. Bate and Self (1983) found in a survey of women's career guidance books that female career success is defined in basically two incongruent ways: amassing money and power versus the ability to balance work, housekeeping, and motherhood through priority-setting. Going to work may be seen as an act of independence for a female socialized with traditional gender roles and as an act of conformity for males (Steinberg et al., 1982). At least one study showed that female adolescents who have a weak emotional bond to parents are more likely to seek part-time employment (Greenberger et al., 1980).

Gender differences in the adolescent work experience that have been noted have been in the realm of psychosocial outcomes. Male adolescents reported more materialistic attitudes (Steinberg et al., 1982) and more life satisfaction with employment experience than female adolescents (Yamoor & Mortimer, 1990). When Steitz and Owen (1992) hypothesized that working would have a negative effect on an adolescent's self-esteem, they found this relationship to be significant only for girls in their middle-class, urban sample of adolescents. Other studies have found no gender differences in measures of self-esteem for working versus nonworking adolescents (Mortimer et al., 1993; Holland & Andre, 1994).

Methodological Issues

The most difficult methodological issue in research on the adolescent work experience is how to determine if outcomes are due to the variables related to working or to variables related to self-selection into the work force (Mortimer et al., 1993; Steinberg et al., 1993; Marsh, 1991; Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986; Steinberg et al., 1982). Does working decrease the commitment to school or does a low commitment to school determine which adolescents are more likely to work, both producing the same outcomes? Are adolescents who choose to work different from adolescents who do not work? Multi-wave longitudinal studies (Marsh, 1991; Mortimer et al., 1993) are one way to try to measure only the changes brought about by working. But with this method, it becomes more difficult to control for adolescents who change their number of work hours over time (Marsh, 1991).

Most studies of adolescent work experience have used a self-report-survey method of data collection. With so much emphasis on the relationship of part-time work to school performance, one might wonder if students would provide accurate reports of their academic abilities. In a study of 5000 students, Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts, and Fraleigh (1987) found a .80 correlation between students' self-reports of GPA and teachers' reports of students' GPA. Greenberger and Steinberg (1982) pointed out that the

national average for time spent on homework for high-school students is only four hours per week. Any changes in this measure brought about by working would have to be a minimal difference and not an adequate measure of school investment.

Adolescent part-time work can take so many forms that an operational definition has been problematic in past studies (Marsh, 1991). Distinctions have not been made consistently between formal and informal work (e.g., a job in an established business versus babysitting). Is working in one's family business comparable to working for a previously unknown employer? Does voluntary work have different psychosocial outcomes for an adolescent than paid work? Is a nonworker someone who has never worked, never worked in a formal job, never worked for pay, or is currently just not working? There are so many contexts for the concept of work that generalizations about the outcomes of adolescent work experiences will be vague at best.

Few large-scale studies have been conducted regarding adolescent work experience (Fine, Mortimer, & Roberts, 1990). Most studies have been on small-scale, white, middle-class samples. As interest in the area of adolescent work has developed, research has changed its focus from the outcomes of workers versus nonworkers (Greenberg & Steinberg, 1986) to low-intensity versus high-intensity employment (Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991), and then to the quality of the work experience (Mortimer et al., 1993). Concurrently,

researchers are recognizing a wider range of possible influences on the adolescent work experience and are taking an ecological perspective (Young, 1983).

Only one qualitative study could be found regarding the adolescent work experience (Cress, 1992). The use of a qualitative approach has uncovered some positive aspects of the adolescent work experience in a specific context. Cress (1992) interviewed forty urban youths in Boston to understand how these adolescents viewed their access to the adult world of work based on their work experiences. One of the main issues that surfaced related to the nature of the relationship between adolescents and their work supervisors. This relationship had a major influence on whether the work experience and future occupational prospects were viewed positively or negatively. Some adolescents perceived their "bosses" as mentors or positive role models and reported wanting to become successful in the same manner. For adolescents who worked only with peers, this mentor relationship was absent. For this urban youth population, work also was viewed by adolescents as an alternative to the dangers of hanging out on the street. This study points to the need for further exploration of the mentor relationship and for more evaluation of the adolescent work experience from a contextual perspective.

Summary

Most adolescents work part-time during some portion of their high-school years. Although most adults, citing a developmental perspective, are supportive of adolescent employment, research has uncovered some negative effects, especially of intense employment. The zero-sum model applied to adolescent employment dictates that the hours adolescents occupy working and spending earnings directly diminishes the time spent doing homework and participating in after-school peer-related or family activities. Conflictual results using the zero-sum model have led to a shift in focus from the number of hours an adolescent works to the quality of the work experience. Generally, jobs available to adolescents do not provide opportunities for skill development or the use of knowledge learned in school. Poor job quality is linked to cynical work attitudes in adolescents.

Working adolescents appear to gain some autonomy from parents in terms of parental monitoring and buying power. The family's social/economic class does appear to influence an adolescent's decision to work and his/her relationship with supervisors. Adolescents' choice of jobs and their intensity of employment also has been shown to influence how other students view them. An adolescent's disengagement from school and school-related functions appears to be viewed negatively by classmates. Generally, most outcomes related

to adolescent employment have not been found to differ with respect to the adolescent's gender.

Research on adolescent employment has been concentrated in quantitative studies of cross-sectional and/or longitudinal designs, using survey questionnaires as the data-collection method. The main methodological problems have been determining what outcomes are due to pre-selection effects versus working and defining all the contexts of working. Previous studies revealed that the outcomes of the adolescent work experience depend on a very complex, still not fully understood, set of factors (Mortimer et al., 1993). Current research is exploring the quality of the adolescent work experience and other contextual factors contributing to outcomes.

3. Methods

Focus of This Study

Previous research has provided much descriptive information about the adolescent work experience. It is known roughly what percentage of adolescents work, how many hours they work, what types of jobs they hold, how adolescents use the money they earn, some of the skills they learn and do not learn on the job, and yet, we still cannot determine definitively that adolescent work experience has positive or negative influences in a person's life. One issue may be that researchers' value systems have been the point of reference for judging the adolescent work experience. For example, Steinberg et al. (1982) were unable to find any links between job characteristics and adolescent outcomes but admitted using measures of job dimensions based on adult literature. The job characteristics used may not have been as relevant to the adolescent worker as to the adult worker. Another issue may be that there are too many variables to be considered in each individual case of adolescent employment to be able to determine cause and effect. The answer may lie in the adolescent's perceptions of the positive and negative aspects of the work experience from the perspective of the adolescent's value system. An adolescent's developmental stage may have an influence on

what the adolescent tunes in to in his or her environment, what is valued, what is accepted or rejected. Since adolescence is a time of trying out identities or "ways of being," how structured should the work experience be? What do adolescents think? What do they want? What would be their idea of the perfect work experience? What do they want to get out of it? What conditions of working foster the adoption of a work ethic?

The answer to whether or not work experience is beneficial for adolescents may lie in their motivations to work, the quality of the work experience they choose, and their understanding of the meaning of work at this particular life stage. An in-depth exploration of the reasons why adolescents choose to work and their perceptions of the meaning of work based on their experience is a needed effort in the investigation of adolescent employment. The following are the basic questions to be explored in this study along with interview questions adapted from Weiss (1994, p. 49-50), designed to probe each area of interest:

(a) What does work mean to the adolescent? Is it perceived as a drudgery, a challenge, a duty, an opportunity, solely as a way to earn money, a learning experience, a social event, a transitional step, a status symbol, a means to an end?

Interview Questions: Describe the previous day at work to me. Walk me through it. (probes of indications of emotional investment or stress) What were your thoughts on arrival?

*Departure? What goes through your mind when you are working?
Tell me about what your work means to you.*

(b) What is the adolescent's perceptions of the costs and benefits of working for him/her?

Interview Questions: Describe a time at work when you felt particularly gratified about your work. Burdened about your work. How has working changed your life? Tell me about the positive changes. Tell me about the negative changes.

(c) How does the adolescent view his/her work in regard to the public good?

Interview Questions: How does your work involve you with others? Describe incidents of how your work was responded to by others. Describe the importance of your work.

(d) How does the adolescent's relationships with supervisors, peers, and subordinates affect his/her perceptions about work?

Interview Questions: Tell me about your relationship with your boss? Give me an example of an interchange. What is he/she like at best? At worst? What is expected of you? Others, same questions.

(e) How does the adolescent perceive others' evaluations of him/her?

Interview Questions: What is your standing at your job? How do you know this?

(f) How has the work experience changed the adolescent's perceptions about the world of work and career aspirations?

Interview Questions: What have you learned about life from your work experience? Tell me about how working has influenced decisions about your future? How do you imagine your life 10 years from now?

(g) What or who motivates an adolescent to work, given there is an availability of jobs?

Interview Question: Tell me about your decision to work. What led you to your current job? What is challenging about your job? What contributions or achievements have you made at your place of employment?

(h) Does an adolescent's work experience differ for males and females? Gender differences will be noted in the analysis of the above interview questions.

Quantitative Component

Research Objective. The objective for the quantitative aspect of this research project was purely descriptive. The purpose was to be able to describe the high-school population of Sevier County with regard to number of students working, how many hours they worked, how much they earned, how they spent their money, and other related topics (see questionnaire in Appendix A).

Participants. All of the approximate 3000 students in Sevier County were contacted to answer the questionnaire in the first part of this study. Sevier County is predominantly a white, middle- to lower-class population situated in a

rural area with a tourist-based economy, being an entrance to the Great Smokey Mountains National Park. This is a unique area for adolescents because the rapid growth of tourism has established a surplus market of low-paying jobs. This has created opportunities for employment for every local adolescent who desires part-time work. In fact, employers in Sevier County have been competing for employees for several years, which has resulted in higher than average starting wages ("Region's leaders...", 1995). With the growth of tourism nationwide, the opportunities for adolescents in this county can be compared to other areas where the economic base is rapidly developing tourism (e.g., Branson, MO; Orlando, FL; Myrtle Beach, SC).

Recruitment and Data Collection. The general work experience questionnaire (see Appendix A) was distributed to all Sevier County high school students through homeroom teachers. Permission to conduct this study was granted by the Sevier County School Superintendent and The University of Tennessee Human Subjects Committee. Each questionnaire was stapled together with a blank envelope, a Parent/Adolescent Consent Form (see Appendix A), and a separate request for qualified interview participants (see Appendix A). These forms were given to all homeroom teachers in the three Sevier County high schools to distribute to students to take home, fill out, and return to the teacher. Instructions on the forms required students to return the signed consent form to

the teacher before the anonymous questionnaire, sealed in the blank envelope, could be submitted to the teacher. The teacher stored consent forms and questionnaires separately in provided manila envelopes. Forms indicating interest in being an interview participant were turned in with consent forms. Teachers were instructed to provide additional questionnaires and consent forms to students requesting them due to loss or misplacement during the following week. Students were given one week to return forms and questionnaires, but six snow days forced cancellation of school during data-collection, and the process took two weeks instead of one. The only compensation offered to students (and teachers) for participation was a newsletter (see Appendix A), describing results of the compilation of data for this Sevier County population. It was distributed through the home-room teachers as soon as it was available. Boxes in each school's main office were provided for teachers to deposit the manila envelopes containing the forms and questionnaires at the end of the two weeks.

Data Analysis. Coded responses from the questionnaires were entered into a computer program to determine the percentages for each response. Descriptive statistics were compiled for some responses with regard to gender, grade level, work status, and levels of work intensity. The four open-ended questions on the

questionnaire were categorized and then coded for computer entry.

Qualitative Component

Research Objective. The objective for conducting the qualitative aspect of this research was purely phenomenological, as described by Van Manen (1990). An understanding of the meanings adolescents assign to working through their interpretations of lived experiences was sought. These insights can provide a better understanding of how work experiences contribute to the development--or lack of development--of a work ethic for adolescents.

Recruitment. When all the questionnaires and consent forms were collected from the first part of this study, there were eighty-seven requests for more information about becoming an interview participant. An introductory letter and another consent form (see Appendix A) were sent to these potential interview participants, ten at a time. Follow-up calls were made to each student, at which time interviews were scheduled if the student was willing to participate. Only five students declined participation, citing a lack of time due to employment. About a third of the students contacted were not currently working or not working in a formal job, and thus were not interviewed. Interviews were conducted in each high school's library after school (with each principal's permission). Participants were instructed

to bring the signed consent form that was previously mailed to them to the interview meeting.

Participants. Sixteen adolescents, nine females and seven males, who were working formal part-time jobs were recruited to be interviewed from students in Part I of this study. There were six from the ninth grade, four from the tenth, five from the eleventh, and one twelfth-grader. The age range included three 14-year-olds, four 15-year-olds, three 16-year-olds, four 17-year-olds, and two 18-year-olds. The following jobs were represented by students in the interview sample; retail sales clerk (6), fast-food restaurant counter person (3), food concessions (2), games attendant (1), horse stable guide (1), restaurant hostess (1), dishwasher (1), and secretary/receptionist (1). Their salaries ranged from \$3.75/hour to \$6.50/hour with a mean of \$5.75/hour (excluding the \$3.75/hour, which was the only wage below the legal minimum). Students' grade estimates were reported to me at the beginning of the interview, in either number or letter form. These estimates of their grade point average included 5 A's, 6 B's, and 5 C's.

Data Collection. Hour-long, in-depth interviews using open-ended questions were the data-collection method used with adolescent participants. After obtaining the signed consent form for the interview part of the study, interviews were tape-recorded following the interview schedule in Appendix A, with probes added as deemed necessary.

The method of interviewing used by the interviewer was based on past experience interviewing ministers for a previous study (Taylor & Malia, 1995), on practice obtained in a Qualitative Methods course, and on suggestions from Weiss's (1994) book, *Learning from Strangers*.

Data Analysis. Data analysis began with the first interview and was an ongoing process of reflection before, during, and after transcriptions. Each interview was transcribed word-for-word. Using a line-by-line analysis based on Strauss and Corbin's (1990) open-coding method, key words and phrases were noted from interview to interview. These words and phrases were then categorized, based on their connections to phenomena described by participants. This ongoing analysis helped in probing issues that adolescents discussed in subsequent interviews, in order to exhaust categories; categories formed concepts. Further comparing, questioning, and grouping of concepts led to the discovery of relationships between concepts. These relationships formed the basis for themes. For example, many words and phrases that expressed adolescents' "discontent" were noted. Some of these words that were highlighted in interview transcripts during analysis were *dread*, *hate*, *mad*, *aggravated*, and *awkward*. Examples of phrases were "get it over with," "it's hard for me," "I don't like it," "it's a lot of stress on me," and "I can't stand.." These words and phrases from the category of "discontent" were then separated into concepts.

These concepts were determined by the phenomena to which the words and phrases pertained. Examples of some of the concepts related to discontent were boredom, scheduling, and relationships with bosses. Boredom could be further broken down into boredom from repetitive work, boredom from inactivity, and boredom from a lack of same-age coworkers. When no new categories or concepts could be found, the process of comparing and contrasting phenomena within and between categories continued. Connections were discovered between concepts, for example, between scheduling inflexibility at the workplace and boredom from a lack of same-age coworkers. This connection led to a subtheme regarding the importance for adolescents of spending time with peers. Jobs that isolated adolescents from peers either at the workplace or outside of work (due to scheduling inflexibility) were viewed with resentment by interview participants. Further scrutiny and comparing of the data helped to uncover aspects of the adolescent work experience that contributed to positive and negative attitudes about work. Using this analysis allowed for the emergence of themes from the data.

4. Results and Discussion of Quantitative Data

Results

The quantitative aspect of this study was undertaken in order to find out how this sample of high-school students compared to other adolescent research populations around the country with regard to adolescent employment. I wanted to know if the availability of jobs in a county with a booming tourist economy affected the number of students who worked, with regard to age, sex, and parental income, and if this economy affected adolescent pay, quantity of hours worked, and various other descriptive measures. I also wanted to identify the most salient issues for working adolescents in this sample, for example, adolescents' perceptions of the most positive and negative aspects of working, and changes adolescents would like to make at the workplace. The identification of adolescents' work-related issues from questionnaires helped to guide the interview questions and probes for the subsample of interview participants.

The response rate was not as high as was anticipated. Twelve percent (353 students) of the entire county's high-school population completed and returned questionnaires. Six canceled school days (due to snow) in between distribution and collection of the questionnaires probably contributed to a low response rate. However, this sample of 353 provided an

adequate representation from schools, grade levels, males and females, and workers and nonworkers. Questionnaires were completed by 96 ninth-graders, 106 tenth-graders, 66 eleventh-graders, and 85 twelfth-graders. The sample included 233 females and 120 males.

With regard to family structure, 14% of students in the sample reported living with one parent, 63% with two parents, 19% with one parent/stepparent, 1% with a guardian, and 2.5% in some other family form. For parents' estimated yearly income, 9% of students marked "under \$15,000," 29% marked "\$15,000-\$30,000," 45% marked "above \$30,000," and 17% did not respond to this item.

The number of adolescents who participated in part-time employment differed by age, sex, grade, family income, and location of high school. One hundred-sixty-five students (47%) reported holding a steady job at some time during the current school year. By sex, 51% of males and 45% of females in the sample reported working. By grade, 18% of ninth-graders, 35% of tenth-graders, 74% of eleventh-graders, and 74% of twelfth-graders reported working. By age, 16% of fourteen-year-olds, 23% of fifteen-year-olds, 51% of sixteen-year-olds, 72% of seventeen-year-olds, and 87% of eighteen-year-olds reported working. By school, 28% of all students from the first school in the sample reported working, with 57% of students from the second school working, and 49% of students from the third school working. The first school in

the sample is located in a part of the county that is not close to tourist-related businesses, hence the lower percentage of student workers. By parental yearly income, 62% of adolescents who reported parents' income as "below \$15,000" reported working, 52% worked with parental incomes between "\$15,000-\$30,000," and 41% worked with parental incomes "above \$30,000."

The quantity of time spent working has been a major focus of past studies (Marsh, 1991; Mortimer et al., 1993). In the present study's sample, 29% of working students reported spending 16-20 hours per week on the job. Other percentages were: 15% worked 11-15 hours, 14% worked 21-25 hours, 12% worked 26-30 hours, 15% worked over 30 hours, and 12% worked less than 10 hours per week. The mean number of hours worked per week for males was 22.46, and for females, 18.86. With regard to number of days worked per week, 26% reported working five days, with 8% at one day, 22% at two days, 18% at three days, 16% at four days. Wages were reported as follows: 57% earned \$5.00-\$6.00 per hour, 20% earned less than \$5.00 per hour, 15% earned \$6.01-\$7.00 per hour, 7% earned more than \$8.00 per hour. Males and females reported roughly the same percentages for wages, with males only slightly higher.

Past research has shown that most adolescents are employed in service and retail jobs (Steinberg et al., 1981). In the present study, the top four jobs that students

reported having were: retail sales clerk (30%), food server in a restaurant (15%), counter person in a fast-food restaurant (10%), and employee at an attraction, such as a ride operator or ticket seller (8%). The four most reported duties that students' jobs required were: greeting people (60%), taking orders (38%), providing information (28%), and tied for fourth were making change, stocking, and cleaning (27%). Only 15% of employed students reported working for a relative.

Part-time employment brings about changes in students' lives. The top four positive changes reported were: (a) I am more responsible, (b) I am more independent, (c) I can afford the things I want, and (d) I have made new friends. The top four negative changes reported were: (a) I don't get to spend time with friends as much, (b) I feel pressured in dividing my time to do all the things I want or need to do, (c) I am too tired from working to do what I want or need to do, and d) I don't have enough time with my family.

Job satisfaction included ratings of supervisors and a request for changes adolescents would make in the workplace. Seventy-nine percent of working students reported being satisfied with their current jobs. Sixty-seven percent of workers rated their supervisors as often or always helpful in teaching them job skills. Seventy percent of workers rated their supervisors as good or exceptionally good at helping them to develop a positive work attitude. When asked what

two changes they would make in their current jobs, the top three responses were: (a) higher pay (66%), (b) more recognition for a job well done (18%), and tied for third place, (c) longer work shift, more opportunity for advancement, and a more fixed work schedule (15%) respectively.

Since most of the money adolescents earn is discretionary income, they have varied options for the use of their money. Only 50% of the working students reported saving any money. Of those who were saving, 42% reported saving for a car and 22% were saving for college. The main ways students spent the money they earned was on clothes (30%) and gasoline (24%) and to make car payments (20%). The main reasons for working that students reported were: (a) for spending money (44%), (b) to save for future expenses (25%), and (c) to buy a car (17%).

Whether or not working affects a student's ability to do homework has been of interest in previous research (Mortimer et al., 1993; Steinberg et al., 1993). Surprisingly, the difference in the means of reported hours of homework was only very slight for workers and nonworkers (4.1 hours/week for workers versus 4.6 hours/week for nonworkers). The mean for all students was 4.49 hours/week. The mean number of homework hours/week reported by working females was 4.52; for working males, 3.59; for nonworking females, 4.87; for nonworking males, 4.06.

The nonworkers in this high-school sample provided additional insights into why adolescents choose to work or not to work. Of the 175 students in the sample who reported they had never held a steady job, 152 said they planned to get a job before graduating from high school. Why? The top three answers in order were: (a) for spending money, (b) to save for a car or car expenses, and (c) to save for college. Of those students who reported they were not planning on working, their main reason was that they had no time because of school and school activities. Of those students who reported having held a steady job in the past, their top three reasons for quitting were: (a) did not have enough time for activities and friends, (b) did not like boss, and tied for third, (c) did not like job duties and did not have time for homework.

The short-term future plans of this sample also were surveyed by asking students to report their two most likely alternatives after high school. Eighty percent of students reported planning to go to college. In addition, 38% reported planning to get a job and 11% planned to continue their current job. Slightly fewer than 10% planned to attend technical school. Eleven percent of the students planned to get married. Only 3% reported wanting to join a branch of the government armed services.

Discussion

This sample of high-school students compared closely to other adolescent research populations. The percentage of adolescents aged 16-18 years who reported working (70%) in the 1988 National Survey of Families and Households (Manning, 1990) matched the present study for the same age group (70%). Gender differences for reported employment were also similar, with the percentage of males slightly higher than females (National Survey, 52.5%/47.3%; this sample, 51%/45%). The mean number of hours worked per week by adolescents in the National Survey was 17.5 and was 19 hours for the present study. It was predicted that a higher percentage of adolescents in the present sample would be employed than in the general population, due to the county-wide availability of jobs and the shortage of employees. The results of the questionnaire data revealed that the availability of jobs and the recruitment of adolescents by employers may not be factors in the number of adolescents who work. Other factors, such as parental attitudes about adolescent employment and students' involvement in sports and other extra-curricular activities, may have more influence on rates of adolescent employment. The percentage of working adolescents who contributed to family expenses (9%) was the same for both surveys. A finding in the present study that differed from the 1988 National Survey was the relationship

of family income to whether or not adolescents worked. The 1988 National Survey found that the higher the family income, the more likely the adolescent was to have a part-time job. In the present study, the opposite was true. The percentage of workers to nonworkers decreased about 10% as each of the three income categories increased. The availability of jobs and the proximity of employment for adolescents and their parents in the present study may have been factors in this difference between the two surveys. In the general population, higher income families may have greater access to employment and, therefore, may be able to provide more opportunities for their adolescents to work. Steinberg et al., (1982) found that 80% of the working adolescents whom they surveyed reported being satisfied with their current job. In the present study, 79% of working adolescents reported being satisfied with their current job.

Greenberger and Steinberg (1982) reported that the mean number of hours that American students spent on homework per week was four. The questionnaires in the present study produced approximately the same average (4.49 hours/week), with only a slight difference in the means of workers (4.1 hours/week) and nonworkers (4.6 hours/week). Curiously, working females reported doing an average of almost an hour more of homework per week (4.52 hours/week) than working males (3.59 hours/week). This might be explained by the fact that working males averaged almost four more hours of

employment per week than females, although a similar hours-of-homework difference existed between nonworking females (4.87 hours/week) and nonworking males (4.06). With the majority of eleventh- and twelfth-graders working part-time jobs during the school year, one might wonder if teachers have lowered their expectations of students' out-of-school study time to adjust to the majority of students' lack of time. Past studies (Brown & Steinberg, 1991; Marsh, 1991; Mortimer et al., 1993) have indicated that the number of hours worked per week by students may not be a reliable predictor of school performance. In the present study, the mean number of reported homework hours/week for students who worked more than fifteen hours/week was 3.43 compared to 4.88 hours/week for students working fifteen or less hours/week.

Further analyses of data from the questionnaires will be undertaken as other research questions regarding adolescent employment are explored. For the present study, questionnaire data served to describe the student population of Sevier County with regard to employment.

5. Presentation of Qualitative Data

An adolescent's early work experience cannot be presumed to be the only influence on the development of a work ethic. Various role models (parents, teachers, friends, etc.), the media, the family structure, the adolescent's personality, and the adolescent's participation in household, lawn, and garden chores and in community services are just some of the other possible influences on the development of a work ethic. Although not focus activities of this study, some interview participants did mention having chores and belonging to service organizations. Family structures differed as well as the amount of responsibility adolescents were given at home. Realizing that adolescents come to their first job with some degree of a work ethic, the focus of this study was solely on discovering what aspects of the adolescent work experience contribute to the further development of a work ethic, either positively or negatively. This was attempted by examining adolescents' perceptions and evaluations of their work experiences.

In the analysis of the interviews, I discovered recurrent themes that helped to explain what adolescents find positive and negative about their employment experiences. I assumed in this analysis that work-related examples of pride, gratification, diligence, enthusiasm, and responsibility to others represented positive influences on a work ethic.

Conversely, I assumed that examples of resentment, frustration, dissatisfaction, apathy, oppression, and burden would contribute to the development of a negative work ethic. Stern et al. (1990) viewed positive work attitudes as the basis for the motivation to do good work. These researchers stated that a cynical work attitude "denotes a view of work as oppressive, unrewarding, and therefore not worth much effort" (Stern et al., 1990, p. 266). Steinberg et al. (1981) included work attitudes in their standardized measure of work orientation. A positive work orientation was considered to be the ability to complete a task successfully combined with a sense of pride for one's work. Hamilton and Hamilton (1989) found that the outcomes for working adolescents were more likely to be work-related attitudes than skills or knowledge.

I identified seven themes in the data analysis, each relating in some way to adolescents' development of a work ethic. The following is a list of theme titles with a short description of the contents of each theme.

1. Meaning of Work--the meanings adolescents assign to working provide a context for understanding what aspects of the work experience are important to them.
2. Haphazard Versus Purposeful Job Selection--this theme considers how adolescents become employed.
3. Adaptation to the Job--there was a pervasive feeling

amongst participants that once they started working, they cannot stop.

4. Boredom and How It Is Sometimes Alleviated--the content of this theme includes repetitive, slow work and the importance of same-age coworkers and developing coworker friendships.

5. Autonomy and Trust--student workers experienced different degrees of autonomy, trust, and the ability to make changes at the workplace.

6. Characteristics of the Boss--the boss was viewed either as a friend and a mentor or as an adversary.

7. Scheduling--the pressures student workers experienced within the confines of work schedules to divide time between homework, rest, friends and family are explored in this theme.

In this section, each theme was explained with the application of a sample of quotes. I placed a more complete listing of quotes supporting each theme in Appendix B. All the quotes were presented with a number. This number identified the interview and the line within the interview transcript where the quote was found. The first interview started with line 1000 and the last (16th) interview started with line 16000. Table 1 will help the reader link the interview quotes presented in the following themes with some demographics of each participant.

Table 1

Descriptions of Interview Participants

Student/Sex	Age	Job	Hours/Week	Pay/Hr.
#1 Male	14	Sales clerk	15	\$5.00
#2 Male	17	Dishwasher	24	\$6.40
#3 Female	15	Concessions	14	\$5.00
#4 Male	18	Secretary/Receptionist	8	\$5.25
#5 Female	16	Sales clerk	10	\$6.15
#6 Female	16	Hostess	14	\$6.00
#7 Female	16	Sales clerk	20	\$6.25
#8 Female	14	Counter, fast-food rest.	14	\$5.00
#9 Female	17	Sales clerk	30	\$5.50
#10 Female	17	Sales clerk	15	\$5.00
#11 Male	17	Counter, fast-food rest.	25	\$6.00
#12 Female	18	Counter, fast-food rest.	30	\$6.00
#13 Female	15	Sales clerk	15	\$6.50
#14 Male	14	Concessions	6	\$5.50
#15 Male	15	Games Attendant	15	\$5.20
#16 Male	15	Guide, horse stable	10	\$3.75

Meaning of Work

The meaning of the work experience for an adolescent is different than for an adult. For adolescents, employment is viewed as temporary and the money adolescents earn is usually discretionary, whether it is spent or saved. The main foci in adolescents' lives are school and peer-related activities. Adolescent part-time employment is generally not career-related, so motivation and enthusiasm for their work must come from sources other than personal career interests. The aspects of work experience that are the most meaningful to adolescents would be the ones most likely to influence their development of a work ethic. In order to understand the importance of these aspects, it is necessary to view adolescent employment from adolescents' perspectives. When the question, "What does your work mean to you?" was posed to interview participants, most of their responses connected working to money. Some examples were: (2075) "Right now, it just means having somewhere to work and get away from home and having extra money." (4038) "This job, it means spending money, that's about it." (6058) "I just think of the money, 'cause kids, saving up for a car and stuff, that's what I'm trying to do." (14080) "It just means an income right now. I'm not looking for going up the success ladder of concession stands."

(7026) Not really too much. I mean my parents really wanted me to work, so I went, but it wasn't really important to me. I got money, but if I wasn't working, my parents would give it to me anyway, so it really didn't have any importance to me.

Some students offered a different perspective: (3110)

"Well, it's really important to me because it's experience for the future." (8130) "It's like something fun to do, I like really enjoy it. It keeps me busy." (16117) "It means a lot to me, really, 'cause I feel more comfortable working where I know the owners and stuff, and I get excited about working 'cause I can save up for a truck."

(5072) It means a lot to me 'cause it gives me a self, you know what I'm saying? This is my own job, and my Mom don't have to give me money, and it means it's my responsibility and I have to keep up with it, and it does good for me and I like it a lot.

Part-time employment for adolescents meant gaining independence from parents and a sense of responsibility. The importance of adolescents' wages was more related to their feelings of independence and responsibility than to the things money could buy. Understanding how adolescents viewed their jobs provides a context for understanding other aspects of the adolescent employment experience.

Haphazard Versus Purposeful Job Selection

In Sevier County, low-paying jobs are plentiful because of the booming tourist industry. The economy of Sevier County is the fastest growing in the state of Tennessee. Since there is a heavy recruitment of adolescents to work,

many students are offered jobs before they even have made a conscious decision to seek employment. This situation deprives students of experiencing a job-seeking process and the ability to make job decisions based on considerations such as pay, job duties, hours, and even general type of employment. Employment opportunities often come without the benefit of the experience of the application/interview process. This process informs both employers and employees about one another's expectations. Whether or not an adolescent is well-suited for a particular job is often not examined by either the potential employee or the employer. Adolescents get job offers through friends and/or relatives, or being in the right place at the right time (or maybe the wrong place at the wrong time).

A fifteen-year-old female explained to me how she got her job as a retail sales clerk: (7044) "Yeah, it was sort of funny the way I got the job. I went in to buy a bra and they said, 'Hey, do you want to work here?' And I said, 'OK.'" When I asked another female student how she got her job in a candy shop, she replied, (10504) "It was the closest place to my house. My neighbors own it...I got the job the day I applied, it was right on the spot." A male student who worked in a concession stand responded to the same question with,

(14229) A man that goes to our church, he bought an interest in the music theater, and we know him pretty

well and he needed people to work and I needed a job, so..

If this was the first job, the adolescent had no other employment experience for comparison, but after working a while, some students wondered if they were too hasty in their employment decision. On the topic of job selection, one student had this to offer:

(10716) As far as advice to other people, when you're looking for a job, base your job on everything, like location, 'cause I don't know if I did that or not. I know I based it on location, but I didn't base it on pay, and I just accepted the first thing that was offered to me, and I think if I had said, "Well, I'm going to look around a few more places, and then I'll let you know if I want the job," maybe that would have made a difference for how much I'm paid now for the job I do, but I don't know if it would or not.

Employers in Sevier County may communicate a sense of desperation to adolescents by their hiring methods. Sometimes employers depend on employees to find other employees for them. One female student commented on her employer's desperation: (7142) "I mean they really needed people to work there really bad. She [boss] would go and sit me in her office and say, 'Call five of your friends and find people to work.'"

Adolescents' awareness of their employers' difficulty in attracting or retaining employees may have affected the way adolescents viewed their jobs. When I asked another female retail clerk if she felt certain she could keep her job as long as she wanted, she replied,

(9366) Right now I do. I think I could go to work butt naked and sit on the floor and sing all day and they couldn't fire me because nobody wants to work there. Nobody wants to work there. They've been trying to hire people for months.

Not all students stumbled into a job haphazardly. Some students purposefully sought out a job that involved activities or products that were of special interest to them. A fourteen-year-old male student stated that he (1073) "always wanted to work in an outdoor shop" [store that carries sports equipment] and told me that he knew the owner of such a shop and convinced the owner to hire him. In describing his job, he said, (1078) "I can give the customers real advice and my own expertise because everything we sell out of the store, I have something to do with, because I've participated in those activities." A male student who worked at a horse stable as a guide and general maintenance person also had a definite idea about what he wanted to do. His comments were:

(16241) I wanted to be a veterinarian long before I started this job. I took this job because I love being around horses and I want to be a vet. I thought it would be a good experience in the long run.

He began his job as a volunteer laborer, and then it turned into a paying job, albeit very low pay, compared to the other students I interviewed. The low pay did not seem to negatively influence his evaluation of the job, even though he was saving to buy a truck. I questioned him about the pay and he said,

(16362) Well, I would like a job with more pay, but I still want to keep working at the stables because I enjoy it so much. I figure I'll somehow get a vehicle anyway, so I might as well do something I like.

The outdoor shop employee also was one of the lowest paid students with whom I talked, yet he stated that all his friends wished they had his job, even though they all made more money at their present jobs.

Adaptation to the Job

Some students stated that they simply hated their jobs and dreaded going to work. The following comments are from a variety of students answering the question, "What are your thoughts when you arrive to work?"

(6039) Oh, gosh, I can't wait until the end of the day. I dread it. 'Cause I hate getting up in the mornings and standing on my feet for seven hours. It's like pretty hard and I get really tired, so I kind of dread it, so I just think about a paycheck, you know.

(11035) Boy, it's going to be a long day! (laugh) And just do it and get it over with.

(12028) Oh, 12 hours. Trying to get in there and hurry up, and wanting it to pass so I can go home. 'Cause it is hard, it's hard for me. But I really have no choice. There's a lot of other things I would rather do with those 12 hours. My job has made me, I used to be like really like nice and polite to everyone, but it's sort of broken me from that, 'cause now I can't stand tourists.

Some students appeared to be miserable in their jobs, but, given the availability of employment, why did they not quit and find another job? When students were questioned about why they remained in jobs they disliked, they all

expressed a belief that there were no other jobs quickly available and familiar to them. A female fast-food restaurant employee gave this response to my probe:

(12420) It's kind of hard because I've been at [restaurant] for so long, it would be hard for me not to come there every weekend and be with my friends, even though I don't like it, it's like a part of my life now, and plus there's really no where around where I live that pays \$6.00 an hour.

This inability to explore other job options led to the following speculations: If students had no experience quitting a job, it might have seemed like an insurmountable task. Having never sought a job in the first place, they would be venturing into the unknown world of job-seeking which may have seemed too threatening. The time constraints on a working adolescent who also was a full-time high-school student may have prevented the process of seeking a new job from ever beginning. Just how much pressure students experience in managing their time emerged as another theme in this study. Like adults, adolescents also experience the power of inertia to stay with known, even if ungratifying, situations.

For some students, maintaining a job, at whatever costs, might have been viewed as a way to gain respect from parents and friends. The ability to weather the hardships of a job may have been viewed as a sign of maturity and independence. The need to become independent and remain so may have been influenced by a student's family structure. Adolescents who

lived with grandparents, stepparents, or single parents might have felt more pressure to be self-supporting. Requesting money from a guardian other than a parent appeared to be more difficult. When I asked the candy-shop clerk what her work meant to her, she replied,

(10124) Mostly spending money. I live with my grandparents and it's kind of awkward. I'm seventeen, and almost an adult, and I should be able to somehow support myself. I go to school and I have my car, and so I have to have money to be able to support it, you know.

I asked another student about his decision to work and he stated,

(11343) I wanted to get a job because I wanted money to spend. I didn't want to bum off my grandparents 'cause I feel bad about it, so I went ahead and got a job.

A retail sales clerk said that a positive change in her life since she started working was: (9231) "I don't have to go to my parents for money. My Mom and Dad are divorced, and money is limited on both sides. I don't have to go to them for money anymore."

Some students expressed the belief that because their first job experience was as a sales clerk, a dishwasher, or whatever, that their future job possibilities now may have been confined to this one area. They may have disliked many aspects of their job, but it was the only job they knew how to do, so it was safe in its familiarity. When I asked a male student what advice he would give to students wanting a job in this county, he replied,

(11608) You better know what you want to work at before you get into the job because once you get involved in it, it's hard to get out....you better just know what you want to do before you get a job. Know what you want to work at, because if you start out in food, you know, you can always fall back on food, but you can't always fall back on everything else.

I asked a female student working in a fast-food restaurant what went through her mind during the day while she was working and she said,

(12054) Just different things. I really don't like my job, I really don't like to work. But it's, my friends are there, I'm so used to it now, I've been doing it for over a year, it's like routine, it's life for me, it's what I've been doing every single weekend, I have not been off in all this time except for one week when I went on vacation last year.

By contrast, students who enjoyed their work answered my questions about their thoughts during the work day very differently from students who disliked their jobs. When I asked the outdoor shop employee what went through his mind while working, he said,

(1054) Making sure that I introduce myself to the customers. Take care of everything they need, um, I try to, you know, I let them have their space, make sure that I'm not bugging them. I'm pretty good at telling when people are, if they want some help, if they are looking for something or just browse around a little bit. Basically, my concern is just keeping them happy while I'm working.

The horse-stable guide answered the same question: (16063)

"Well, I always want to do my job right, because my boss is big on stuff like that. I don't want anybody to get hurt, and have fun doing it." I asked the games attendant, "What

goes through your mind when you're leaving work?" His response was:

(15154) I like go back over my day, see if I could have done anything different to make my job better for, make it easier for somebody or anything, I just pretty much go over my day, and then I think about what I've got to do when I go home.

All three of these students had actively sought out their jobs. Actually having chosen the type of job one wanted may have contributed to a sense of commitment to the job. The difference was having been in control and having made a choice instead of having been passively chosen for a job.

The second theme I identified has shown how some students took a job that was offered to them without careful consideration of their interest in or skills for the position. Another aspect of first employment that many adolescents did not foresee was how working would change their lives. Adolescents appeared to adjust quickly to having their own money and spending their own money. Parents also adjusted to their adolescents' having their own money and to their supporting their own lifestyle to some degree. What I heard from some of these students was that once they got a job, no matter at what age, they could not quit working and go back to an allowance. A female retail sales clerk summed it up with this interchange:

(7127) *Interviewer:* Have there been any positive changes in your life since you started working?

Student: Probably not. No, I don't think so.

Interviewer: How about negative changes?

Student: Negative changes. I'm going to be working my whole life now. That's one thing I don't like, now that I've had a job, they [parents] just want me to get another one. That's the one thing I don't like.

Interviewer: It's something that once you begin, you can't stop?

Student: Yeah.

Having identified this theme, I asked a female student in my tenth interview, "Now that you've started working, do you foresee a time when you will not be working?" She replied,

(10242) You know, I have thought about that, and I wish I had waited to start working, because you know, I'm never going to quit working. I'm going to work my way through college so I can pay my way through college so I can afford it, and then I'm going to get a job. Okay, when I retire, then I'm not going to be working. Around about 40 years down the road, I'll not be working. But between now and then, I'll probably be working for the rest of my life.

For students who disliked their jobs, there was almost a sense of doom in their realization that they would work for the rest of their lives. When I asked a male student who was a dishwasher, whether his work experience was positive or negative overall, this was our interchange:

(2558) *Student:* Well, I'd give it a good and bad experience. Starting off in your first job, like mine, I thought it really sucked, I didn't really feel like working. It gave me a pretty much idea when I changed my job, you know, what was expected from me. Probably is pretty good, though, it tells you what you're going to be doing, when you do graduate. It makes you feel like you hope you can stay in school forever. 'Cause right now, I don't want to graduate at all, but you know, it would feel good to graduate.

Interviewer: So are you dreading working 40 hours a week, is that what you're thinking of?

Student: Yeah, 'cause you know most of that money is going to go somewhere and all the money is going to be spent on something else. And you're just working for someone else, for someone else to eat, you know. I just want to be in school. I'd rather be in school and learn something than be working and do the same old thing over and over for the next 40 or 50 years or something like that.

A female retail sales clerk responded to the question, "What have you learned about life from your work experience?"

(7351) That I don't like to work and I'd rather stay at home my whole life. Just that every job, there's going to be things about it that you don't like. I mean if it's just a job that you wanted, that you want to do, you know, I mean someone is like, "I want to be this." There's always going to be something about it that they don't like. Pretty much what I've learned.

For some adolescents, early work experience produced a negative attitude about work, in general, and such an attitude might overshadow their ability to develop a positive work ethic in future jobs.

Boredom and How It Is Sometimes Alleviated

What made a job unbearable for students? Many jobs available to students were simply boring and required repetitive duties. When I asked students what they found challenging about their job, many times the answer was withstanding the boredom or repetition. A student who worked in a retail shop responded to this question with these comments:

(9478) Just going and staying eight hours is enough. Um, challenging, there's not a lot, you get aggravated, you don't feel challenged, you feel mad, I guess it depends on how you look at it. I guess you could say it

gets challenging to fold sweaters all day long, but knowing it's not, it just gets old.

When I asked a concession-stand employee what he would do to make his job better if he could, he said,

(14252) I don't know, there's not many ways to make this type of job better. I don't know, I don't mind the standing and all that, but it's so repetitive, maybe something different once in a while, but I'm not sure how you could do that in a concession stand.

Some employers do try to alleviate boredom by rotating employees in their job duties, when possible. The dishwasher sometimes bussed tables for a day, or unloaded bus bins. The games attendant told me that some employees brought in higher sales at certain games. I asked him if his employer regularly assigned him to the game at which he did the best sales. He replied, (15022) "Well, they move everybody 'cause they know it wouldn't be that great, that nobody would like just staying at one game the whole time." The students who described their jobs as the most enjoyable had many varied duties and the ability to decide what needed to be done at what time.

Besides more varied duties, adolescents seemed to enjoy a fast pace when working. A retail sales clerk specified to me what she found boring about her job:

(5369) When we're not busy. Standing around. If you're not doing something, then it is going to last so long and the day just goes by so slow, and you can't wait until you go home, and you know, you can't work like that, just wanting to go home.

For adolescents, low levels of activity were not viewed as rest, but just the opposite, something that made them more tired. The dishwasher described to me what it was like for him when things got backed up:

(2181) Like if you're racking [putting dishes in the rack for the dish machine] and you want something to do because you don't want to slow your pace down if it's busy, because then if you slow down, you get tired again.

Something that appeared to alleviate boredom was having someone there with whom they could talk, preferably someone their own age. This interchange with a retail sales clerk represented how several of the students expressed themselves on this point:

(5018) *Interviewer:* What are your thoughts when you arrive to work?

Student: My thoughts, um, I don't know, well, usually who I'm going to work with, because who I'm going to work with depends [determines] how my day is going to go. Sometimes, 'cause you don't always like who you're going to work with. Some people you like working with a lot better than others, and that's usually what I think of when I get there.

Interviewer: What's your day like if you're working with someone you enjoy working with?

Student: It makes it a lot better. It seems to go by faster. 'Cause you think you have things in common. Like when I work with people my age, we can talk about stuff and we just relate better together. When working with the older ladies that work there, they're just more, I don't know, they just think it's more work, ...you know, it's their job, it's their living. I'm just there to make extra money, to, you know, to do something.

Another sales clerk made a reference to the age of her coworkers when I asked her if she would have recommended her job to other people. Her reply was:

(9523) I have..(laugh).. basically because I'm tired of working there with the older people, so I have recommended my job to friends. They would kill me, they would hate me if they ever actually went to work there, 'cause they wouldn't like it at all, but I have recommended my job to others.

Being with age-mates appeared to be important during adolescence, even at the workplace.

In some instances, friendships formed at work may have helped adolescents to have found value in their employment. The candy shop sales clerk had this to say about having made new friends at the workplace:

(10141) I think gaining friendship with my coworkers has been a very big plus. I mean we went out to dinner last night, the four of us, and we've gotten to know each others' families and gone to each others' houses and stuff, so that's a big plus of the job, you know, becoming friends with my coworkers.

In response to my question, "Can you think of any positive changes in your life since you started working?", a female student who worked in a fast-food restaurant also commented on friendship:

(12143) There's been, it seems like all of my friends are there now. I mean I spend so much time with these people and we're really good friends and sometimes like it weighs it out, like I hate working and I hate my job, but I love the people and I love, I do have sometimes a good time when I go in.

So conversation, staying busy, meeting new people, and making

friends can all contribute to the enjoyment of a job that might otherwise be viewed as undesirable.

Autonomy and Trust

The degree to which adolescents were given autonomy in their jobs differed greatly from student to student. Adolescents who were given many responsibilities without being closely monitored seemed to take pride in the freedom to make their own decisions. The amount of responsibility given to student employees in my sample was not related to age. The fourteen-year-old outdoor shop clerk discussed his job autonomy with me:

(1456) *Interviewer:* So when you are working without the manager there, do you feel like you can make judgement calls also or do you need to call her [manager] or him [owner]?

Student: I'm completely on my own making calls. If I think something is extremely important or somebody is, I know how far I can go with a price if somebody is badgering me on something. I know how far I can go and have my line. And I know how far I can go over that line without having to make a call, okay?

(1469) *Interviewer:* Have you ever had to handle complaints? Do you do that on your own?

Student: Yeah, uh, everybody in the store knows how to do everything. Everybody can fill out a special order sheet, everybody can do an RA, everybody can ship UPS things, everybody can run the cash register, do a check-out with proficiency. We don't just know how to do it, we can do it.

Likewise, the fifteen-year-old guide at the horse stable gave an example of his boss having had faith in his abilities. I

asked him to tell me about a time when he felt gratified about his work, and his reply was:

(16125) When [boss], the guy who owns it, he sent some of us up to do hay up in [place], and he didn't even go, and he told me to bail it, with his tractor and bailer, so I felt pretty grateful about that, that he'd let me do that.

In contrast, students who either disliked or were somewhat indifferent about their jobs reported instances of not being given the autonomy to make their own decisions. When I asked a sixteen-year-old retail sales clerk if there was always a manager on duty, she explained,

(5235) Yeah, and there are assistant managers. And you always have people, like for returns. I can't personally do returns, the manager has to do it, so we have to call them up, so they're always on hand there.

I asked the sixteen-year-old restaurant hostess if she could have handled complaints about the food by having made some sort of amends to the customer, and she replied, (6326) "No, not really, I don't, I can tell them to talk to the boss, 'cause that's happened a couple of times, 'cause I really can't say." The photo-shop employee expressed the desire to have been given more responsibility. This was her advice to employers with regard to teenagers:

(13683) Give them respect. They treat you like a little kid. If they treat you like a little kid, you're going to act like one. If they give you responsibility, most likely, you're going to end up being good.

Some students not only lacked autonomy because of the limitations of their job duties, but also expressed a sense of their employers' mistrust in them. One student, whom I

perceived as disliking her job the most of all the students interviewed, had the following to say when I asked her if she felt like her bosses watched her work:

(7467) Yes, I was watched all the time. Whenever they [bosses] would go in the back office, it was so funny, because we would all be in the four corners of the store, and there would be one at the register. There was usually a lot of us there, and we'd all meet in the center of the store and talk and the door squeaked when it opened, so when we heard the door squeak, we would run, I mean we would take off and literally run to our section of the store. And that was the only way that we were ever allowed to talk, usually, without getting yelled at forever.

Earning an employer's trust appeared to be important to some students. One symbol of trust was a key to the store. Once again the outdoor shop clerk had positive comments about his job experience, this time in answer to my question, "Has your boss said anything to you or done anything to make you feel trusted?" He responded,

(1543) Yeah, when they first started off, I didn't have a key to the store. I've got one. It wasn't but a couple of months and I got one. They said, "Yeah, you're one of the most responsible teenagers I know. You've just done really well, and in case the other guy is late and stuff, we want the store to be open." And they completely trust me. I mean I knew the security code from day one, but they said, "Yeah, here's a key." That was cool. Really, it was hard to get that key and the thing that made me know they really trusted me.

Even though the female fast-food restaurant employee reported not liking her job, she described herself as a diligent and dependable worker, and she was given the keys to three of the restaurants in the chain. The sales clerk in the photo shop reported mixed feelings about her job

satisfaction but had the following to say about having a key to the shop:

(13695) Oh yeah, I just recently got a key to the shop, and it made me happy because I felt important for a couple days. But I never get to use it though, it just sits on my keychain and it feels pretty good.

Other displays of trust by employers that were described to me by students were closing by themselves at the end of the day, handling the money, being a team leader, and simply working alone.

Several students mentioned that customers treated them differently from how they treated older coworkers, with customers preferring assistance from the older employees. Being trusted by employers seemed to contribute to an adolescent's confidence in dealing with customers. The remarks of those students who had keys to the shop showed less intimidation by customers than students who did not report instances of employer trust. When I asked the photo shop clerk how customers responded to her, she said,

(13303) Actually, they listen to other employees better. If they're kids, they respond to me better, but if they're adults, they're like, "You're younger than me, why am I going to let you dress me up?" And I'm thinking, "I know more than they think." And I just hate that, but usually they end up finding that I'm better than half of them, so they're thinking, "Kids aren't that bad." Some of them think I'm older, so that's good. They're like, "You're about eighteen, right?" And I'm like, "Yeah."

The outdoor shop sales clerk led rock-climbing expeditions with his boss as a part of his job duties. I wondered how

customers responded to him since he was only fourteen, and he explained,

(1350) They trust me, I've had, their first reaction to me, I can remember a lot of times on trips, my boss and I will drive up and that's usually who it is, me and my boss who lead the trips, and they'll be kind of surprised that a kid, which is what they would say that I am, but um, is out there responsible for their lives. It's basically what I am. My boss trusts me completely. Um, he would put his life in my hands, and I would put mine in his hands. I mean we trust each other that much, and that's what you've got to have.

Being younger than most of one's coworkers might have made adolescents feel at a disadvantage, not only with the customers, but in the chain of command in the workplace. A common complaint was older employees telling students what to do when they were not viewed by students as having that authority. The photo-shop employee was the youngest employee in the shop, and she said getting yelled at was stressful. When I asked her who was yelling at her, she explained,

(13259) If somebody doesn't think you're doing your job, whether or not they have the place to tell you, or even if you're doing your job and they have the need, they yell at you either way, but they don't get in trouble.

Some places of employment were structured such that almost everyone had a title, giving the appearance of a clear chain of command. I heard instances when this structure had the opposite effect, too many bosses giving conflicting directions to a limited number of employees. The following interchange was with a retail sales clerk:

(7298) *Interviewer:* Did you have instances when you weren't sure whose directions to follow?

Student: Yes, they did that all the time. Every day... she [manager] would say, "Go ask [third key] what to do." [Third key] would tell me, "Just go to the register and do the register for a while." [Manager] would come out and say, "Go help customers." And then [third key] would come back up and say, "I thought I told you to run the register." Okay, I go to the register. And then here comes [boss], "Go to the dressing rooms." I'll go over there. Here comes [third key], "I said go to the register." Everyday they'd do it to us, all of us. So we'd just be walking around.

I heard similar complaints about ambiguous chains of command from the dishwasher and the female concession-stand employee. The combination of coworkers being older and having a title may have been intimidating to adolescents and stripping them of any autonomy.

By contrast, the candy-shop employee found the lack of a chain of command with her coworkers to be to her benefit.

She explained,

(10565) We're all on the same level, it's not like any of us are above each other, and I really appreciate that because, since I'm the youngest, somebody might have the tendency to boss me anyway, whether or not they have a title higher than me. Because when everybody is about four decades older than you, they have a tendency to say, "You ought to do it my way because my way is better." So I'm glad they don't have a title higher than me, I guess that's awful to say, but I'm glad.

Not having a boss, or in some cases bosses, constantly watching one's job performance seemed to have created a more relaxed atmosphere for some students.

The last topic relating to autonomy that emerged from the data was the adolescent's ability to influence changes at the workplace. When I asked the students if they were able to make any changes at work through their suggestions, their

answers were closely related to their job satisfaction. The outdoor shop employee explained,

(1429) He [boss] takes my input, it's not like I'm his employee, like he tells me what to do and I don't know anything. My input is worth just as much as his wife's. Anybody's input in the store, if we see something going on that shouldn't be, you know, if we think something should be changed, everybody gets equal say. Really, he makes the decisions, he and his wife together, but I mean, he's like a friend to everybody. I can't think of anybody I'd rather work for. I mean he's not a boss, he's a best friend.

Other students told of being able to change displays and mannequins, and one student even reported feeling good because the boss used her suggestion of using larger marshmallows in the hot chocolate. Students who disliked their jobs were more apt to perceive themselves as not having the ability to make changes. I asked a retail sales clerk if she was allowed to make any changes at her store by her suggestions. She replied, (7410) "No, never allowed to do anything like that. I wasn't allowed to move anything." I went on to ask if she could change any of the rules, and again her response was, "Couldn't change anything, no, couldn't do anything like that." I asked the male fast-food restaurant employee if there were any changes he would like to make at his job, and he said,

(11413) Yeah, there are a lot of changes that I'd like to make, but it don't do no good for me to say anything 'cause it's not going to happen...I've said stuff, but he [boss] just overlooked it and went on.

This inability to influence changes may have caused students to feel separate from the workplace, like outsiders, and to have perceived that their contributions were without value.

Characteristics of the Boss

What did adolescents want in a boss? Students who viewed their bosses as friends also were the students who described a sense of trust between themselves and their bosses. There seemed to be mutual respect between employer and employee that made friendship possible and desirable. Bosses in these relationships were described as playful and fun. I asked each student to tell me about his/her boss. The outdoor shop clerk stated,

(1416) Really, he's not a boss to me. He's like, like, one of the guys. I mean he doesn't, when something has to be done and when he wants something done, you know, because this is where his money comes from and if he wants something done, he tells me to do it and I do it. But when something like that is not the case or whatever, and we're hanging out, driving around together, climbing, or whatever, he's not my boss, he doesn't tell me what to do, he's like a friend to me. That's basically, it's like he never grew up. I don't know, he's the most responsible, you know, most, one of the best guys you'll ever meet, but he knows how to have fun. He's about twice my age or maybe more, I guess.

Likewise, the female fast-food restaurant employee had a similar description of her boss:

(12215) We're really close friends. She really doesn't tell me what to do at all. I guess she would if she thought, I mean I've been there for so long and I know how to do everything already, I mean I've been there and I know how to do it, she only told, she never did exactly tell me what to do, she just expected me to do it, and that's good for me because I don't look for a

job that I can get away with as much as I want to. I mean it's my job and it's my responsibility, and I'm going to do it. And we're just really good friends, I tease her all the time, I make fun of her and she makes fun of me. It's not really a boss/employee relationship, we're more friends, and it works out good that way, because I don't take advantage of her and she doesn't take advantage of me, and we just get along great.

When I asked the horse-stable guide if he had a typical employer/employee relationship with his boss, he responded,

(16171) No, we're pretty open about anything. If we do something slightly wrong, he'll tell us about it. He tells us everything we do wrong. He's like our friend, really, a pretty good relationship. He jokes around, has different names for us.

Friendship, trust, and respect also appeared to be prerequisites to viewing a boss as a mentor or role model. When I asked the horse-stable guide if he minded the physical labor in the maintenance part of his job, he said:

(16317) I know it's good for me. The guy we work for, he's real, real strong, because he's been working like this his whole life, so he's sort of working us up in his image to be as strong as him. So I sort of like to do stuff like that.

When I asked this same student how he knew how to operate a hay bailer, he explained:

(16133) I watched him [boss]. We went the day before and did hay and he was doing it, so I watched him. He made sure I watched him the day before, which he knew I did anyway because I always watch him when he does stuff, because he always says to so I can learn, and I already knew how to drive a tractor.

Another prerequisite for a boss to have been viewed as a mentor may have been the boss's willingness to perform the adolescent's duties. Students seemed to value their work

more when bosses actually helped out on a regular basis or even just during busy times, instead of just directing employees. I asked the horse-stable guide what his boss was like when he was at his best, and he said, (16199) "He does everything that we do up there. He does it fast and perfect." When I asked the female fast-food restaurant employee what she expected of her boss, she replied,

(12268) I really don't expect much of her. I've really never thought of it because it's not a boss/employee relationship at all. She's not like some people who go in the back and make you work your butt off, just because they can tell you what to do. She's always there, she always works hard, and we're equal all the time, it seems like. She never puts anything off on me that she doesn't want to do, and I really don't expect any more out of her. She does everything.

On the other hand, a lack of trust may have produced wariness in students. The male fast-food restaurant employee had some changes he would make in his boss and some advice about becoming too friendly with a boss based on his experience. He commented on his idea of the perfect boss:

(11512) He wouldn't be uptight. He wouldn't be like, "Go here, go there, do this, do that." He'd work with you, he wouldn't say he'd work you on days and then schedule you on nights, and mess your whole routine up. There's all kinds of things, I don't know, I don't consider getting involved with your boss because I've done that, and that goes down the drain real quick.

I asked him if he meant that he wouldn't get too friendly with a boss, and he replied:

(11522) No, I mean friendly is fine, but I wouldn't be like buddies with him, because you're always going to do something, you're always going to make one mistake that's going to make him really mad and, after that,

it's all over with, you're just another coworker after that.

An employer/employee relationship that resembles a parent/child relationship was not what the photo-shop clerk was hoping for, as shown in this exchange:

(13276) Student: Well, first she [boss] was real great, I don't know, I just loved her to death. And then I started smoking cigarettes and she got all upset. She freaked out, big time. She was like, "I thought you were smarter than that." She's always telling me how intelligent I am all the time. She's like, "You're so smart and intelligent." And I'm like, "Yeah, yeah, yeah." And then I went to prom on Saturday, I'm a sophomore, but I got asked by a junior, and she's like, "You didn't do anything you weren't supposed to?" And I'm like, "No, don't you trust me?" And I didn't, so I don't know what her problem is.

Interviewer: So she has kind of a motherly relationship with you?

Student: Yeah, and that's what I don't like. She like tries to take over. She'd probably like to, she told me that she'd like for me to be her daughter, but still, it's not going to happen. I don't think I could stand it.

Students seemed to know the difference between a boss who was truly attentive and cared about their needs and one who was patronizing them. The differences between the following two descriptions of bosses made this distinction:

(8247) We talk all the time, usually during my break. She's back there all the time and she asks if I'm all right, and I say, "Yeah," and she asks if I want to switch or if I want to stay put, and she always tries to get me at a place I want to be and that I do better at. And she does that with most people, with everybody, and it's pretty good.

(10279) We're very kind to each other. Neither of them have ever been rude to me or anything like that. Never ever, they're always very nice...but she's very, I guess patronizing would be a good word, but she doesn't look

down on us or anything, but she's very patronizing, like she'll act like she wants to give you what you want [regarding days off], but she doesn't.

Most people like affirmation. For adolescents who have entered the adult realm of the workplace, feedback on their job performance may have been a determining factor in the development of a work ethic. Students reported that the encouragement and appreciation they received from bosses and customers were the most gratifying experiences of working. There were numerous examples of such gratifying experiences. The following students responded to my request, "Describe a time at work when you felt particularly gratified."

A concession-stand employee:

(3126) Um, when I did good on an evaluation, when I get complimented on how clean my stand is, when customers leave my stand happy.

A retail sales clerk:

(5113) And when I was evaluated, it was like so good, it made me feel so good about myself, you know. It made me feel like, I don't know, it was just something that I did that made me feel good about it.

And the games attendant:

(15180) I just goof off with [customers at the games] and I have fun there, having fun with them and stuff, and then after my lunch break, this woman came up to me who had saw me and said, "You're one of the nicest teenagers I've seen." You know, not many people goof off and joke around like that. And she commended me to my supervisor, and I got recognized for that and that just made my day. I actually made an impact on somebody.

Bosses who focused more on deficits rather than accomplishments were viewed unfavorably. The dishwasher at the restaurant described his six managers to me:

(2239) Four of them like to tell you things and make sure you're doing it right. The other two like to harp on you because, if they have nothing to do, like if it's slow, they have to do something, try to make sure everything is nice and neat, and keep everything clean. They like to harp on everybody, not a lot of people like those two ones.

Students reported being unsure of their job performances when they first began working. Since most of the adolescents had limited work experience, feedback may have been their only way of knowing if they were measuring up to the bosses' expectations.

Scheduling

The part-time jobs adolescents have taken during high school usually were not the focus of their lives. Most adolescents reported working only for spending money or to save for a vehicle. School, friendships, and after-school activities still appeared to be more important than work. Yet, for employers, the workplace was the main focus. During the tourist season, which currently stretches across eight months of the year in Sevier County, adolescents have been depended upon by employers to work all of their scheduled days and occasionally some extra time as needed. The tourist season has overlapped the school year, and many school related events occurred during times some students were

scheduled to work. Missing these events because of scheduled work can be very disappointing to adolescents. I asked a retail sales clerk if there were any times that she felt really burdened by her work. I was expecting a response regarding some event at work. Instead, she confided, (7089) "Really burdened, like when there was a party or something and you just can't go 'cause you have to go to work." Some employers of the students I interviewed appeared to be very understanding of adolescents' desires to participate in these events. When I asked the outdoor-shop sales clerk if he could get a day off when there was something special he wanted to do, he said, (1167) "I can get off any time I want, I just have to let them know a couple weeks in advance." A female fast-food restaurant employee also had flexibility in her schedule. Asked the same question as above, she responded:

(8254) There's like no problem. I mean she doesn't even have to know what you want to do that day, she usually gives it to you, unless, yeah, she usually has plenty of people to come in, 'cause you have to have a lot of people in there.

Students who were not granted a requested day off sometimes found ways to get the day off anyway. I asked a retail sales clerk what was the procedure to get a day off and she explained:

(7100) Well, you could write, if you knew in advance, you could write it on the calendar at work, and they would sometimes give you off and sometimes not, usually not, but I'd try to beg and beg and beg, and if they did schedule me to work, I'd try to switch with somebody, or

something, but a lot of times I would end up working when I didn't want to. Or sometimes I'd call in sick and say, "Hey," but they'd always know I was lying, 'cause I wanted the day off, 'cause we all did it anyway.

The photo-shop clerk also had a strategy for getting a day off. Her words were: (13318) "You better have a good excuse. That's one. You better have it planned out exactly what you're going to say and who you're going to suck up to." Employers also had their ways of avoiding problems with scheduling. Another retail sales clerk described the scheduling at her workplace:

(9076) They're usually pretty good about having our schedule up for the entire month at the beginning of the month, but they haven't been doing that recently, and I think it's because people aren't liking what they're seeing, but certain people can only work certain days. I can only work Monday, Wednesday, and Fridays and weekends because of band, and other people have other things and they're getting tired of having to arrange the schedule around people's likes and dislikes, so they're waiting until the last minute to put it up, so they won't have to deal with it.

For some students, scheduling was not negotiable. The male fast-food restaurant employee complained that he was hired with the understanding he would only work days, but then was scheduled for some nights. When I asked him if he had talked to his boss about this, he said, (11174) "Yeah, and he gets mad, it's like, if you don't work the schedule, just leave. So you have to work it, you've got no choice."

For students who worked more than two days a week during the school year, free time was especially scarce. Examples of the burdens are captured in what students had to say:

(10184) Oh wow! I have no free time. Not at all. At all, at all, at all. I will say that again. Working Friday, Saturday, and Sunday is especially challenging, to say the least. I have Monday through Thursday off, but I go to school, I have a 35 hour a week job anyway, which is school, which is my first priority, not counting the hours I spend on homework, because trying to get into college is a pretty big deal.

(12103) It seems like all week, I'm dreading going to work on Friday, 'cause it seems like there's never a day when there's nothing for me to do. I never have any time to myself to do the things that I feel like doing. It's just seven days a week, all the time and I come to dread it on Friday. And then I dread going through all those hours and then going right back to school on Monday. So I do dread it a lot.

(9208) I have no free time now. No free time. And I can tell, like when I work, nine times out of ten, my homework doesn't get done until the next morning in someone else's class because I get home so late. And it always gets done, but it doesn't get done the night before.

If students' grades went down, if they were unable to complete homework assignments, or if they were too tired to attend school one day, then they may have begun to question the value of their work. I asked the male fast-food restaurant employee what he learned about life from his work experience, and he said:

(11262) It's a lot of stress. I made better grades when I wasn't working. So it's a lot of stress on me. I can't do, I can do a lot of work at school, but I can't do homework. I can take it home, but I'll be so tired that I'll forget about it and fall asleep or something and not do it. And then I'll have to rush to get it done before class. So it's a lot of stress on me.

I asked this same student how working had changed his life, and he confided:

(11077) I don't get enough sleep as I used to. I used to be like fully rested all the time, I could do

anything, and now I have to get a lot of sleep or try to get some sleep whenever I can, but sometimes I miss like one day of school, like every six weeks, just to catch up on my sleep, but that's about all it's changed for me. I mean I have money to spend, but that's about everything.

The candy-shop employee had some advice for younger students regarding the time pressures of working:

(10390) It's really overwhelming to work all that time. But if I were going to, if somebody a year younger than me or if they were in the position I was in last year said to me, "Do you think I should get a job this year?" I would probably say no because it's pretty overwhelming to have all that stuff to do unless you were really organized or something.

The male concession-stand employee had advice for employers that summed up most interview participants' perspectives on their part-time employment:

(14356) Be cooperative around their schoolwork. And don't ask them to come in during school. If they come to you and say they have a semester project coming up that they have to work on, I don't think they should threaten them in any way, like with a pay cut or a loss of job because they have school. Be lenient with extra-curricular activities, like soccer. They shouldn't expect them to be so dedicated to their jobs that they have to give up other things that would contribute to their getting into the college of their choice. Because if they're too dedicated to their jobs and they don't have time for those things, they might not get into the college they want to, because they don't have those things.

I also heard from my participants about students for whom working had taken center-stage. These work-focused students may have been the prospective participants who agreed to be interviewed but who never had time to meet with me for an interview because they were always working or in

school. A female fast-food employee described some of the students she knew at her high school:

(12471) It seems like everybody I talk to, well, not everybody, but most of my friends, most people, they don't see the big picture, somehow they think that the money that they get now is good enough for them and they don't have to do good in school. Ahh! What do they need college for, they can make \$7.50 in Sevierville!-- but they don't think, who's paying for your stuff now? your parents! You don't have to pay rent, you don't have to pay this. Seven dollars isn't going to go far when you put all that stuff together. And it just makes me think, "Gosh, could I turn out that way? Could I lose track of what I want to do and say this is enough for me?" And I think, "Gosh, how dumb, how dumb can people be?" Thinking that they're going to work here all their lives. I couldn't do it. But most kids, yeah, they think their job is, they'll lay out of school just to work at their jobs. It seems like it's more important to do a favor for the boss and work these hours than it is to go to school and get good grades so that you can make something of yourself later on. And I think that's sad.

It appeared, for some students at least, that a good work ethic may be confused with job loyalty or a focus on a paycheck, both of which might derail educational pursuits. I then asked her, "What about the students who don't work at all?" She replied:

(12489) They're the lucky ones. Most people who don't work do something, like play sports. Gosh, I don't know if I know anyone who doesn't have a job. Maybe out of all the friends I have, maybe three or four people don't have a job. There's such a high demand here, that's all you hear about. I mean I remember in eighth grade, you hear, "Well, I'm getting a job this summer." So it's really unusual for someone not to have one.

Summary

The data in this study reveal some aspects of adolescent employment that help to foster positive work attitudes in adolescents and other aspects that contribute to negative work attitudes. Students who chose and actively sought the type of employment that personally interested them were more likely to describe their jobs with positive attributes. Students whose job selection was haphazard, were more likely not only to complain about negative aspects of their jobs but also to deny that they had any other employment options.

Some students began their first job without anticipating the changes employment would bring about in their lives. Even though part-time employment combined with school and homework can overwhelm some students, the sense of responsibility and independence gained from working can be difficult to give up. Students expressed a belief that, once they started working, they could not stop. For students who disliked their jobs, the notion that they would be working for the rest of their lives was described by them with words of regret.

Adolescent employment can be boring and repetitive. Conditions that helped to alleviate monotonous work included being given more varied duties and being able to work with age-mates or anyone who comes to be viewed as a friend. Students who were given the most autonomy to make their own

decisions on the job reported the most job satisfaction. Examples of adolescents being trusted by employers were described as sources of pride. Students who were denied the ability to influence changes in the workplace more often disliked their jobs.

Bosses who were described by adolescents as friends and mentors were more likely to be flexible in scheduling adolescents around school demands and activities. These bosses also were more likely to be doing work that was visible to the adolescents. Students reported a reliance on feedback to measure their job performance, and some indicated that positive feedback was the most rewarding aspect of their jobs.

Students who worked the most hours described time management as stressful, indicating a lack of sleep, an inability to complete homework, and resentment for missing activities with friends. Surprisingly, the lowest paid adolescents were the ones who reported the most positive attributes of their jobs. Higher pay apparently did not contribute to positive work attitudes.

If the reader has followed the demographic identities (from Table 1) of the interview quotes in this presentation of data, opinions probably have already been formed about which students had the most desirable and least desirable work ethics. There clearly were differences among students whose descriptions of themselves provided examples of

diligence, enthusiasm, and a sense of responsibility toward their jobs and students who worked with resentment and dread toward their jobs. Of the sixteen interview participants, I perceived seven as having a positive work ethic, based on their attitudes toward their work experiences and on their descriptions of themselves as workers. I perceived six of the participants as having a negative work ethic, based on their attitudes toward work and their admissions of avoiding job duties when possible. Three of the interview participants I perceived to fall somewhere in between a positive and negative work ethic. They provided a combination of positive and negative attributes for their jobs, and, even though they indicated a sense of responsibility toward their jobs, there was also a sense of indifference as to the value of their jobs. Each of these three students only worked one day per week. It may be that an adolescent's minimal time investment in a job prevents positive and negative work experiences from having a substantial impact on a work ethic.

6. Discussion and Implications

Discussion

Adolescents' lack of guidance in seeking a job and the boom job market in Sevier County most likely puts them at a disadvantage in obtaining employment that is in their best interests. It is not uncommon for a student to be recruited for a job by a relative or friend. Of the sixteen interview participants, five reported accepting a job at a business that also employed a relative. Two students took jobs close to where relatives worked in order to have transportation to and from work. Falling into a job can be somewhat like falling into a trap. If the job was obtained without the adolescent making conscious choices regarding the type of employment, job duties, pay, environment, etc., changing jobs may be perceived as waiting for another job opportunity to "come down the road." Adolescents who start out in their first jobs without a sense of control may feel unprepared to quit and start a job-seeking process. They have never experienced such a process in terms of their current job placement. This feeling of a lack of power combined with the comfortable familiarity of that first job may prevent adolescents from quitting a job they dislike and venturing into the unknown.

Interview participants reported a reliance on feedback from employers and customers to measure how well they were doing on the job. Likewise, questionnaire respondents ranked as the second "main change" they wanted to make in their jobs "more recognition for a job well done." Positive feedback from employers, customers, and other employees appeared to contribute to the development of adolescents' positive attitudes about their work. In order to understand the adolescent's reliance on feedback, it is helpful to look at adolescence from a developmental perspective. According to Erikson (1968), the main developmental task of adolescence is identity achievement. Forming an identity is a long process that spans adolescence and is sometimes continued into early adulthood. The process involves trying out different behaviors and ways of being and then obtaining feedback from others, usually peers, regarding the acceptability of one's actions. When adolescents join the workforce, they are provided new opportunities for identity formation, outside of the school and peer-group settings. With employment being a completely novel experience for most adolescents, feedback on their job performance would appear to be an important part of their identity formation as a worker. Compared to an adult, an adolescent's development of a work ethic may be more susceptible to change through the feedback he/she receives, due to the identity formation process the adolescent is undergoing.

Erikson also stressed that feedback from peers is an important part of the identity-formation process. When interview participants found themselves isolated from peers at their workplaces, they viewed it as a negative aspect of their jobs. Sometimes, job scheduling caused isolation from peers and peer-related activities outside of work. On the questionnaire, the negative change brought about by working that adolescents cited most often was "I am not able to see friends as much or participate in activities with friends."

Past research (Greenberger et al., 1980) has described adolescent friendships made at work as impersonal and confined to the workplace. Several of the interview participants in the present study described making close friendships at work that they integrated into their personal lives. Friendships made at work were perceived by adolescents as benefits of the job and helped to make work enjoyable.

Adolescents are searching not only for identities but also for opportunities to gain adult status. Interview participants expressed the desire to be treated as adults, to be trusted with responsibilities, and to have their opinions valued. Identifying with a team of employees or with a business was descriptive of those adolescents with the most positive attitudes about their jobs. Adolescents who did not feel such identification reported that they were not treated equally with other employees and felt powerless to make any

changes at the workplace. They were more likely to resent their employers and dislike their jobs. Autonomy on the job has been found to predict a sense of competence and self-esteem for employees (Mortimer & Lorence, 1979).

In the development of a work ethic, employment may provide adolescents with opportunities to be responsible to others in ways that the school setting does not. In school, students are mainly serving themselves with their academic achievements and competing with their peers. In the workplace, adolescents are usually part of a team of employees, each depending on the others to carry out their responsibilities. Adolescents also are serving customers as well as contributing to their employers' livelihoods. When Steinberg et al. (1982) looked for examples of social responsibility from their interviews of working adolescents, they reported mainly finding examples of personal responsibility, such as being on time, and other examples of self-reliance. These authors defined social responsibility as a commitment to the well-being of others and a tolerance for differences in others. In the present study, showing concern for customers, employers, and other employees' satisfaction with one's work was considered to be an example of social responsibility and a sign of a positive work ethic. Interview participants who provided examples of social responsibility also were the ones who reported more positive attributes of their jobs.

The relationship of the adolescent with his/her employer appeared to make a difference in whether or not the adolescent viewed the employer as a mentor. It stands to reason that the boss's work ethic would set a standard for his/her employees. If the boss does not work with diligence and dependability, the employee should not be expected to surpass the boss's job performance. If the boss does not perform any of the adolescent's job duties, it might be hard for the adolescent to identify with the boss's work ethic, or possibly for the adolescent to value his/her own job duties. If adolescents perceive that they are performing job duties that adults are not willing to perform (such as bagging groceries, bussing tables, sweeping floors, etc.), then adolescents may not believe that their duties are important or worthy of diligent performance. Adolescents reported more respect for bosses who worked with them and who were willing to perform the same job duties, even at least, if only sporadically, to help out during busy times.

Some adolescents liked their bosses. Bosses who were attentive to adolescents' needs in terms of scheduling, boredom, and responsibilities were better liked than bosses who were not. Also, bosses who were sometimes playful and funny were better liked by adolescent employees. Certainly if adolescents like their bosses, they will be more likely to be influenced by them in positive ways.

Steinberg et al. (1982) were unable to identify job characteristics that affected adolescent outcomes, such as the adolescent's development of personal responsibility, social responsibility, autonomy, his/her alcohol and drug use, and school involvement. The job characteristics studied were based on adult literature, and the authors admitted that adolescents' jobs do differ from adults', and the lack of findings may have been due to exploring the wrong job dimensions, invalid measurements of the job dimensions, or the selection of the wrong relationships to test. Cynical attitudes were listed as a common byproduct of adolescent part-time employment. When Stern et. al. (1990) explored the relationships of job characteristics to adolescents' attitudes toward work, specifically motivation to do good work and cynicism toward work, they found significant correlations. The measures of job qualities that positively correlated with motivation were using certain school-taught skills, mental and physical challenge, autonomy, contact with people, helping people, and whether or not the job was related to the student's career aspirations. The degree of perceived conflict between work and school was negatively correlated with motivation and was the strongest predictor of motivation. For interview participants in the present study, inflexibility of scheduling at work was reported as a main source of stress by students and may have affected their motivation to be a good worker.

Interview participants in the present study who worked more than fifteen hours per week admitted difficulty in finding the time and the energy to do their homework. Some interview participants stated that they believed they would have better grades if they did not work. Some students claimed that the confidence they gained through their work experience gave them more confidence in school. The benefits and detriments of working seem to vary from student to student, according to their different needs, abilities, environments, and work ethic.

Even though 66% of working students reported on the questionnaires that higher pay was one of the main changes they would make in their current jobs, pay did not determine job satisfaction for the interview participants. Surprisingly, the lowest paid interview participants happened to be the ones who reported liking their jobs the most. Some students reported turning down jobs they thought they would enjoy for jobs they disliked but that paid \$.50 more per hour. If they worked 20 hours per week, they only were earning an extra \$10 per week in exchange for being miserable at work. Since some of these students were working for spending money only, this seemed unreasonable to me. However, higher pay appeared to give adolescents status among their peers, according to participants' reports.

Even though violations of Tennessee Child Labor Laws were not a focus of this study, there were instances of

violations described during interviews. Adolescents seemed unaware that violations had occurred when describing the following incidents: students under the age of 18 working past 10:00 p.m. on a school night; students under the age of 16 working past 7:00 p.m. on a school night; past 9:00 p.m. on nonschool nights, and more than eight hours per day; a 14-year-old who worked as a grill cook in past employment; a 14-year-old operating a food slicer; a 15-year-old earning less than minimum wage; and hearsay about students being asked to work during school hours. The enforcement of Child Labor Laws could help provide adolescents with at least a basic structure for employment that would limit work intensity and could help maintain school involvement.

Drug and alcohol use by student workers also was not a focus of this study but was mentioned by students in interviews. One interview participant admitted drug use as a negative change in his life due to employment, even though direct questions about drug use were not asked. When I asked interview participants what differences they noticed between students who worked and students who did not work, I heard conflicting comparisons. Some students reported that it was mainly nonworkers who consumed alcohol and drugs, citing a lack of a sense of responsibility on their part and an abundance of free time. Other students reported that it was the workers who consumed alcohol and/or drugs, citing that drugs and alcohol were part of the working students' "after-

work" activities. There appears to be much variability in the experience of workers and nonworkers with regards to drug and alcohol use. Likewise, results from past studies (Steinberg et al., 1982; Mortimer et al., 1993; Steinberg et al., 1993) have differed as to the consistency of increases in drug and alcohol use for adolescent workers. More research is needed in this area.

Limitations of the Study

This study may have been limited by the number and types of jobs that were represented in the interviews. Although retail clerks and restaurant employees were the two most reported jobs from the questionnaire data, there was much job diversity that this research project could not cover, given time and cost restraints. Using hindsight, gathering more personal history from participants with regard to work experience in the home and volunteer work in the community might have helped to discern the origins of some workers' attitudes.

Interviewing nonworkers would have added another dimension to the study. Nonworkers' perceptions of themselves, of working students, and of their general expectations of part-time work would have provided another point of comparison. Also, obtaining employers' evaluations of interview participants' work ethics would have contributed to understanding which participants had the most positive

work ethics. Employers' evaluations of changes in adolescents' behavior and attitudes could help determine if adolescents come to their first job with the basis of a work ethic or if the employment experience is responsible for the development of work attitudes and behavior.

The students who volunteered to be interviewed, although diverse with regard to personalities, work attitudes, and work experiences, may have differed from students who did not volunteer participation. Even though the sample of 353 students who completed the questionnaires closely matched national samples of adolescent workers, the low response rate of 12% may not have provided a true picture of adolescent work experience in Sevier County.

This study was limited with regard to the race of participants. Sevier County is not racially diverse and consequently, representation of races other than white were not obtainable. Selection of this county was based on the economy and availability of jobs for adolescents.

Implications

Applied. The interviews with student workers substantiated that many aspects of an adolescent's life can contribute to the development of a work ethic. Early employment is just one of these aspects and can be a positive or negative influence, depending on certain aspects of the work environment. The findings of this study can provide

guidelines to employers in structuring the adolescent's work experience to provide opportunities for the development of a positive work ethic. These findings suggest that employers should:

1. Provide plenty of positive feedback on the student's job performance.
2. Work alongside the student performing the same duties as the student's whenever possible.
3. Provide as much decision-making responsibility for the student as is feasible.
4. Take an interest in the student's school life.
5. Work within Child Labor Law limits.
6. Provide at least one age-mate for the student to work with if possible.
7. Provide as many varied duties for the student as possible.
8. Be as flexible with scheduling as possible.

Students also can take certain actions to make their employment experience more rewarding and enjoyable. Advice to students would be:

1. Seek the type of employment that interests them.
2. Find out what employers' expectations of them are before taking the job.
3. Find out how interested prospective employers are in their school life.
4. Find out how flexible employers can be in scheduling.

Advice to parents of adolescents would be:

1. Help the adolescent complete a job application as practice.
2. Discuss job duties with the adolescent to explore his/her preferences and identify strengths.
3. Rehearse an imaginary job interview with the adolescent.
4. Help adolescent think of questions to ask prospective employers (i.e., flexibility of scheduling, procedures for requesting days off, evaluations, etc.)
5. Encourage the adolescent to obtain letters of recommendation from adult friends to give to prospective employers. Receiving feedback from adults on one's work ethic might make an adolescent more aware of the development of his/her work ethic besides being a source of support.

If the first work experience for an adolescent is negative, the adolescent may view work in general with a sense of dread. Since most adolescents work a part-time job during at least part of the high-school years, adolescents may benefit from being supplied with job counselors in the high schools to help with job selection and to help employers to provide adolescents with job structure conducive to the development of a positive work ethic. Students may benefit from a mentor relationship with a supervisor, someone who would not only be a beneficial role model for a positive work ethic but who also would help to coordinate the demands of the workplace with the demands of school. In order for the

adolescent work experience to be beneficial to the economic community, employers will have to pay attention to the needs of adolescents with regard to the work experience and the school experience.

Theory and Research. The questionnaire results as well as the adolescent interviews lend some support to both the zero-sum and developmental models of adolescent work outcomes. In support of the zero-sum model, pressures in dividing time to accomplish everything that working adolescents need to do in terms of schoolwork was a common theme in interviews and in responses to the questionnaires. As work hours increase past 15 per week, the zero-sum model may be more appropriate in interpreting the impact of adolescent employment on school commitment. In support of the developmental model, adolescents perceiving themselves as becoming more responsible and more independent as a result of working were common responses in both interviews and questionnaires.

This study cannot provide a definitive answer to the question, "Is part-time employment beneficial for adolescents with regard to the development of a work ethic?" Although certain aspects of the adolescent work experience (identified in this study) appear to influence work-related attitudes and behaviors for adolescents, individual contexts for the adolescent work experience are too diverse to make generalizations about the benefits of early work experience.

Referring back to Young's (1983) adolescent career development framework (see p. 22), one can imagine the many different influences on the outcomes of adolescent work experience. At the microsystem level, besides the differences in the structures of work environments for each adolescent, there also would be differences in parental support, the awareness and concern teachers have for working students, the amount of homework assigned, and the level of involvement with peers, to name a few. These differences might influence how adolescents perceive their work experiences.

The inter-relationships between the family, school, workplace and peers at the meso-system level also would be different for each adolescent. For example, the adolescent's parents may be involved with activities supporting school programs and completely uninvolved in the adolescents' workplace. On the other hand, the parents might be supportive or even employed themselves at the adolescent's workplace and be completely uninvolved with the school. The adolescent's peers might or might not be involved in the adolescent's workplace. The school might or might not be supportive of the adolescent's workplace. The workplace might not be supportive of the school in terms of scheduling.

At the exo-system level, the social class of the family might influence attitudes about types of employment and adolescents' relationships with employers (Haaken &

Korschgen, 1988). The family structure, including who works and who does not within the family, might influence work-related attitudes and behavior. The level of enforcement of Child Labor Laws might affect the adolescent work experience.

Considering the macro-system, the availability and diversity of jobs, gender differences in cultural expectations for employment and educational opportunities, and the current political climate might influence the individual adolescent work experience. Studying separate aspects of the adolescent employment experience adds pieces to the puzzle, but each adolescent has many different pieces to his/her puzzle. Therefore, early work experience appears to be beneficial for some adolescents in certain ways, and detrimental to other adolescents.

Although I did not explore the family backgrounds of the students I interviewed, I could not help but notice that the students reporting the most positive work attitudes and behaviors also reported the most incidence of parental support and involvement and also their own involvement in community service organizations. The administration of a standardized measure of work ethic (i.e., Steinberg et al.'s, 1982, measure of work orientation) could help in the explorations of what type of conditions and experiences in the adolescent's home environment contribute to the development of a work ethic prior to first employment. It is possible that those students who came to their first job with

a positive work ethic were able to elicit trust and other positive regard from their employers, thus creating for themselves a very positive work environment. Further research is necessary to explore how adolescents' behavior and dialogue affect employers' decisions with regards to hiring and assigning responsibilities to adolescent workers.

The supervisor/employee relationship was an important aspect in the development of positive work attitudes in this study. Benefits of adolescent employment for adolescents as well as for employers may be determined more by this relationship than by the duties adolescents perform. Future research is needed to discover all the ways that employers can provide the support and guidance adolescents need to develop a positive work ethic.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Adolescent Interview Schedule

1. Describe the previous day at work to me. Walk me through it. (probes of indications of emotional investment or stress) What were your thoughts on arrival? Departure? What goes through your mind when you are working? Tell me about what your work means to you.
2. Describe a time at work when you felt particularly gratified about your work. Burdened about your work. How has working changed your life? Tell me about the positive changes. Tell me about the negative changes.
3. How does your work involve you with others? Describe incidents of how your work was responded to by others. Describe the importance of your work.
4. Tell me about your relationship with your boss? Give me an example of an interchange. What is he/she like at best? At worst? What is expected of you? Same questions for peers and subordinates at work.
5. What is your standing at your job? How do you come to know this?
6. What have you learned about life from your work experience? Tell me about how working has influenced decisions about your future? How do you imagine your life 10 years from now?
7. Tell me about your decision to work. What led you to your current job? What is challenging about your job? What contributions or achievements have you made at your place of employment?

Questionnaire on Student Employment

Section A

Please answer the following questions by circling your response:

- 1) I am: Male Female 2) My age is: 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
- 3) My grade level is: 9th 10th 11th 12th
- 4) The grades I receive in school are mostly: A's B's C's D's F's
- 5) The number of people who live in my household is: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- 6) I live with: one parent both parents one parent/stepparent guardian other
- 7) My parents' estimated yearly income is:
- Under \$15,000 Between \$15,000-\$30,000 Above \$30,000
- 8) Do you presently have a steady job? yes no

- 9) Have you held a steady job at any time during **this current school year**? yes no

If your answer to Question No. 9 is yes, please answer all the following questions based on your most current employment. If your answer to Question No. 9 is no, please go to Section B.

- 10) How many days a week do (or did) you work? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 11) How many **hours** a week do (or did) you work?
- Less than 5 5-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 26-30
- 31-40 More than 40

- 12) What is (or was) your most current **main** job? Please answer by checking your **one** response.

- ☐ a) cashier/clerk in any type of retail store
- ☐ b) food server in a restaurant
- ☐ c) busperson in a restaurant
- ☐ d) food preparer in a restaurant
- ☐ e) dishwasher in a restaurant
- ☐ f) bagger or stockperson in a grocery store
- ☐ g) counter person in a fast-food restaurant
- ☐ h) receptionist/secretary in an office
- ☐ i) desk clerk for a motel
- ☐ j) maintenance person (janitorial)
- ☐ k) ticket seller at an attraction
- ☐ l) babysitter
- ☐ m) yard work
- ☐ n) other (please specify) _____

13) How much money do (or did) you earn **per hour**? Less than \$5.00 \$5.00-\$6.00

\$6.01-\$7.00

\$7.01-\$8.00

More than \$8.00

14) Do (or did) you work for a relative? yes no

15) Please check the **three main duties** your main job requires (or required).

- ☐ a) greeting people
- ☐ b) taking orders
- ☐ c) providing information
- ☐ d) making reservations
- ☐ e) answering the phone
- ☐ f) making change through sales
- ☐ g) preparing food
- ☐ h) typing
- ☐ i) making deliveries
- ☐ j) serving foods
- ☐ k) stocking merchandise
- ☐ l) cleaning
- ☐ m) caring for children
- ☐ n) supervising others
- ☐ o) operating machinery
- ☐ p) using a computer
- ☐ q) painting
- ☐ r) carpentry
- ☐ s) other; please specify _____

16) How **helpful** has your supervisor at your job been to you in learning job skills?
(Circle the response which best describes your experience.)

1
never

2
rarely

3
sometimes

4
often

5
always

17) How would you rate your supervisor at your job in his/her ability to help you to develop a positive attitude toward work? (Circle the response which best describes your experience.)

1
very poor

2
poor

3
average

4
good

5
exceptionally good

18) If you could improve your most current job in order to make work a more enjoyable experience, what **two main changes** would you make? Please answer by checking your **two** responses.

- ☐ a) higher pay
- ☐ b) longer work shift
- ☐ c) shorter work shift
- ☐ d) have more responsibility to make own decisions
- ☐ e) have less responsibility to make own decisions
- ☐ f) more physical labor
- ☐ g) less physical labor
- ☐ h) more varied duties
- ☐ i) less varied duties
- ☐ j) more opportunity for advancement
- ☐ k) more incentives to work harder
- ☐ l) clearer chain of command of supervisors
- ☐ m) more flexibility of work hours
- ☐ n) a more fixed work schedule
- ☐ o) more recognition for a job well done
- ☐ p) parking provided for employees
- ☐ q) other; please specify _____

19) What are the **two** main ways you use the money you earn (or earned)? Please answer by checking your **two** responses.

- ☐ a) save it
- ☐ b) buy clothes
- ☐ c) buy snacks, some meals
- ☐ d) buy music (CD's, tapes, concert tickets)
- ☐ e) make car payments
- ☐ f) buy gasoline
- ☐ g) pay for car insurance
- ☐ h) buy personal care items
- ☐ i) contribute to household expenses
- ☐ j) pay for entertainment, dates
- ☐ k) other; please specify _____

20) Please indicate the percentage of your earnings you save (or saved) for some future expense?

(0%-100%) _____ %

21) If you save (or saved) any portion of your earnings, what are (were) you **primarily** saving for?

Please answer by checking your **one** response.

- ☐ a) car
- ☐ b) college
- ☐ c) motorcycle
- ☐ d) house
- ☐ e) to open your own business
- ☐ f) to get married
- ☐ g) to travel
- ☐ h) stereo system
- ☐ i) car insurance
- ☐ j) sports equipment
- ☐ k) other; please specify _____
- ☐ l) I do not save any money

22) What was your **main** reason for deciding to work a part-time job?

Please answer by checking your **one** response.

- ☐ a) to have spending money
- ☐ b) to save money for future expenses
- ☐ c) to help family with household expenses
- ☐ d) to train for future career
- ☐ e) to avoid boredom
- ☐ f) parents wanted me to work
- ☐ g) friends were working
- ☐ h) to buy a car or motorcycle
- ☐ i) other; please specify _____

23) Are (or were) you satisfied with your most current job? (please circle your response)
yes no

24) What is a positive change in your life because you started working?
(Please provide a short answer.)

25) What is a negative change in your life because you started working?
(Please provide a short answer.)

Section B (All students please complete this section)

Please circle your response.

26) About how many hours a week do you spend on homework?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

27) Do you plan to graduate from high school? yes no

28) What do you plan to do after high school? Please answer by checking **no more than two main** responses.

- ☐ a) get a job
- ☐ b) continue the job I have now
- ☐ c) go to college
- ☐ d) go to a technical school
- ☐ e) travel
- ☐ f) start a business
- ☐ g) get married
- ☐ h) start a family
- ☐ i) work in my family's business
- ☐ j) live at home
- ☐ k) other; please specify _____

29) What do you think you will be doing in terms of career 10 years from now? (Please provide a short answer.)

30) If you are not working now, but have held a steady job in the past, what were your reasons for quitting your job? Please answer by checking **no more than two main** responses.

- ☐ a) did not like job duties
- ☐ b) did not have enough time for homework
- ☐ c) did not like boss
- ☐ d) did not have enough time for activities and friends
- ☐ e) had problems with transportation to and from work
- ☐ f) too tired in school following work days
- ☐ g) was not allowed decision-making responsibility
- ☐ h) pay was too low
- ☐ i) did not like fellow workers
- ☐ j) had too much responsibility
- ☐ k) other; please specify _____
- ☐ l) I have not worked a steady job

31) If you have never had a steady job during the school year, are you thinking about working some time before you graduate from high school? yes no does not apply to me

32) Why or why not? (Please provide a short answer if this question applies to you.)

Thank you for your participation in this research project!

Parent/Student Consent Form

The attached questionnaire is part of a dissertation research project being conducted by a graduate student in the department of Child and Family Studies at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville for partial requirement of the doctoral degree. This research focuses on the adolescent experience of part-time employment. The purpose of this questionnaire is to learn how many high school students in Sevier County work and to explore aspects related to their work experience. The benefits of this research may be to provide information to educators, businesses, policymakers, parents, and students to help structure adolescent work experiences to provide positive outcomes for adolescents.

This form is a request for permission for this student to answer the questions on the attached questionnaire. Completion of the questionnaire takes about 10 minutes. Participation in this research project is purely voluntary and there is no penalty or prejudice for refusal to participate. The questionnaires are completely anonymous. No names or identifying information should appear anywhere on the questionnaire. Once completed by the student, the questionnaire should be detached and sealed in the envelope provided. The envelope should be returned to the 1st period teacher. Signed consent forms should be given separately to the 1st period teacher. **No questionnaires will be accepted from students who have not returned a consent form signed both by a parent or guardian and by the student.** The researcher does not anticipate any risks to students who complete this Questionnaire on Student Employment.

General information from the compilation of this data describing Sevier County adolescents as a population will be provided to you and your adolescent in the form of a newsletter from the researcher through your school as soon as possible. If you have any questions about this research project, please contact Barbara Taylor, by leaving a message at the Child and Family Studies Office (974-5316) at The University of Tennessee. Your call will be returned.

I give my permission for my (son/daughter)_____ to complete the attached questionnaire for the research project described above.

Parent or Guardian Signature _____ Date _____

Student Signature _____ Date _____

This project has been generously funded by Krogers.

Related Research Project

The researcher, Barbara Taylor, would like to conduct hour-long interviews with about 20 students in Sevier County regarding the experience of adolescent part-time work. The students needed for this part of the project should be in their first formal part-time job, and have not worked more than 6 months. If you fit this description and would be willing to volunteer an hour for an interview, please fill in the information below. A packet of information about the interview will be sent to you, including a phone number to call, should you decide to be interviewed. Thank you for any interest you have in this study.

Student's Name _____

Parent's Name _____

Address _____

Phone Number _____

Informed Consent for Adolescent Interview

This dissertation research project is being conducted by a graduate student at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville for partial requirement of the doctoral degree. The purpose of this project is to learn how adolescents perceive any changes in their lives brought about by their first formal work experience. The benefit of this research may be a better understanding of the meaning of the work experience for adolescents to help guide parents, employers, teachers, policymakers, and adolescents themselves in structuring positive work experiences. The risks of participating in this research project are anticipated to be no more than would occur in everyday conversation. As a participant, you will be interviewed for about an hour by the researcher who will ask you questions concerning your perceptions of your experience on the job. If any of the questions make you feel uncomfortable, you may decline to answer. Your participation is purely voluntary and you may choose to discontinue at any time without penalty or prejudice. With your permission, interviews will be taped on a cassette recorder, and you have the option to have any portion of the tape erased after responding to each of the interviewer's questions. Any requested erasures will be done in your presence. Information on the tapes will be held in strictest confidence. Nowhere on the tapes or in the research report will any participants be personally identified. If a participant's response is quoted in the research report, it will be reported in such a way which would prevent identification of that participant or place of employment. The research report will in no way condemn any participant's beliefs or views. The confidentiality of the written records identifying the participants on the tapes will be maintained by keeping the records locked in a filing cabinet at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Only Dr. Priscilla Blanton (my major professor) and I will have access to them. Tapes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home. If you have any questions regarding this research or your rights as a participant, please feel free to contact me, Barbara Taylor, or Dr. Priscilla Blanton, Child and Family Studies, Jessie Harris Bldg., The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 37996-1900, Phone # 974-5316.

I have read and understand the explanation of this project and agree to allow my
(son/daughter) _____ to participate.

Parent/Guardian Name _____

Signature _____ Date _____

I have read and understand the explanation of this project and agree to participate.

Student Signature _____ Date _____

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TEACHERS
STUDENT EMPLOYMENT RESEARCH PROJECT

Dear Teacher,

My name is Barbara Taylor. I am a graduate student at the University of Tennessee and am researching the adolescent employment experience. The Sevier County School Board has taken an interest in the data that the accompanying student employment questionnaires would provide and has granted me permission to have them distributed to all high school students in Sevier County. I hope that the results of this study will be of interest to you, also. I request your assistance in distributing and collecting the questionnaires.

Each stapled packet has a 4 page questionnaire, a consent form, and a request form for interview volunteers for another part of this study (on the back of the consent form).

Every student in your first period class should receive a questionnaire packet on **Monday, January 22th**. The last day to return questionnaires with consent forms will be **Friday, January 26th**.

Each teacher has been provided with extra questionnaire packets to replace those that become lost or misplaced by students during the week. It would be greatly appreciated if you would remind students daily to get questionnaires/consent forms completed and turned in.

- **The consent form signed by both the student and parent/guardian must be turned in to you before the completed questionnaire can be accepted.**
- **Only the completed questionnaire should be sealed by the student in the provided white envelope.**
- **No identifying information should appear on the questionnaires or on the white envelopes.**

Two manila envelopes are provided for collection; one for completed, sealed questionnaires and the other for consent forms. On Friday, the manilla envelopes should be placed in the box in the school's central office marked "Student Employment Research Project."

Thank you for your cooperation. The results of this study will be reported to all teachers, students, and parents through a newsletter as soon as possible. If you have any questions, suggestions, or further interest in this study, please feel free to call me at the Child and Family Studies Department, The University of Tennessee, 974-5316.

Child and Family Studies Department
115 Jessie Harris Building
The University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996
Date

Dear Parent and Student,

Thank you for your interest in the Student Employment Project. I am seeking students who are currently within the first six months of their first formal job. By formal, I mean working regular hours, with regular pay, in an established business, and not for a close relative of the student. I would like to interview students who fit this description for about an hour at a location and time mutually agreed upon by the interviewer, student, and parent. This location could be the student's home, library, or possibly school with the principal's permission. Interview questions concern descriptions of a typical day at work, gratifying or burdening experiences at work, how one's work is responded to by others, the decision to work, and how working has influenced changes in one's life. More information regarding the interview is provided in the enclosed consent form. If you have any questions or would like to set up an interview, please call me at 974-5316. My advisor at the University of Tennessee is Dr. Priscilla Blanton, and she is also available to you to answer questions about this project, 974-6270. I would greatly appreciate your assistance in this research. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Barbara Taylor
Doctoral Student
Child and Family Studies
The University of Tennessee

Demographics of Adolescent for Interview

Sex: Male Female

Age:

Grade Level in School:

Type of Employment:

Length of Employment:

Number of hours worked:

Amount of Income:

Percentage Saved:

Grade Point Average:

Extracurricular Activities, besides work:

Student Employment Research Newsletter

In February, I distributed questionnaires regarding student employment to all students at the 3 high schools in Sevier County. This newsletter is to inform students, parents, and teachers of the findings from the data provided by the questionnaires.

- **The response rate** was 12%; only 353 completed questionnaires were returned. Six snow days in between distribution and collection of the questionnaires probably contributed to a low response rate. However, this sample of 353 provided an adequate representation of each school, each grade level, males and females, and workers and nonworkers. Questionnaires were completed by 96 ninth graders, 106 tenth graders, 66 eleventh graders, and 85 twelfth graders. The sample included 233 females and 120 males.

- **How many students work?** 165 students (47%) reported having held a steady job at some time during the current school year. By sex, 51% of males and 45% of females in the sample reported working. By grade, 18% of ninth graders, 35% of tenth graders, 74% of eleventh graders, and 74% of twelfth graders reported working. By school, 28% of all Seymour H.S. students in the sample reported working, with 57% of Sevier County H.S. students working, and 49% of Gatlinburg Pittman H.S. students working.

- **How much time do students spend working and how much money do they make?** Twenty-nine percent of working students reported spending 16-20 hours per week on the job. Other percentages were; 15% worked 11-15 hours, 14% worked 21-25 hours, 12% worked 26-30 hours, 15% worked over 30 hours, and 12% worked less than 10 hours per week. Reported wages were: 57% earn \$5.00-\$6.00 per hour, 20% earn less than \$5.00 per hour, 15% earn \$6.01-\$7.00 per hour, 7% earn more than \$8.00 per hour. Males and females reported roughly the same percentages for wages, with males only slightly higher.

- **What jobs do students have?** The top four jobs that students reported having were; retail sales clerk (30%), food server in a restaurant (15%), counter person in a fast food restaurant (10%), and employee at an attraction, such as a ride operator or ticket seller (8%). The four most reported duties that students' jobs require were: greeting people (60%), taking orders (38%), providing information (28%), and tied for fourth were making change, stocking, and cleaning (27%). Only 15% of employed students reported working for a relative.

- **How has working changed students' lives?** The top 4 positive changes that were reported: 1) I am more responsible. 2) I am more independent. 3) I can afford the things I want. 4) I have made new friends.

The top 4 negative changes that were reported: 1) I don't get to spend time with friends as much. 2) I feel pressured

in dividing my time to do all the things I want or need to do. 3) I am too tired from working to do what I want or need to do. 4) I don't have enough time with my family.

• **Do students like their jobs?** Seventy-nine percent of working students reported being satisfied with their current jobs. Sixty-seven percent of workers rated their supervisors as often or always helpful in teaching them job skills. Seventy percent of workers rated their supervisors as good or exceptionally good at helping them to develop a positive work attitude. When asked what two changes they would make in their current jobs, the top 3 responses were: higher pay (66%), more recognition for a job well done (18%), and tied for third place--longer work shift, more opportunity for advancement, and a more fixed work schedule (15%).

• **\$ What do students do with the money they earn?** Only 50% of the working students reported saving any money. Of those who are saving, 42% reported saving for a car and 22% are saving for college. The main ways students spend the money they earn is on clothes (30%), gasoline (24%), and to make car payments (20%). The main reasons for working that students reported were: for spending money (44%), to save for future expenses (25%), and to buy a car (17%).

• **What about homework?** Surprisingly, the difference in the means of reported hours of homework was only very slight for workers and nonworkers (4.1 hours per week for workers vs. 4.6 hours per week for nonworkers).

• **What about nonworkers?** Of the 175 students in the sample who reported they have never held a steady job, 152 said they plan to get a job before graduating from high school. Why? The top 3 answers in order were: for spending money, to save for a car or car expenses, and to save for college. Of those students who reported they are not planning on working, their main reason was: They had no time because of school and school activities.

• **Thanks to all the students who completed the Student Employment Questionnaire and thanks to all the teachers who distributed and collected the questionnaires.** I am currently conducting interviews with working students for a more in-depth look at their work experiences. **For more information about this study,** you may contact Barbara Taylor, Child and Family Studies, The University of Tennessee, 1215 West Cumberland Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee, 37996.

Appendix B

Quotes Supporting Themes

The following quotes are presented as evidence in support of the themes found in the section titled, "Presentation of Qualitative Data." The order of themes matches their appearance in the aforementioned section. Each quote is preceded by a number which identifies the interview and the line where it can be found in the original data. The last section, titled "Examples of Students' Work Ethics," is made up of quotes that have been integrated into other themes.

1. Meaning of Work

3171 Int. How has working changed your life?

St. I'm not as shy as I used to be and....it's made me more responsible.

Int. Can you tell me more about that?

St. Well, with the money I get, I have to budget it, to make sure it lasts the two weeks, between each pay period and I have to make sure that I have enough money to get what I want and if I don't I have to save it.

3399 Int. Can you think of how work has, has it helped you at all as far as school goes?

St. A little bit.

Int. In what way?

St. In talking more. In answering the questions that the teacher asks me. Before I would be too shy to speak in front of the whole class, and now, um, I've been working, I'm not as shy as I once was.

Int. So dealing with customers has forced you to talk more?

St. Yea.

4038 Int. Tell me about what your work means to you.

St. This job, it means spending money, that's about it.

5066 Int. Can you tell me what your work means to you?

St. Um, well, when I went in to work, it wasn't like a chore, kind of like, it was fun, I mean I liked it. And this is the first job I've ever had. And I feel like I work more

than people my age, and I feel more responsible. And I don't have to ask my Mom for money, and I don't know, does that answer your question, what was it again?

Int. What you work means to you.

St. It means a lot to me cause it gives me a self, you know what I'm saying? This is my own job, and my Mom don't have to give me money, and it means it's my responsibility and I have to keep up with it, and it does good for me and I like it a lot.

5148 Int. Give me the good ways first.

St. Ok, good ways, responsibility gotten larger. The money, I mean I like having my own money and I like being able to know I have my own money, being able to do whatever I want to do. Um, you know, just meeting new people, and that's been good.

5432 Int. What do you find challenging, if anything, about your job?

St. Challenging? The 9:00 shift. Getting their early in the morning. I don't know. There's not really anything challenging. I guess it's just a job, you go and you work and you leave.

5549 St. So I think it's really good for people my age to work, and don't look at it as work, think of it as fun and getting paid for it, you know, it's what you put into it, is what it's going to be.

6340 Int. How do you see yourself as different from those people that you know here that don't work?

St. Well, most of the people here that don't work, they just like, I don't know, they get handed everything, and they're just, I don't know, I guess they're spoiled, some people that don't work.

Int. So they just basically ask for what they want?

St. Yea, some of my friends are like that. Some are just lazy and they don't want to work. You know, they don't want to make nothing out of their life.

6446 Int. Can you tell me more about how work has changed your life? What if you weren't working, how would you imagine your life would be?

St. I don't know, I guess I would be pretty lazy. Not ever doing anything and I couldn't have as much as I wanted and I don't know, it just shows more responsibility I think.

7056 Int. Can you tell me what your work meant to you?

St. Not really too much. I mean my parents really wanted me to work, so I went, but it wasn't really important to me. I

got money, but if I wasn't working, my parents would give it to me anyway, so it really didn't have any importance to me.

8138 Int. How has working changed your life?

St. I think I matured a lot more, I experienced more, I talked to people a lot more. I don't know how you would say it. Sort of like I knew I grew up a lot. It's taught me things, cause I've never run a register before, it's taught me to be independent, how to do things by myself.

8149 Int. Do you feel more comfortable now talking to people than you did before you started working?

St. I was real shy to begin with, really, and working taught me to talk more and be nice and everything, I don't know. Even though sometimes people get you mad, you have to hold your temper. You have to learn how to have a cool head.

8157 Int. Tell me about the positive changes in your life since you started working.

St. I feel like I can do things without my friends all the time. And I talk a lot more to my Mom than I did before. We just sit there and talk about work as soon as I get home. A lot more to talk about.

8556 Int. One more question, what differences do you notice about people who work versus people who don't work?

St. People who don't work, usually don't do anything. They usually don't have anything better to do and I don't know why. Usually people that don't work, don't have transportation to go, one of my friends that wants to work down at [theme park] with me, her mother won't let her cause she doesn't want her working. It would be fun though if she did.

9139 Int. Tell me about what your work means to you.

St. Right now my work means nothing. I'm fed up with it. The only reason I still work where I work at now, is because I want to go to college [college name] in [city] and there is a store right next to [college] it's the same that I work at, and they'll transfer me and give me a raise, if I stay there until I go to college, because I need a guaranteed job when I go to college because it's going to be hard enough to come up with enough money to go, much less support myself while I'm there. So, it's just filling up space until I can get to the good thing.

9231 Int. Well, I was going to ask you if there were any positive changes in your life since you started working?

St. Yea, I don't have to go to my parents for money, my Mom and Dad are divorced, money is limited on both sides. I don't have to go to them for money anymore, and I guess

that's probably, I have more money than when I wasn't working, to an extent, but I also have less money by a degree, because I have to pay for gas, I have to pay, my Dad pays for insurance, and I don't have a car payment, but just food, it seems like I eat my money, every penny seems like goes for food and gas. It goes real fast. I guess that's the big change. I have more money so I guess, I'm more independent.

9561 Int. Overall, has working been a good or bad experience for you?

St. A necessary experience. It's not good cause I don't enjoy it, it's not bad cause they do pay me, I don't have a choice, it's necessary.

Int. If you could tell employers how to make the adolescent or student work experience better, what would you tell them?

St. That that store is not our life, that we're 16, 17, 18 years old, we have friends, and they're not paying us to have friends, but we do, and by restricting our days off, and saying you have to work these days all the time, they're encouraging us to lie, to call in sick, to quit, well, I guess you could say if they're going to quit, they didn't want the job anyway, well chances are they didn't, they got it cause they had to, they don't really care where they work, but we're young, when they hired us they knew that we're not going to be there until the day we died. I think that if they could be a little more understanding about school, about the hours, it would really help, it would be a lot, lot better.

10124 Int. Tell me about what your work means to you.

St. Um, mostly spending money, I live with my grandparents and it's kind of awkward, I'm seventeen, and almost an adult, and I should be able to somehow support myself, I go to school and I have my car, and so I have to have money to be able to support it, you know, keep that last leg in the brace for a while longer, I guess mostly spending money and entertainment money.

10227 Int. Can you tell me about any positive changes in your life from working?

St. I guess I've gained independence from working, and sort of self-respect, you know, that you can do that, and you can hold a job and keep your grades up, well, my grades have dropped a little, I went down like 2 or 3 tenths of a point in my GPA from last year to this year, so my grades have gone down, but I guess you earn self-respect by doing it, because you think I can juggle all this stuff and I'm still a decent a person and I can still live my life, even though I'm only sleeping 2 or 3 hours a night, I can still do it. I guess that's pretty much the positive, and you kind of earn respect

from your family, or I have, because they see that I want to work, and that I want to be more independent than depending on money from my grandparents or my mother, cause I think that would be rude, you know to ask someone for money all the time, I can't do that, especially now that I'm working I guess.

10621 Int. What differences do you notice between students who work vs. students that don't work here at school?

St. Um, students who work are always in a rush to do something. You know, even if it's between classes and you've got 10 minutes, you're there in 2 minutes, because you know you've just got to get there and get it over with and get in done, so you can get somewhere else. That's the way it is with everyone who works. I don't know if I can discriminate and say just the people who work do that, but it seems like more of those who work... I think that people who work are more responsible as far as what they do on the weekends or on their free time, they're more responsible about what they do, they're more, what I'm trying to say is they just wouldn't go out and get drunk on a Friday night because they have the responsibility to go to work the next day. I think that kind of instills responsibility, but I think that they are more free with their money, though, students who work are, instead of just buying lunch, they buy lunch and a coke, or if there is an in-school football game, they're the ones first in line to go, because it's their money. And as far as the students who don't work, I think they're just a little less mature about the things that they do in school, cause I think that you just have to grow up incredibly a lot when you work. I mean at least I've noticed that I have. I know that I'm getting older as I work, but working has helped me grow up some. It's hard to be friends with people that don't work because they act a lot different, I don't know if I can put it into words, but they don't, they act like they don't have any cares in the world. You know, they don't have any personal triumphs or victories over things that they've done in work or whatever, they don't have any goals about their work, they do have goals about school and everything, but they also have better grades than me (laugh) so..they've got 3.9's. I guess that's the main difference.

10756 St. You asked me the question about what has working taught me about life, and I've learned that the more money you make, the more money you're going to spend and the more you're going to want.

11340 Int. Tell me about your decision to work your very first job?

St. I wanted to get a job.

Int. You were what, 14?

St. Yea, I wanted to get a job because I wanted money to spend. I didn't want to bum off my grandparents cause I feel bad about it, so I went ahead and got a job, cause my friend's Dad owns a restaurant and me and him and his dad worked in the kitchen cooking.

11089 Int. Can you tell me about positive changes, can you think of things in your life that have become more positive because of your working?

St. I've been able to buy what I wanted. Like if I like something real nice or if I want to get something for my truck or something, I'll buy it, and then the other money, I put in the bank and save up, but that's about the only thing that's really changed.

11479 Int. Ok, What differences do you notice in the students that work vs. the students that don't work?

St. The students that don't work, they don't really appreciate anything. And the students that do work, and pay for their own stuff, and they appreciate things a whole lot more. And that's what causes fights a lot of times sometimes. Is that someone will do something that will make the other person mad, cause he's got something and he appreciates it and the other person tears it up or something.

Int. So it's the person who's not working that might tear up something of the person that actually had to earn it.

St. Yea, and the students that don't work get out and party more and all this other stuff and get in a lot of trouble than the students that do work.

12067 Int. Tell me what your work means to you right now.

St. Well, I used to think that I would learn something to benefit me later in life, and I guess I have, I've learned discipline and how to schedule myself to get everything done that I need to do, but I'll tell you right now, if my parents didn't need the money to support my family, I would quit, because it runs me down, I could have a 4.0 right now if I wanted it, but it seems like everything else is becoming more important because it is what I need now, like the money, I need it now, I can't think about my grades, so I kind of, I don't like it, because of that, it's not really the job, I just know that it's taking things away from me, and things I want to do.

12167 Int. OK, so that could be a positive. Could you describe how your work involves you with others?

St. I get to see people's natural nature. I am in contact with tourists from the time I go in until the time I leave. They've been traveling on the interstate all day long and they want to take their anger out on somebody and it's made me realize that not everybody's like that, but it's made me

not go out of my way anymore to, how should I say, kiss somebody's butt. I used to be so very polite and so very nice, but now it seems like I don't let people step on me anymore. And that's good, I can tell a big difference, cause I used to not ever tell anybody what I felt, cause I was afraid they'd get mad at me, and now I just don't care.

12208 St. I guess that people think, especially when you're a kid and you're working in a fast food restaurant, that they're above you and they can talk down to you if they want, and that happens all the time, and I used to just, it made me feel sad, "Oh, I can't believe they talked to me." But now I show them, "This is how I do it, this is what I was told, if you want it somehow else, you'll have to talk to my manager." But just things like that, little things, it bothers you when it's over and over and over again.

12376 Int. So when your brothers and sisters turn 16 and they really want to work, what are you going to tell them?
St. Oh, Gosh! I can't stop them, cause I know, Gosh, I wanted to know what it was like. I'm going to be a grown-up going to work with all these responsibilities, but it didn't take me long to figure out that there was a lot more to working than just feeling old and mature. I guess there is no way I would ever want them to work as much as I do, but I guess maybe 10 hours or something like that. But nothing like, 30 hours isn't a lot, but it takes away, when you spend all this time on everything else.

12471 Int. What differences do you notice between students here who work and those who don't work?

St. It seems like everybody I talk to, well not everybody, but most of my friends, most people, they don't see the big picture, somehow they think that the money that they get now is good enough for them and they don't have to good in school, ahh! what do they need college for, they can make \$7.50 in Sevierville, but they don't think, who's paying for your stuff now, your parents! you don't have to pay rent, you don't have to pay this, \$7 isn't going to go far when you put all that stuff together, and it just makes me think, Gosh, could I turn out that way, could I lose track of what I want to do and say this is enough for me, and I think, Gosh, how dumb, how dumb can people be? Thinking that they're going to work here all their lives. I couldn't do it. But most kids, yea, they think their job is, they'll lay out of school just to work at their jobs. It seems like it's more important to do a favor for the boss and work these hours than it is to go to school and get good grades so that you can make something of yourself later on. And I think that's sad.

Int. What about students who don't work at all?

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Int. What about students who don't work at all?

St. They're the lucky ones. Most people that don't work do something, like play sports, Gosh, I don't know if I know anyone that doesn't have a job. Maybe out of all the friends I have, maybe 3 or 4 people don't have a job. There's such a high demand here, that's all you hear about. I mean I remember in 8th grade, you hear, "well, I'm getting a job this summer," So it's really unusual for someone not to have one.

13234 Int. How do you feel like work has helped you with your grades?

St. It gave me confidence maybe. It made me feel like somebody believed in me. And they [bosses] just kept on egging me to do better, and I guess I tried harder, just to please them.

13602 Int. What differences do you notice about students who work vs. students who don't work?

St. Worse grades.

Int. The students who work have worse grades?

St. Yep. Never have time. They don't think it's important enough. If they have a job and they have money, they can pay someone to do it or they can just get an F cause they really don't care. And people that work do drugs. Most of the time, I'd say about 80% around here.

Int. Is that because of the money or because of the people they're hanging out with?

St. Peer pressure of course.

Int. More peer pressure than just having money?

St. Yes, more peer pressure. You gotta do what the friends do, of course.

14080 Int. What does your work mean to you right now?

St. It just means an income right now, I'm not looking for going up the success ladder of concession stands.

14211 Int. Has working influenced any of your decisions about your future?

St. I'm not going to work in a concession stand all my life. I've decided that I definitely need to get some sort of education. Not to put down the boss or the other older people that work there, it must be just really, I can't picture myself, all my life just doing that and being happy.

14283 Int. What differences do you notice between students that work and students that don't work? Think in your grade especially.

St. I don't notice that much between us, between myself and a person that doesn't work, but in other grades, I see differences, some of the people that, or two kids whose parents bring in the same kind of money, the kid that works

will dress better, because he uses his own money for clothes and whatever he wants.

14393 Int. So you think a good time to start working is about 14?

St. I think you just need to start working before you decide on a career choice. I don't think you should start into college and decide that you want to be this for the rest of your life. I think you need to sort of learn about what different types of jobs you like, cause, try different things.

15270 Int. What are some of the positive changes in your life since you started working?

St. Like I said earlier, that responsibility, I've been able to do that more. I've met some more people, I've got a feeling of the quote, real world, unquote, you know, I know what it's like to work under somebody, and I've been over some people for a time, a little bit, we have a thing called HIC, it's like leaders over the team, they make the schedule that day or things like that, I did that one day, and it was OK, you know, I sign in the breakers and things like that, and I'm like over the people in my team, but then I've got the big bosses over me. Then I've been in the middle and I've been down on the bottom, so I know what it's like, except for being on top with nobody above me.

15558 Int. Do you notice any differences between students who work and students who don't work?

St. Um, a lot of people that work, the problem now, like in a lot of the schools, they've got gangs, people that are drinking and smoking, smoking is a big problem here at this school, I mean you got out at lunch, you see a little bit of smoke over here, a little bit of smoke over there, it's in the gym room where kids go back in the shower stalls and smoke, I mean it's pretty bad.

Int. Are those the workers or the nonworkers?

St. The nonworkers. See, the kids that work, they've got something to do, they've got something to keep their minds on, instead of smoking, drinking, out partying and having sex when they're not supposed to, things like that, causing really big problems.

Int. So you feel like the workers are more responsible?

St. Yea, they're more responsible about their stuff. Yea, a lot of people, if they find out that they've been smoking, well, not really smoking, but drinking or doing drugs, they'll fire them, cause that could interfere with their work.

2. Haphazard Versus Purposeful Job Selection

1070 St. Well, uh, I knew the owner from scouts, and one day I ran into him at one of the tourism events in the area, and I just got to talking to him a little bit and I asked him if he wanted any summer help cause I wanted to work and I always wanted to work in an outdoor shop and he said, "Yea Sure, I'll hire ya." Cause he's pretty cool and I mean he's a nice guy to work with and he's not really, he doesn't portray a boss, kind of stereotypical attitude. He's really loose, it's hard to make him mad, he just kind of goes with the flow, and he's not real hard to work with and my job is what I do. I can give the customers real advice and my own expertise because everything we sell out of the store, I have something to do with because I've participated in those activities.

1188 I mean it eliminated those down Saturdays where I would either be watching TV or having to do some work outside or something. And to giving me some work that I actually enjoy doing that I am actually getting paid for.

1197 Really, it hasn't made my life bad or anything, it's improved it a lot.

1273 St. Yea, and they all want my job. I was lucky enough to know the people who own the store and to run into them that day and ask them, you know, and they all want my job, and they're always asking me, are you hiring somebody else for the summer, you know, ya de da de da, and no. They really want it bad and "I'm sorry."

2074 Int. Tell me what your work means to you right now.
St. Right now, it just means just having somewhere to work and get away from home and having extra money. Sort of a living, because I'm trying to save up for a car and money, to try to get me some money for an apartment for when I move out.

2450 Int. Umm.. let's see, if you had your choice of another job at this point, if you could choose any job as a part-time job after school, what would you choose?

St. I've never really thought of that... I'd just look for something else that pays better, has friends from here there.

2342 Int. How has it influenced your decisions about work in the future?

St. Going for something you like and that pays decent. Not

going for something that you don't like and that pays really good.

3315 Int. When you did start this past summer, what brought you to [theme park]? What made you decide to work there?

St. Well, my Dad works there and my brother used to work there and they seem to have fun working there, so last year I decided that I would try to go to work there andmy Dad helped me get there cause he made me an appointment for the interview and so I went in and I got the job.

4270 Int. Tell me about your decision to work. Let's start with your first job. Why did you go to work? How old were you?

St. 14. And Mom said I ought to try getting a job. So we went out and filled out applications and they hired me and that's about it.

5409 Int. How did you know you wanted to work? what jobs did you look for?

St. Well, actually, this was kind of handed to me. Becasue my cousin's girlfriend works there, and she's been working there about 2 1/2 years I guess, and she was really happy with it, and I got to talking to her, and like I said my uncle owns two stores in the Mall, so it was really convenient, my Mom works there and my uncle works there and you know, I work there, and it was really convenient.

6220 Int. Uh, huh. Tell me about your decision to work. When you were 14 and you first went to work, what led you to work?

St. My Mom, she wanted me to work. She's the one that got me the job.

Int. What reasons did she give?

St. She wanted me to have more responsibility and have more money for myself.

7044 St. Yea, it was sort of funny the way I got the job. I went in to buy a bra and they said, "Hey, do you want to work here?" And I said, OK, so it was pretty good, and I was working at a restaurant with one of my other friends and she had gotten me that job so when got the job there, I got her a job there. And we just got everyone else a job. It was fun.

8360 Int. How you decided to go to work, what led you to this job?

St. I don't know, I just thought it would be fun. I looked in the newspaper thing about jobs and I showed my Mom that they were hiring 14 and 15 year olds, cause that's the first job they did, and my Mom said, "Yea that might be fun for

you." And I said, "Can I go?" And she said, "If you think you can handle it." and I said, "I think I can."

9445 Int. Ok, tell me about your decision to work, how did you find this job?

St. My decision to work, I don't know why I wanted to work, looking back on it, I guess I wanted to because my parents didn't want me to work. I did not want to work at the place I work at now. Going in, it was like, they were the only place that would hire me....(9463) And the only reason the place that I work at now hired me is because nobody would work there and they really needed more people.

St. I walked through the Mall and there was a little sign in the window, "Applications available" and I went in and applied she called me back.

10504 Int. Tell me about your decision to work.

St. So I guess part of the decision was I thought it would help me to adjust to the area, because I was in a new school and I was a junior, and it's kind of hard to fit in with everybody, when you're that old already and didn't grow up with them, so I guess maybe that was one aspect of it, I thought, well, it will help me adjust to the people here. My decision to work, maybe I didn't even make a conscious decision at the last, it was kind of expected that I would, I was 16 already, had been 16 for 6 months and what was I doing with my time.

Int. So how did you get the particular job you have?

St. It was the closest place to my house. My neighbors own it....I got the job the day I applied, it was right on the spot.

10716 St. Um, as far as advice to other people, when you're looking for a job, base your job on everything, like location, cause I don't know if I did that or not, I know I based it on location, but I didn't base it on pay, and I just accepted the first thing that was offered to me, and I think if I had said, "Well, I'm going to look around a few more places, and then I'll let you know if I want the job." Maybe that would have made a difference for how much I'm paid now for the job I do, but I don't know if it would or not.

11380 Int. So did you hear from friends that it was a good place to work?

St. No, I didn't know no one that worked there, I just walked in.

Int. So you just picked it out of a hat?

St. Yea, and it wasn't too far from my house so I liked that.

Int. So it was convenient then.

St. Yea.

12385 Int. What led you to your current job?

St. It's close to my house, less than a mile away. It paid well, I thought it would be easy! Gosh! What could be hard about making sandwiches?

Int. Did you wander in or see an ad in the paper?

St. Actually, my Dad's friend got me an application, cause I told him I'd like to work there and he said he'd pick me up an application and he did and I filled it out and then I started.

14229 Int. And what led you to this job?

St. A man that goes to our church, he bought into an interest in the music theater, and we know him pretty well and he needed people to work and I needed a job, so..

15459 Int. Tell me about your decision to work at [theme park]. How did you get a job there?

St. One of my friends, his mother works up there, and she informed my mother that they had some openings, so I went down and I applied for it, you know, I talked to the bosses, and that's pretty much it.

16093 Int. So how did you get this job?

St. I've always asked him to come up there and help him, and I come up there one day, and I asked him if I could work up there, and me and my friend both work up there. So, he said, "Fine, come up here during spring break, and I'll train you for it." So I picked up right away on it. And I knew pretty much everything about horses anyway, how to ride and how to be careful around them because the lady I lived by, she taught me how to ride and work with horses.

16241 St. I wanted to be a vet long before I started this job, I took this job because I love being around horses and I want to be a veterinarian. I thought it would be a good experience in the long run.

16261 Int. What led you to seek a job when you did?

St. I really wasn't seeking a job, I just wanted to help out at the stables, and then it turned into a job and then I got to thinking, I'd save every bit of my money for a truck.

16362 St. Well, I would like a job with more pay, but I still want to keep working at the stables because I enjoy it so much. I figure I'll somehow get a vehicle anyway, so I might as well do something I like.

3. Adaptation to the Job

2558 Int. What I'm looking at in this study is the experience that students have in their part-time job and whether it is a positive thing for them for the rest of their life or a negative thing for them. Whether it's a good or bad experience all in all.

St. Well, I'd give it a good and bad experience. Starting off in your first job, like mine, I thought it really sucked, I didn't really feel like working. It gave me a pretty much idea when I changed my job, you know, what was expected from me. Probably is pretty good, though, it tells you what you're going to be doing, when you do graduate. It makes you feel like you hope you can stay in school forever. Cause right now, I don't want to graduate at all, but you know it would feel good to graduate.

Int. So are you dreading working 40 hours a week, is that what you're thinking of?

St. Yea, cause you know most of that money is going to go somewhere and all the money is going to be spent on something else. And you're just working for someone else, for someone else to eat, you know. I just want to be in school. I'd rather be in school and learn something than be working and do the same old thing over and over for the next 40 or 50 years or something like that.

2131 Int. Can you think of a positive change in your life since you started working?

St. Everybody respects me a little. Cause I have a job and I've kept it for this long a time.

Int. Who's everybody? Can you give me some examples?

St. A lot of my relatives, my neighbors and some of my friends.

2337 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. That it ain't easy. (laughter) You have to be constantly doing something.

Int. That work is not easy or that life is not easy.

St. Well, life.

3289 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. It's hard and very tiring and stressful.

Int. So you're talking about work in general is hard?

St. Yea.

4208 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. I guess things don't always go the way you planned and that you got to do it, even though you don't like it. You have to go to work somewhere, and that's about it.

5352 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. Um. Life in general, let's see. Um, I know everybody's got to start working one day sooner or later, you know, so life's alright, it's what you make it I guess. If you make it bad, or you don't do the right things when you're growing up, then you're not going to do too well. But if you stay in school and go to college and all that, it's going to be good.

6513 Int. Work ethic, meaning the desire to work hard, the desire to really do a good job, to me would be a positive work ethic. I'm wondering if you came to this job with a good work ethic, or if you developed it after you started working.

St. Um, I developed it after I started working, because first I wanted to work, and then when I got there I didn't want to work because it was so much, but when I get my paycheck, that's makes me want to work more, but I hate it when I'm there.

Int. So when you first started working, you were 14, probably after the first day, you were exhausted?

St. Oh, yea!

Int. And what were you feeling then?

St. I didn't want to do it no more. When I first went there I was really excited, but it was really hard, more than I expected.

Int. So did you try to talk your way out of it?

St. Well, I worked there for another week, and then I tried to get my Mom to let me quit but she wouldn't, she kept making me go to work, but it's nothing now, I mean I'm used to it.

6039 Int. OK, what are your thoughts on arrival, when you get to work?

St. Oh, gosh, I can't wait till the end of the day. I dread it.

Int. Tell me more about that.

St. Cause I hate getting up in the mornings and standing on your feet for 7 hours, it's like pretty hard and I get really tired so I kind of dread it, so I just think about a paycheck, you know.

Int. So you go on Saturday mornings? What time do you have to be there?

St. Usually 7, 7:30.

Int. That is pretty early. What are your thoughts on

departure, on leaving work?

St. Oh, I'm glad cause I know I've made my money and the day's over and that's it.

6083 Int. How has working changed your life, if you can think back to before you started, and now you've been working a while, how has your life changed?

St. I don't know, I have more responsibility, and that's pretty much it, ah, no free weekends.

Int. Can you tell me about the responsibilities you have now that you didn't have?

St. I don't really know, it's just different stuff.

Int. Are you expected to pay for more things now that you have your own income?

St. Oh yea, cause my Mom says that because I work, I have to pay for my own stuff. So I have to pay for a lot more now.

Int. Do you think if you quit working, she'd go back to paying for it?

St. (laugh) I doubt it. She'd make me get another job.

6197 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. Well, working is a lot harder than I thought it was. You know, I mean, when I get older I'll have to work every day and that's something that I'll have to do, I don't know.

Int. What have you learned about what type of job you might want to end up in.

St. Oh, I don't want to do that for the rest of my life. I don't know, I want something.. I don't know what I want to do yet.

7052 Int. What goes through your mind when you're working during the day?

St. I just want to leave. I just wanted to get away from everybody.

Int. So you wanted the day to end? Did you watch the clock?

St. Oh yea.

7351 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. That I don't like to work, and I'd rather stay at home my whole life. Just that every job, there's going to be things about it that you don't like. I mean if it's just a job that you wanted, that you want to do, you know, I mean someone is like, "I want to be this," there's always going to be something about it that they don't like. Pretty much what I've learned.

7115 St. And then it was like, now that I've had a job, they expect me to get another one and I don't like that, cause I don't want another one.

7127 Int. Have there been any positive changes in your life since you started working?

St. Probably not. No, I don't think so.

Int. How about negative changes?

St. Negative changes. I'm going to be working my whole life now. That's one thing I don't like, now that I've had a job, they just want me to get another one. That's one thing I don't like.

Int. It's something that once you begin you can't stop?

St. Yea.

8052 Int. What are your thoughts on arriving to work?

St. I'm usually happy when I go in there, cause I like working, it's better than staying home all summer. It's kinda fun.

9049 Int. What are your thoughts on arrival when you first get to work?

St. Oh! 8 more hours of this! I'm here for 8 1/2 hours with a 30 minute break.

9059 Int. What are your thoughts when you're leaving work?

St. I have to come back tomorrow.. over the weekend, I get tired of it, cause lately, now that summer is starting and I'm still in school, and I'm having to work, even when we have a manager, which we don't right now, I have to work Mon, Wed, Friday, Sat. and Sunday, and it gets old cause I want to go out and do things with my friends and I'm at the point where I don't care about the money, I'm just, I just don't want to come back, "it's gonna be a pretty day, I want to go and do other things besides work here...."

9150 Int. Can you describe a time when you felt particularly gratified about your work, a really good day?

St. I'm sure there have been times that I felt particularly good about my day, but I guess not really, I guess the closest that I could come to that was having a big sale, I've had a couple of thousand dollar sales, that makes you feel pretty good, other than that, there's no outstanding thing that I can think of, it's pretty, I mean I've come home feeling like utter crap before from working, because people make you feel terrible, but I've never left feeling, "Gosh, I've had a great day at work." Cause it's never been that way.

10242 Int. Now that you've started working do you foresee a time when you will not be working?

St. You know, I have thought about that, and I wish I had waited to start working, because you know I'm never going to quit working, I'm going to work my way through college so I can pay my way through college so I can afford it, and then

I'm going to get a job. Ok, when I retire, then I'm not going to be working. Around about 40 years down the road, I'll not be working. But between now and then, I'll probably be working for the rest of my life.

11035 Int. What are your thoughts when you arrive to work?

St. Boy, it's going to be a long day! (laugh) And just do it and get it over with.

Int. What about when you're leaving work, what do you think about?

St. Thank God it's over. (laugh)

11608 Int. Ok, is there anything you'd want to tell student employees in Sevier County?

St. Yea. (laugh). You better know what you want to work at before you get into the job because once you get involved in it, it's hard to get out.

Int. Did you have that sense when you first started working, that once you start, you can never quit?

St. Yea, I didn't want to quit my friend's restaurant, because he's my friend, I didn't want his Dad to be mad at me or anything, cause we're real close, um, when I worked at [fast-food restaurant] I quit there once before, but I gave them a notice, and I didn't want to quit there because I was afraid I wouldn't find a better place to work, you better just know what you want to do before you get a job. Know what you want to work at, cause if you start out in food, you know, you can always fall back on food but you can't always fall back on everything else.

12028 Int. Ok, what goes through your mind when you arrive to work?

St. Oh, 12 hours. Trying to get in there and hurry up, and wanting it to pass so I can go home. Cause it is hard, it's hard for me. But I really have no choice. There's a lot of other things I would rather do with those 12 hours. My job has made me, I used to be like really like nice and polite to everyone, but it's sort of broken me from that, cause now I can't stand tourists.

12054 Int. What about what goes through your mind while you're working during the day?

St. Just different things. I really don't like my job, I really don't like to work. But it's, my friends are there, I'm so used to it now, I've been doing it for over a year, it's like routine, it's life for me, it's what I've been doing every single weekend, I have not been off in all this time except for one week when I went on vacation last year

12119 Int. How has working changed your life? Think back to before you started working to now.

St. It's just made me realize, well, I've always realized that I can't live just a life, I can not do manual labor, there's just no way ever I'll ever be able to. It's just made me realize it more, and it use to before it was just ambition that led me to want to go to college, but now I know it doesn't matter if I want to go or not, I have to go, because there is no way that I can make a living doing what I am now, I could not handle looking at the next 20 years of my life going to work every single day there. It's made me think about that, and plus I have to help out my family, too, and I don't want my brothers and sisters to have to go through what I did, even though it's helped me and I've learned lots of good lessons from it, but still, I'd rather them enjoy their high school life, cause all I can remember from mine is working.

12420 [about quitting and getting another job] St. It's kind of hard though because I've been at [fast-food place] for so long, it would be hard for me not to come there every weekend and be with my friends, even though I don't like it, it's like a part of my life now, and plus there's really no where around where I live that pays \$6.00 an hour.

13354 Int. What have you learned about life from working?
St. It's hard. That's for one. I never have time to study. Never. If I bring books with me I get yelled at. Sometimes. Sometimes I get complimented.

Int. So you feel like what you've learned from working is that life is hard, tell me about that.

St. Like when I come home, usually I have lots of energy and I'm raring to go, not when I'm working. I feel like, I don't care if they call, I'm going to sleep. I don't care to take a shower, I'll do it in the morning. I don't care to study, it's not practical.

4. Boredom and How It Is Sometimes Alleviated

2038 Int. What are your thoughts when you're arriving at work?

St. I try to think of music and that stuff, just singing to myself and try not to talk to anybody else, cause usually a lot of people like to talk your ear off.

Int. So, the people that you work with, some of them talk a lot?

St. Well, most of them are older than me.

Int. So they want somebody to talk to?

St. Yea.

Int. So you think of music and that kind of alleviates you from having to talk to them?

St. Yea, and it relieves the stress a lot, because we don't have any music to listen to, and they do play music, but it's usually stuff people don't like.

2382 Int. Can you tell me more what your work means to you as a part-time employed student? How does the work round out you life?

St. Well, it tells me what I'll be looking for when I graduate. Makes me stronger about what I want to be doing, about what I am going to be doing, job stats-wise.

Int. Can you tell me more about that, what you do want to be doing, because of this job?

St. Tells me I don't really want to be a dishperson. It gets really tiring, seeing dishes over and over again.

2493 Int. What is it like when it's really slow at work, when you go in and there's hardly any business, what's it like?

St. Very slow and boring, an awful 8 hours, it feels like 16.

4359 Int. Do you like your job?

St. Right now, no.

Int. Because of?

St. Boredom, I don't like slow jobs.

4039 Int. What about when you're leaving work, how do you feel, what do you think about?

St. To get home. I'm dying of boredom most of the time.

9478 Int. Do you find anything challenging about your job?

St. Just going and staying 8 hours is enough. Um, challenging, there's not a lot, you get aggravated, you don't feel challenged, you feel mad, I guess it depends on how you look at it. I guess you could say it gets challenging to

fold sweaters all day long, but knowing it's not, it just gets old.

10537 Int. What do you find challenging about your job?

St. Hmm...nothing. We've discussed this at work and it's not a real challenging job, you know. The most challenging part is keeping a smile on your face all day. You know, and being polite to people who are even rude.

14252 Int. If you could make your job better, how would you do it?

St. I don't know, there's not many ways to make this type of job better. I don't know, I don't mind the standing and all that, but it's so repetitive, maybe something different once in a while, but I'm not sure how you could do that in a concession stand.

15022 Int. So they count up your money everyday, and the person that sells the most at one particular game, will probably end up staying there most of the time?

St. Well, they move everybody cause they know it wouldn't be that great, that nobody would like just staying at one game the whole time.

15090 Int. What are your thoughts when you arrive to work?

St. I hope this day goes by quick. No, I hope there's a lot of people there, cause that gives you a lot to do, cause you know when it's really slow, and there's nothing to do, and seconds tick off like minutes, you know, you look at your watch, you look around, it's about 9:45, you think you've been waiting for an hour, you look again, and it's just now getting 10:00. I just hope it goes by really fast, you know.

15462 Int. What do you find challenging about your job?

St. Pretty much getting along with the customers, trying to sell the game.

2179 Int. That's not a source of stress? I'm just wondering where the stress comes from?

St. That could be one of the stresses. Like if you're racking and you want something to do cause you don't want to slow your pace down if it's busy, can then if you slow down, you get tired again.

Int. So keeping going kind of makes work go faster.

St. Uh-huh. Makes you not worry about time.

3180 Int. Any other positive changes?

St. I've made a lot of friends. More friends than I used to have.

4009 Int. Can you describe the last day that you worked to me, just walk me through the day.

St. Boring. It was real slow, basically. I probably didn't do anything. I started the morning off by doing the answering machine. That's where people call during the night and you write that stuff down. And then I called all those back, and that's about it, the whole day, there just wasn't anybody.

5018 Int. What are your thoughts when you arrive to work?

St. My thoughts, um, I don't know, well, usually, it's who I'm going to work with. Cause who I'm going to work with depends how my day is going to go. Sometimes, cause you don't always like who you're going to work with. Some people you like working with a lot better than others. And that's usually what I think of when I get there.

Int. What's your day like if you're working with someone you really enjoy working with?

St. It makes it a lot better. It seems to go by faster. Cause you think you have things in common. Like when I work with people my age, we can talk about stuff and we just relate better together. When working with the older ladies that work there, they're just more, I don't know, they just think it's more work, I think it's just, I don't know.

Int. OK, so the people you don't enjoy working with take work very seriously?

St. Yea, they usually, you know, it's their job, it's their living, I'm just there to make extra money, to, you know, to do something.

5254 Int. Tell me about your relationship with your boss.

St. It's good. He's real friendly, he's like 30, he's not like one of the older people, like uhggggg about everything, I mean he was really nice. we had like a party at the New Year, whatever, we have like little Christmas parties, I mean he's real good about lending hours and stuff..You know that was real good for me.

5369 Int. Tell me what parts of it are boring for you.

St. When we're not busy. Standing around. If you're not doing something, then it is going to last so long and the day just goes by so slow, and you can't wait till you go home, and you know, you can't work like that, just wanting to go home. I guess none of us would work, if you have somebody working there with you, cause you can talk to them when you weren't busy there or whatever.

5511 St. Well, you've got to know that working in an arcade and stuff is like really fun. I mean working with people your own age all the time is fun. I mean think about it.

7378 St. I don't know, you're just outside, you're out there doing something, physical activity, I mean I'm a real hyper person, I just can't sit still in class, just can't do it, I have to be doing something, well, I can sit down as long as I'm talking, doing something. You know, like working at [place of employment], I'm just sitting there, people come in every once in a while, I talk to them, there really wasn't anything to do, I like to be out doing something.

8129 Int. Tell me what your work means to you.

St. Like something fun to do. I like really enjoy it. It keeps me busy.

Int. Tell me what you enjoy about work.

St. Usually talking to the people most of the time and being, and talking more, with the people that work with me.

8378 St. They asked if I wanted to work, yea, they did, and I said I wanted to work with food, see at first when I started working, I was working catering, you have like parties coming in, but I wasn't working a lot, and I wasn't getting a lot of hours and I really wanted to work a lot more so then they sent me down to [restaurant] all the time because they always needed help, so I just asked to get transferred over there, because I liked it a lot because I got a lot more hours, and I like to be a lot more busy, because over there you stood around most of the time and over here, you work all the time, but I would rather be busy than...

Int. What's the difference when you're busy? What makes it better?

St. It makes the day go a lot faster and you sleep better at night. All that work you did, it's just a lot funner, and on breaks and everything.

9164 Int. Well, how many people do you work with? Are there a lot of people your own age?

St. Um. I've been the youngest for about a year. Recently, like last week, they hired one of my friends, which is good, it makes the day go a lot faster for me. I was the youngest by probably an easy 10 years until then.

9523 Int. Would you recommend your job to other people?

St. I have..(laugh).. basically because I'm tired of working there with the older people, so I have recommended my job to friends, they would kill me, they would hate me if they ever actually went to work there, cause they wouldn't like it at all, but I have recommended my job to other people.

10087 Int. How does your coworker greet you?

St. Oh, with a hug, how are you doing, how has your week been, had a good time? Cause we're real good friends, the

lady I work with, the same people work on weekends all the time, and we're like interchanged through the week.

10141 St. I think gaining friendship with my coworkers has been a very big plus. I mean we went out to dinner last night, the four of us, and we've gotten to know each others' families and gone to each others' houses and stuff, so that's a big plus of the job, you know, becoming friends with my coworkers.

10573 Int. Do you enjoy working with people that are older?

St. Yea, I enjoy it, because they kind of mother me, you know, they don't act like my sisters, they're protective more, and also I like it because they act like I am their child and when I need a day off they say, "Oh, that's fine, we'll take care of it, do what you need to do."

11124 Int. Tell me how your work involves you with others.

St. You meet new people, I mean, you may look at somebody and your first impression of them is awful, and then you get to know them, and they're pretty neat, you know, they're pretty cool.

12143 Int. Can you think of any positive changes in your life since you started working?

St. There's been, it seems like all of my friends are there now, I mean I spend so much time with these people and we're really good friends and sometimes like it weighs it out, like I hate working and I hate my job, but I love the people and I love, I do have sometimes a good time when I go in. Um, it's taught me a lot, like how to manage my time, and I think that's good, cause when I go to college I think I'll realize that I can't wait until the last minute to do things. And I've been on a schedule and now it seems like I can't live without one or I'll just go crazy. So it's been good in that way. I just know what I want, and I'll do whatever I want to, to achieve that.

14128 Int. How does your work involve you with others?

St. Course the coworkers I work with, I don't think I would have walked up to these people in a regular life and talked to them, but sort of talking to different people.

14198 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. That you don't get to choose who you work with. So don't get all mad about it, if you don't like who's there, don't get mad about it, cause it's not your decision to make.

5. Autonomy and Trust

1165 I mean we pretty much make the decisions for ourselves on stuff.

1044 And basically nobody has any set responsibilities in the store, it's whatever you find to do and you do it. That's, it's really not a set thing for everybody to do.

Int. OK, so you know pretty much what needs to be done, and you do whatever you feel like is the most important thing to be done.

St. Right, it's really not a great big store, so you really can't assign anybody responsibilities, you just do what you see needs to be done, and that's really how it works.

1456 Int. So when you are working without the manager there, do you feel like you can make judgement calls also or do you need to call her or call him?

St. I'm completely on my own making calls. If I think something is extremely important or somebody is, I know how far I can go with a price if somebody is badgering me on something. I know how far I can go and have my line. And I know how far I can go over that line without having to make a call, OK?

1469 Int. Have you ever had to handle complaints, do you do that on your own?

St. Yea, uh, everybody in the store, this is kind of along with the last question, everybody in the store knows how to do everything. Everybody can fill out a special order sheet, everybody can do an RA, everybody can ship UPS things, everybody can run the cash register, do a check-out with proficiency. We don't just know how to do it, we can do it.

1543 Int. So you feel very trusted at your job. Tell me how you come to know this. Is there anything particular that your boss has said to you or things he's done that makes you realize that he does really trust you?

St. Yea, when they first started off, I didn't have a key to the store. I've got one. It wasn't but a couple months and I got one. They said, "yea, you're one of the most responsible teenagers I know. You've just done really well, and in case the other guy is late and stuff, we want the store to be open." And they completely trust me. I mean I knew the security code from day one, but they said, yea here's a key. That was cool. Really, it was hard to get that key, and the thing that made me know they really trusted me.

1350 St. Right. They trust me, I've had, their first

reaction to me, I can remember a lot of times on trips, my boss and I will drive up and that's usually who it is, me and my boss who lead the trips, and they'll be kind of, I don't know what the word is to describe it, um, they'll be surprised that a kid, which is what they would say that I am, but um, is out there responsible for their lives. It's basically what I am. My boss trusts me completely. Um,,he would put his life in my hands and I would put mine in his hands. I mean we trust each other that much and that's what you've got to have.

1429 Int. So he completely owns the shop, he doesn't answer to anybody else?

St. It's his business. We have a cool relationship. He takes my input, it's not like I'm his employee, he tells me what to do and I don't know anything. My input is worth just as much as his wife's. Anybody's input in the store, if we see something going on that shouldn't be, you know if we think something should be changed, everybody gets equal say. Really, he makes the decisions, he and his wife together, but I mean, he's like a friend to everybody. I can't think of anybody I'd rather work for. I mean he's not a boss, he's a best friend.

5235 Int. So there is always a manager in the store that you can refer people to?

St. Yea, and there's assistant managers. And you always have people, like for returns, I can't personally do returns, the manager has to do it, so we have to call them up, so they're always on hand there.

6326 Int. What if somebody is unhappy with their meal and they come up to you and, do you have the authority to make things better for them by offering them a new meal or something?

St. No, not really, I don't, I can tell them to talk to the boss, cause that's happened a couple times, cause I really can't say.

7467 Int. Did you feel like you were being watched all the time?

St. Yes, I was watched all the time. Whenever they would go in the back office, it was so funny, because we would all be in the four corners of the store, and there would be one at the register, they're was usually a lot of us there, and we'd all meet in the center of the store and talk and the door squeaked when it opened, so when we heard the door squeak we would run, I mean we would take off and we would take off and we would literally run to our section of the store. And that

was the only way that we were ever allowed to talk usually, without getting yelled at forever.

7323 Int. Did you have evaluations at certain times, did they ever evaluate you.

St. Uh, huh. Yea, they did, I failed them, we all did.

Int. What was the procedure, did they write it down?

St. Yea, they wouldn't tell us they were doing it, and then they'd call a meeting, give us all these papers, like "we watched you and we evaluated you." We'd all fail, you know. We usually passed on dress code.

9042 St. I guess that's the good thing about working where I do, we always, there's never any tension, we're really not told what to do, they ask us to do different things, we always know what we're supposed to be doing or what we could be doing.

9382 Int. And what would a promotion be, what would that be called?

St. I'm not exactly sure what it would be, but what they said I'd basically be doing is just handling the displays, I wouldn't be folding as much, and I'm like folding in my sleep, but they like the way I do displays, they like the way I dress the mannequins, and the way I handle that, and did the store, and so they told me I'd do that before my old manager left, they were going to promote me and they'd give me a raise and all I would do is handle the displays and handle matching things together, and deciding what was going on what rack together and what would go where.

10042 Int. So you just pretty much hand them the money bag and they lock up?

St. No, I lock the door at night. I lock the door, and you have to check the back, and turn the lights out and turn the outside lights on and it's not a real complicated job.

12304 Int. Have they given you your own key?

St. Yea.

Int. That's kind of a show of trust.

St. Yea, it is.

Int. Does everyone have a key?

St. No, in our store, just the three of us do. I have a key to three stores cause they switch me around.

13683 Int. So what would you tell Sevier County employers to help teenagers who have a job to do well in school?

St. Give them respect. They treat you like a little kid. If they treat you like a little kid, you're going to act like one. If they give you responsibility, most likely, you're going to end up being good. Compliments, you always need

those, and if they yell at you all the time, you ain't going to do good, so more of the positive urges toward us.

Int. OK, tell me about responsibility, what responsibilities would you like to have more of?

St. None, really.

Int. Well, I've heard different students say, some of them have a key to the shop.

St. Oh, yea, I just recently got a key to the shop and it made me happy because I felt important for a couple days. But I never get to use it though, it just sits on my keychain and it feels pretty good.

13303 Int. What about, can you give me examples of how customers respond to you and other employees?

St. Actually, they listen to other employees better. If they're kids, they respond to me better, but if they're adults, they're like you're younger than me, why am I going to let you dress me up? And I'm thinking I know more than they think. And I just hate that, but usually they end up finding that I'm better than half of them so they're thinking, "Kids aren't that bad." Some of them think I'm older so that's good. They're like, "You're about 18, right?" and I'm like "Yea."

16125 Int. Can you tell me about a time when you felt particularly gratified about your work? A day when something great happened.

St. When [name], the guy who owns it, he sent some of us up to do hay up in Cades Cove, and he didn't even go, and he told me to bail it, with his tractor and bailer, so I felt pretty grateful about that, that he'd let me do that.

Int. That he trusted you and had faith in you?

St. Yea.

7410 Int. Were you able to make any changes at the store by your suggestions?

St. No. Never allowed to do anything like that. I wasn't allowed to move anything.

Int. Couldn't change any of the rules?

St. Couldn't change anything, no. Couldn't do anything like that.

#9 Int. Have you made any achievements where you work? Have you made any suggestions for changes for the better?

St. Well, during the winter, when we serve hot cocoa, instead of putting the little bitty marshmallows in there that melt away, I suggested about using the big old marshmallows, you know the big ones, and sticking them in there, and they do that once in a while.

Int. So they took your suggestion?

St. Yea, but they still once in a while have the little

marshmallows, whenever we have the big ones we put them in there.

Int. Well, that's a pretty good feeling, to make a change.

St. Yea.

9483 Int. Have you been able to make any changes where you work by your suggestions, something you wanted to make better?

St. I think the only changes that have been made since I started working there due to me have been the displays. It's because I'm younger and I geared, someone told me one time that I couldn't make them all look like teenie boppers, and that kind of made me mad, but they meant I couldn't make all the mannequins and displays look like, stuff I've put together, you know some of the stuff they put together I think doesn't go together at all, but the majority of people that work there think that when I do the displays, they look better than when anybody else does them because I don't know why, I guess because I take more time with it, because I'd rather not be doing something else.

10565 Int. So you do feel like you have the freedom to make changes?

St. Oh yea, we're all on the same level, it's not like any of us are above each other and I really appreciate that, because since I'm the youngest, somebody might have the tendency to boss me anyway, whether or not they have a title higher than me. Cause when everybody is about 4 decades older than you, they have a tendency to say, [student's name] you ought to do it my way because my way is better. So I'm glad they don't have a title higher than me, I guess that's awful to say, but I'm glad.

11413 Int. Are there any changes that you would like to make?

St. Yea, there are a lot of changes that I'd like to make, but it don't do no good for me to say anything cause it's not going to happen.....I've said stuff, but he just overlooked it and went on.

6. Characteristics of the Boss

1416 St. I hated to use the word boss through this interview...

Int. OK, you can pick another word...

St. Because really he's not a boss to me, he's like, like, one of the guys. I mean he doesn't, when something has to be done and when he wants something done, you know because this is where his money comes from and if he wants something done, he tells me to do it and I do it. But when something like that is not the case or whatever and we're hanging out, driving around together, climbing or whatever. He's not my boss, he doesn't tell me what to do, he's like a friend to me. That's basically, it's like he never grew up. I don't know, he's the most responsible, you know, most, one of the best guys you'll ever meet, but he knows how to have fun. He's about twice my age or maybe more I guess.

1442 St. In [boss's] eyes, all his employee's are equal. We have equal say in what goes on, but for business to work, for a retail business to work, you have to have a chain of command, really, um, there's really not one, it's kind of shaky, but we kind of know where the levels are. The chain of command really is not very, it's hardly ever used, really, but everybody's equal, everybody basically has the same responsibilities.

2065 Int. What goes through your mind while you're working, besides the songs and the music? I mean you keep yourself busy with the music.....

St. Think about where's the next place I might work at and try to keep myself working or one of the managers come back and talk to you and lecture you about working.

Int. The supervisors kind of keep an eye on everybody?

St. Unless they're underhanded, they'll come and help out somewhere else.

Int. So they do help sometimes.

St. A lot of times they do on the cooks.

2204 Int. Can you describe some incidents of how your work was responded to by others?

St. Responded to?

Int. Like how, what kind of feedback you get from the work you're doing.

St. From like managers?

Int. From managers, the people you work with, customers, from anybody.

St. Well, we get a lot of good stuff from the customers, like if we're bussing and stuff, they tell you how good and fast you're serving and stuff.

Int. What about managers, how do they respond to your work?

St. Well, they don't usually respond much to good stuff, unless like in the summer, if you can get everything going at an even pace, you can keep at an even pace and not get backed up and they'll even give you stuff. But if you're doing really slow, they'll take you in the office and talk to you.

Int. What do they say?

St. They'll tell you that you need to keep up on your work and if you don't or you'll get wrote up.

Int. You said they give you stuff, what kind of stuff?

St. They give you root beers, or give you some candy.

2239 St. Yea, cause four of them like to tell you things and make sure you're doing it right. The other two like to harp on you, cause if they have nothing to do, like if it's slow, they have to do something, try to make sure everything is nice and neat, and keep everything clean, they like to harp on everybody, not a lot of people like those two ones.

Int. So you're not the only one that doesn't like them.

St. No.

Int. Can you give me an example of an interchange between you and one of your bosses. How do they ask you to do things?

St. They just come up to you and if you're not very busy, they've got enough help, they'll come up and ask you, ask you if you'll do it, you know.

Int. So it's not a command, it is an ask?

St. Uh-huh. Cause managers like to keep everyone happy, because it's hard to get someone to work there because it's a real fast-paced job.

Int. So they're usually short of help.

St. Sometimes, like in the summer. Someone comes in and tries to get a job, and it's like a real busy day, and they'll get really frustrated at that job, and they'll just quit. Some guys, I've seen after 15 minutes quit.

Int. You mean they just started and they quit after 15 minutes.

2186 Int. Is there a clear chain of command where you work?

St. Not really. Everybody, unless, you're like training someone, everybody knows what their doing, if you don't know what you're doing, the manager comes in and gives you a good talking to.

3126 Int. Um, tell me about a time at work that you felt particularly gratified about your work, you just felt real good.

St. Um, when I did good on an evaluation. Um, when I get complimented on how clean my stand is, when customers leave my stand happy.

3257 Int. What do you expect of your bosses?

St. Well, to treat us with respect and compliment us on how well we're doing and just be nice to us and also to the customers.

5384 Int. Do your bosses ever give you any sort of awards or bonuses other than when they evaluate you?

St. Well, I got plenty of reward, you know \$4.75 to \$6.15 in not even a year, that was a big reward for me. But like I say, we have parties and stuff at work, and we exchange gifts for Christmas and that kind of keeps us together, you know, as a working family I guess. We had a get-together, towards the end of the season, I can't remember what the occasion was, it was for something, I'm thinking it was after Christmas or something, I think it was our Christmas party, but he took us all to, our manager (name), he took us all to O'Charley's for dinner and there was like 20 of us, and we got our own menus and it was really nice and everybody's bill was like \$18.95 and that was really nice. That was really neat I thought, cause it probably came out of his pocket. Something extra he did for his employees, and that was pretty good.

5113 St. And when I was evaluated, it was like so good, it may me feel so good about myself, you know. It made me feel like, I don't know, it was just something that I did that made me feel good about it.

7265 Int. Can you give me an example of an interchange with your boss?

St. What does that mean?

Int. Just like a conversation or how your boss asks you to do things or tells you to do things.

St. She didn't ask, she'd tell me, "[student's name], do that." [snaps her finger] I mean she'd literally do that. Made me mad. So I usually wouldn't do it. Made her even more mad.

7298 Int. Did you have instances when you weren't sure whose directions to follow, because you got conflicting directions?

St. Yes, they did that all the time. Every day one of us would say, name, third key], she worked there for two years and I loved her to death, she was nice, and she'd like, Oh, [boss] would say, "go ask [above name] what to do", [above name] would tell me, "Just go to the register and do the register for awhile." [Boss] would come out and say, "Go

help customers," And then [above name] would come back up and say "I thought I told you to run the register." OK, I go to the register, and then here comes [boss], "Go to the dressing rooms." I'll go over there. Here comes [above name]. "I said go to the register." Everyday they'd do it to us, all of us. So we'd just be walking around.

7312 Int. Give me an example of what a great boss would be, an imaginary boss.

St. A great boss, An imaginary boss,... talk to you like you're on the same level as them, they're not superior, there's something laying in the floor and they're standing right next to it, don't tell you to come over and pick it up, bend over and pick it up themselves, and if you needed a day off, and it was possible, I mean they just wanted you to work, they'd just make you work whether you wanted it or not, just, if you needed the day off, if it was possible, to let you have the day off, talk to you like you were a real person, you know, and just pretty much just be nice to you, ask you to do things instead of telling you, stuff like that.

8096 Int. Describe a time to me when you felt particularly gratified about your work, a good day, you just felt really good because of whatever went on that day.

St. Well, sometimes when the boss tells you you're doing a good job. You know, real good. One time like I got the money like a penny over, and I felt really good, and she's like, "Keep up the good work.", and I just felt really good. Cause the next day when I came in, she said, "Can I put you back on register?" and I said, "Yea, sure." And she said "You did a really good job yesterday." and I said, "Really?" and she told me I was like a penny over. And I was like pretty happy.

8247 Int. Tell me about your relationship with your boss.

St. We talk all the time, usually during my break, she's back there all the time and she asks if I'm all right, and I say "Yea", and she asks if I want to switch or if I want to stay put, and she always tries to get me at a place I want to be and that I do better at. And she does that with most people, with everybody, and it's pretty good.

8259 Int. What is your boss like at her best, when you know it's going to be a good day because your boss.....

St. Well, we went over a million dollar thing cause our restaurant just opened recently and we like beat the other restaurants in the money business, like collecting money, and she was like really happy when we did that, and we threw a party after work, like a pizza party, and we had cake, and she like bought it all, and she was like really happy.

Int. So everyone that worked in the restaurant was at the party?

St. Yea, they do a lot of things for us. They gave us t-shirts for a t-shirt and jean day, cause our uniforms are like dresses and saddle shoes, they have a t-shirt and jean day, they gave us 2 t-shirts and a sweatshirt for the winter, and they gave us hats and everything. Every once in a while, like every Wednesday or so during summer, they have a t-shirt and jean day.

8334 Int. What are some of the things you expect of your boss?

St. I expect her to tell me what I'm supposed to do, and if I'm doing anything right or wrong. If I'm doing something wrong, I want somebody to tell me, besides me just keep doing it wrong.

9019 St. When I first get there..I guess, it honestly depends on who's there, if management's there then you have to be doing something all the time, their big motto is you have to greet people, customer service is big, but when it comes down to it, it annoys people more than they appreciate it. If management is there you have to talk to people, you have to be doing something all the time, if management isn't there, we're still working, but we're not talking to people as much, we're straightening, we're folding, we're talking to each other. It really depends on who's working as to what we do, when we first get there, as the day goes on, I guess we get tired of each other, we fold more, we straighten more.

9259 St. A lot of people really like our store, they say our store is the neatest store in the little Mall, we handle ourselves better, by the same token, I don't think my district manager likes me at all, because I'm young, I think she really has it out for me because I am young, even though I've been at the store longer than anybody else, having been at the store only a year, cause our turnover rate is terrible, because no one could stand the manager, the management.

9274 St. My district manager has it out for me. I mean I've been there longer than anybody and I'm the lowest paid person that works there.

10279 Int. Can you tell me more about your relationship with your boss?

St. We're very kind to each other. Neither of them have ever been rude to me or anything like that. Never ever, they're always very nice.... but she's very, I guess patronizing would be a good word, but she doesn't look down on us or anything, but she's very patronizing, like she'll

act like she wants to give you what you want [with regard to days off], but she doesn't.

11396 St. I like to run the register so I can talk to the customers, but..

Int. Does it kind of make the day go faster with the conversation?

St. Yea. It makes it a whole lot faster if you can cut up at work, too, I mean not really goof off, I mean get your stuff done, but have fun while you're doing it, it makes it go by real quick.

Int. Does your boss let you do that?

St. No, when he's there, you've got to go 90 miles an hour, just doing everything, you can't stop, you can't have fun or nothing.

11512 Int. If you could create the perfect boss for a teenaged employed person, what would the boss be like?

St. He wouldn't be up tight. He wouldn't be like go here, go there, do this, do that, he'd work with you, he wouldn't say he'd work you on days and then schedule on nights, and mess your whole routine up, there's all kinds of things, I don't know, I don't consider getting involved with your boss, cause I've done that, and that goes down the drain real quick.

Int. In other words, you wouldn't be too friendly with your boss in terms of, (he sneezes), Bless you!

St. Um, no, I mean friendly is fine but I wouldn't be like buddies with him, cause you're always going to do something, you're always going to make one mistake that's going to make him really mad and after that, it's all over with, you're just another coworker after that.

Int. So maintaining a certain distance is probably better?

St. Yea, the best.

11155 Int. Can you tell me about your relationship with your boss? Do you have just one boss or do you have assistant managers?

St. Him and her, they're married, but she runs the other store and he runs the store where I work at, and I don't know, he'll be like all goody goody with you for a long time, and then you make one little mistake that don't even bother nothing, like you could be real bad sick and call in, and he won't talk to you for a month, he'll be like total silence. I don't like it, but, that's the only place I can work right now, well, I could find another job, but that's the only place that will adapt to my schedule and stuff.

12099 Int. Gratified about your work? St. It makes me feel good when people call, we have a number that you can call and comment on, and they ask you your name and it makes

you feel good when your boss comes and tells you, you did a good job. So I feel good sometimes about it.

12215 Int. Can you tell me about your relationship to your boss?

St. We're really close friends. She really doesn't tell me what to do at all. I guess she would if she thought, I mean I've been there for so long and I know how to do everything already, I mean I've been there and I know how to do it, she only told, she never did exactly tell me what to do, she just expected me to do it, and that's good for me because I don't look for a job that I can get away with as much as I want to, I mean it's my job and it's my responsibility and I'm going to do it. And we're just really good friends, I tease her all the time, I make fun of her and she makes fun of me, it's not really a boss/employee relationship, we're more friends, and it's works out good that way, cause I don't take advantage of her and she doesn't take advantage of me and we just get along great.

12244 Int. What do you feel like is expected of you at work? When you were first hired, did they give you a list of rules?

St. Yea they gave me a handbook to read. Um, I was really nervous because it was my first real job I got, before I had worked at the school but it somehow just didn't seem real, but here I was taking on responsibilities that people twice my age had, and stuff and I was sort of scared because I was afraid that I wasn't doing enough or I wasn't getting things done or I wasn't doing it exactly right, and I'm a perfectionist, I like to do everything and I like to know that I've done it right, and it was hard for me then, but I got used to it gradually and I've learned what's expected of me and it's not been hard since then, I just do what I'm supposed to do.

Int. Was the handbook helpful?

St. Not really. I didn't read it. (laugh) It was really big.

Int. Lots of rules, huh?

St. Yea, they had lots of stuff in it, from dress code, to what you can talk about with your fellow employees and there was all this stuff, like, "I'm not reading that."

12268 Int. What do you expect of your boss as a boss?

St. I really don't expect much of her, I've really never thought of it, cause it's not a boss/employee relationship at all. She's not like some people who go in the back and make you work your butt off, just because they can tell you what to do, she's always there, she always works hard, and we're equal all the time, it seems like, she never puts anything

off on me that she doesn't want to do, and I really don't expect anymore out of her. She does everything.

13207 Int. It seems like things were good, and now they're not so good, what do you think the boss could have done to prevent the way things are now?

St. Favoritism, she should have just treated everybody equally. I don't think she should pick favorites, I mean I'm not complaining that sometimes, every once in a while I get it.

13259 St. If somebody doesn't think you're doing your job. Whether they have the place to tell you, or even if you are doing your job and they have the need, they yell at you either way, but they don't get in trouble.

13276 Int. Can you tell me about your relationship with your boss?

St. Well, first she was real great, I don't know, I just loved her to death. And then I started smoking cigarettes and she got all upset. She freaked out, big time. She was like, "I thought you were smarter than that." She's always telling me how intelligent I am all the time. She's like, "You're so smart and intelligent." And I'm like, "Yea, yea, yea." And then I went to prom on Saturday, I'm a sophomore but I got asked by a Junior, and she's like, "You didn't do anything you weren't supposed to?" and I'm like "No, don't you trust me?" and I didn't, so I don't know what her problem is.

Int. So she has kind of a motherly relationship with you?

St. Yea, and that's what I don't like. She like tries to take over. She'd probably like to, she told me that she'd like for me to be her daughter, but still, it's not going to happen. I don't think I could stand it.

14155 Int. What is your boss like when he's at his best?

St. When he's at his best, well, he sort of throws popcorn everywhere, and then sweeps it up, no, I can't believe he did that, he'll let you decide on what you want to do, when I first learned how to use the cash register and I'd mess up, he was real patient with me. I learned from my mistakes, I like him.

14173 Int. Does your boss work with you or sit in an office?

St. Well, most of the time he works along with us except at the beginning and at the end of the show when he has to get the money for the cash registers and he has to count it and make sure we have the right amount for what we sold and check the stock and everything.

15180 Int. Can you tell me about a time you felt particularly gratified about your work?

St. I just goof off with [customers at the games] and I have fun there, having fun with them and stuff and then after my lunch break, this woman came up to me who had saw me and said, "You're one of the nicest teenagers I've seen. You know, not many people goof off and joke around like that." and she commended me to my supervisor and I got recognized for that and that just made my day. I actually made an impact on somebody.

16133 Int. So how did you know how to use a hay bailer? I wouldn't know where to begin.

St. I watched him, we went the day before and did hay and he was doing it, so I watched him, he made sure I watched him the day before, which he knew I did anyway, cause I always watch him when he does stuff, cause he always says to so I can learn, and I already knew how to drive a tractor.

16154 Int. How has working changed your life? Think back to before you started working to now.

St. Actually, I'm more responsible because my boss is very strict I guess, I mean he isn't mean or nothing, but when we did a job he wanted to make sure we did it right.

16171 Int. Can you tell me more about your relationship with your boss, you first knew him at church, is it a typical employer/employee relationship?

St. No, we're pretty open about anything, if we do something slightly wrong, he'll tell us about it, he tells us everything we do wrong, he's like our friend, really, pretty good relationship, he jokes around, has different names for us.

16199 St. What is my boss like?

Int. Yea, when he's at his best.

St. He does everything that we do up there. He does it fast and perfect.

16317 Int. What about the physical labor where you work, do you sometimes feel like it's too much or do you feel like it's good for you?

St. I know it's good for me. The guy we work for, he's real, real strong, cause he's been working like this his whole life, so he's sort of working us up in his image to be as strong as him. So I sort of like to do stuff like that.

7. Scheduling

4089 Int. Are there any negative changes that you can think of, or positive that you can think of, specifics.

St. Uh, I never I guess experimented with drugs until I got my first job. I don't know if that had anything to do with it.

Int. Was it the availability of the money or the crowd?

St. The crowd that I worked with. The restaurant business in general, you have to watch for that.

5165 Int. What about the negative changes?

St. Negative changes? Time, I guess. Um, you don't have as much time to go out, just do stuff with your friends.

6272 Int. Has this job affected your ability to do your homework?

St. Well, I don't want to do it after I get home from work, I'm so tired, I don't really want to do it, yea, it kind of does.

9208 Int. How has working changed your life? Think back to before you started working.

St. I have no free time now. No free time. And I can tell, like when I work, 9 times out of 10, my homework doesn't get done until the next morning in someone else's class, because I get home so late. And it always gets done, but it doesn't get done the night before.

10184 Int. How has working changed your life?

St. Oh Wow! I have no free time. Not at all. At all, at all, at all. I will say that again. Working Friday, Saturday, and Sunday is especially challenging, to say the least. I have Monday through Thursday off, but I go to school, I have a 35 hour a week job anyway, which is school, which is my first priority, not counting the hours I spend on homework, because trying to get into college is a pretty big idea.

10390 St. It's really overwhelming to work all that time. But if I were going to, if somebody a year younger than me or if they were in the position I was in last year said to me, "Do you think I should get a job this year?" I would probably say no, because it's pretty overwhelming to have all that stuff to do unless you were really organized or something.

10421 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. That's there's a lot of different people and you have to learn to get along with everybody or else it's really complicated. If you don't get along with the people that you're around then it's more complicated for yourself. You know, and if you're impolite with people...And as far as life, money management is really hard, I learned that. Like before I started working, I was going to tithe 10%, I was going to save 25%, and the rest I'm going to take and spend, maybe I'll even give grandma and granddaddy some. Well, that's just completely flown out the window. Because money management, time management, that's hard. It's very hard, but the time management is kind of a must. As far as student life and work, what I've learned from that is that if you don't do it right then, it's never going to get done, as far as homework goes, you know, if you've got something that's assigned Monday that's due Friday, don't wait until Thursday night to do it. Cause it's probably not going to get done if you wait till Thursday.

11077 Int. How has working changed your life? Think back to before you started working.

St. I don't get enough sleep as I used to. I use to be like fully rested all the time, I could do anything, and now I have to get a lot of sleep or try to get some sleep whenever I can, but sometimes I miss like one day of school, like every six weeks just to catch up on my sleep, but that's about all it's changed for me, I mean I have money to spend, but that's about everything.

11262 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience as a teen?

St. It's a lot of stress. I made better grades when I wasn't working. So it's a lot of stress on me. I can't do, I can do a lot of work at school, but I can't do homework. I can take it home, but I'll be so tired that I'll forget about it and fall asleep or something and not do it. And then I'll have to rush to get it done before class. So it's a lot of stress on me.

12041 Int. What about your thoughts on departure, when you leave work?

St. When I leave work, I think about going home, I never really have any time to myself, I kind of have to stick to a schedule, as soon as I get off work I go home and do homework, just little things, I really don't have much time, I get off at 11:00 every day that I work, so, but I don't have to go in till 11, so I'll stay up till 2, maybe 3, and then I'll sleep in till 9:30-10, and then I go to work.

12103 Int. Can you think of a time when you felt burdened by your work?

St. Actually, I feel burdened quite a bit. Like every, it seems like all week, I'm dreading going to work on Friday, cause it seems like there's never a day when there's nothing for me to do. I never have any time to myself to do the things that I feel like doing, it's just 7 days a week, all the time and I come to dread it on Friday. And then I dread going through all those hours and then going right back to school on Monday. So I do dread it a lot.

12446 Int. Would you recommend your job to others your age?

St. Gosh..no, not really. I would, but not to the extent that I do it, because it takes so much away and really it's bad for me, my job is, cause somehow it's first, it's doing more harm than good because I don't want, I mean the time that I spend there at work, it takes away from my studies and stuff, and I could make better grades, I could get more scholarships, I could go to college for free, but just because of those few, like those \$120 a week, I have to give all that up. I would recommend it if it was just a thing on the side, don't make it a big part of your life. And that's been hard for me cause I've just spent so much time there, and I know that school is the center of my life right now, but if it comes down to putting food on my family's table and school right now, I have to pick my family.

13703 Int. So when you turn 16, will they teach you how to take pictures?

St. Yea, they want me to be a manager, they said they'd train me to do everything right now if I want to, they've even tried to get me to quit school and everything. I mean they don't really go with it, they're like, "You know you could quit school," and I'm like "yea, right!" I'm not going that way.

1167 Int. That sounds pretty comfortable.

St. Right. I can get off any time I want, I just have to let them know a couple weeks in advance.

7089 Int. Tell about times when you felt really burdened by your work?

St. Really burdened, like when there was a party or something and you just can't go cause you have to go to work

7100 Int. When you did want a day off, was there some procedure in order to get it? Did you ever get a day off when you wanted it.

St. Well, you could write, if you knew in advance, you could write it on the calender at work, and they would sometimes

give you off and sometimes not, usually not, but I'd try to beg and beg and beg, and if they did schedule me to work, I'd try to switch with somebody, or something, but a lot of times I would end up working when I didn't want to. Or sometimes I'd call in sick and say Hey, but they'd always know I was lying, cause I wanted the day off cause we all did it anyway.

8254 Int. What if you want a day off for something special?

St. There's like no problem, I mean she doesn't even have to know what you want to do that day, she usually gives it to you, unless, yea, she usually has plenty of people to come in, cause you have to have a lot of people in there.

9076 St. Um, they're usually pretty good about having our schedule up for the entire month at the beginning of the month, but they haven't been doing that recently, and I think it's because people aren't liking what they're seeing, but certain people can only work certain days, I can only work Mon, Wed. and Fridays and weekends because of band and other people have other things and they're getting tired of having to arrange the schedule around people's likes and dislikes, so they're waiting until the last minute to put it up, so they won't have to deal with it.

Int. What if you want the day off? Suppose Friday some big event is happening with your friends?

St. Tough. If you could find someone to work in your place, the management would have to approve it, they would let you, if you could find someone to work in your place. Otherwise you have to put the day on the schedule a month before the day you need off.

Int. But you don't always know.

St. Right, you don't always know the month before. I'm going to some concerts over this summer, I've already got them on there. They're like 4 months in advance. I'm going on vacation, 6 months in advance. I mean it's on there now, otherwise I might not get it.

10201 Int. What if you wanted a night off?

St. I'd just ask for it, I'd say either to my coworker or my boss, see right now I'd have to say to my boss, I need such and such day off. I've done it two days in advance and it worked but that was an emergency-type thing. I've already put my days off in for the summer. I would consider it more polite to ask, the sooner you ask the better it is, cause it kind of puts an imposition on whoever works for you.

11095 Int. OK, negative changes, you've already said that you're tired, what about schoolwork, can you get your schoolwork done?

St. Yea, sometimes I can, sometimes they schedule me to work

til 10 or 11 o'clock and when I get home I'm too tired to do it. I tell them not to but they do it anyway, so.

11174 [Regarding scheduling workers] St. Yea, and he gets mad, it's like, if you don't work the schedule, just leave. So you have to work it, you've got no choice.

11456 Int. Would you recommend your job to other students?
St. I have, to try to get help, but he says he doesn't want to hire any students, anymore part-time people, and everytime he does hire, I don't know, he's pretty particular about hiring people, so I don't even say anything about it no more.

Int. Why does he not want to hire students?

St. Because they can only work a certain time. Which I thought was discrimination, because he was a kid once.

13318 Int. You were talking about getting a day off, what is the procedure for getting a day off, like if you wanted a Saturday off?

St. You better have a good excuse. That's one. You better have it planned out exactly what you're going to say and who you're going to suck up to. Unless it's like the prom or something, like I've got to get off, and if she needs you really bad, she'll have you come in two hours or something. You know, she tries to be lenient, she tries to be fair, you know, she can't give one person the whole week off and not give another person what they asked.

13194 Int. Tell me what your work means to you right now.

St. It used to mean a lot to me, I loved it, but with all the new people, we used to have a great crew, over the summer, everyone did what they were supposed to do, even [male name] did what he was supposed to, then most of them quit and me and [female name] stayed, and then a few people came, and half of them are decent, half of them aren't, and then a lot of people come and go, I don't really like it anymore, it's just money and a good paying job, and she's nice to me, the boss, most of the time she'll give me what I want, she's let me off the days I needed because I'm only 15, in other words she has to let me off, she thinks she has to...

Int. You mean for school reasons.

St. No, like if I have to go away, to my grandparents or something, she wouldn't let anybody off but me.

14356 Int. What would you tell Sevier County employers that they could do to make the work experience for students better?

St. Be cooperative around their school work. And don't ask them to come in during school, if they come to you and say they have a semester project coming up that they have to work

on, I don't think they should threaten them in any way, like with a pay cut or a loss of job, because they have school, be lenient with extra-curricular activities, like soccer. They shouldn't expect them to be so dedicated to their jobs that they have to give up other things that would contribute to their getting into the college of their choice. Cause if they're too dedicated to their jobs and they don't have time for those things, they might not get into the college they want to, because they don't have those things.

Examples of Students' Work Ethics

1054 Int. OK (laughter) What goes through your mind while you are working? What are things that you worry about?

St. Um, making sure that I introduce myself to the customers. Take care of everything they need, um, I try to, you know, I let them have their space, make sure that I'm not bugging them, I'm pretty good at telling when people are, if they want some help, if they are looking for something or just browse around a little bit. Basically, my concern is just keeping them happy while I'm working.

1084 Int. Describe a time a work when you felt particularly gratified about your work.

St. Um, definitely when I make a killer sale. I'm not on commission. I get paid salary, But it's really nice to make a really good sale.

1107 And I've used almost everything that we've got so I can provide them with that information as they need it.

1368 And I have to earn their respect. I mean every time I go out there, I have to earn it. [about leading rockclimbing groups]

1380 People get the wrong impression when they see me, they think that I don't know anything because I'm so young, but um, I'm responsible for their life, you know, if I'm out there watching them, they're not going to die with me. And they have to know that and I have to let them know that. By the end of the day, everybody knows that.

2497 Int. What do you do to keep yourself busy?

St. Try finding something because the managers will come and make you go do something.

2379 Int. Do you feel like you've made a contribution where you work? Are there any contributions you've made, anything you've helped to change?

St. No, not really, I'm not into my work that much.

3251 Int. And you know something is not going right for them. You've answered this once but tell me again, what is expected of you at work?

St. To do a good job at selling the food, to be polite to the customers, to be polite to our coworkers, and to do our best at everything.

Int. Is the same expected of the people you work with, your coworkers?

St. Yea.

4324 Int. Can you think of any ways that working for a parent might be different than working for some else? Cause you've done both now.

St. Yea. When you work for somebody else, you can just quit whenever you want to, like in these kinds of jobs that we're in. You know, I've had other jobs besides what I've listed there, but I only worked there for like a week. I just did that for work experience. I just worked there, so I can decide if I like it.. I work a week and decide.

5044 Int. What goes through your mind while you are working during the day?

St. Well, the customers are a big part cause I'm always busy. And usually always working with the cash register, it's a computer, you know, just, well, we talk about the customers sometimes, (laugh), just gossip about them sometimes. And that's going through my mind a lot. And what other people think about me and how I'm working.

5519 Int. What has this job taught you about..do you feel like your work ethic has changed with this job or did you feel like you already had an established work ethic before you started work?

St. It changed to a certain extent after that first evaluation I got (laugh). Yea, it changed a little bit. I had to get more serious. Cause I'm just fun-going. You know, I'm just ..all the time. And, you start taking more pride in it. I knew I had to. But I didn't until they said something. (laugh)

5100 Int. Meaning you felt really good about yourself because of something that happened at work.

St. Well, we have evaluations, and the first one I got wasn't so good and I thought about quitting and then my Mom convinced me [student's name], you don't need to quit, this is a good job, and I was like "OK," and that kinda blew over, and the next one I got was really good cause I had been working really hard, and you know, doing what I was supposed to do, just doing more stock and being more careful about what I did, it was just about taking more responsibility and helping other people. And I did, cause there really had never been anyone to train with me, and when there finally came a point where someone did finally help me, I got to learn it better. Cause we were so busy when I started, that there was just no time for anybody. So I decided to just pick up what I knew myself, but it got where it was really good.

7178 Int. Were you required to wear shoes with heels on them?

St. We could wear flats, as long as they were dress shoes, they liked heels better, thought they looked more professional. They wanted us to act really professional, and you know, we're all 15, we couldn't do it. So we'd all dress us and go to work, and that was about it, you know, we wouldn't do too much.

7082 Int. Can you describe a time at work when you felt particularly gratified about your work, a good day?

St. Good day! Let me think. Not really. (laugh)

Int. Can you think of any incident when your work was responded to in a way that made you feel good?

St. No, I didn't even do much. I just got by doing the little things that I could do, pretending like I was doing something. (laugh)

10078 Int. Tell me what are your thoughts when you first arrive to work.

St. Just immediately taking stock of what I need to do. You know, when you walk in the door and you see the shop is crowded and there is a line all the way around the shop and out the front door, you think, "Do I really want to come to work today?" (laugh) Did I really make the right decision? (laugh) I guess my first thoughts when I walk in the door and go behind the counter is "do the apples need to be filled, is the stick Ok, do the chocolates need to be done, does anybody need to be waited on?" You know there's a million things that can be done.

10253 Int. How does your work involve you with others?

St. You mean with the public?

Int. Yea.

St. Well, you have to be polite to them. So many people come into the store and you have to think that they get an impression from whoever waits on them, whoever helps them, if you take time with a customer, if someone comes in and asks for sugar-free candy and you just say, yea, we got some, it's kind of not a real complete answer, but if you take time to show them around the store and show them where the sugar-free candy is, and ask if they need help, and maybe they'll get a better impression and maybe they'll come back. So I think we have contact in that way and also I think that if you go out of your way to help somebody, they'll appreciate it, and they'll remember it.

10095 Int. What are your thoughts when you're leaving work?

St. Have I locked the back door? Have I turned the lights off? Are all the shelves full, did I remember to clean that

window, did I empty the trash, did I lock the door in the back, double-checking everything in my mind, you know. Cause it's a responsibility. If the store gets robbed and I didn't check the door, that's kind of my responsibility.

11040 Int. What goes through your mind while you're working through the day?

St. Just making sure I get the order right, no mistakes, and pull the bread out on time, don't forget to get set-ups and stuff like that.

15154 Int. What goes through your mind when you're leaving work?

St. I like go back over my day, see if I could have done anything different to make my job better for, make it easier for somebody or anything, I just pretty much go over my day, and then I think about what I've got to do when I go home, if I've got any chores or anything like mow the yard, I should dread going home, or anything like that.

16062 Int. What are your thoughts when you first get to work?

St. Getting the horses down so people can ride. Cause we usually have to do it in a hurry in the summer time cause people come in at 8:30-9:00.

16063 Int. What goes through your mind when you're working?

St. Well, I always want to do my job right, because my boss is big on stuff like that. I don't want anybody to get hurt, and have fun doing it.

2100 Int. OK, is there any time that you felt particularly burdened by your work, stressed?

St. On a real busy day, when you're underhelped, because people call in and they tell you they can't come in. You're underhanded and you have to do a little more work than you're supposed to. You have to pick up for other people when people act lazy, and it's really hard but it's just a regular day though.

7452 Int. How to structure the workplace so it's a real positive experience for students?

St. They just have to make it, the biggest thing at [place of employment] was that they wanted us to be really professional, and when you're working with your best friends, and you're all 15, you can't be that professional. I mean they wanted us to wear suits to work, I mean skirts with blazers and all that stuff. You know, and we don't wear stuff like that, we don't want to, we don't want to be professional, we don't want to wear name tags. We just want

to go in, to be able to wear jeans, to be able to talk to people, be able to have fun, not be restricted as to don't talk to be, I mean at [job], even if our friends came in to buy something, we weren't allowed to talk to them. I mean just really restricted and had to be really professional. I don't think any teenager, well maybe 19, maybe, but when you're 15, I don't think you should have to be that professional.

2279 It's like everybody is relying on one person, it's a circle where everybody is relying on someone else to do their job.

15213 Int. How has working changed your life? Think back to before you started working to now.

St. Well, um, before I started working I didn't have as much, I guess you could say, grasp for responsibility and things, now that I've started working, I understand the responsibility part, cause like if somebody in my area, like we have 3 teams, and we have team competition, Ok, all it takes is one person to mess us up and it costs us all on our jobs.

15406 Int. What have you learned about life from your work experience?

St. I've learned pretty much that if you don't pull your own weight, that you're going to lose your standing with other people and you're going to get your coworkers mad at you. You know, some people don't work real hard and they do something stupid, I mean they know they're not supposed to do it and they do it anyway, and that's gets them hurt or somebody else hurt and that pulls down your standing, I mean if something like that happened, you know your peers are going to get mad at you. Cause you're thinking, "Oh, I could of had a dollar raise, and now I only get an \$.80 raise." Because of that.

Vita

Barbara Ann Taylor was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts on March 10, 1952, and graduated from Cypress Lake High School in Fort Myers, Florida, in 1970. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Psychology in 1974 from Maryville College. After devoting time to raising a family, she re-entered The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, to pursue a graduate degree in Child and Family Studies in the College of Human Ecology. She earned a Masters of Science degree in this department in May, 1994. Her teaching experience includes Marriage and Family Relationships and Human Sexuality. From her thesis, the following article was published:

Taylor, B. A. & Malia, J. A. (1995). Religiosity and parenting: A qualitative study of the meaning of child discipline on the part of rural fundamentalist clergy. *Family Perspective*, 29, 2, 179-192.