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WITHIN AND BETWEEN FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS IN ATTITUDES, BEHAVIORS, AND PERCEPTIONS IN THE PARENT-ADULT OFFSPRING RELATIONSHIP

A Thesis in

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the extent to which parents and offspring influence one another when both parties are in adulthood. Using data from The Adult Family Study, the following three papers examine in adulthood constructs previously studied in childhood and adolescence. Participants included 158 African American and European American men and women (aged 22 to 49 years), their mothers, and their fathers ($N = 474$). Parents and offspring participated in separate telephone interviews as well as in-person videotaped joint interviews. The first paper examines generational differences in gender attitudes between parents and offspring, including the extent to which generational differences vary by offspring gender or ethnicity. As expected, adult offspring were less traditional in their gender attitudes than parents, although there were greater generational differences in attitudes between mothers and daughters and in European American families. The second paper explores generational and gender differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors observed between adults and their parents during videotaped discussions. Offspring were videotaped separately with their mothers and fathers discussing what annoys them about each other and independent raters coded the videotapes for demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors. As expected, offspring withdrew more than both their parents. Mothers were more demanding and dominating compared to fathers and daughters were more dominating than sons. Observed behaviors were also associated with self-reported relationship quality and well-being. Offspring and parents who demanded more also described their relationships as more negative. Offspring with more dominating fathers and mothers with more demanding offspring also reported greater psychological distress. The third paper explores whether parents' and offspring's well-being is more strongly associated with their self-perceptions or with their parents'/offspring's perceptions of their achievements. Participants evaluated their own and the other party's vocational and relational success. In general, parents

described their offspring as more successful than offspring described themselves. Offspring's and mothers' well-being was associated not only with their own self-perceptions, but with the other person's perceptions of their achievements. Together, these studies suggest parents and offspring continue to influence one another in adulthood, even after offspring have left the parental home and entered adult roles. Further, these papers highlight the importance of obtaining multiple perspectives from within the same family by identifying gender and generational differences in attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions. Finally, these studies indicate that experiences in the parent-adult offspring tie hold relational and psychological implications not only for aging parents, but also for their grown offspring.

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CHAPTER 1

Integrative Review

Integrative Review

The parent-offspring relationship is one of the longest lasting ties we will ever experience, second only in length to our relationship with our siblings. Early in life this relationship is governed by law, where parents are mandated to care and provide for their children. In adulthood, however, this tie is voluntary. No one forces us to remain in contact with our parents once we are adults, yet the majority of parents and children remain invested in this relationship late into life (Bengston, 2000; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Even after offspring have left the parental home and entered into adult roles, experiences in this tie remain salient for both generations.

A vast number of studies have examined the extent to which parents and offspring influence one another during childhood and adolescence (e.g. Almeida, Wethington, & Chandler, 1999; Buehler & Gerard, 2002; Chiariello & Orvaschel, 1995; Katz & Woodin, 2002; Kim, Conger, Lorenz, & Elder, 2001; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbush, 1991; Noack & Puschner, 1999; Shek & Ma, 2001; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987; Steinberg, 2001). Less research, however, has explored the ways parents and offspring continue to influence one another when both parties are in adulthood. Indeed, there appears to be a gap in our understanding of the parent-offspring relationship during the phase when offspring have entered early adulthood and before parents require care from their offspring (Noack & Buhl, 2004). In particular, the question of who influences whom more in adulthood, the parent or the offspring, remains relatively unanswered. The following three studies share the common objective of examining the extent to which parents' and offspring's attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions contribute to experiences in the parent-offspring relationship during adulthood.

Although each study examines a different aspect of the parent-adult offspring relationship, the papers presented in this dissertation are tied together by three common themes.

First, each study examines both within family and between family differences in the constructs of interest. In particular, each study highlights the value and importance of obtaining multiple perspectives from within the same family by examining generational and gender differences in attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions. Second, these studies all expand upon prior research in the parent-offspring tie by examining constructs in adulthood that have primarily been studied in childhood and adolescence to explore whether associations found in other life stages are similar or different for adults and their parents. Finally, all three studies explore who influences whom more in the parent-adult offspring relationship by examining the extent to which experiences in the tie contribute to both parents' and offspring's lives.

Importance of Multiple Perspectives for Exploring Within and Between Family Differences

Given generational and gender differences in the nature of family relationships, it is necessary to obtain information from all members of the triad (i.e. mother, father, and adult offspring) in order to understand experiences in the parent-adult offspring relationship. For example, throughout life, research suggests that parents view the parent-child relationship differently than their offspring do (Aquilino, 1999; Bengston & Kuypers, 1971; Giarrusso, Feng, & Bengston, 2005; Shapiro, 2004). Parents tend to describe the relationship as more positive and less negative compared to both their offspring and outside observers (Bengston & Kuypers; Fingerman, 2003; Giarrusso et al.; Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1996; Umberson, 1992; Welsh, Galliher, & Powers, 1998). Further, studies suggest there are qualitative differences in offspring's relationships with their mothers and their fathers in childhood and adolescence (Collins & Russell, 1991; Lytton & Romney, 1992; McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003; Seiffge-Krenke, 1999) as well as in adulthood (Lye, 1996; Silverstein, Parrott, & Bengston, 1995). Throughout life, findings suggest mother-offspring relationships are both more contentious and more intimate than father-offspring relationships (Collins & Russell; Fingerman, 1996; 1998; Fuligni, 1998;

Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2002; Lye; Silverstein et al.). Previous studies also reveal differences between daughters' and sons' experiences in the parent-offspring tie early in life (Fuligni; Kahlbaugh & Haviland, 1994; Katz & Gottman, 1993; Leaper, Anderson, & Sanders, 1998) and as adults (Nydegger & Mitteness, 1991; 1996; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Suitor & Pillemer, 2006; Umberson).

Given these gender and generational differences in family experience, it seems particularly important to obtain information from each generation (i.e. parents and offspring), from both mothers and fathers within the same family, and from both families with daughters and families with sons. Many studies of the parent-offspring tie in adulthood have primarily relied on mothers' reports, leaving fathers' perspectives somewhat missing from intergenerational research (Fingerman, 1996; 1998; Pillemer & Suitor, 2002; Schwarz, 2006; Suitor & Pillemer, 2006; Suitor, Pillemer, & Sechrist, 2006). Further, when fathers are included, studies tend to include only fathers and offspring (Carr, 2005; Floyd & Morman, 2003; 2005; Yeung, Duncan, & Hill, 2000) or the perspective of either a father or a mother from each family, such that parental gender differences reflect differences between mothers and fathers in different families (Bedford, 1992; Ryff, Lee, Essex, & Schmutte, 1994). Similarly, adult sons are often under-represented in studies of parents and adult offspring (Fingerman, 2003; Hollis-Sawyer, 2003; Martini, Grusec, & Bernardini, 2001; McGraw & Walker, 2004; Usita & Du Bois, 2005).

The three studies in this dissertation include participants from *The Adult Family Study*, a sample that includes an adult offspring, mother, and father from the same family (Fingerman, Lefkowitz, & Hay, 2005). In addition this study includes both families with daughters and families with sons. The unique design of The Adult Family Study allows for the examination of within family and between family differences. Each study included in this dissertation takes advantage of the design of The Adult Family Study by examining both gender and generational

differences in constructs previously examined in childhood and adolescence. Further, this study obtains multiple perspectives from within the same family; a procedure that provides in-depth information on the nature of the parent-offspring tie in adulthood. For example, offspring separately reported on their relationships with their mothers and their fathers and each parent separately reported on his/her relationship with his/her offspring. Perhaps, more importantly, the design of The Adult Family Study offers the opportunity to explore mothers', fathers', and offspring's experiences within this relationship and the extent to which experiences in this relationship remain salient in the lives of adults and their parents when both parties are independent and in relatively good health. By collecting information from each family member about the parent-offspring dyad, it is possible to begin to explore whether experiences within this relationship are differentially associated with aspects of mother-offspring and father-offspring relationships.

Expanding Upon Previous Research on the Parent-Child Relationship

In an effort to further capitalize on this unique study design, the three studies presented in this dissertation examine the extent to which constructs studied during childhood and adolescence (i.e. attitudes, behaviors, or perceptions) remain important for adults and their parents. This objective responds to a recent call for researchers to examine parental influence in different developmental stages (Collins, 2005). Further, this objective expands upon research in childhood and adolescence that suggests influence within the parent-offspring relationship is bidirectional in nature. Previous research has tended to examine either parents' influence on children or children's influence on parents (O'Connor, 2002). It is important to acknowledge that the cross-sectional design of The Adult Family Study makes it impossible to determine the direction of influence in these studies. Still, although only longitudinal data would make it possible to fully address this limitation, the three cross-sectional studies included in this

dissertation explore whether there are within family associations in the constructs of interest when both parties are in adulthood. The studies included in this dissertation build upon a foundation of research on the parent-offspring relationship early in life by exploring whether associations found during childhood and adolescence appear similar to or different from the associations found during adulthood. In general, it is expected that experiences in this relationship will continue to hold consequences for both generations, although factors unique to this tie in adulthood also need to be considered.

Previous research suggests that interactions between parents and offspring play an important role in socialization (Noack & Buhl, 2004). Early in life, studies reveal associations between parents' and offspring's attitudes (Kapinus, 2000; Maccoby, 2001; McHale, Kim, Whiteman, & Crouter, 2004), behaviors (Andrews, Foster, Capaldi, & Hops, 2000; Kahlbaugh & Haviland, 1994; Katz & Woodin, 2002), and perceptions (Bois, Sarrazin, Brustad, Trouilloud, & Cury, 2002; Jodi, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001; Noack, 2004). For example, during childhood and adolescence, research suggests parents' attitudes contribute to offspring's gender attitudes (Ex & Janssens, 1998; Kulik, 2002a; 2002b). Similarly, parents' attitudes and perceptions seem to influence children's perceptions of their achievements (Frome & Eccles, 1998; McGrath & Repetti, 2000). Parents' behaviors also contribute to how offspring respond to interpersonal conflicts (Andrews et al; Kim et al., 2001).

Further, previous research in childhood and adolescence suggests experiences in the parent-child tie hold positive and negative consequences for both generations (Buehler & Gerard, 2002; Chiarello & Orvaschel, 1995; Holmbeck & Hill, 1991; Kim et al., 2001; Lindahl & Malik, 1999; Shek & Ma, 2001; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987; Stivers, 1988; Welsh et al., 1998). Children's and adolescents' psychosocial adjustment appears to be vulnerable to parents' negative behaviors and perceptions (Buehler & Gerard; Chiariello & Orvaschel; Cummings, Goeke-

Morey, & Papp, 2003; Juang & Silbereisen, 2002). Also, aversive experiences in parent-adolescent relationships contribute to parents' psychological distress (Pruchno, Peters, & Burant, 1996; Silverberg & Steinberg). The next step toward understanding the parent-offspring relationship is to examine similar constructs in the context of the parent-offspring relationship in adulthood. Specifically, these studies explore in adulthood the following topics that have received research attention during childhood and adolescence: (a) gender attitudes (Kapinus, 2000; Maccoby, 2001; McHale et al., 2004), (b) conflict behaviors (Andrews et al., 2000; Buehler & Gerard; Chiarello & Orvaschel; Kahlbaugh & Haviland, 1994; Katz & Woodin, 2002), and (c) perceptions of achievement (Bois et al., 2002; Frome & Eccles, 1998; Jodi et al., 2001; McGrath & Repetti, 2000; Noack, 2004).

Parent and Adult Offspring Influence during Adulthood

Finally, the following three studies share the goal of exploring the extent to which parents and offspring influence one another during the adult years. Specifically, these studies examine whether parents more strongly influence their adult offspring or whether offspring more strongly influence their parents. It is important to acknowledge that much of the research on parent-adult offspring relationships has grown out of gerontologists' interest in aging parents. Indeed, in the same way child development research often focuses primarily on parents' effects on their children, gerontological research often focuses primarily on adult offspring's effects on their aging parents. Therefore, an additional goal of the following studies is to address this limitation by exploring how experiences in the parent-adult offspring relationship might matter for both generations rather than focusing exclusively on offspring's effects on parents. In considering these issues, these studies integrate constructs examined primarily in childhood and adolescence with theoretical perspectives offered by research in adult development and aging. The extent to which parents and offspring are influenced by one another may be related to: (a) generational

differences in relationship investment and (b) changes in the structure of the parent-offspring tie throughout adulthood.

Differential relationship investment. Prior research on the parent-adult offspring relationship provides two theoretical perspectives that may be relevant to understanding influence between parents and adult offspring: (a) the developmental stake hypothesis and (b) intergenerational ambivalence. According to the developmental stake hypothesis, parents tend to view the parent-offspring relationship as more emotionally close than their adult offspring do (Bengston & Kuypers, 1971). Indeed, throughout adulthood, studies suggest that parents are more deeply invested in the parent-offspring relationship than their adult offspring are (Bengston & Kuypers; Fingerman, 2003; Giarrusso et al., 2005; Umberson, 1992). Although both generations tend to describe the parent-offspring tie as generally positive, parents tend to overestimate the level of consensus between the generations (Bengston & Kuypers; Giarrusso et al.). In comparison, intergenerational ambivalence suggests the relationship between parents and adult offspring is characterized by both positive and negative sentiments (Fingerman, Chen, Hay, Cichy, & Lefkowitz, 2006; Luescher & Pillemer, 1998; Willson, Shuey, & Elder, 2003). Taken together these perspectives imply there may be differences in the extent to which parents and adult offspring influence one another and that influence may have positive and negative implications for both generations.

Changing relationship structure. Further, from early adolescence through middle-adulthood, parents and offspring are constantly faced with the task of re-negotiating their relationship in response to the developmental changes experienced by both generations (Noack & Buhl, 2004). For example, parents and adolescent offspring must respond to adolescents' pursuit for autonomy (Kim et al., 2001; Pinquart & Silberisen, 2002; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987; Steinberg, 2001) just as parents and young adult offspring must respond to the

transformation of their relationship into a more egalitarian structure during offspring's transition to adult roles (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). Later in life, the parent-offspring relationship is transformed again in response to declining parental health and dependence (Dobson & Dobson, 1991; Knussen, Tolson, Swan, Stott, & Brogan, 2005; Lyons, Zarit, Sayer, & Whitlatch, 2002; McGraw & Walker, 2004; Shulman, 2005). Changes in the structure of the parent-offspring relationship during adulthood may contribute to the extent to which parents and offspring influence one another when both parties are in adulthood. In early adulthood, the parent-offspring relationship begins to evolve to a point where offspring and parents view one another as autonomous adults (Noack & Buhl). At the same time these developmental changes are taking place in the relationship, offspring are leaving the parental home and entering into adult roles.

In considering the extent to which experiences in the parent-offspring relationship matter for adults and their parents, it is necessary to acknowledge offspring's own life experiences outside their experiences within the family of origin. During childhood and adolescence, offspring encounter contexts beyond the family, such as school and peers, yet parents remain active agents of socialization in their children's lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In adulthood, offspring leave the parental home and transition into adult roles, where parental influence may begin to diminish relative to offspring's own experiences (Liben & Bigler, 2002; Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Scabini & Galimberti, 1995). As adults, offspring are likely to have pursued higher education, established themselves in a career, and begun to enter into the roles of spouse/partner and parent (Aquilino, 1997; Arnett, 2000; Roberts & Bengston, 1993). These adult transitions may present opportunities for offspring's experiences to diverge from those of their parents.

Therefore, discrepant levels of relationship investment combined with changes in the structure of parent-adult offspring relationships may contribute to the extent to which parents and

offspring influence one another in adulthood. Theoretically, parents may be more vulnerable to negative experiences in the parent-offspring relationship considering their deeper levels of relationship investment. In turn, offspring's experiences outside the family of origin combined with their growing independence from their parents may make them less susceptible to experiences within the parent-offspring relationship. Alternatively, parents' deeper levels of relationship investment and tendency to perceive the relationship as more consensual may contribute to parents being less vulnerable to negative experiences than their offspring. It could be that rather than internalizing negative experiences in the relationship, parents downplay their significance. In contrast, offspring may be more adversely affected by negative experiences in the tie. The studies presented in this dissertation represent a first step toward exploring these alternative hypotheses.

Summary

In conclusion, the following three studies share the following goals: (a) to examine both within and between family differences in the constructs of interest, (b) to expand upon research in childhood and adolescence by exploring similar constructs within the context of parent-offspring relationships in adulthood, and (c) to explore who, the parent or the offspring, influences whom more during the adult years. Each of these studies takes advantage of the innovative design of the Adult Family Study by examining both within family (e.g., offspring vs. parents and mothers vs. fathers) and between family differences (e.g., daughters vs. sons and African American families vs. European American families). Further, these studies examine the constructs of interest (i.e. attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions) from multiple perspectives within the same family. Specifically, this sample includes both self-report and observational measures, where mothers and fathers separately reported on their relationship with their offspring and offspring separately reported on their relationships with their mothers and their

fathers. The following studies also explore constructs examined predominantly in childhood and adolescence to determine whether the associations found early in life are present when both parents and offspring are in adulthood.

Finally, these studies explore the extent to which parents and offspring influence one another during adulthood. In the literature on childhood and adolescence, the emphasis is often on how parents affect their children (O'Connor, 2002). In later life, the emphasis is often on how adult offspring affect their parents. Perhaps, in adulthood the direction of influence shifts, such that adult offspring may more strongly influence their parents. Offspring's stronger influence on parents could be expected to occur in part due to parents' deeper levels of investment in the parent-offspring relationship and in part due to offspring's active engagement in roles and relationships outside the family of origin. Alternatively, parents may more strongly influence their adult offspring. Of course, directions of influence cannot be determined without longitudinal studies. Although the following studies are all cross-sectional, they represent a first step toward understanding patterns of influence in the parent-adult offspring tie.

Status and Future Plans for Dissertation Manuscripts

In conclusion, this dissertation includes three separate papers: (a) Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes Between Parents and Grown Offspring, (b) Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors Between Adults and Their Parents, and (c) Perceptions of Achievement Between Parents and Grown Offspring. In addition to preparing these papers in fulfillment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy, these papers have also been prepared to be submitted for publication. The first paper examining generational differences in gender attitudes was submitted for publication in September and recently received a revise and resubmit from *Sex Roles*. This paper will be resubmitted to *Sex Roles* in January of 2007. Next, I plan to submit the second paper examining demand, withdraw, and dominant behavior to the *Journal of Marriage*

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CHAPTER 2

Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes Between Parents and Grown Offspring

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Abstract

This study examined generational differences in gender attitudes between parents and their grown offspring, including the extent to which these differences vary in families with daughters vs. sons and in African American vs. European American families. Participants included 158 African American and European American men and women (aged 22 to 49 years), their mothers, and their fathers ($N = 474$). Participants completed a measure of gender attitudes toward marital and childrearing roles. As expected, offspring were less traditional than parents, although there were greater generational differences in attitudes between mothers and daughters and in European American families. Findings highlight the value of examining gender attitudes from the perspectives of both generations and have important implications for family roles and relationships.

Key words: gender attitudes, family, generational differences, gender, ethnic differences

Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes Between Parents and Grown Offspring

It is clear from the popular press, where books entitled "*Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women*" and "*To Hell with All That: Loving and Loathing Our Inner Housewife*" (Faludi, 1992; Flanagan, 2006) compete for the public's attention that the debate over gendered family roles remains significant, despite a societal shift toward less traditional gender attitudes (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Myers & Booth, 2002). Attitudes about gender have the potential to influence roles, relationships, and family interactions. Early in life, parents and offspring share similar gender attitudes (Kulik, 2002a), yet these attitudes may diverge in adulthood once offspring leave the parental home and gain unique life experiences. In particular, attitudes toward marital and childrearing roles may be salient to adult families. Recent historical and demographic changes in family life, such as a growth of dual earner couples (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000; Sweeney, 2002; Teachman, Tedrow, & Crowder, 2000), may contribute to disparities in parents' and offspring's attitudes toward family roles. These differences may create situations where offspring are without role models and parents are unable to offer offspring advice for negotiating adult roles.

Early in life, parents transmit attitudes about gender to their children through the processes of socialization and status inheritance. Prior research indicates that parents socialize their offspring directly by teaching gender role expectations or indirectly through modeling behavior (Hill, 2002; Maccoby, 2001; Kapinus, 2000; McHale, Kim, Whiteman, & Crouter, 2004). Parents may also transmit attitudes indirectly through status inheritance by providing access to social, cultural, and economic resources that create attitude-shaping experiences for their offspring (Glass, Bengston, & Dunham, 1986; Kalmijn, 1994; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1986).

In adulthood, parents' influence on their offspring's gender attitudes may be diminished relative to offspring's personal characteristics, and offspring's attitudes may diverge from their

parents' attitudes. Prior studies have established that in adulthood, younger generations have less traditional gender attitudes than older generations (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Myers & Booth, 2002). Indeed, offspring consistently report less traditional attitudes than their parents (Burt & Scott, 2002; Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997). Likewise, women tend to be less traditional in their attitudes than men (Cassidy & Warren, 1996; Fan & Marini, 2000; Shearer, Hosterman, Gillen, & Lefkowitz, 2005). Yet, there remain large gaps in our understanding of gender attitudes. Few studies have examined patterns of differences in gender attitudes within the family during adulthood. When generational differences are examined, research predominantly focuses on the experiences of mothers and daughters in European American families (Moen et al.), leaving fathers, adult sons, and ethnic minority families under-represented.

It is clear that offspring's experiences outside of the family, such as their educational and relationship experiences are important contributors to their gender attitudes. Previous research examining generational differences in attitudes between mothers and their adult daughters revealed that daughters', not mothers' education, predicted daughters' gender attitudes (Moen et al., 1997). It could be that as adults, offspring's own educational and relationship experiences result in offspring's gender attitudes diverging from those of their parents. The extent to which adult offspring's gender attitudes differ from their mothers' and fathers' attitudes, however, may vary according to social or cultural contexts. It may be that in certain parent-offspring dyads, offspring's gender attitudes remain similar to those of their parents, whereas there may be greater divergence in other dyads. Therefore, it is important to examine not only generational differences in gender attitudes between parents and grown offspring, but also the extent to which these differences vary in certain types of parent-offspring dyads (e.g., cross-sex vs. same-sex dyads). Further, parental socialization and status inheritance processes may also operate differently depending on family characteristics (e.g., African American vs. European American).

The goals of the present study are threefold, to examine: (a) gender and generational differences in gender attitudes, (b) variability in generational differences in these attitudes, and (c) possible mechanisms (i.e., socialization, status inheritance) explaining generational differences in these attitudes. Specifically, we examine attitudes toward marital and childrearing roles and refer to these attitudes as gender attitudes, although we recognize these are only one aspect of gender attitudes.

Gender and Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes

The first study goal is to establish whether gender and generational differences found in previous studies of gender attitudes also describe differences between grown offspring, their mothers, and their fathers. Research suggests both one's position within the larger society, such as being a woman or a man, and one's generation matter for individuals' gender attitudes (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Cassidy & Warren, 1996; Moen et al., 1997; Shearer et al., 2005). Prior research has examined generational differences in gender attitudes between mothers and grown daughters (Moen et al.), yet few studies have included fathers or grown sons. In general, women and younger generations tend to endorse less traditional attitudes, whereas men and older generations report more traditional gender attitudes (Brooks & Bolzendahl; Moen et al.; Shearer et al.). Discrepancies in gender attitudes between women and men and between generations are often attributed to differential experiences both within and outside the family.

For example, both fathers and sons are likely to benefit from holding more traditional gender attitudes because these attitudes help maintain men's advantaged position within the family, whereas both mothers and daughters may reject this status quo and instead endorse less traditional gender attitudes (Ferree, 1990; Zinn, 2000). Indeed, prior studies suggest boys and men express more role-differentiated attitudes and attribute less value to gender equality than girls and women (Burt & Scott, 2002; Fan & Marini, 2000; Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen,

1990; Jackson & Tein, 1998). Given these discrepancies in experiences between women and men, mothers are expected to report less traditional gender attitudes than fathers and daughters are expected to report less traditional gender attitudes than sons (Hypothesis 1).

In addition to anticipated gender differences in mothers' and fathers' attitudes and in daughters' and sons' attitudes, we also anticipated generational differences in gender attitudes. Offspring are likely to have had different attitude-shaping experiences than their parents experienced, and to hold less traditional views of marital and childrearing roles as a result. Over the past several decades, shifting opportunities and expectations for both genders to thrive in the domains of work and family have contributed to a blurring of women's and men's family roles (Cabrera et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2002). Other experiences may have modified offspring's beliefs about gender and shifted their attitudes away from their parents' attitudes, including demographic shifts in the timing of marriage and childrearing, increased opportunities for offspring of both genders to pursue higher education (Arnett, 2000), and the growth of dual earner families (Sparks, Faragher, & Cooper, 2001). Therefore, it is expected that offspring will report less traditional gender attitudes than parents of either gender (Hypothesis 2).

Variability in Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes

Despite a divergence in attitudes between the generations, parents may continue to transmit their gender attitudes to their offspring. Offspring characteristics, such as gender or ethnicity, may facilitate or inhibit parents' attempts to share their gender attitudes with their adult offspring. For example, the intensification of same-sex parent-offspring relationships during adolescence and early adulthood could present enhanced opportunities for parents to transmit their gender attitudes to their same-sex offspring at the same time limiting their opportunities to share their attitudes with their opposite-sex offspring (McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 1999). Indeed, studies in adolescence and adulthood suggest that mothers and daughters share similar

gender attitudes (Ex & Janssens, 1998; Moen et al., 1997). Research in adolescence also reveals a stronger association between fathers' and sons' gender attitudes than between fathers' and daughters' attitudes (Kulik, 2002b), although little research has examined generational differences between fathers and their adult sons. Therefore, it is expected that cross-sex parent-offspring dyads (i.e. mother-son, father-daughter) will differ more in their gender attitudes than same-sex dyads (i.e. mother-daughter, father-son; Hypothesis 3).

Further, frequent family contact and shared experiences, such as norms of female employment and exposure to discrimination (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Hill, 2002; Hill & Sprague, 1999; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000) may present a context for ongoing gender attitude socialization in African American families more so than in European American families. Indeed, African American families are often characterized by a strong sense of family, frequent interactions with relatives, and an emphasis on parental authority and children's obedience to family norms (Barber, 1994; Parke & Buriel, 2006; Smetana & Chuang, 2001). Prior work indicates African American children are taught to be more responsible for household activities than European American children, such that from childhood through adulthood African American offspring may receive more direct messages from their parents regarding the division of family roles (Hill, 2001). Perhaps these early childhood experiences continue into adulthood, such that African American offspring's gender attitudes remain more in line with those of their parents. For these reasons, European American parents and offspring are expected to differ more in their gender attitudes than African American parents and offspring (Hypothesis 4).

Mechanisms for Gender Attitude Transmission

Considering these anticipated differences, it is important to also consider the mechanisms underlying the transmission of gender attitudes between the generations, including the extent to which these mechanisms operate differently in certain types of families. For the purposes of this

study, gender attitude transmission is conceptualized in terms of socialization and status inheritance processes. Based on prior research, we considered parents' gender attitudes as a marker of socialization and parents' educational attainments as proxies for status inheritance (Glass et al., 1986; Moen et al., 1997). In particular, this study examines whether these two processes contribute to offspring's gender attitudes after considering offspring's own educational attainment. Further, the present study also explores whether socialization processes operate differently in certain types of families.

First, parental socialization and status inheritance processes may differentially contribute to adult offspring's gender attitudes. As adults, offspring's gender attitudes may continue to be associated with their parents' gender attitudes. Even once offspring have left home, parents may continue to send messages to their offspring regarding the nature of family roles. In contrast, offspring's own life experiences, such as advanced education, may overshadow parents' educational attainments. Parents' social position is related to offspring's educational attainments through the transmission of resources (Kalmijn, 1994; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1986). Indeed, prior work suggests that mothers' educational attainments are less important for adult daughters' gender attitudes than daughters' own educational experiences (Moen et al., 1997). In general, higher levels of education are associated with less traditional attitudes toward gender roles (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Cassidy & Warren, 1996; Harris & Firestone, 1998). Therefore, it is hypothesized that offspring's gender attitudes will be associated with their parents' gender attitudes, whereas offspring's gender attitudes will be associated with offspring's, not parents', educational attainments (Hypothesis 5).

Further, given our expectations regarding variability in generational differences, it is also important to consider whether the strength of the associations between parents' gender attitudes and offspring's gender attitudes also depend on offspring gender and ethnicity. Greater attitude

similarity in same-sex parent-offspring dyads may be in part explained by socialization processes, where offspring's gender attitudes are more strongly associated with the gender attitudes of their same-sex parent than with the attitudes of the opposite-sex parent. Similarly, ethnic variability in generational differences in gender attitudes may also be a result of socialization process, where parents' gender attitudes are greater contributors to offspring's gender attitudes in African American than in European American families.

In summary, the present study tests the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Mothers are expected to report less traditional gender attitudes than fathers and daughters are expected to report less traditional gender attitudes than sons.

Hypothesis 2: Offspring are expected to report less traditional gender attitudes than their mothers and their fathers.

Hypothesis 3: Cross-sex parent-offspring dyads are expected to differ more in their gender attitudes than same-sex dyads.

Hypothesis 4: European American parents and offspring are expected to differ more in their gender attitudes than African American parents and offspring.

Hypothesis 5: Offspring's gender attitudes will be associated with their parents' gender attitudes, whereas offspring's gender attitudes will be associated with offspring's, not parents', educational attainments, although the strength of these associations is expected to vary by offspring gender or ethnicity.

Methods

Participants

The sample was obtained as part of a larger study of emotional qualities of ties between adults and their parents (N = 213 families; Fingerman, Lefkowitz, & Hay, 2005). The current study includes the 158 offspring-mother-father triads who completed all phases of the study (N =

474). As discussed elsewhere, this sub-sample did not differ from the larger sample on demographic or relationship characteristics (Fingerman, Chen, Hay, Cichy, & Lefkowitz, 2006). Participants included African American (n = 52) and European American (n = 106) triads. A stratified sampling technique assured that the sample included comparable numbers of daughters (n = 82) and sons (n = 75) well distributed by age and ethnicity. Offspring ranged in age from 22 to 49 (daughters M = 34.2, SD = 7.4, sons M = 34.9, SD = 7.2). Parents ranged in age from 40 to 84 years (fathers M = 62.9, SD = 9.3, mothers M = 61.3, SD = 8.8).

Individuals who completed all stages of the interview process (i.e. phone and videotaped interviews) were contrasted with individuals from families who *only* completed the phone interview portion of the study (n = 55 triads) on demographic variables. A series of chi-square tests revealed no significant differences in offspring gender, ethnicity, marital status, or income between families who completed the videotaped interviews and families who only completed the telephone interview. Further, ANOVA results indicated there were no significant differences in education between the two groups. There was a significant difference in offspring age F (1, 211) = 5.81, $p < 05$, where offspring who completed the videotaped interview (M = 35.0, SD = 7.3) were slightly older than those who only completed the telephone interview (M = 32.3, SD = 6.3).

Participants were recruited from 5 counties in the greater Philadelphia Metropolitan Statistical area. The majority of participants (85%) were recruited through either the offspring or the parents using purchased lists of phone numbers. The remaining participants were recruited through convenience sampling (e.g. church and community center bulletins, 7%) and snowball sampling (8%). Equal proportions of African American and European American families were recruited using these three methods. In order to be eligible to participate, a family had to include an offspring age 22 to 49 years who lived within 50 miles of both parents and identify as African American or European American. Parents included whomever the offspring identified as their

mother and father. Biological parents made up the majority of parents in the study (97% of mothers and 91% of fathers), although offspring also identified step-parents (1% of mothers and 7% of fathers) or adopted parents (2% of mothers and fathers).

Table 1 presents demographic characteristics, including age, education, marital status, work status, and income. There were no significant gender differences in educational attainment between daughters and sons or between fathers and mothers (Fs (1,151) < 1.00, ps > .05). The majority of participants were currently married (64% of offspring, 89% of mothers, and 90% of fathers) with 87% of the parents in the study married to one another. There were gender differences in work status $\chi^2 = 31.94$, $p < .001$, with women more likely to be homemakers/ caretakers and less likely to be retired than men. Chi-square tests ($n = 474$) revealed ethnic differences in marital status $\chi^2 = 63.86$, $p < .001$ and work status $\chi^2 = 19.70$, $p < .01$, with African American participants less likely to be married and less likely to be employed for pay or retired than European American adults.

Procedure

First, parents and offspring separately participated in phone interviews and each received $10. Next, members of the 158 triads participated in videotaped interviews in either the parent's or the offspring's home. Offspring participated in two videotaped interviews, one with their father and one with their mother. Whenever possible, whether the offspring first participated with their father or mother was randomized. The videotaped data was not used in the current study, however, at the conclusion of the interview, family members completed a series of questionnaires, including a measure of gender attitudes. For participating in both videotaped interviews, offspring received $40 and each parent received $20. In addition, either the parent or the offspring received an additional $10 for traveling to the other's home.

Measures

Gender attitudes. Participants completed an adapted version of the Attitudes Toward Family Roles Scale (ATFRS; Hoffman & Kloska, 1995; Shearer et al., 2005), a 13-item measure to assess gender-based attitudes toward traditional family roles. It consists of two sub-scales: attitudes toward marital roles (*e.g.* "men should make the really important decisions in the family") and childrearing roles (*e.g.* "education is more important for a son than for a daughter"). Participants answered on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). It has been used previously in samples of both African American and European American adults (Hoffman & Kloska). In this sample, it demonstrated satisfactory reliability for the parents (α = .68 to .85) and offspring (α = .74 to .89). Higher values indicate more traditional gender attitudes (The adapted measure is available by request from the second author).

Demographics. Generation and gender are dichotomous variables. Respondents identified primarily as African American or European American. Two mothers who marked their ethnicity as Hispanic and African American were classified as African American for purpose of analysis in this study. Respondents indicated how many years of education they had completed. Thus, education is a continuous variable in this study.

Results

Gender and Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes

In the first set of analyses, we examined gender differences in parents' and grown offspring's gender attitudes. Gender differences were examined separately for offspring and parents and analyses were conducted using ANOVA. Ethnicity was included in these analyses as a control variable. In this study, offspring gender and ethnicity are both between family effects, whereas parent gender is a within family effect. Gender differences were tested separately for attitudes toward marital roles and attitudes toward childrearing roles.

Offspring gender differences. Gender differences between daughters and sons were examined using 2 (Offspring gender) x 2 (Ethnicity) between subjects ANOVAs. As predicted, for both marital and childrearing role attitudes, there were main effects of offspring gender, with sons reporting more traditional attitudes than daughters (Table 2).

Parent gender differences. Parental gender differences were examined using 2 (Parent gender) x 2 (Offspring gender) x 2 (Ethnicity) mixed method ANOVAs. Although we initially predicted that mothers would be less traditional than fathers, there were no differences between mothers and fathers in their attitudes toward marital roles (Table 2). For childrearing roles, however, there was a main effect of parent gender and as expected, mothers reported less traditional childrearing role attitudes than did fathers.

In summary, results provided partial support for Hypothesis 1, with mothers and daughters reporting less traditional childrearing role attitudes than fathers and sons. Daughters also reported less traditional marital role attitudes than sons did, but mothers and fathers did not differ in their marital role attitudes.

Generational differences. In the next set of analyses we examined generational differences (Hypothesis 2), and the extent to which generational differences vary in cross-sex parent-offspring dyads vs. same-sex dyads (Hypothesis 3) and in African American vs. European American dyads (Hypothesis 4). Hypotheses involving generational differences were examined in a series of 2 (Generation) x 2 (Offspring gender) x 2 (Ethnicity) mixed method ANOVAs separately by mother and father. Hypothesis 2, where offspring were expected to report less traditional attitudes than their parents, was evaluated based on the main effect of generation. Hypotheses 3 and 4, where generational differences were expected to vary by offspring gender and ethnicity, were evaluated based on the interaction terms (i.e. generation x offspring gender and generation x offspring ethnicity). In the event of a significant interaction, follow-up

ANOVAs were conducted to determine the location of the mean difference.

Fathers and offspring. A main effect of generation on marital role attitudes indicated that fathers were more traditional than offspring were (See Table 3). Results for childrearing role attitudes revealed a main effect for generation and an interaction between generation and ethnicity. Follow-up analyses indicated that both European American fathers, F (1, 103) = 53.08, $p < .001$ and African American fathers, F (1, 47) = 7.20, $p < .01$ were more traditional than their offspring, although the difference in attitudes was slightly greater between European American fathers and offspring (2.6 points) than between African American fathers and offspring (1.4 points).

Mothers and offspring. There was a main effect of generation and a generation x ethnicity interaction for mothers' marital role attitudes (Table 3). Specifically, European American mothers had more traditional marital roles than their offspring, F (1, 105) = 5.04, $p <$ .05, whereas African American mothers and offspring did not differ, F (1, 48) = 0.50, $p >$.05. For childrearing roles, there was a main effect of generation, a generation x gender interaction, and a generation x ethnicity interaction. Surprisingly, follow-up analyses revealed that mothers had more traditional childrearing roles than daughters, F (1, 80) = 13.70, $p < .05$, whereas mothers and sons did not differ, F (1, 73) = 0.05, $p > 05$. As expected, European American mothers were more traditional about childrearing than their offspring, F (1, 105) = 40.69, $p <$ .001, whereas African American mothers and offspring did not differ, F (1, 48) = 0.30, $p > 05$.

Results supported Hypothesis 2; parents were more traditional than their offspring. Contrary to expectations, same-sex parent-offspring dyads, specifically mothers and daughters, differed more in their childrearing role attitudes than mothers and sons (Hypothesis 3). Consistent with Hypothesis 4, European American parents and offspring differed more in their attitudes than African American parents and offspring.

Mechanisms for Gender Attitude Transmission

Finally, this study explored potential mechanisms of gender attitude transmission, including the contribution of parental socialization and status inheritance processes to grown offspring's gender attitudes. First, we examined correlations among family members' gender attitudes and educational attainments. Bivariate results indicated that parents' attitudes were correlated with offspring's attitudes. Fathers' and mothers' years of education were also highly correlated (r = .57). For this reason, the average of parents' education was included in the models to represent status inheritance processes. Parents' attitudes were included in the models to represent socialization processes.

Next, hierarchical linear regression analysis was used to predict offspring's gender attitudes. We used hierarchical regression because we wanted to first examine the effects of offspring's educational attainment on their gender attitudes, and then consider whether parents' gender attitudes and educational attainments were associated with offspring's gender attitudes after controlling for offspring's characteristics. Two regressions were conducted, one where the dependent variable was offspring's marital role attitudes and one where the dependent variable was offspring's childrearing role attitudes. Offspring gender, ethnicity, and offspring's years of education were entered in the first block as control variables in both analyses. Offspring gender and ethnicity were dichotomous variables. For both analyses, the average of parents' years of education was entered in the third block. Each parent's gender attitudes were entered into the model before parents' average education based on our expectation that parents' gender attitudes would be more strongly associated with offspring's attitudes than parents' educational attainment.

In these analyses, we also considered whether the strength of the associations between parents' gender attitudes and offspring's gender attitudes differed by offspring gender or ethnicity. Interactions by offspring gender and offspring ethnicity were entered in the fourth

block of the regression analysis. Interactions by offspring gender where entered in order to test whether associations between each parent's gender attitudes and offspring's gender attitudes were stronger for same-sex than for cross-sex parent-offspring dyads and interactions by offspring ethnicity were entered in order to test whether associations between each parent's gender attitudes and offspring's gender attitudes were stronger in African American than in European American families. Prior to calculating interaction terms, fathers' and mothers' gender attitudes were mean centered. These centered variables were included in the interaction terms and the uncentered variables were included as the main effects for each parent's attitudes to address issues of multicollinearity in the analyses.

Offspring's attitudes toward marital roles. Contrary to our expectations, offspring education was not a significant predictor in the first step of the regression to predict offspring's attitudes toward marital roles (Table 4). In the second step, fathers' attitudes emerged as a significant predictor. The more traditional fathers' attitudes were toward marital roles, the more traditional offspring's attitudes were. When both mothers' and fathers' attitudes were included in the model, mothers' marital role attitudes were not significantly associated with offspring's attitudes. As anticipated, the addition of parents' average education in step 3 did not add significantly to the explained variance. Unexpectedly, results did not provide support for moderation by offspring gender or ethnicity. The final model explained 21% of the variance in offspring's attitudes toward marital roles.

Offspring's attitudes toward childrearing roles. In the first step of the regression to predict offspring's attitudes toward childrearing roles, offspring's education was significant (see Table 5). As expected, more educated offspring reported less traditional attitudes toward childrearing roles. The addition of parents' attitudes (step 2) and parents' average education (step 3) did not add significantly to the explained variance. Again, there was also no support for

moderation by offspring gender or ethnicity. The final model explained 39% of the variance in offspring's attitudes toward childrearing roles.

Overall, results provided partial support for the role of socialization processes in shaping offspring's gender attitudes, where fathers' marital role attitudes were significantly associated with offspring's marital role attitudes after controlling for offspring's characteristics. In contrast, once offspring's characteristics, particularly offspring's education, were considered, parents' attitudes toward childrearing roles did not significantly contribute to offspring's attitudes toward childrearing roles. Contrary to expectations, associations between parents' attitudes and offspring's attitudes were similar for same-sex and opposite-sex dyads and in African American and European American families.

Discussion

The present study expanded upon prior work on generational differences in gender attitudes in several important ways: (a) by including fathers and sons as well as mothers and daughters, (b) by including both African American and European American families, and (c) by examining attitudes toward marital and childrearing roles relevant to adult families. Findings from this study reveal that generational differences vary by offspring gender and ethnicity. In addition, results suggest parental socialization may have lasting effects on offspring's attitudes toward marital roles, whereas offspring's own life experiences appear to be more important for offspring's childrearing role attitudes.

Gender and Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes

Prior research has primarily examined gender differences in gender attitudes outside the context of family relationships (Cassidy & Warren, 1996; Shearer et al., 2005). The unique design of this study allows for comparisons between men and women within the same family, between European American and African American families, and between parents and their adult

offspring. As expected, mothers and daughters reported less traditional attitudes toward childrearing roles than did fathers and sons (Cassidy & Warren; Shearer et al.). Daughters also reported less traditional marital role attitudes than sons, although mothers and fathers did not differ in these attitudes. Men in both generations may report traditional attitudes because these attitudes perpetuate men's advantaged position within the family. In contrast, women in both generations may report less traditional attitudes as a means of opposing these traditional values (Ferree, 1990; Zinn, 2000). Still, findings suggest that daughters are not only more motivated to reject norms of male authority than fathers and sons, but they do so more than mothers. It may be that daughters, more than mothers, have greater expectations for gender equality in the home that translate into daughters endorsing less traditional gender attitudes compared to all other family members. As anticipated, offspring reported less traditional attitudes than did their parents, suggesting that grown offspring's gender attitudes may diverge from their parents' attitudes.

It is important to acknowledge, however, that the effect sizes for these differences were relatively small. Gender and generational status are two of many things that influence gender attitudes. There are clearly a number of other factors, including daily experiences through an individual's occupation or the division of household labor between partners that may have a more proximal impact on gender attitudes (Apparala, Reifman, & Munsch, 2003; Cunningham, 2005; Dodson & Borders, 2006; Luhaorg & Zivian, 1995).

Variability in Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes

Still, consistent with our expectations, these generational differences in gender attitudes did vary by offspring gender and ethnicity. Results did not support the expectation that opposite-sex dyads would differ more in their gender attitudes than same-sex dyads. Rather, mothers and daughters differed more than mothers and sons. This generational difference may be attributed to changes in women’s opportunities and social roles between the generations, although the cross-

sectional nature of this study makes it impossible to examine these changes (Carr, 2004; Moen et al., 1997). Prior research examining changes in gender attitudes over the past several decades suggests that women's gender attitudes have changed at a more rapid rate than men's attitudes (Myers & Booth, 2002). This rapid rate of change may help explain why daughters report less traditional attitudes than their mothers. In contrast, the lag in men's attitudes may contribute to sons' attitudes being more similar to their mothers' attitudes (Myers & Booth).

Consistent with hypothesized ethnic differences, results suggest European American parents and offspring differ more in their gender attitudes than African American dyads. The greater similarity in gender attitudes in African American families may reflect socialization processes operating from childhood into adulthood. Potentially, strong family ties, frequent contact, and an emphasis on obedience to family norms may present opportunities for ongoing gender attitude socialization in African American families (Barber, 1994; Parke & Buriel, 2006; Smetana & Chuang, 2001).

Mechanisms of Gender Attitude Transmission

Parental socialization as measured by parents' gender attitudes, however, did not differentially contribute to African American or European American offspring's gender attitudes after considering offspring characteristics. The smaller generational differences in gender attitudes in African American families, however, could still be attributed in part to unique socialization processes in African American families. Parental socialization can occur through parents' words and actions. Although, associations between parents' family role attitudes and offspring's attitudes were not moderated by ethnicity, it is possible that African American parents still continue to socialize their adult offspring through more indirect means, such as by encouraging/discouraging certain types of behavior or through parental modeling (Hill, 2002; Maccoby, 2001; Kapinus, 2000; McHale et al., 2004). For example, parents with traditional

attitudes toward childrearing roles may encourage their adult offspring to provide their own children with gender stereotyped toys or activities. Future research should explore whether these more indirect means of socialization operate differently in African American and European American families during adulthood.

In considering the contribution of parents' gender attitudes and educational attainments, findings provided partial support for the role of parental socialization. Fathers' and offspring's marital role attitudes were positively associated. This association may reflect indirect socialization processes (Kapinus, 2000), where fathers' attitudes may have been the dominant, pervasive attitudes displayed in the family of origin, whereas offspring may have been less aware of their mothers' attitudes. Due to the cross-sectional nature of this study, it is not possible to determine the directions of these effects. It could also be that offspring's attitudes contribute to fathers' attitudes. For example, a traditional father's attitudes could become less traditional after he witnesses his daughter establish herself in a successful career. Future longitudinal studies should explore the extent to which adult offspring socialize their parents.

Consistent with prior research, offspring's own educational attainments were associated with their attitudes toward childrearing roles (Moen et al, 1997). Also, consistent with work done by Moen and colleagues, parents' education did not contribute to offspring's gender attitudes after controlling for offspring's own education. Not surprisingly, offspring with higher education reported less traditional attitudes toward childrearing roles (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Harris & Firestone, 1998). This finding may suggest that childrearing attitudes are more susceptible to role-shaping experiences, such as higher education, whereas marital role attitudes, such as endorsing male authority, may be less susceptible to these influences for offspring in today's adult families. The increase in dual earner households may have contributed to both highly and less educated individuals choosing to reject norms of male authority. In contrast, less traditional

childrearing attitudes, such as giving a boy a doll as a toy may be endorsed more by those with higher education because they have been exposed to experiences that emphasize the importance of treating boys and girls similarly. Alternatively, offspring with more traditional attitudes may not seek higher education. Together, results suggest that although parents' educational attainment may determine offspring's opportunities for advanced education, it may be offspring's own educational experiences that shape their attitudes toward childrearing roles.

It is also necessary to acknowledge that parents' and offspring's gender attitudes could covary for other reasons, including genetic covariation of broad personality traits. Indeed, prior research indicates there are significant genetic influences on aspects of personality, including sex-typed behaviors (Cleveland, Udry, & Chantala, 2001; Iervolino, Hines, Golombok, Rust, & Plomin, 2005; Johnson, McGue, & Krueger, 2005; Losoya, Callor, Rowe, & Hill Goldsmith, 1997). Future studies should consider interactions between genes and family environment to better understand the mechanisms underlying gender attitude similarity in adult families.

Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This study contributes to our understanding of generational differences in gender attitudes, yet is not without limitations. First, the cross-sectional nature of this study makes it impossible to describe developmental changes or causal mechanisms. Further, the sample may not be representative of the experiences of parents and adult offspring with other characteristics. For example, these findings represent the experiences of families living in close proximity to one another, and it is unclear whether similar results would be found with parents and offspring living at a distance from one another. Also, this sample includes only African American and European American families. Families from other ethnic backgrounds may vary in both the attitudes they hold toward family roles as well as in the extent to which the generations differ in their gender attitudes. For example, Latino American families often endorse traditional gender

attitudes and emphasize obedience and respect for parental authority (Fuligni, 1998). It is also necessary to recognize that variations by offspring gender reflect differences between daughters and sons from different families. It is less clear how parents' attitudes might differ from the attitudes held by daughters and sons within the same family.

Further, African American parents and offspring in this study represent a select sample that may not be representative of the experiences of other African American families. Previous research emphasizes the intersection between gender, race, and class in describing gender and ethnic variations in attitudes toward family role (Hill, 2001; Hill & Sprague, 1999; Kane, 2000). In our sample, the majority of African American and European American participants could be described as middle-class, making it difficult to examine further distinctions in attitudes by class. Still, despite these select characteristics, our results reveal ethnic variations in generational differences in gender attitudes. Finding these ethnic variations in a sample relatively homogenous in regards to class suggests there may be something unique about African American families that contributes to greater attitude similarity between generations. It could be that shared experiences with racial inequality combined with frequent family contact in African American families serves to keep grown offspring's gender attitudes similar to those of the parents, even in a select sample of African American families (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Hill, 2002; Hill & Sprague; McLoyd et al., 2000). In the future, researchers should examine ethnic variability in generational differences in a more socioeconomically diverse sample.

This study also explores only one attitude-shaping experience, educational attainment, which may be associated with the gender attitudes of adult offspring and their parents. In addition to education, changes in marital status, such as divorce, may be associated with less traditional gender attitudes given that these marital transitions often force individuals into nontraditional family roles (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). It is less clear whether changes in the

marital status of offspring might in turn influence their parents' gender attitudes (Miller & Glass, 1989). Perhaps, an offspring's divorce affects not only the adult offspring's gender attitudes, but also his or her parents' attitudes. Whether there is an association between changes in offspring's marital status and parents' gender attitudes represents an empirical question to be answered by future longitudinal studies. Further, due to the large percentage of married participants in our sample, we also acknowledge that the gender attitudes of our sample may be more conservative on the whole than we might expect across a more diverse sample of family forms.

It is also necessary to acknowledge that in this study a small number of parents overlapped in age with the offspring. This overlap occurred due to the wide age range selected for the offspring. Unfortunately, the small sample size in the present study makes it difficult to examine age group variability in generational differences in gender attitudes. Future studies should obtain larger samples with more offspring in each age group in order to examine generational differences in gender attitudes between offspring in their 20s and in their 40s.

Conclusions

This study expands upon research on gender attitudes between parents and offspring by including the experiences of fathers and sons, family members often under-represented in intergenerational research. Results reveal that although parents report more traditional gender attitudes than their offspring, there are greater generational differences between mothers and daughters and in European American families. In a changing social context where gender roles are becoming integrated and less distinct, generational discrepancies in gender attitudes may make it more difficult for parents to understand offspring's family experiences and for offspring to look to their parents as role models for negotiating family roles. Further, findings suggest fathers' marital role attitudes may contribute to offspring's attitudes, whereas offspring's own educational attainment seems more important for their attitudes toward childrearing roles.

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Table 1

Sample Characteristics

Variables	Offspring (n =158)	Fathers (n = 158)	Mothers (n = 158)
Means (*SD*)			
Age	35.0 (7.3)	63.0 (9.3)	61.3 (8.8)
Years of education	15.0 (2.0)	14.1 (2.8)	14.0 (2.7)
Proportions			
Marital status			
Married	.64	.90	.88
Separated/divorced	.09	.07	.07
Cohabiting	.06	.03	.03
Single	.21	.00	.01
Widowed	.00	.00	.01
Work status			
Working for pay	.84	.55	.53
Retired	.00	.38	.28
Unemployed	.05	.03	.02
Homemaker/caretaker	.07	.01	.13
Student	.03	.00	.01
Disability/on leave	.01	.03	.03
Income*			
Less than $10, 000	.06	.01	.06
$10, 000 – 25, 000	.07	.15	.12
25, 001 – 40, 000	.16	.17	.22
40, 001 – 75, 000	.34	.37	.33
75, 001 – 100, 000	.22	.15	.15
Greater than 100, 000	.14	.15	.12

Note. * Data on income do not sum to 1 as a result of missing data.

Table 2

ANOVA Results for Offspring and Parent Gender Differences in Gender Attitudes

Variables	Marital role attitudes			Childrearing role attitudes		
	M (*SD*)	*F*-test	η	*M* (*SD*)	*F*-test	η
Offspring attitudes						
Offspring Gender		5.97*	.04		22.44***	.13
Daughters	9.0 (3.0)			9.4 (2.7)		
Sons	10.8 (3.8)			11.7 (2.9)		
Offspring Gender x Ethnicity		1.67	.01		0.80	.01
Parent attitudes						
Parent Gender		1.04	.01		10.48***	.07
Fathers	11.7 (3.4)			12.7 (3.2)		
Mothers	11.4 (3.4)			11.8 (2.9)		
Parent Gender x Offspring Gender		0.06	.00		2.28	.02
Parent Gender x Ethnicity		0.13	.00		2.35	.02

Note. Means and standard deviations are only presented when there was a significant effect for marital and/or childrearing role attitudes.

* $p <$ .05, *** $p <$ .001.

Table 3

Repeated Measures ANOVA for Generational Differences in Gender Attitudes

Variables	Marital role attitudes				Childrearing role attitudes			
	Parent *M* (*SD*)	Offspring *M* (*SD*)	*F*-value	η	Parent *M* (*SD*)	Offspring *M* (*SD*)	*F*-value	η
Fathers and Offspring								
Generation	11.8 (3.4)	9.8 (3.4)	24.24***	.14	12.7 (3.2)	10.5 (3.0)	39.88***	.21
Generation x Offspring Gender			1.80	.01			1.24	.01
Generation x Ethnicity			1.74	.01			4.07*	.05
African American families	12.3 (3.2)	11.1 (3.2)			13.7 (2.9)	12.3 (2.8)		
European American families	11.5 (3.5)	9.3 (3.4)			12.2 (3.2)	9.6 (2.7)		
Mothers and Offspring								
Generation	11.5 (3.4)	9.9 (3.5)	11.47***	.07	11.8 (2.9)	10.5 (3.0)	7.79**	.05
Generation x Offspring Gender			1.38	.01			6.10**	.04
Families with daughters	11.2 (3.1)	9.0 (3.0)			11.6 (2.8)	9.4 (2.7)		
Families with sons	11.7 (3.6)	10.8 (3.8)			12.1 (3.0)	11.7 (2.9)		
Generation x Ethnicity			4.15*	.03			14.77***	.09
African American families	11.7 (3.7)	11.2 (3.3)			12.1 (3.2)	12.4 (2.8)		
European American families	11.3 (3.2)	9.2 (3.4)			11.7 (2.8)	9.6 (2.7)		

Note. Means and standard deviations are only presented when there was a significant effect for marital and/or childrearing role attitudes.

Possible values for gender attitude ranged from 6-24 for marital roles and 7-28 for childrearing roles.

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

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Offspring's Marital Role Attitudes

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE(B)*	*β*
Offspring gender (OS gender)	1.64	.56	.24**	1.53	.55	.22**	1.55	.55	.22**	1.58	.55	.23**
Offspring ethnicity	1.53	.62	.21**	1.45	.60	.20*	1.56	.60	.21**	1.62	.60	.22**
Offspring education	.07	.15	.04	.10	.15	.06	.02	.15	.01	.05	.16	.03
Fathers' marital attitudes				.22	.09	.22**	.27	.09	.26**	.26	.12	.26
Mothers' marital attitudes				.05	.08	.05	.05	.08	.05	.05	.14	.05
Average parents' education							.22	.13	.15	.24	.13	.17
OS gender x fathers' attitudes										-.04	.18	-.03
OS gender x mothers' attitudes										.24	.17	.18
Ethnicity x fathers' attitudes										.09	.19	.05
Ethnicity x mothers' attitudes										-.35	.17	-.21
R^2		.10			.16			.17			.21	
F for change in R^2		5.08**			4.26*			2.84			1.52	

Note. For the interaction terms, fathers' and mothers' marital role attitudes were centered at their means.
* $p <$ .05, ** $p <$ .01, *** $p <$ .001

Table 5

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Offspring's Childrearing Role Attitudes

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Offspring gender (OS gender)	2.31	.42	.38***	2.11	.43	.35***	2.11	.43	.35***	2.13	.43	.35***
Offspring ethnicity	2.23	.47	.34***	2.10	.47	.32***	2.11	.47	.32***	2.04	.48	.31**
Offspring education	-.30	.11	-.19**	-.28	.11	-.18**	-.29	.12	-.19*	-.29	.12	-.18*
Fathers' childrearing role attitudes				.11	.07	.12	.12	.07	.13	.17	.11	.18
Mothers' childrearing role attitudes				.06	.07	.06	.06	.07	.06	-.04	.12	-.04
Average parents' education							.03	.10	.02	.03	.10	.02
OS gender x fathers' attitudes										-.17	.14	-.12
OS gender x mothers' attitudes										.27	.15	.19
Ethnicity x fathers' attitudes										.10	.15	.06
Ethnicity x mothers' attitudes										-.11	.15	-.06
R^2	.35			. 37			.37			.39		
F for change in R^2	24.65***			1.97			0.08			1.22		

Note. For the interaction terms, fathers' and mothers' childrearing role attitudes were centered at their means.

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

CHAPTER 3

Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors Between Adults and Their Parents

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Abstract

This study explores generational and gender differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors observed between adults and their parents during videotaped conflict discussions. Further, this study examines associations between observed behaviors and family members' self-reported relationship quality and psychological well-being. Participants included 155 African American and European American women and men (aged 22 to 49 years), their mothers and their fathers ($N = 465$). Offspring were videotaped separately with their mother and their father discussing what annoys them about each other. Independent raters coded the conversations for demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors. As expected, offspring withdrew more than their parents. Mothers were more demanding and dominating compared to fathers and daughters were more dominating than sons. Parents and offspring who demanded more reported more negative relationships. Offspring whose fathers dominated more and mothers whose offspring demanded more reported greater psychological distress.

Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors Between Adults and Their Parents

Studies of intergenerational ties suggest parents invest more deeply in the parent-child relationship than do their adult offspring (Fingerman, 1996, 2003; Giarrusso, Feng, & Bengston, 2005; Shapiro, 2004). In the marital literature, husbands are often less emotionally invested than their wives (Christensen & Shenk, 1991). According to the "principle of least interest", the less emotionally involved partner tends to have the most power (Waller, 1938). Given differential relationship investment between generations, the principle of least interest may apply outside the context of romantic relationships to interactions between adults and their parents.

By studying demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors in the parent-offspring relationship it is also possible to explore whether the gendered patterns observed in marital interactions also characterize interactions in other family relationships. Indeed, marital research reveals gender differences in these behavioral manifestations of power (Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Christensen & Shenk, 1991), with women and men behaving differently during conflict discussions. In marriage, however, gender (i.e. male vs. female) is coupled with being a husband or wife. Thus, in marriage investment in the relationship and gendered roles are inherently linked. In the parent-offspring tie, however, it is possible to be both female (e.g. daughter) and to occupy the role of the less invested partner (i.e. offspring), or to be male (e.g. father) and occupy the role of the more invested partner (i.e. parent).

The present study examines generational differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors, where discrepancies in relationship investment will be most salient. In addition, this study examines gender differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors, where gender socialization and societal experiences will be most salient. By exploring both generational and gender differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors it is possible to begin to

determine whether relationship investment or gender more strongly contributes to family members' observed behaviors during conflict discussions.

Power may be understood in terms of who controls social interactions. Further, relationship power is conveyed through verbal and non-verbal behaviors that are best captured through the use of observational methods. Behavioral manifestations of power (or lack thereof) include demanding, withdrawing, and dominating during conversations (Burgoon & Dunbar, 2000; Burgoon, Johnson, & Koch, 1998; Caughlin & Huston, 2002; Dunbar & Burgoon, 2005). Demand/withdraw occurs when one partner pressures for change, while the other partner avoids the discussion or responds with passive inaction (Berns, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1999; Caughlin, 2002; Klinetob & Smith, 1996; Vogel & Karney, 2002). Dominant behaviors include strength, forcefulness, and conversational control (Burgoon & Dunbar). Both demand and dominant behaviors may represent attempts to control social interactions, whereas withdraw behaviors may represent attempts to disengage from social interactions. Although both demand and dominant may attempt to control conversations, demand and dominant behaviors represent different positions of power. Demand behaviors arise from a position lacking in power where change is desired, whereas dominant behaviors could involve attempting to exert power from a powerless position or attempting to maintain one's powerful position. Throughout this paper, observed behaviors refer collectively to all behavioral manifestations of power (i.e. demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors).

The extent to which parents and adult offspring engage in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors may have implications for relationship quality and individual well-being. Prior research with married couples reveals associations between observed behaviors, such as demand/withdraw and self-reported marital dissatisfaction (Bodenmann, Kaiser, Hahlweg, Fehm,

& Wolfsdorf, 1998; Caughlin & Huston, 2002; Eldridge & Christensen, 2002). Studies of romantic relationships also suggest ineffective communication is associated with partners' self-reports of psychological distress (Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton, 2001; Uebelacker, Courtnage, & Whisman, 2003).

The present study contributes to our understanding of family conflict by using observational methods to examine behaviors in the context of another type of relationship, the parent-adult offspring tie. To our knowledge, this is the first study to videotape parents and adult offspring discussing relationship conflicts. Specifically, the present study expands upon prior research on demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors by examining: (a) whether parents and adult offspring engage in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors, (b) whether there are generational or gender differences in these observed behaviors, and (c) whether these observed behaviors are associated with self-reported relationship quality and individual psychological well-being.

Generational Differences in Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

The parent-child relationship continues throughout life with parents and offspring remaining in relatively frequent contact with one another as adults (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Even after adult offspring have left the parental home, parents and offspring continue to experience interpersonal tensions (Clarke, Preston, Raksin, & Bengston, 1999; Fingerman, 1996, 2003; Fingerman, Chen, Hay, Cichy, & Lefkowitz, 2006). Tensions represent a context for change, where one partner experiences dissatisfaction or frustration with the behavior of another partner. In negotiating these tensions, parents and adult offspring may engage in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors.

During adolescence, research indicates that parents and offspring engage in demand/withdraw during conflict discussions (Caughlin & Malis, 2004; Caughlin & Ramey, 2005). Parents' tendency to demand is attributed to parents' desire to exert control over their adolescent, whereas adolescents' tendency to withdraw is attributed to resistance to their parents' attempts to exert control (Caughlin & Ramey). During adulthood, however, generational differences in demand/withdraw may be less about attempts to exert or resist control and may instead be associated with partners' desire for intimacy or autonomy. Studies of intergenerational relations suggest parents desire more contact with their children, but feel prohibited by the need to protect their adult children's independence (Luescher & Pillemer, 1998). Differences in relationship investment between mothers and adult daughters is a source of tension, with mothers placing more positive emotional value on their daughters than daughters place on their mothers (Fingerman, 1996, 2001).

Intergenerational differences in relationship investment parallel differences in relationship investment within the marital relationship. In the same way mothers describe feeling responsible for maintaining the parent-child relationship (Talbott, 1990), wives often experience the burden of relationship maintenance (Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton, 2001). If differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors reflect discrepancies in relationship investment between parents and offspring, there should be generational differences in these behaviors. Parents' use of more demand behaviors during conflict discussions may represent parents' position as the partners seeking intimacy, whereas offspring's use of more withdraw behaviors may represent offspring's position as the partner desiring greater autonomy (Caughlin & Vangelisti, 2000; Christensen & Shenk, 1991; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1997). Still, parents are not powerless in the parent-offspring tie considering the hierarchical nature of the relationship.

Although, the parent-offspring relationship may become more egalitarian during adulthood, parents are generally in a position of authority over their children that may contribute to parents also engaging in controlling or dominant behaviors (Farber, 2002; Shaw, Criss, Schonberg, & Beck, 2004). Therefore, it is hypothesized that parents will display more demand and dominant behaviors than offspring, whereas offspring will display more withdraw behaviors than parents (Hypothesis 1).

Ethnic differences. Generational differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors may also vary according to cultural contexts, such as ethnicity. For example, in African American and European American families there are different norms governing family members' behaviors. Research suggests African American families attribute great importance to offspring respecting their parents, such that African American offspring may be reluctant to attempt to exert control over their parents in active ways, such as by demanding or dominating during conflict discussions (Garcia Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995; Parke & Buriel, 2006). Although recent studies have begun to include observational assessments of African American parents and adolescents (Campione-Barr & Smetana, 2004; Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1996; Smetana, Abernethy, & Harris, 2000), we are aware of no prior studies that have used observational methods with European American or African American parents and their grown offspring. Therefore, the present study explores whether generational differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors vary by ethnicity without testing specific hypotheses.

Gender Differences in Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

Research findings linking gender and power behaviors in relationships are equivocal. Previous studies reveal women more commonly demand and men withdraw (Eldridge & Christensen, 2002; Kluwer, Heesink, & Van-de-Vliert, 2000). In comparison, findings are

inconclusive regarding gender differences in dominant behaviors due to differences in the measures and methods used to examine dominance. For example, studies examining gender differences in dominance vary in whether they focus on verbal or non-verbal indictors in the context of mixed- or same-sex dyads (Athenstaedt, Haas, & Schwab, 2004; Luxen, 2005; Ridgeway, Berger, & Smith, 1985). Some studies suggest men behave more dominantly than women (Balkwell & Berger, 1996; Luxen), whereas other research suggests women are more dominant than men (Hall, Coats, & LeBeau, 2005). Still other studies reveal few gender differences in dominant behaviors (Athenstaedt et al.; Bilous & Krauss, 1988; Halberstadt & Saitta, 1987; Ridgeway et al.).

Gender variability in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors may reflect differences in the socialization and societal experiences of women and men. Prior research provides two theoretical perspectives to explain gender differences in conflict communication: (a) the individual differences perspective and (b) the social structures perspective. The *individual differences perspective* suggests gender variations in communication reflect differences in gender socialization, such as childhood experiences in sex-segregated peer groups (Hall, Carter, & Horgan, 2000; Heavey, Layne, & Christensen, 1993; Maccoby, 1998). According to this perspective, women are socialized to seek affiliation and invest more in social relationships, whereas men are socialized to seek autonomy and invest less in relationships (Belle, 1991; Caughlin & Vangelisti, 2000; Hart, 1996).

In comparison, a *social structures perspective* emphasizes the structure of conflicts and societal discrepancies in power as contributors to gender asymmetries in conflict (Eldridge & Christensen, 2002; Heavey et al., 1993.). This perspective suggests that gender differences in communication arise from gender hierarchies, where societal inequalities, including

discrepancies in power, income, and division of labor disproportionately benefit men and place women in subservient positions within relationships (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Eldridge & Christensen; Kluwer et al., 2000; Suh, Moskowitz, Fournier, & Zuroff, 2004).

Taken together, these perspectives imply that gender differences arise from variations in socialization and discrepancies in position within the social structure. Theoretically, these gendered experiences may contribute to mothers, daughters, fathers, and sons behaving differently during their interactions. Women, as the under-benefited partners, may seek relationship changes, whereas men, as the benefited partners, may seek to maintain their favored position within relationships (Balkwell & Berger, 1996; Eldridge & Christensen, 2002; Kluwer et al., 2000; Luxen, 2005). If these behaviors are gendered, rather than a product of disparate relationship investment, the differences observed between husbands and wives should also be present during interactions involving mothers and fathers with their adult sons and daughters. Therefore, it is hypothesized that during conflict discussions both mothers and daughters will display more demand and dominant behaviors, whereas both fathers and sons will display more withdraw behaviors (Hypothesis 2).

Observed Behaviors, Relationship Quality, and Psychological Well-being

Further, the quality of the parent-adult offspring relationship may be linked to family members' demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors. Marital research reveals power behaviors are associated with relationship dissatisfaction (Bodenmann et al., 1998; Caughlin & Huston, 2002; Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Eldridge & Christensen, 2002; Heavey, Christensen, & Malamuth, 1995). Distressed couples engage in more demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors when discussing conflict issues than their more satisfied counterparts (Blum & Mehrabian, 1999; Caughlin, 2002; Caughlin & Huston; Thomsen & Gilbert, 1998; Weger,

2005). In a similar manner, it is hypothesized that when parents or offspring engage in more demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors, they will report poorer quality relationships (Hypothesis 3).

Finally, the frequent use of demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors may contribute to family members' individual psychological distress. Research indicates disturbed marital interactions characterized by ineffective communication, such as demand/withdraw, have adverse psychological consequences (Byrne & Carr, 2000; Byrne, Carr, & Clark, 2004). Considering generational differences in relationship investment, these findings may be replicated in the parent-offspring tie. It is hypothesized that when parents or offspring more frequently engage in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors, both parties will report greater psychological distress (Hypothesis 4).

Methods

Participants

The sample was obtained as part of The Adult Family Study, a larger study of adults and their parents (Fingerman, Lefkowitz, & Hay, 2005). Participants included an adult daughter or son aged 22 to 49, their mother, and their father who identified as African American or European American. Families were recruited from 5 counties in the greater Philadelphia Metropolitan Statistical area. Potential participants were identified via purchased telephone lists. Recruitment took place by contacting households with eligible offspring and screening these individuals to determine if they and their parents were suitable for the study. If a household was contacted that only contained adults over the age of 50, they were screened to determine if they had any adult offspring aged 22 to 49. We supplemented this approach to recruitment using snowball (8%) and convenience sampling (e.g. posted notices, 7%) to increase minority representation. The majority

of participants (85%) were recruited using purchased lists of phone numbers. Equal proportions of African American and European American families were recruited using these three methods. Recruitment techniques were also evenly distributed by offspring's age and gender.

In order to be eligible, offspring had to live within 50 miles of both their mothers and fathers. Offspring were excluded from participation if they did not have 2 living parents. Parents included whomever the offspring identified as their mother and father. Biological parents made up the majority of parents in the study (97% of mothers and 91% of fathers), although offspring also identified stepparents (1% of mothers and 7% of fathers) or adopted parents (2% of mothers and fathers).

The larger sample of participants completed telephone interviews ($N = 213$ families), with a sub-sample of 158 families ($N = 474$) completing both telephone interviews and in-person videotaped interviews that took place in the participants' homes. Participants for this study included 155 ($N = 465$) of the 158 families who completed videotaped interviews. Three families were excluded due to problems with the videotapes. Individuals who completed all stages of the interview process (i.e. phone and videotaped interviews) were contrasted with individuals from families who *only* completed the phone interview portion of the study ($n = 55$ triads) on demographic variables. A series of chi-square tests revealed no significant differences in offspring gender, ethnicity, marital status, or income. Further, ANOVA results indicated there were no significant differences in education between the two groups. There was a significant difference in offspring age $F(1, 211) = 5.81$, $p < 05$, where offspring who completed the videotaped interview ($M = 35.0$, $SD = 7.3$) were slightly older than offspring who only completed the telephone interview ($M = 32.3$, $SD = 6.3$).

The sample included both African American (n = 49) and European American (n = 106) triads. A stratified sampling technique assured that the sample included comparable numbers of daughters (n = 80) and sons (n = 75) well distributed by age and ethnicity. Offspring ranged in age from 22 to 49 (daughters M = 35.3, SD = 7.5, sons M = 35.0, SD = 7.0). Parents ranged in age from 45 to 83 years (fathers M = 62.6, SD = 8.6, mothers M = 60.8, SD = 8.0). For a more detailed description of the sample: see Fingerman et al. (2006).

Procedure

Videotaped conversation. Adult offspring participated in two face-to-face videotaped in-home interviews separately with their mother and their father. Whenever possible, the order of the interviews (mother first, father first) was randomized. Participants were videotaped discussing three topics: (a) what they enjoy about each other (i.e. enjoy), (b) what worries them about each other (i.e. worry), and (c) what annoys them about each other (i.e. problem). All participants first discussed what they enjoyed about one another, whereas the order of the worry and problem conversation was counterbalanced. Whenever possible, these conversations took place behind closed doors, with the participants separated from the interviewer. The present study only examines behaviors during the *problem* conversation. Interviewers gave the instructions for the problem conversation and then left the participants alone in the room to allow participants the freedom and privacy to discuss sensitive issues. Specifically, participants received the following instructions:

> *"People we love and value can also be annoying at times – nobody is perfect. Parents and grown children experience different types of problems, even if they do not discuss those problems. For the next 8 minutes, I'd like you to talk about what bothers you about each other, and what you both do about it."*

Eight minutes was chosen because pilot testing with 15-minute conversations revealed that the first 8 minutes provided the most relevant information. These videotaped conversations were then coded for behavioral manifestations of power represented by demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors.

Videotaped coding procedures. Undergraduate coders rated the observational measures used in this study. Coders were instructed to consider the entire duration of the conversation in their ratings based on a global coding scheme. Global ratings represent a low level of inference in terms of coders determining the coding unit. Prior observational studies of married couples have also employed global ratings to assess demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors (Berns et al., 1999; Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

These global ratings were made by two sets of independent undergraduate raters. Four raters coded videotaped conversations between adults and their parents for demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors. In addition, this study includes three observational measures, critical, judgmental, and focus of conversation, coded by a different set of 11 independent raters who coded a larger set of variables (Lefkowitz, Cichy, Espinosa-Hernandez, Fingerman, & Hay, 2006). All coders were trained by meeting for one hour twice weekly for 15 weeks to learn the coding system, discuss discrepant cases, and review tapes. All videotapes were coded by at least two raters. All raters coded a criterion tape each week and received feedback throughout the coding process. Therefore, reliability is based on the entire sample and is reported as the means across the 6 coder pairs for the power behaviors, as the means across the 55 coder pairs for the other codes (i.e. critical, judgmental), and as the mode for focus of conversation. Interrater reliability was assessed using the intra-class correlation (ICC), a measure of reliability that takes into account both inter-rater agreement as well as the magnitude of the difference between raters.

The values for the power behaviors represent the mean rating across all coders who rated the videotape.

Measures

Observational ratings. The videotaped interactions were rated using behavioral codes from previous measures of demand/withdraw and dominance (Berns et al, 1999; Burgoon et al., 1998; Christensen & Heavey, 1990; Gottman, McCoy, Coan, & Collier, 1996). Coders rated the frequency of each behavior on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a great deal*). The parent and offspring were coded separately during different coding sessions. This procedure, where each person was coded separately using a global coding scheme, has also been used in other observational studies of power behaviors (Berns et al., 1999; Christensen & Heavey; Heavey et al., 1993; 1995). Behaviors were selected to represent demand (e.g. blaming), withdraw (e.g. submissive), and dominant (e.g. forceful) behaviors. Table 1 presents descriptions of the behavior codes and reliability for each code.

Data Reduction

Prior to testing specific hypotheses, we first conducted exploratory factor analyses separately for: (a) offspring's behaviors with their father, (b) offspring's behaviors with their mother, (c) fathers' behaviors, and (d) mothers' behaviors. The maximum likelihood procedure with an orthogonal solution using varimax rotation was used to create factor solutions.

The results of the first set of factor analyses indicated that the following three behaviors did not load on any of the factors: (a) hesitates, (b) avoidant, and (c) quick to give in. The next step was to re-run the factor analyses after dropping these three behaviors. Again, the maximum likelihood procedure with an orthogonal solution using varimax rotation was used to create factor solutions. Results suggested that the best potential factor solution was a three-factor

solution. Table 2 presents the results of these factor analyses. For all family members, the first factor was labeled "demand", the second factor was labeled "dominant", and the third factor was labeled "withdraw". In general, all four factor analyses yielded similar results, although the factor loadings for mothers' behaviors, particularly mothers' withdraw and submissive behaviors, were considerably smaller than the factor loadings for the other family members. The smaller factor loadings for mothers' behaviors may reflect the smaller variance in mothers' withdraw and submissive behaviors and mothers' tendency to less frequently engage in these behaviors.

Behavior sub-scales. The results of the exploratory factor analyses were then used to create three behavior sub-scales: demand, withdraw, and dominant. Cronbach's alpha was calculated separately for: (a) offspring's behaviors with their father, (b) offspring's behaviors with their mother, (c) fathers' behaviors, and (d) mothers' behaviors for each of the three subscales. In general, the sub-scales demonstrated satisfactory reliability; with the exception of parents' withdraw behaviors. Alphas ranged from .80 to .82 for demand, from .68 to .76 for dominant, and from .54 to .81 for withdraw. The lower alphas for parents' withdraw behaviors may reflect the smaller variance in parents' behaviors compared to offspring's withdraw behaviors. It is possible that there is less variance in these behaviors in older individuals. The behavior sub-scales generated from the factor analyses, were then used as independent and dependent variables in the remaining analyses.

Focus of conversation. The set of 11 independent raters also determined the focus of the conversation, specifically whether the parent's or the offspring's problem was discussed more during the conversation (Lefkowitz & Fingerman, 2003). The focus of conversation was determined after watching the entire 8 minute conversation and after considering the behavior of both members of the dyad. Focus of conversation was a categorical code, where 1 = parent's

problem discussed more, 2 = offspring's problem discussed more, and 3 = equally discussed parent's and offspring's problem. The average kappa for this measure was .50.

Prior research examining the demand/withdraw pattern of communication suggests that gender differences in communication are susceptible to contextual variations, such as whether it is the husband's or wife's issue being discussed (Klinetob & Smith, 1996). Therefore, focus of conversation was explored as a potential covariate in analyses to determine whether associations between behaviors, relationship quality, and well-being could be attributed to whether participants spent more time discussing the parent's or the offspring's problem.

Self-Report Variables

Demographic characteristics. Gender, generation, and ethnicity are dichotomous variables. For gender, 0 = female and 1 = male, for generation 0 = parent and 1 = offspring, and for ethnicity 0 = European American and 1 = African American.

Relationship quality. Relationship quality was assessed with a 14-item measure of the positive and negative qualities of the parent-offspring relationship (Pitzer & Fingerman, 2006). Six items assessed positive qualities of the relationship (e.g., acted warm, been supportive). Eight items assessed negative qualities (e.g., behaved insensitively). Respondents answered how often in the past 12 months their mother/father/offspring had behaved in these ways using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). This measure includes 2 sub-scales: (a) positive relationship qualities and (b) negative relationship qualities. The measure demonstrated adequate reliability, with alphas for the positive qualities sub-scale ranging from .78 to .87 and alphas for the negative qualities sub-scale ranging from .77 to .84.

Depressive symptoms. Individual psychological well-being was assessed using an adapted version of the 11-item Short-Form of the CES-D (Center for Epidemiological Studies

Depression Scale; Kohout, Berkman, Evans, & Cornoni-Huntley, 1993; Radloff, 1977). Items tapped the experience of negative affect, not experiencing positive affect, and somatic and interpersonal symptoms of depression. Participants were asked how often they felt the following ways in the past week on a 4-point scale from 1 (*rarely or none at all*) to 4 (*most of the time*). Higher CES-D scores indicate more frequent depressive symptoms. In this sample, participants did report experiencing depressive symptoms, however, CES-D scores were well within normal ranges, indicating participants were not clinically depressed. The measure demonstrated satisfactory reliability, with alphas ranging from .74 to .84.

Life satisfaction. A single-item was used to measure global life satisfaction to represent a positive aspect of psychological well-being. Participants rated how satisfied they were with their life overall on a scale of 1 (*not at all satisfied*) to 10 (*very satisfied;* Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffen, 1985). This single item has been used in prior research, including as a measure in the National Survey of Families and Households (Knoester & Eggebeen, 2006).

Results

Generational Differences in Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

Generational differences in behavioral manifestations of power were examined using a series of focused contrasts conducted separately for each behavior sub-scale (i.e. demand, withdraw, and dominant). The first set of contrasts compared offspring's behaviors to their fathers' behaviors and the second set of contrasts compared offspring's behaviors to their mothers' behaviors (Table 3). Results revealed no significant generational differences in demand and dominant behaviors between offspring and fathers and offspring and mothers. There was a significant generational difference between fathers and offspring and mothers and offspring in withdraw behaviors. Offspring withdrew more than their fathers and their mothers.

Ethnic differences. Next, additional analyses were conducted to explore whether generational differences in power behaviors varied by ethnicity. First, difference scores were calculated between parent's and offspring's demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors. These difference scores were calculated by subtracting offspring's behaviors from each of their parent's behaviors. Larger difference scores represent a greater generational difference in the behavior. Positive values indicate that parents displayed the behavior more frequently than their offspring, whereas negative values indicate that offspring displayed the behavior more frequently than their parents. These difference scores were then used as the dependent variables in a series of 2 (Parent gender) x 2 (Offspring gender) x 2 (Ethnicity) mixed method ANOVAs. Analyses were conducted separately for each behavior sub-scale. Significant main effects indicate that one group of offspring (i.e. African American/European American) differs more from their parents than the other.

ANOVA results revealed a significant effect of ethnicity for demand behaviors, where the difference between parents' and offspring's demand behaviors was greater in African American families than in European American families (Table 4). Specifically, African American offspring demanded slightly less frequently than their parents, whereas European American offspring demanded slightly more frequently than their parents. There were also significant effects of ethnicity for withdraw and dominant behaviors. In particular, African American offspring withdrew more frequently than their parents withdrew during conflict discussions, whereas European American parents and offspring barely differed. In contrast, the difference between parents' and offspring's dominant behaviors was greater in African American families than in European American families. African American offspring were less dominant

than their parents, whereas European American offspring were slightly more dominant than their parents.

Gender Differences in Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

A series of focused contrasts was also conducted to examine parent and offspring gender differences in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors (Table 3). Contrasts were estimated separately for each behavior sub-scale (i.e. demand, withdraw, and dominant). The first set of contrasts compared mothers' behaviors to fathers' behaviors. Results revealed that mothers displayed slightly more demand and more dominant behaviors than fathers did. There were no significant differences between mothers and fathers in their withdraw behaviors.

Offspring gender differences were also examined using focused contrasts, where contrasts were estimated separately for offspring's behaviors with their fathers and offspring's behaviors with their mothers (Table 3). Results indicated no significant differences between daughters and sons in demand, withdraw, or dominant behaviors with their fathers. Further, there were no significant differences between daughters' and sons' demand and withdraw behaviors with their mothers. There was a significant difference between sons' and daughters' dominant behaviors with their mothers. Daughters dominated more with their mothers than sons did.

In summary, results provided partial support for Hypothesis 1. As expected, offspring withdrew more often than their parents did, although there were no generational differences in demand and dominant behaviors. In contrast, there were generational differences in African American families, with parents demanding and dominating more than their offspring. Further, results also provided partial support for Hypothesis 2, with mothers and daughters displaying more dominant behaviors compared to fathers and sons and mothers displaying more demand

behaviors compared to fathers. Contrary to expectations, there were few differences between daughters' and sons' demand and withdraw behaviors.

Observed Behaviors, Relationship Quality, and Psychological Well-being

Bivariate Results

Prior to hypothesis testing, correlations were examined between observed behaviors, relationship quality, and psychological well-being (Tables 5 and 6). In addition, we examined associations between the variables of interest and the potential control variable, focus of conversation. Spearman's rank correlations were estimated between focus of conversation and the dependent variables. Focus of conversation is not included in the multivariate analyses because it was not significantly associated with offspring's, mothers', or fathers' self-reported relationship quality, depressive symptoms, or life satisfaction.

Path Analyses

A series of eight path analysis models was then conducted using the statistical package AMOS 5.0 to examine multivariate associations between observed behaviors, self-reported relationship quality, and self-reported psychological well-being (Hypotheses 3 and 4). Models were estimated separately for offspring with fathers, offspring with mothers, fathers, and mothers. Two sets of models were estimated. The first set of models examined associations between observed behaviors and self-reported relationship quality, whereas the second set of models examined associations between observed behaviors and self-reported psychological well-being. To control for Type I errors associated with conducting multiple tests, we calculated a Bonferroni adjustment that revealed results needed to be significant at $p < .006$ to be considered statistically significant.

Relationship quality. The first set of path analyses examined associations between behaviors and relationship quality. This set of analyses included four separate models and each model included two regressions. Figure 1 presents an illustrative example of a model examining offspring's self-reported relationship quality. In the first regression, participants' own observed demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors (i.e. self behaviors) and one's partners' observed demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors (i.e. partner's behaviors) were regressed onto self-reported positive qualities of the relationship. In the second regression, the same independent variables were regressed onto self-reported negative qualities of the relationship. In addition, offspring gender was included as a control variable in these models.

Results indicated a significant association between offspring's demand behaviors and offspring's self-reported negative relationship quality with their fathers (Table 7). There was also a significant association between offspring's demand behaviors and offspring's self-reported negative quality with their mothers. In both cases, offspring who were more demanding reported more negative relationships with their parents. Offspring's and parents' behaviors were not associated with offspring's self-reported positive relationship quality.

In comparison, fathers' demand behaviors, offspring's demand behaviors, and offspring's dominant behaviors were associated with fathers' self-reported negative quality with their offspring. Fathers who were more demanding and fathers with offspring who were more demanding reported more negative relationships, whereas fathers with more dominating offspring reported less negative relationships. Fathers' and offspring's behaviors were not significantly associated with fathers' self-reported positive quality. Mothers' demand behaviors were associated with mothers' self-reported positive and negative relationship quality. Mothers who were more demanding reported more negative and less positive relationships.

Psychological well-being. The next set of path analyses examined associations between observed behaviors and self-reported well-being. This set of analyses also included four separate models, where each model included two regressions. Figure 2 presents an illustrative example of a model examining parents' psychological well-being. In the first regression, participants' own observed demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors (i.e. self behaviors) and one's partners' observed demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors (i.e. partner's behaviors) were regressed onto self-reported depressive symptoms. In the second regression, the same independent variables were regressed onto self-reported overall life satisfaction. In addition, offspring gender was again included as a control variable in these models.

Offspring's depressive symptoms were significantly associated with offspring's demand behaviors with their fathers and with fathers' dominant behaviors (Table 8). Offspring's life satisfaction was associated with offspring's withdraw behaviors with their fathers and with fathers' dominant behaviors. Offspring who were more demanding and offspring with more dominating fathers reported more depressive symptoms. Also, offspring who were more withdrawing and offspring with more dominating fathers reported less satisfaction with life. In contrast, offspring's well-being was not significantly associated with offspring's behaviors with their mothers or with their mothers' behaviors. Fathers' behaviors and offspring's behaviors with their fathers were also not significantly associated with fathers' well-being. In contrast, mothers with more demanding offspring reported more depressive symptoms.

In summary, results supported Hypothesis 3. Parents and offspring who engaged in more power behaviors, particularly demand behaviors, reported more negative relationship quality. Further, results also provided partial support for Hypothesis 4. Offspring's well-being was associated with offspring's and fathers' observed behaviors, whereas offspring's well-being was

not associated with offspring's or mothers' observed behaviors. Similarly, fathers' and offspring's behaviors were not associated with fathers' well-being. In comparison, offspring's demand behaviors were associated with mothers' well-being. Specifically, mothers whose offspring demanded more reported more depressive symptoms.

Discussion

The present study offered the opportunity to begin to disentangle relationship investment from gender by examining observed power behaviors in the context of the parent-adult child relationship, where unlike marriage, these constructs are not inherently linked. Findings revealed both generational and gender differences in observed power behaviors as well as variability in behaviors between African American and European American families. In addition, this study expanded upon previous research by utilizing both observational and self-report measures to examine parent-adult offspring conflict. Overall, findings suggest parents' and offspring's observed power behaviors, particularly demand behaviors, are associated with self-reported relationship quality and psychological well-being.

Generational Differences in Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

Findings from this study suggest that parents and adult offspring do engage in demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors during conflict discussions. Consistent with our expectations and with prior research involving adolescents and their parents, adult offspring withdrew more than both their mothers and their fathers (Caughlin & Ramey, 2004). Offspring's lower investment and desire for independence from the parent-child tie may contribute to offspring more frequently disengaging from conversations with their parents, particularly conversations involving tensions within the relationship (Caughlin & Vangelisti, 2000; Fingerman, 2003; Giarruso et al., 2005; Shapiro, 2004). By withdrawing more during conflict discussions,

offspring are in an advantaged position that makes it possible to block parents' requests for change, considering parents are unlikely to succeed in their attempts to change a situation without the cooperation of their offspring (Caughlin & Ramey).

Contrary to our expectations, parents were no more likely than offspring to engage in demand and dominant behaviors. Early in life, parents are more likely to influence offspring than vice versa (Caughlin & Ramey, 2005; Solomon, Warin, Lewis, & Langford, 2002). In adulthood, the more egalitarian structure of the parent-offspring relationship may make it easier for offspring to counteract their parents' criticisms and demands with demands of their own. As adults, offspring are likely to desire changes in their parents' behaviors, whereas in adolescence offspring generally only desire changes in the rules parents have regarding adolescents' behavior (Caughlin & Ramey). Further, the structure of the videotaped interaction, where both parents and offspring were free to raise issues, could in part explain the lack of generational differences. Prior research suggests the person who desires change tends to take on the demanding roles (Eldridge & Christensen, 2002). By discussing both partners' issues within the same conversation, both generations were offered the opportunity to play the demanding role.

It is important, however, to acknowledge that there were generational differences in demand and dominant behaviors in ethnic minority families. African American parents were more demanding and dominating than their offspring. These findings suggest that the emphasis on parental authority in African American families during childhood and adolescence (Garcia Coll et al., 1995; Parke & Buriel, 2006) may remain salient throughout adulthood. Even as adults, African American offspring may be reluctant to engage in these behaviors with their parents because of the desire to avoid being seen as disrespectful. Still, African American offspring were not powerless during these interactions. Rather, although all offspring withdrew

more often than their parents, the generational difference was more pronounced in African American families. Thus, as adults, African American offspring may not directly attempt to control conversations with their parents, but they do actively resist parents' attempts to discuss relationship conflicts.

Gender Differences in Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

As anticipated there were gender differences in observed power behaviors, with both mothers and daughters dominating more than their male counterparts. These differences suggest dominant behaviors may be gendered rather than solely a product of disparate relationship investment. Indeed, women's more frequent attempts to control the conversation support the individual differences explanation for gender differences in power behaviors, with women socialized to seek affiliation and invest more in relationships than men (Belle, 1991; Caughlin & Vangelisti, 2000; Hart, 1996). Additionally, mothers and daughters may exert control over the conversation because they are more accustomed to having these types of conversations than fathers and sons.

Mothers also engaged in more demand behaviors with their adult offspring than did fathers. This difference between mothers and fathers parallels differences observed during marital interactions, where wives also tend to demand more than husbands (Eldridge & Christensen, 2002; Kluwer et al., 2000). Mothers' greater tendency to demand supports both the individual differences and the social structures perspectives on gender differences in conflict behaviors. Both discrepancies in relationship investment and position within the social structure between mothers and fathers may contribute to mothers more frequently seeking relationship changes from their adult offspring (Caughlin & Vangelisti, 2000; Eldridge & Christensen). It is important to acknowledge, however, that this study did not examine whether individual gender

differences vary by partner gender. It could be that observed behaviors are unique to the individual, such that mothers and daughters are more dominant in all their relationships with all relationship partners. Alternatively, mothers and daughters may behave in more gendered ways only when talking to family members of the opposite gender. Future research should explore whether the gender of the conversation partner contributes to gender differences in observed behaviors.

Observed Behaviors, Relationship Quality, and Psychological Well-being

Also consistent with prior research, behaviors observed during conflict discussions were associated with self-reported relationship quality and psychological well-being (Bodenmann et al., 1998; Byrne & Carr, 2000). Offspring and parents who demanded more also reported poorer quality relationships. Parents with offspring who demanded more also described their relationships as more negative. Therefore, it seems that parents and offspring who are more dissatisfied with their relationships are also more inclined to pressure their partner for some kind of change in the relationship. In contrast, fathers with offspring who dominated more rated their relationships as less negative. Fathers may view the relationship less negatively when offspring attempt to control the discussion because fathers may prefer that their offspring learn to assert their independence. Therefore, although demand behaviors appear to be detrimental to the overall quality of the parent-offspring tie, there appear to be benefits to the father-offspring relationship when offspring attempt to control the conversation.

In comparison, self-reported positive relationship quality was not associated with observed behaviors. This finding suggests that demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors may occur at similar rates in families that report more positive relationship quality and less positive relationship quality. For example, family members in enmeshed families may describe their

relationships as positive, yet individual family members may still engage in these observed power behaviors. Similarly, parents and offspring who report greater emotional distance may also display these behaviors.

Also consistent with expectations, observed behaviors were associated with self-reported psychological well-being. In particular, offspring who were more demanding and withdrawing with their fathers and who had more dominating fathers reported greater psychological distress. These findings parallel those found in the marital relationship, where ineffective communication is associated with spouses' well-being (Byrne & Carr, 2000; Byrne et al., 2004). It could also be that offspring suffering from psychological distress display more power behaviors during conversations with their parents. In the multivariate models, however, offspring's well-being was not associated with their own or their mothers' observed power behaviors. Throughout life, the mother-offspring relationship is more contentious and more intimate than the father-offspring relationship (Collins & Russell, 1991; Troll & Fingerman, 1996). For this reason, adult offspring may not only be more accustomed to discussing conflicts with their mothers, but also less likely to internalize negative experiences with their mothers. In contrast, adult offspring may be more vulnerable to negative exchanges with their fathers because they are unaccustomed to having these types of conversations with their fathers. Indeed, offspring who report greater psychological distress appear to have fathers who behave in more dominating ways. Alternatively, fathers with more distressed offspring may attempt to control the conversation more because their offspring may be less inclined to participate in conflict discussions. Due to the cross-sectional nature of the study, it is not possible to determine the direction of effects. Future longitudinal studies should explore the association between psychological distress and observed behaviors.

Further, mothers', but not fathers' well-being, was associated with their offspring's observed behaviors. Mothers' well-being may be associated with offspring's demand behaviors because of women's tendency to construct their self-concepts in terms of experiences in their social relationships (Kiecolt-Glaser & Newton, 2001). In the same way that parent-adolescent conflict is more strongly associated with mothers' than fathers' well-being (Steinberg, 2001; Tesser, Forehand, Brody, & Long, 1989), findings from this study suggest that mothers' well-being may also be more susceptible to negative experiences in the parent-offspring tie when offspring are adults.

Overall, the present study highlights the value of using observational methods to examine demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors. To our knowledge, this is the first study to videotape parents and adult offspring discussing conflicts in their relationship. Videotaped interactions may be particularly useful for understanding conflict in the parent-offspring tie in adulthood, given parents' tendency to describe the relationship as less conflicted compared to their adult offspring (Fingerman, 1996; 2003). By observing behaviors, rather than relying solely on self-reports, it is possible to explore behaviors individuals may be unaware of or reluctant to endorse in self-report inventories that may be important for the relationship. For example, findings from this study revealed associations between observed behaviors and self-reported relationship quality and psychological well-being. These associations help to further validate the use of observational methods to study conflict between adults and their parents. Results suggest parents and offspring who report worse quality relationships behave in more demanding ways and have partners who behave in more demanding ways than parents and offspring who report better quality relationships. Further, the unique design of this study, where offspring were videotaped with both their mothers and their fathers, offered the opportunity to explore both

generational and gender differences in these observed behaviors as well as within family associations between behaviors, relationship quality, and well-being. Finally, findings from this study are based on reports from four different people, including the adult offspring, their mother, their father, and an outside observer. These multiple reporters provide four different perspectives that contribute to our understanding of conflict in the parent-adult offspring relationship.

Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research

It is necessary to acknowledge some limitations of this study. First, the cross-sectional design of the study means we cannot be sure of the direction of our effects. For example, negative relationship quality could contribute to the greater use of demand behaviors rather than demand behaviors contributing to negative relationship quality. Further, only longitudinal data would allow us to describe how observed power behaviors change over the course of adulthood. The present study offers a snapshot of how parents and offspring negotiate tensions when parents are still in relatively good health. Future longitudinal studies should explore how parents' and offspring's communication behaviors change in response to parental illness or dependence.

In addition, findings from this study may not generalize to a more diverse sample considering participants included only European American and African American parents and offspring living within close proximity to one another. For example, research in adolescence suggests Latino American mothers dominate more during conversations with their adolescents compared to European American mothers (Lefkowitz, Romo, Corona, Au, & Sigman, 2000). Future research should explore whether similar findings emerge for Latino American parents and their adult offspring. Further, additional research should explore power differentials between parents and offspring separated by geographic distance, given that parents often desire more contact with their offspring (Luescher & Pillemer, 1998).

Finally, this study examined conflict behaviors in the context of dyadic interactions. Yet, research involving parents and adolescents suggests that parents and offspring behave differently during triadic and dyadic interactions (Smetana et al., 2000). Parents tend to engage in more negative types of communication during interactions where both parents are present with the adolescent (Smetana et al.). In the future, researchers should also examine the use of demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors during triadic interactions involving mothers, fathers, and adult offspring.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study indicates behaviors observed during marital interactions also occur during conversations between parents and adult offspring. Findings suggest that offspring may be in an advantaged position within the parent-offspring relationship as evidenced by their greater use of withdraw behaviors. Arguably, withdrawing creates barriers to conversation that make it difficult for parents to pursue the conflict discussion, considering it is difficult to achieve change without the cooperation of the other person. Further, findings suggest that offspring in African American and European American families resisted their parents' attempts at control, although African American offspring more than European American offspring, displayed fewer demand and dominant behaviors than did their parents. Additionally, this study found both mothers and daughters engaged in more dominant behaviors than fathers and sons, providing support for the idea that power behaviors may also be gendered, rather than solely a reflection of differential relationship investment. Finally, how parents and offspring behave during conflict discussions was associated with self-reported negative quality of the parent-offspring relationship as well as with individual family members' psychological well-being. The tendency for individuals in worse quality relationships to behave in more demanding ways may reflect

their dissatisfaction with the relationship. Parents and offspring who are discontent in their relationships may be more inclined to pressure their partner for some kind of change in the relationship. Overall, in the same way that demanding is damaging to marital relationships, engaging in demand behaviors also appears to be detrimental to the quality of the parent-adult offspring tie.

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Table 1

Descriptions of Observed Behavior Codes and Reliability Estimates

Behavior	Description	Average ICC	Minimum ICC	Maximum ICC
Pressures for change	Requesting, demanding, or nagging for some kind of change in behavior or in the relationship	.789	.748	.832
Blaming	Blaming, accusing, criticizing, or using sarcasm or insults	.652	.588	.784
Defensive	Communicating that s/he is blameless or attempting to justify one's position	.721	.612	.817
Critical	Criticizing the other person, having a problem with some aspect of the other person	.765	.619	.896
Judgmental	Making an evaluation of the other person as being wrong or what the other is saying is dumb	.710	.484	.869
Withdraws	Becoming silent, looking away, and disengaging from the conversation	.698	.486	.802
Submissive	Exhibiting limited use of space, high amounts of gaze, and shorter turns at talk	.655	.577	.759

Table 1 (*continued*).

Descriptions of Observed Behavior Codes and Reliability Estimates

Behavior	Description	Average ICC	Minimum ICC	Maximum ICC
Interrupts	Interrupting, simultaneous speech, and attempting to talk over one's partner	.694	.636	.743
Dominant	Attempting to control the conversation, being energetic and dynamic while talking	.697	.619	.782
Forceful	Coming on strong, directing the course of conversation, making strong assertions, and talking with purpose	.630	.537	.750
Hesitates	Saying, "er, uhm", trailing off, or abandoning statements	.558	.452	.715
Quick to give in	Easily admitting s/he is wrong, quick to back down, giving up or yielding to partner	.602	.511	.670
Avoidant	Avoiding discussing problem by changing topics, diverting or delaying discussion	.746	.692	.841

Table 2

Factor Loadings for Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

Behaviors	Offspring-Father	Offspring-Mother	Father	Mother
Factor 1: Demand				
Pressures for change	.607	.426	.728	.402
Blaming	.604	.629	.717	.558
Critical	.990	.867	.782	.895
Judgmental	.663	.885	.711	.741
Factor 2: Dominance				
Dominant	.658	.792	.774	.738
Forceful	.630	.768	.752	.790
Interrupts	.468	.447	.396	.395
Defensive	.393	.387	.346	.279
Factor 3: Withdraw				
Withdraws	.810	.983	.587	-.074
Submissive	.701	.674	.627	.006

Table 3

Summary of Focused Contrasts for Generational and Gender Differences in Demand, Withdraw, and Dominant Behaviors

Variables	Demand behaviors		Withdraw behaviors		Dominant behaviors	
	M (*SD*)	*t*-test	*M* (*SD*)	*t*-test	*M* (*SD*)	*t*-test
Generation						
Offspring w/father	1.6 (0.6)	0.92	1.7 (0.8)	3.19**	2.2 (0.8)	-0.43
Father	1.5 (0.5)		1.5 (0.5)		2.3 (0.7)	
Offspring w/mother	1.7 (0.6)	-0.49	1.6 (0.8)	2.33*	2.5 (0.9)	-1.23
Mother	1.7 (0.6)		1.4 (0.5)		2.6 (0.8)	
Parent Gender		3.65***		-1.46		4.56***
Father	1.5 (0.5)		1.5 (0.5)		2.3 (0.7)	
Mother	1.7 (0.6)		1.4 (0.5)		2.6 (0.8)	
Offspring Gender						
Daughter w/father	1.6 (0.5)	-0.45	1.7 (0.8)	1.13	2.3 (0.8)	-1.48
Son w/father	1.6 (0.6)		1.8 (0.8)		2.2 (0.7)	
Daughter w/mother	1.7 (0.6)	-0.60	1.5 (0.8)	1.18	2.6 (0.9)	-2.34*
Son w/mother	1.7 (0.7)		1.7 (0.8)		2.3 (0.8)	

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

Table 4

Summary of ANOVAs for Variability in Generational Differences in Behaviors by Ethnicity

Variables	Demand behaviors		Withdraw behaviors		Dominant behaviors	
	M (*SD*)	*F*-test	*M* (*SD*)	*F*-test	*M* (*SD*)	*F*-test
Parent Gender		0.37		0.38		0.06
Offspring Gender		1.19		0.02		0.15
Ethnicity		8.23**		18.82***		10.33**
African American	.16 (.07)		-.57 (.10)		.31 (.09)	
European American	-.09 (.05)		-.03 (.07)		-.05 (.06)	

Note. Means and standard deviations represent the difference scores between parents' and offspring's behaviors. Larger scores represent a greater generational difference in the behavior. Positive values indicate that parents displayed the behavior more frequently than offspring, whereas negative values indicate that offspring displayed the behavior more frequently than parents. Means and standard deviations are only presented when the main effect was significant.

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5

Correlations Between Offspring's and Fathers' Observed Behaviors, Relationship Quality, and Psychological Well-being

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Offspring demand		.54**	-.16	.25**	.16	.07	-.07	.30**	-.07	.22**	.24**	-.13	. 05	.03
2. Offspring dominant			-.50**	-.02	.25**	-.04	-.03	.10	.10	-.11	.09	.03	.11	.06
3. Offspring withdraw				.24**	-.01	.12	-.11	.08	-.18*	.16*	.18*	-.26**	-.06	-.00
4. Father demand					.32**	.01	.04	.13	-.09	.42**	.07	-.13	.06	-.07
5. Father dominant						-.31**	-.05	.19*	.02	.20*	.20*	-.19*	.15	-.11
6. Father withdraw							-.17*	.00	-.22**	.01	.16	-.15	.01	.01
7. Offspring positive relationship quality								-.54**	.23**	-.01	-.26**	. 29**	-.17*	.03
8. Offspring negative relationship quality									-.07	.21**	.31**	-.38**	-.04	-.01
9. Father positive relationship quality										-.43**	-.10	.22**	.06	.13
10. Father negative relationship quality											.05	-.14	.05	-.09
11. Offspring CES-D score												-.50**	.05	.01
12. Offspring life satisfaction													.05	-.02
13. Father CES-D score														-.38**
14. Father life satisfaction														

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

Table 6

Correlations Between Offspring's and Mothers' Observed Behaviors, Relationship Quality, and Psychological Well-being

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Offspring demand		.51**	-.14	.39**	.32**	.02	-.21**	.38**	-.15	.29**	.18*	-.18*	.26**	-.17*
2. Offspring dominant			-.50**	.15	.50**	-.09	-.15	.13	.06	.00	.10	-.02	. 17*	-.11
3. Offspring withdraw				.25***	-.04	-.05	-.06	.07	-.24**	.15	.14	-.20*	-.04	.08
4. Mother demand					.44**	-.12	-.10	.34**	-.32**	.45**	.18*	-.23**	.04	-.03
5. Mother dominant						-.30**	-.21**	.21**	-.08	.08	.14	-.19*	.14	-.00
6. Mother withdraw							.01	.03	-.05	.07	-.18*	.13	.10	-.02
7. Offspring positive relationship quality								-.43**	.31**	-.27**	-.27**	.26**	-.30**	.24**
8. Offspring negative relationship quality									-.41**	.54**	.30**	-.31**	.23**	-.21*
9. Mother positive relationship quality										-.69**	-.20*	.33**	-.09	.24**
10. Mother negative relationship quality											.17*	-.16	.07	-.24**
11. Offspring CES-D score												-.50**	.04	-.06
12. Offspring life satisfaction													-.16*	.17*
13. Mother CES-D score														-.57**
14. Mother life satisfaction														

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

Table 7

Regression Results for Path Models Examining Positive and Negative Relationship Quality

Variable	Model 1 Offspring with father B	S.E. B	β	Model 2 Offspring with mother B	S.E. B	β	Model 3 Father B	S.E. B	β	Model 4 Mother B	S.E. B	β
Positive qualities												
Offspring gender	-1.42	.69	-.16	-.89	.56	-.12	-.25	.53	-.04	-.46	.55	-.06
Self demand behaviors	-.46	.73	-.06	-.99	.53	-.17	-.16	.54	-.02	-1.67	.50	-.28***
Self withdraw behaviors	-.79	.39	-.18	-.62	.41	-.14	-1.38	.56	-.20	-.59	.58	-.08
Self dominant behaviors	-.37	.60	-.06	-.32	.44	-.08	-.23	.42	-.05	-.03	.42	-.01
Partner's demand behaviors	.84	.71	.10	.46	.51	.08	-.73	.56	-.12	-.53	.53	-.09
Partner's withdraw behaviors	-1.20	.73	-.14	-.22	.59	-.03	-.47	.39	-.11	-.73	.41	-.16
Partner's dominant behaviors	-.71	.55	-.11	-.86	.42	-.18	.50	.48	.11	.19	.43	.05
Negative qualities												
Offspring gender	.10	.63	.01	-.84	.59	-.11	-.23	.53	-.03	-1.32	.62	-.15
Self demand behaviors	2.34	.66	.32***	2.17	.56	.34***	2.12	.55	.30***	3.17	.57	.44***
Self withdraw behaviors	.49	.35	.12	.19	.44	.04	.23	.56	.03	.82	.65	.09
Self dominant behaviors	-.31	.54	-.06	-.50	.46	-.11	.78	.42	.15	-.68	.47	-.12
Partner's demand behaviors	-.24	.64	-.03	1.16	.54	.18	1.77	.56	.27**	1.56	.59	.22
Partner's withdraw behaviors	.00	.66	.00	.65	.62	.08	-.03	.39	-.01	.15	.46	.03
Partner's dominant behaviors	.95	.50	.16	.55	.44	.11	-1.42	.48	-.29**	-.64	.49	-.13

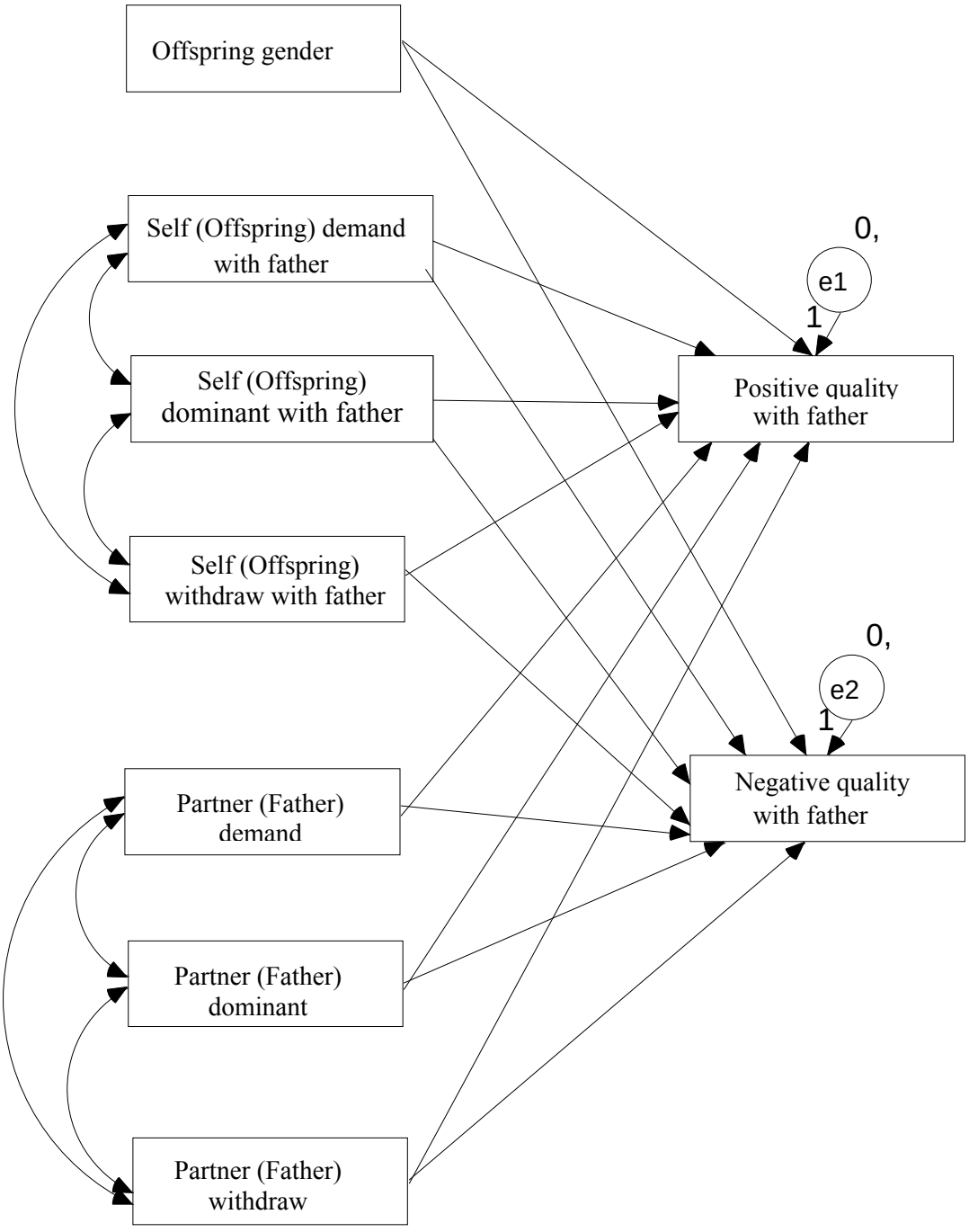
** $p < .006$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 8

Regression Results for Path Models Examining Psychological Well-being

Variable	Model 1 Offspring with father B	S.E. B	β	Model 2 Offspring with mother B	S.E. B	β	Model 3 Father B	S.E. B	β	Model 4 Mother B	S.E. B	β
Depressive symptoms												
Offspring gender	-.21	.79	-.02	.51	.82	.05	.20	.72	.02	.12	.66	.01
Self demand behaviors	2.30	.84	.25**	1.18	.78	.14	.40	.73	.05	-.84	.60	-.12
Self withdraw behaviors	.88	.44	.17	1.33	.61	.20	.56	.75	.06	1.11	.69	.13
Self dominant behaviors	-.25	.69	-.04	.80	.64	.13	.89	.57	.14	.77	.50	.14
Partner's demand behaviors	1.21	.81	-.12	.41	.75	.05	-.32	.75	-.04	1.78	.63	.26**
Partner's withdraw behaviors	1.99	.84	.19	-1.79	.86	-.17	-.23	.52	-.04	.25	.49	.05
Partner's dominant behaviors	1.94	.63	.26**	-.16	.62	-.02	.50	.64	.08	.12	.52	.02
Life satisfaction												
Offspring gender	-.24	.23	-.08	-.40	.24	-.13	.05	.23	.02	.32	.23	.11
Self demand behaviors	-.41	.25	-.14	-.43	.23	-.17	-.10	.24	-.04	.00	.21	.00
Self withdraw behaviors	-.39	.13	-.26**	-.36	.18	-.18	-.12	.24	-.04	-.01	.24	-.00
Self dominant behaviors	.10	.20	.05	.06	.19	.03	-.28	.18	-.14	.15	.17	.08
Partner's demand behaviors	.11	.24	.04	-.18	.22	-.07	.02	.24	.01	-.42	.22	-.18
Partner's withdraw behaviors	-.47	.25	-.15	.32	.25	.10	.13	.17	.07	.06	.17	.03
Partner's dominant behaviors	-.53	.18	-.24**	-.24	.18	-.12	.23	.21	.12	-.03	.18	-.02

** $p < .006$, *** $p < .001$.


Offspring gender
Self (Offspring) demand with father
Self (Offspring) dominant with father
Self (Offspring) withdraw with father
Partner (Father) demand
Partner (Father) dominant
Partner (Father) withdraw
0,
e1
1
Positive quality with father
0,
e2
1
Negative quality with father

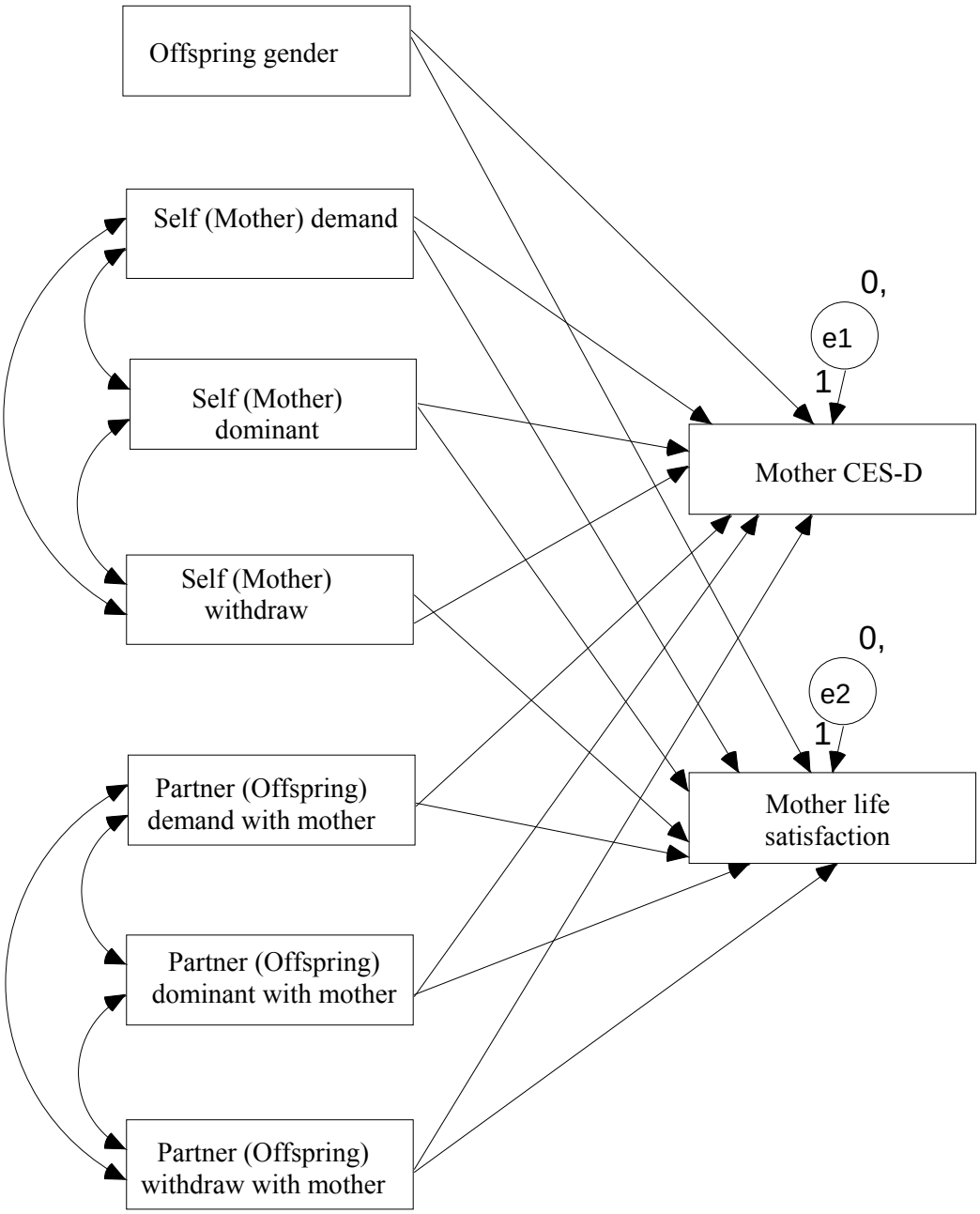

Offspring gender
Self (Mother) demand
Self (Mother) dominant
Self (Mother) withdraw
Partner (Offspring) demand with mother
Partner (Offspring) dominant with mother
Partner (Offspring) withdraw with mother
0,
e1
1
Mother CES-D
0,
e2
1
Mother life satisfaction

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Example of path analytic model examining associations between observed demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors and offspring's self-reported relationship quality.

Figure 2. Example of path analytic model examining associations between observed demand, withdraw, and dominant behaviors and mothers' self-reported psychological well-being.

CHAPTER 4

Perceptions of Achievement Between Parents and Grown Offspring

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Abstract

This study examined generational and gender differences in parents' and grown offspring's perceptions of their own and their parents'/offspring's achievements. In addition, this study explored whether parents' and offspring's psychological well-being was more strongly associated with their self-perceptions or with their parents'/offspring's perceptions of their achievements. Participants included 158 women and men (aged 22 to 49), their mothers, and their fathers ($N = 474$). Parents and offspring evaluated their own and the other party's vocational and relational success. In general, parents described their offspring as more successful than offspring described themselves. Fathers and sons described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain than did mothers and daughters. Fathers', but not mothers', well-being was associated with their perceptions of their offspring's achievements. Offspring's and mothers' well-being was also associated with the other person's perceptions of their achievements. Findings suggest that in adulthood, others' perceptions have psychological implications for both generations.

Perceptions of Achievement Between Parents and Grown Offspring

Prior research in childhood and adolescence indicates that parents' perceptions of their children's achievements have implications for children's self-concept and task performance (Bouchey & Harter, 2005; Eccles & Jacob, 1986; Frome & Eccles, 1998). In adulthood, studies suggest parents' perceptions of their offspring's successes hold psychological consequences for parents (Carr, 2004; 2005; Ryff, Lee, Essex, & Schmutte, 1994). Yet, previous studies have generally relied on parents' perspectives without considering the perspective of the adult offspring (Carr, 2004; 2005; Ryff et al.). The present study expands upon previous social comparison research by examining associations between perceptions of achievement and psychological well-being for both parents and their grown offspring. Considering that parents and offspring remain invested in the parent-child relationship throughout life (Rossi & Rossi, 1990), the well-being of both generations may be tied to the accomplishments and opinions of the other person.

In particular, this study explores what matters more for family members' well-being, how they see themselves or how the other person sees them. This study also investigates whether offspring's achievements are more important sources of parental well-being than parents' own accomplishments when both parties are in adulthood. Prior to examining these associations, this study explores gender and generational differences in achievement to describe how fathers, mothers, and adult sons or daughters view their own and one another's achievements in different life domains.

Generational and Gender Differences in Perceptions of Achievement

Previous studies have examined achievement in one domain, such as work or family (Carr, 2004; 2005), or relied on objective indicators of success, such as years of education (Ryff et al., 1994; Ryff, Schmutte, & Lee, 1996). This study focuses on parents' and offspring's perceptions of their own and one another's achievements in multiple domains, including achievements in both the vocational and relational domains. The *vocational* domain refers to educational, occupational, and financial

success, whereas the *relational* domain refers to success in romantic relationships and family life (e.g. having children). Additionally, this study expands upon previous research by including the perspectives of both generations, thus making it possible to examine both generational and gender differences in perceptions of achievement.

Generational differences. Prior research suggests that parents tend to view the parent-child relationship through rose-colored glasses, describing the relationship as both more positive and less contentious than do their offspring or outside observers (Fingerman, 2003; Giarrusso, Feng, & Bengston, 2005; Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1996; Shapiro, 2004; Welsh, Galliher, & Powers, 1998). Perhaps, parents' more favorable perception of the relationship is a reflection of parents engaging in positive illusions when it comes to their offspring. Engaging in positive illusions refers to representing oneself, a close other, or a relationship in a way that is different or more superior to the way it is in reality (Martz et al., 1998). Indeed, research reveals a tendency for individuals to see close others as better than average (Taylor & Brown, 1988), such that parents may describe their offspring as more successful than their offspring describe themselves. In contrast, offspring's tendency to view the parent-offspring tie more realistically may lead offspring to also evaluate their parents' achievements more accurately. Therefore, parents are expected to rate their offspring as more successful than their offspring rate their own achievements, whereas offspring and parents are not expected to differ in their ratings of parents' achievements (Hypothesis 1).

Gender differences. Based on their experiences, mothers, fathers, daughters, and sons may also differ in how they describe their own personal achievements in the vocational and relational domains. Previous research implies that for middle-aged parents, success in one domain often came at the expense of success in another domain, such as fathers' successful fulfillment of the provider role occurring at the expense of time with his family (Carr, 2005). Mothers were likely to be presented with different educational, occupational, and familial opportunities compared to fathers (Carr, 1997; 2004;

2005). In contrast, shifting opportunities and expectations for both women and men to attain success in the domains of work and family may lead to few differences between daughters and sons in their perceptions of achievement in the vocational and relational domains (Arnett, 2000; Carr, 2004; 2005; Sparks, Faragher, & Cooper, 2001). For these reasons, mothers are expected to report greater success than fathers in the relational domain, whereas fathers are expected to report greater success than mothers in the vocational domain (Hypothesis 2). Despite the blurring of family roles experienced by daughters and sons, it is less clear whether there will be gender differences in offspring's perceptions of their own achievements. Therefore, no specific hypotheses are proposed for offspring gender differences, although these differences will also be examined.

Perceptions of Achievement and Parents' and Grown Offspring's Psychological Well-being

In addition to generational and gender differences, we also expect perceptions of achievement to be associated with individuals' psychological well-being. According to previous social comparison studies, individuals experience positive affect when they engage in downward comparisons, against those less successful than the self. In comparison, individuals experience negative affect when they engage in upward comparisons, against those more successful than the self (Kruglanski & Mayseless, 1990; Suls, Martin, & Wheeler, 2002; Wood, 1996). In the context of a relationship, such as the parent-offspring tie, associations between success and well-being may be complicated by the perspective of close others. In other words, well-being may be not only a product of how one sees oneself, but also of how one is seen by others (Robins & Boldero, 2003; Robins, Pattison, & Elliott, 2001).

The strength of the association between others' opinions and well-being, however, may depend in part upon one's generational status. In particular, parents and offspring may differ in the extent to which they incorporate the others' opinions and accomplishments into their psychological well-being. Research indicates people tend to integrate close others, such as family, into their self-concepts

(Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). Theoretically, both parents and adult offspring may be described as interdependent individuals, who are likely to incorporate others and others' attributes into how they feel about themselves (Brown, Novick, Lord, & Richards, 1992; Kemmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001). For example, parents may interpret their offspring's accomplishments as markers of their own successful fulfillment of the parental role (Ryff et al., 1996). Indeed, considering how central offspring are to their parents' identity, when offspring are successful, parents' own successes or failures may pale in comparison because investment in the parental role may lead parents to value their offspring's achievements above their own (Martz et al., 1998; Ryff et al., 1994; 1996). For these reasons, parents' psychological well-being is expected to be more strongly associated with how they view their offspring's success than with how parents view their own success (Hypothesis 3).

In a similar way, both parents and offspring may also incorporate the opinions of close others into how they see themselves. Early in life, parents' perceptions of their children's abilities hold implications for children's self concepts (Eccles & Jacob, 1986; Frome & Eccles, 1998; McGrath & Repetti, 2000). In adulthood, the parent-child tie evolves into a relationship between autonomous adults (Noack & Buhl, 2004). Thus, both parents and adult offspring are expected to value one another's opinions and to experience psychological benefits when a close other describes them as more successful and distress when a close other describes them as less successful than their peers (Hypothesis 4).

Moderation by Offspring Gender

It is possible that parents' perceptions have different implications for daughters and sons, such that offspring gender may moderate associations between parents' perceptions and offspring's well-being. In general, women tend to construct their identities in terms of relationships and to emphasize interdependence as most important for their self concepts, whereas men tend to value relational independence and emphasize unique abilities as most important for their self-concepts (Kiecolt-Glaser

& Newton, 2001; Madson & Trafimow, 2001). For these reasons, parents' evaluations of offspring's vocational and relational achievements may have different psychological consequences for daughters and sons. If successful relationships are most important to daughters, they may benefit more than sons when their parents describe them as more successful in the relational domain. In contrast, sons may benefit more than daughters when their parents describe them as more successful in the vocational domain. Therefore, daughters' well-being is expected to be more strongly associated with parents' assessment of their success in the relational domain, whereas sons' well-being is expected to be more strongly associated with parents' assessment of their success in the vocational domain (Hypothesis 5).

In summary, the present study describes parents' and grown offspring's perceptions of their own and the other party's achievements by examining gender and generational differences in these perceptions. Further, this study examines the psychological implications for both generations when they or their parents/offspring engage in social comparisons and whether the associations between parents' perceptions of offspring's achievement and offspring's well-being are moderated by offspring gender.

Methods

Participants

The sample was obtained as part of The Adult Family Study, a larger study of adults and their parents (N = 213 families; Fingerman, Lefkowitz, & Hay, 2005). Participants included a sub-sample of 158 triads (N = 474), including a daughter or son, their mother, and their father from African American (n = 52) and European American (n = 106) families. A stratified sampling technique assured that the sample included comparable numbers of daughters (n = 82) and sons (n = 76) well distributed by age and ethnicity. Offspring ranged in age from 22 to 49 (daughters M = 35.1, SD = 7.5, sons M = 34.8, SD = 7.1). Parents ranged in age from 40 to 84 years (fathers M = 63.0, SD = 9.3, mothers M = 61.3, SD = 8.8). The larger sample completed telephone interviews, and the sub-sample of participants completed

both telephone interviews and in-person videotaped interviews. After the in-person interviews, family members completed a series of questionnaires, including a measure of perceptions of achievement. For more detailed information on the sample, see Fingerman, Chen, Hay, Cichy, and Lefkowitz, 2006.

Participants were recruited from 5 counties in the greater Philadelphia Metropolitan Statistical area. Potential participants were identified via purchased telephone lists. Recruitment took place by contacting households to determine if offspring and their parents were eligible for the study. If a household was contacted that only contained adults over the age of 50, they were screened to determine if they had any eligible adult offspring. The majority of participants (85%) were recruited through either the offspring or the parents using these purchased lists. The remaining participants were recruited through convenience sampling (e.g. church and community center bulletins, 7%) and snowball sampling (8%) techniques. Recruitment techniques were evenly distributed by offspring's age, gender, and ethnicity.

In order to be eligible to participate, offspring had to be living in the Philadelphia area and reside within 50 miles of both their mother and father. Offspring were excluded from participation if they did not have 2 living parents. Parents included whomever the offspring identified as their mother and father. Biological parents made up the majority of parents in the study (97% of mothers and 91% of fathers), although offspring also identified stepparents (1% of mothers and 7% of fathers) or adopted parents (2% of mothers and fathers). Parents did not have to be married to one another to be eligible to participate; however 86% of the parents who participated in the study with their offspring were married to the other parent in the study. Many of the remaining parents in the study were married, but not to the participating offspring's other parent.

Table 1 presents demographic characteristics, including education, marital status, work status, and income, separately for daughters, sons, fathers, and mothers. There were no significant gender differences in educational attainment between daughters and sons or between fathers and mothers (*F*s

(1,151) < 1.00, *p*s > .05). There were gender differences in work status $\chi^2 = 31.94$, $p < .001$, with women more likely to be homemakers/caretakers and less likely to be retired than men.

Measures

Perceptions of achievement. Participants completed a series of items to assess achievements in five different life domains: education, work/career, romantic relationships, family life (e.g. having children), and finances. In all domains, parents and offspring compared their own achievements to those of their same-aged peers. Offspring also completed the same series of items, separately for their mother and father, in reference to how they perceived their parents' achievements in each of these domains. Mothers and fathers also completed a series of items in reference to how they perceived their offspring's achievements in each of these domains. For example, parents were asked, "In comparison to other people your child's age, how would you rate his or her achievements in education?" Participants answered using a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*less successful*) to 5 (*more successful*). These measures were adapted from prior social comparison studies involving parents and their adult offspring (Ryff et al., 1994; 1996), and include additional domains of achievement, such as romantic relationships and family life, that previous studies have not explicitly examined. Higher scores on this measure indicate greater success in a domain.

Data Reduction

Domains of Achievement. Prior to conducting analyses, exploratory factor analysis was used to establish sub-scales of achievement. Separate factor analyses were conducted for offspring's, mothers' and fathers' perceptions of achievement. Items included five different domains of achievement (i.e. education, work/career, romantic relationships, family life, and finances). Sub-scales were established after conducting the principal components procedure, where extraction included eigenvalues greater than 1 and varimax rotation. This procedure indicated there were two factors (See Table 2). The factors were labeled "vocational achievements" and "relational achievements". For parents, sub-scales were

created to represent their perceptions of their own achievements and their perceptions of their offspring's achievements. For offspring, sub-scales were created to represent their self-perceptions and their perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' achievements. The sub-scales demonstrated satisfactory reliability, with alphas ranging from .60 to .79.

Psychological Well-being

Depressive symptoms. Psychological well-being was assessed using an adapted version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Kohout, Berkman, Evans, & Cornoni-Huntley, 1993; Radloff, 1977). This short-form of the CES-D is an 11-item measure of depressive symptoms that taps the experience of negative affect (e.g. felt sad), not experiencing positive affect (e.g. enjoyed life), somatic (e.g. poor appetite), and interpersonal (e.g. felt people disliked me) symptoms of depression. Participants were asked how often they experienced each symptom in the past week using a 4-point scale from 1 (*rarely or none at all*) to 4 (*most of the time*). The measure demonstrated satisfactory reliability, with alphas ranging from .74 to .84.

Life satisfaction. A positive aspect of psychological well-being, global life satisfaction, was assessed with a single-item. Participants rated how satisfied they were with their life overall on a scale of 1 (*not at all satisfied*) to 10 (*very satisfied*; Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffen, 1985). Prior research, including the National Survey of Families and Households, has used this single-item indicator of life satisfaction (Knoester & Eggebeen, 2006).

Results

Generational and Gender Differences in Perceptions of Achievement

Generational differences. Generational differences in perceptions of achievement were examined using a series of focused contrasts conducted separately for each domain of achievement (i.e. vocational and relational achievements). The first set of contrasts compared: (a) offspring's perceptions of their own achievements to their fathers' perceptions of offspring's achievements and (b) offspring's

perceptions of their own achievements to their mothers' perceptions of offspring's achievements. The second set of contrasts compared: (a) fathers' perceptions of their own achievements to offspring's perceptions of their fathers' achievements and (b) mothers' perceptions of their own achievements to offspring's perceptions of their mothers' achievements (Table 3).

Results revealed significant generational differences between offspring's and fathers' perceptions of offspring's vocational and relational achievements. Fathers described their offspring as more successful in the vocational and the relational domains compared to how offspring described their own vocational and relational achievements. There were also significant generational differences between offspring's and mothers' perceptions of offspring's vocational achievements. Like fathers, mothers described their offspring as more successful in the vocational domain than offspring described themselves. There was not a significant difference between offspring's and mothers' perceptions of offspring's relational achievements, although the results approached significance. Results also revealed no significant differences between fathers' and offspring's perceptions of fathers' achievements or between mothers' and offspring's perceptions of mothers' achievements.

Gender differences. Gender differences in perceptions of achievement were also examined using a series of focused contrasts conducted separately for the two domains of achievement (Table 3). The first set of contrasts compared mothers' self-perceptions to fathers' self-perceptions of achievements, whereas the second set of contrasts compared daughters' self-perceptions to sons' self-perceptions. Fathers and mothers differed in their perceptions of their own vocational achievements. Fathers described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain than did mothers. There were no differences between fathers and mothers in perceptions of their own relational achievements.

Results also revealed significant differences between daughters and sons in their perceptions of their own vocational achievements. Sons described themselves as more successful in the vocational

domain than did daughters. There were no differences between sons and daughters in their perceptions of their own relational achievements.

In summary, results provided support for Hypothesis 1: parents rated offspring as more successful than offspring rated themselves. Also consistent with our expectations, parents and offspring did not differ in their ratings of parents' achievements. Results provided partial support for Hypotheses 2. As expected, fathers described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain than did mothers. Sons also described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain than daughters. There were no significant parental or offspring gender differences, however, in perceptions of achievement in the relational domain.

Perceptions of Achievement and Parents' and Grown Offspring's Psychological Well-being

Bivariate results. Prior to hypothesis testing, correlations were examined between perceptions of achievement and measures of psychological well-being. Results indicated significant associations between perceptions of achievement, depressive symptoms, and life satisfaction, suggesting multivariate analyses were warranted (Table 4).

Path analyses. A series of path analysis models was then conducted using the statistical package AMOS 5.0 to examine multivariate associations between perceptions of achievement and psychological well-being. Results were only considered statistically significant if they reached a significance level of $p < .01$. The first set of models tested Hypothesis 3, that parents' well-being would be more strongly associated with how they viewed their offspring's success than with how parents' viewed their own success. Models were estimated separately for mothers and fathers.

In this first set of path analyses there were two separate models and each model included two regressions. Figure 1 presents an example of these models examining fathers' well-being. In the first regression, parent's own perceptions of their vocational and relational achievements (i.e. self perceptions) and parents' perceptions of their offspring's vocational and relational achievements (i.e.

perceptions of other) were regressed onto parents' depressive symptoms. In the second regression, the same independent variables were regressed onto each parent's overall life satisfaction.

Results indicated a significant association between fathers' perceptions of their offspring's vocational achievements and fathers' life satisfaction (Table 5, Model 1). Fathers who described their offspring as more successful in the vocational domain also reported greater satisfaction with life. Fathers' depressive symptoms were not significantly associated with fathers' perceptions of their own achievements or their offspring's achievements in the multivariate models. In comparison, there was a significant association between mothers' perceptions of their own vocational achievements and their life satisfaction. Specifically, mothers who described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain also reported greater overall life satisfaction. Mothers' depressive symptoms were not significantly associated with mothers' perceptions of their own achievements or their offspring's achievements in the multivariate models.

The next set of models tested Hypothesis 4, where parents' and offspring's psychological well-being was expected to be associated with their parents'/offspring's perceptions of their achievements. This series of analyses included three separate models, one each for fathers, mothers, and offspring. Figure 2 presents an example of these models examining fathers' well-being. The parent models consisted of two regressions. In the first regression, parents' own perceptions of their vocational and relational achievements (i.e. self) and offspring's perceptions of their parents' vocational and relational achievements (i.e. OS perceptions of parent) were regressed onto parents' depressive symptoms. In the second regression, the same independent variables were regressed onto parents' life satisfaction.

Results indicated fathers' well-being was not significantly associated with their own or their offspring's perceptions of fathers' achievements (Table 5, Model 2). Then, we examined associations between mothers' own perceptions of their achievements, offspring's perceptions of mothers' achievements, and mothers' well-being. In contrast to fathers, mothers' well-being was associated with

their own and their offspring's perceptions. Offspring's perceptions of their mothers' vocational and relational achievements were significantly associated with mothers' depressive symptoms. Mothers whose offspring described them as more successful in the vocational and relational domain also reported fewer depressive symptoms. Mothers' life satisfaction was also associated with offspring's perceptions of their mothers' relational achievements. Mothers whose offspring described them as more successful in the relational domain also reported greater satisfaction with life.

In, the next model we examined associations between offspring's own perceptions of their achievements (i.e. self), each parent's perceptions of offspring's' achievements (i.e. father and mother perceptions of other), and offspring's well-being. Figure 3 presents an example of these models examining offspring's well-being. Results indicated offspring's own perceptions of their relational achievements and mothers' perceptions of offspring's relational achievements were significantly associated with offspring's depressive symptoms (Table 6). Offspring who described themselves as more successful in the relational domain and offspring whose mothers described them as more successful in the relational domain also reported fewer depressive symptoms. Offspring's life satisfaction was also associated with offspring's own perceptions of their vocational and relational achievements and with mothers' perceptions of offspring's relational achievements. Offspring who described themselves as more successful in the vocational and relational domain and offspring whose mothers described them as more successful in the relational domain also reported greater overall life satisfaction.

In summary, results partially supported Hypothesis 3: fathers' well-being was associated with fathers' perceptions of their offspring's vocational achievements. In comparison, mothers' well-being was associated with their own perceptions of their achievements rather than with their perceptions of their offspring's achievements. In particular, mothers' life satisfaction was associated with mothers' perceptions of their own vocational achievements. Also, results for offspring and mothers provided

support for Hypothesis 4. As expected, even after offspring's self perceptions were considered, mothers' perceptions of offspring's achievements were associated with offspring's well-being. Similarly, offspring's perceptions of their mothers' achievements were associated with mothers' well-being even after mothers' self perceptions were considered.

Moderation by Offspring Gender

Finally, we explored whether associations between parents' perceptions of offspring's achievements and offspring's well-being were moderated by offspring gender (Hypothesis 5). In order to test this hypothesis, models were estimated separately for daughters and sons. Models were also estimated separately for offspring and fathers and for offspring and mothers. These models again consisted of two regressions. In the first regression, offspring's own perceptions of their vocational and relational achievements and parents' (i.e. fathers' or mothers') perceptions of offspring's vocational and relational achievements were regressed onto offspring's depressive symptoms. In the second regression, the same independent variables were regressed onto offspring's life satisfaction.

Results indicated that the regression weights for parents' perceptions of offspring's vocational and relational achievements were similar for daughters and sons. These similar beta weights indicate that contrary to expectations, offspring gender does not moderate the associations between parents' perceptions of offspring's achievements and offspring's well-being.

Discussion

The goals of present study were three-fold: (a) to examine generational and gender differences in perceptions of achievement between adults and their parents, (b) to determine what matters more for psychological well-being, one's own perceptions or the perceptions of one's parents/offspring, and (c) to explore whether offspring gender moderates associations between parents' perceptions and offspring's well-being. As anticipated, there were generational and gender differences in perceptions of

achievement. Also as expected, fathers' well-being was associated with their perceptions of their offspring's' achievements. Contrary to expectations, mothers' perceptions of their own achievements rather than mothers' perceptions of their offspring's achievements were associated with mothers' psychological well-being. Further, consistent with our hypotheses, offspring's and mothers' well-being were associated with their mothers'/offspring's perceptions of their achievements. Finally, results did not support offspring gender as a moderator of the associations between parents' perceptions and offspring's well-being.

Generational and Gender Differences in Perceptions of Achievement

Generational differences. Consistent with our expectations, parents described their offspring as more successful than offspring described themselves. This finding suggests parents may be engaging in positive illusions regarding their offspring's success, where they may see their offspring as more successful than they may be in reality (Martz et al., 1998). Parents may be particularly motivated to engage in these positive illusions considering how central offspring's accomplishments may be to parents' own identities (Martz et al.; Ryff et al., 1994; 1996). Parents may benefit from describing their offspring as more successful than others because parents may live vicariously through their offspring's accomplishments. Indeed, offspring's success may serve as a proxy for parents' successful fulfillment of the parental role.

Of course, for parents to be engaging in positive illusions regarding their offspring, it is assumed that offspring's reports represent reality. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study to determine the truth in offspring's ratings, there is evidence to support offspring's accuracy. First, offspring tend to describe the parent-child relationship in more realistic terms than parents, such that their reports are often consistent with those of outside observers (Fingerman, 2003; Giarrusso et al., 2005; Gonzales et al., 1996; Shapiro, 2004; Welsh et al., 1998). Additionally, offspring rated their parents' success similarly to parents' own self-evaluations of their success. Taken together, these

statements provide support for the assertion that offspring's evaluations of their success may represent reality, whereas parents' descriptions may represent parents seeing their offspring through somewhat rose-colored glasses. Still, it is possible that parents' ratings of offspring's achievements are accurate and offspring are underestimating their own achievements or simply being modest. It could be that offspring have higher standards for success than their parents do, and these higher standards contribute to offspring underrating their success in different domains.

Gender differences. Findings also provided support for gender differences in both parents' and offspring's perceptions of their own achievements. Fathers and sons described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain than did mothers and daughters. Although fathers were expected to describe themselves as more successful in this domain, the difference between sons and daughters seems at first somewhat surprising. It was unclear whether there would be gender differences between daughters and sons given changing gender roles that encourage both genders to strive for successful fulfillment of work and family roles (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000; Sweeney, 2002; Teachman, Tedrow, & Crowder, 2000). This difference, however, may be a reflection of societal level discrepancies between women and men in their work-related experiences. For example, as women, daughters are likely to earn less money and to be required to take more time away from work than their male counterparts (Wharton, 2000). For these reasons, although daughters and sons may both be encouraged to excel in work- and family-life, daughters may not view their successes in the vocational domain as favorably as sons, particularly if they are comparing their accomplishments to their same aged peers of both genders.

In comparison, there were no gender differences in perceptions of relational achievements for parents or offspring. It could be that there are no differences in perceptions of relational achievements because success in family life and romantic relationships may be less susceptible to external influences, such as societal inequalities. For example, although fathers may have spent less time with

their children compared to mothers, they nonetheless married and raised families, and these accomplishments may be enough to be considered successful in the relational domain.

Perceptions of Achievement and Parents' and Grown Offspring's Psychological Well-being

In addition to examining gender and generational differences this study also explored whether offspring's and parents' well-being was associated with their own perceptions and their parents'/offspring's perceptions of their achievements. Parents' well-being was expected to be more strongly associated with how they felt their offspring were doing than with how they viewed their own achievements. Findings from this study found support for this expectation only for fathers. Fathers who described their offspring as more successful in the vocational domain also reported greater life satisfaction. This finding is consistent with prior research that examined an objective indicator of offspring's success, educational attainment, and found an association between offspring's educational success and fathers' well-being (Ryff et al., 1994; 1996). In general, this finding suggests that once offspring are grown, fathers may value their offspring's achievements above their own accomplishments, such that fathers experience greater psychological well-being when their offspring are more successful than others. Alternatively, fathers who experience greater psychological well-being could also perceive their offspring as more successful. Future longitudinal studies should attempt to disentangle the direction of influence between fathers' perceptions of their offspring's achievements and fathers' well-being.

In contrast, mothers' well-being was associated with their perceptions of their own achievements, even after their perceptions of their offspring's achievements were considered. In other words, findings do not support the expectation that offspring's successes are more important for mothers' well-being than mothers' own accomplishments. This may in part reflect developmental changes that begin in midlife, where mothers may begin to shift their attention from their offspring and instead focus on their own careers and social relationships (Sterns & Huyck, 2001; White & Edwards,

1990). Indeed, findings indicated mothers who described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain also reported greater life satisfaction. This finding implies that in middle and later life, mothers' well-being may be tied more to their accomplishments in the previously male dominated domain of work. This could be the case because mothers' success in the vocational domain may be unexpected or contrary to society's expectations. Research suggests there are greater consequences for well-being when there is a disconfirmation of expectations (Carlsmith & Aronson, 1963). For example, prior work indicates that parents experience greater psychological benefits when their sons are more successful in the interpersonal domain, a domain that they are not expected to be as successful in as daughters (Ryff et al., 1996). For these reasons, success in the vocational domain may contribute to enhanced psychological well-being for mothers because it disconfirms expectations.

Mothers' and offspring's well-being were also associated with how the other person viewed their accomplishments. Even after considering offspring's own perceptions of their achievements, findings indicated that offspring whose mothers described them as more successful than others in the relational domain experienced higher levels of psychological well-being. This finding suggests that even once offspring have left home and entered adult roles, their mothers' perceptions of their success remain important to them. Fathers' perceptions of offspring's achievements, however, were not associated with offspring's well-being in the multivariate models. Due in part to the greater intimacy between mothers and offspring throughout life (Collins & Russell, 1991; Lye, 1996; Silverstein, Parrott, & Bengston, 1995), fathers' perceptions of offspring's achievements may not be as important to offspring as their mothers' perceptions. Perhaps the greater intimacy in the mother-offspring relationship creates an environment where offspring feel their mother is qualified to judge their accomplishments because she may be more informed about the nature and quality of offspring's romantic and family relationships. In contrast, offspring may be less concerned with how their fathers see their relational achievements. Both daughters and sons tend to avoid certain topics of conversations

with their fathers more so than with their mothers (Denholm-Carey & Chabassol, 1987; Guerrero & Afifi, 1995), such that fathers may be viewed as less qualified to judge their offspring's relationships than mothers because they are likely to know less about their offspring's relationships. Alternatively, mothers may be better at sensing whether their offspring are depressed or dissatisfied with life. This awareness may lead mothers to perceive their offspring's relationships as less satisfying and to rate their offspring as less successful in the relational domain. Due to the cross-sectional nature of the study, it is impossible to be sure of the direction of our effects.

Further, findings indicated that mothers 'well-being was associated with their offspring describing them as more successful than others, whereas fathers' well-being was unrelated to their offspring's perceptions. Offspring's perceptions may be important for mothers' well-being because women, more than men, tend to emphasize interdependence in relationships, such that mothers may incorporate how their offspring see them into how they see themselves (Brown et al., 1992; Kemmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001). Fathers' well-being, however, may be less dependent on how others see them because of men's tendency to emphasize independence in relationships (Madson & Trafimow, 2001). Further, prior research suggests that fathers' depressive symptoms are also not associated with emotional experiences in the parent-adult offspring relationship, suggesting that fathers' well-being may be less susceptible than mothers' well-being to experiences in the parent-offspring tie (Lefkowitz, Cichy, Espinosa-Hernandez, Hay, & Fingerman, 2006).

Finally, no support was found for offspring gender as a moderator. Therefore, it appears that associations between parents' perceptions of their offspring's vocational and relational achievements and offspring's well-being are similar for daughters and sons. This similarity may reflect recent changes in social roles, where individuals of both genders prioritize success in the domains of work and family (Cabrera et al., 2000; Sweeney, 2002; Teachman et al., 2000). For this reason, both

daughters and sons may consider it important for their parents to see them as successful in both the vocational and the relational domain.

Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Despite the contributions of this study, it is not without its limitations. First, as we have acknowledged, only longitudinal data would allow us to interpret the direction of effects. It could be that family members who experience positive well-being are evaluated by close others as more successful rather than close others' perceptions contributing to family members' well-being. Also, findings from this study may not generalize to more diverse samples that include parents and offspring who are separated by geographic distance. Offspring often move away from their parents for education or to pursue career opportunities (Climo, 1992). For these reasons, parents may perceive their distant offspring as more successful than their peers, and may consider the accomplishments of their distant offspring as more important than their own achievements. Future studies should examine associations between perceptions of achievement and well-being in more diverse samples that include parents and offspring who live at a distance from one another.

In addition, this study considers the psychological implications for parents and offspring when they engage in social comparisons where the target of comparison is their same-aged peers rather than when the target of comparison is the other family member. Previous research has examined the psychological consequences for parents when they engage in comparisons against their adult offspring (Carr, 2004; 2005; Ryff et al., 1994; 1996). Yet, it is unclear whether it would be beneficial or detrimental for offspring to see themselves as more successful than their parents. Although prior studies indicate it is generally a boost to well-being to be better than others (Kruglanski & Mayseless, 1990; Suh et al., 2002), other research implies there could also be negative psychological consequences associated with being more successful than close others (Exline & Lobel, 1999).

Therefore, future studies should consider the psychological consequences for offspring when the targets of comparison are their parents.

Conclusions

Previous intergenerational studies have cited the need to include adult offspring in social comparison studies (Ryff et al., 1994; 1996). The current study addresses this prior limitation by considering the perspectives of both generations. Findings from this study provide further support for the idea that parents tend to view their offspring through "rose colored glasses". In particular, parents rated their offspring as more successful than offspring rated themselves. Further, fathers and sons described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain than did mothers and daughters. Fathers' well-being was also associated with how they viewed their offspring's vocational achievements, suggesting fathers may value their offspring's accomplishments above their own. In contrast, results indicated that mothers' own accomplishments do not pale in comparison to their adult offspring's achievements. Rather, mothers who described themselves as more successful in the vocational domain reported greater satisfaction with life, whereas mothers' well-being was not significantly associated with mothers' perceptions of their offspring's achievements. Also, findings suggest that, even as adults, offspring's and mothers' well-being are associated with the other person's perceptions of their achievements. Offspring whose mothers rated their offspring as more successful and mothers whose offspring rated their mothers as more successful also reported greater psychological well-being. Overall, findings imply that fathers may value their offspring's achievements above their own achievements, whereas mothers' self-evaluations of success may be more important for mothers' well-being, even after their offspring are grown and engaged in adult roles. Still, the opinion of the other person seems to matter for mothers' and offspring's psychological well-being when both generations are in adulthood.

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Table 1

Sample Characteristics

Variables	Daughters (n = 82)	Sons (n = 76)	Fathers (n = 158)	Mothers (n = 158)
Means (SD)				
Years of education	15.1 (2.1)	15.0 (1.9)	14.1 (2.8)	14.0 (2.7)
Proportions				
Marital status				
Married	.63	.64	.90	.88
Separated/divorced	.10	.08	.07	.07
Cohabiting	.09	.04	.03	.03
Single	.18	.24	.00	.01
Widowed	.00	.00	.00	.01
Work status				
Working for pay	.76	.92	.55	.53
Retired	.00	.00	.38	.28
Unemployed	.05	.05	.03	.02
Homemaker/caretaker	.13	.00	.01	.13
Student	.04	.03	.00	.01
Disability/on leave	.02	.00	.03	.03
Income*				
Less than $10, 000	.06	.05	.07	.06
$10, 000 – 25, 000	.07	.07	.16	.12
25, 001 – 40, 000	.16	.16	.17	.22
40, 001 – 75, 000	.35	.30	.37	.33
75, 001 – 100, 000	.21	.22	.15	.15
Greater than 100, 000	.11	.17	.15	.12

Note. * Data on income do not sum to 1 as a result of missing data.

Table 2

Factor Loadings from the Principal Components Analysis

	Offspring		Father		Mother	
	Factor 1 Vocational	Factor 2 Relational	Factor 1 Vocational	Factor 2 Relational	Factor 1 Vocational	Factor 2 Relational
Education	.718		.822		.866	
Work/career	.853		.830		.804	
Relationships		.875		.910		.854
Family life		.880		.738		.801
Finances	.780		.654		.635	

Note. Vocational and relational refer to the names given to each sub-scale of achievement.

Table 3

Summary of Focused Contrasts for Generational and Gender Differences in Perceptions of Achievement

Variables	Vocational achievements		Relational achievements	
	M (*SD*)	*t*-test	*M* (*SD*)	*t*-test
Generation: Offspring Achievements				
Offspring[a]	3.2 (0.78)		3.4 (1.1)	
Mother	3.7 (0.88)	7.75***	3.5 (1.2)	1.90
Father	3.7 (0.86)	8.40***	3.6 (1.1)	3.23**
Generation: Parent Achievements				
Offspring about father[b]	3.6 (0.84)		4.1 (0.76)	
Offspring about mother	3.5 (0.72)		4.1 (0.84)	
Mother	3.4 (0.77)	-1.79	4.2 (0.82)	1.12
Father	3.5 (0.70)	-0.58	4.1 (0.88)	0.40
Parent Gender:				
Mother	3.4 (0.77)		4.2 (0.82)	
Father	3.5 (0.71)	2.19*	4.1 (0.76)	-1.00
Offspring Gender:				
Daughter	3.0 (0.78)		3.4 (1.1)	
Son	3.3 (0.77)	2.13*	3.3 (1.2)	-0.25

Note. Offspring gender is a between family effect and generation and parent gender are within family effects.

[a] Offspring's ratings refer to offspring's evaluations of their own achievements. [b]Offspring's ratings refer to their evaluations of each parent's achievements.

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

Table 4

Correlations Between Offspring's and Parents' Perceptions of Achievement and Psychological Well-being

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Offspring self vocational	___	.27**	.00	.01	.07	.02	.47**	.23**	-.19*	.38**	.02	.05
2. Offspring self relational		___	.03	.19*	.12	.19*	.02	.59**	-.31**	.45**	.04	-.04
3. Parent self vocational	-.12	-.01	___	.29**	.51**	.17*	.31**	.24**	-.10	.05	-.11	.18*
4. Parent self relational	-.01	.25**	.27**	___	.05	.41**	.18*	.39**	-.10	.17*	-.17*	.19*
5. Offspring other vocational	.10	.08	.40**	.07	___	.31**	.02	.06	-.09	.09	-.13	.01
6. Offspring other relational	.01	.17*	.26**	.51**	.27**	___	-.03	.18*	-.12	.21**	-.16*	.06
7. Parent other vocational	.44**	.06	.09	.08	-.20*	-.01	___	.30**	-.16	.20*	-.02	.24**
8. Parent other relational	.28**	.68**	.15	.42**	-.01	.15	.40**	___	-.18*	.33**	.02	.05
9. Offspring CES-D	-.19*	-.31**	-.03	-.21**	-.04	-.02	-.27**	-.35**	___	-.49**	.02	.01
10. Offspring life satisfaction	.38**	.45**	-.11	.18*	.06	.14	.31**	.41**	-.49**	___	.04	-.01
11. Parent CES-D	-.06	-.18*	-.19*	-.22**	-.29**	-.35**	-.08	-.19*	.03	-.16*	___	-.41**
12. Parent life satisfaction	.04	.14	.31**	.28**	.25**	.35**	.16	.26**	-.08	.16*	-.55**	___

Note. Self refers to offspring's and parents' reports of their own achievements, whereas other refers to their reports of the other person's achievements. Correlations for mothers are presented below the diagonal, whereas correlations for fathers are presented above the diagonal.

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

Table 5

Summary of Regression Results for Parents' Well-being

	Father						Mother					
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 1			Model 2		
Variable	B	S.E. B	β	B	S.E. B	β	B	S.E. B	β	B	S.E. B	β
Depressive symptoms												
Self vocational perceptions	-.51	.54	-.08	-.05	.62	-.01	-.88	.46	-.15	-.19	.47	-.03
Self relational perceptions	-1.09	.52	-.18*	-.79	.55	-.13	-.72	.48	-.13	-.35	.48	-.06
Perceptions of other vocational	.12	.45	.02				-.11	.43	-.02			
Perceptions of other relational	.32	.35	.08				-.34	.34	-.09			
OS perceptions of parent vocational				-.52	.53	-.10				-1.24	.50	-.20**
OS perceptions of parent relational				-.38	.47	-.07				-1.33	.46	-.25**
Life satisfaction												
Self vocational perceptions	.20	.17	.09	.42	.20	.20*	.47	.14	.25***	.34	.15	.18*
Self relational perceptions	.33	.17	.17*	.29	.18	.15	.28	.15	.16	.21	.15	.12
Perceptions of other vocational	.37	.14	.21**				.10	.13	.06			
Perceptions of other relational	-.14	.11	-.10				.16	.10	.14			
OS perceptions of parent vocational				-.19	.17	-.11				.22	.16	.11
OS perceptions of parent relational				-.01	.15	-.00				.36	.15	.22**

Note. Self refers to parents' perceptions of their own achievements, Perception of other refers to parents' perceptions of their offspring's achievements, and OS refers to offspring's perceptions of their parents' achievements. Results are considered statistically significant when the significance level reached $p < .01$.

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

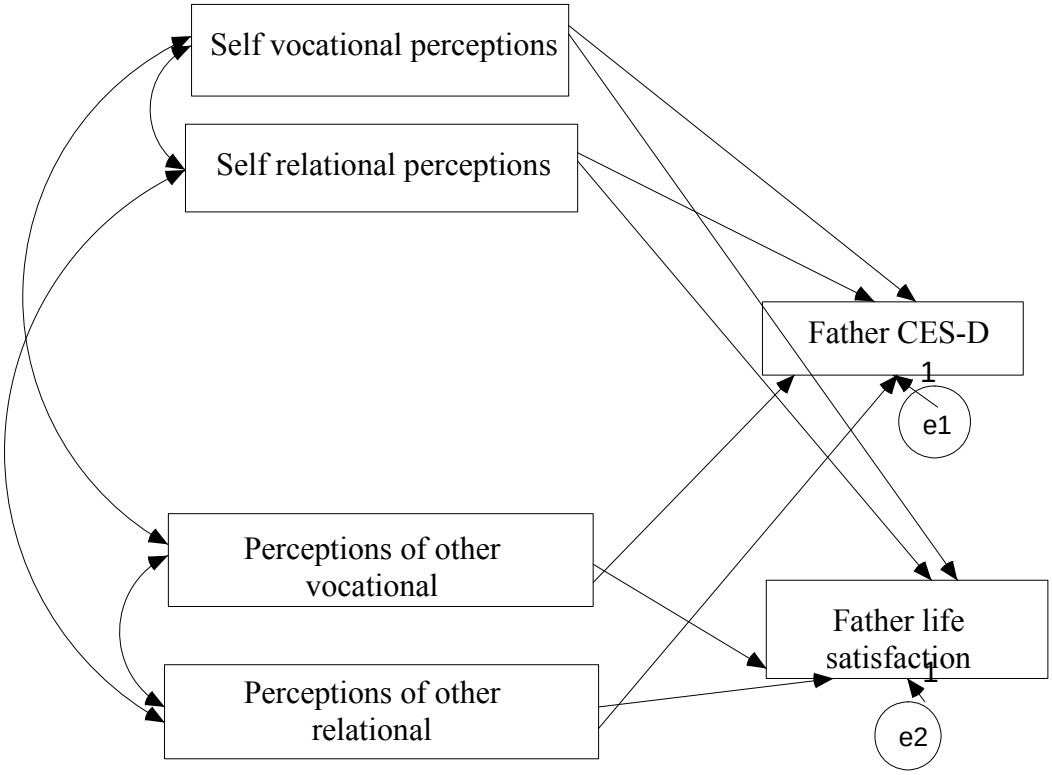
Table 6

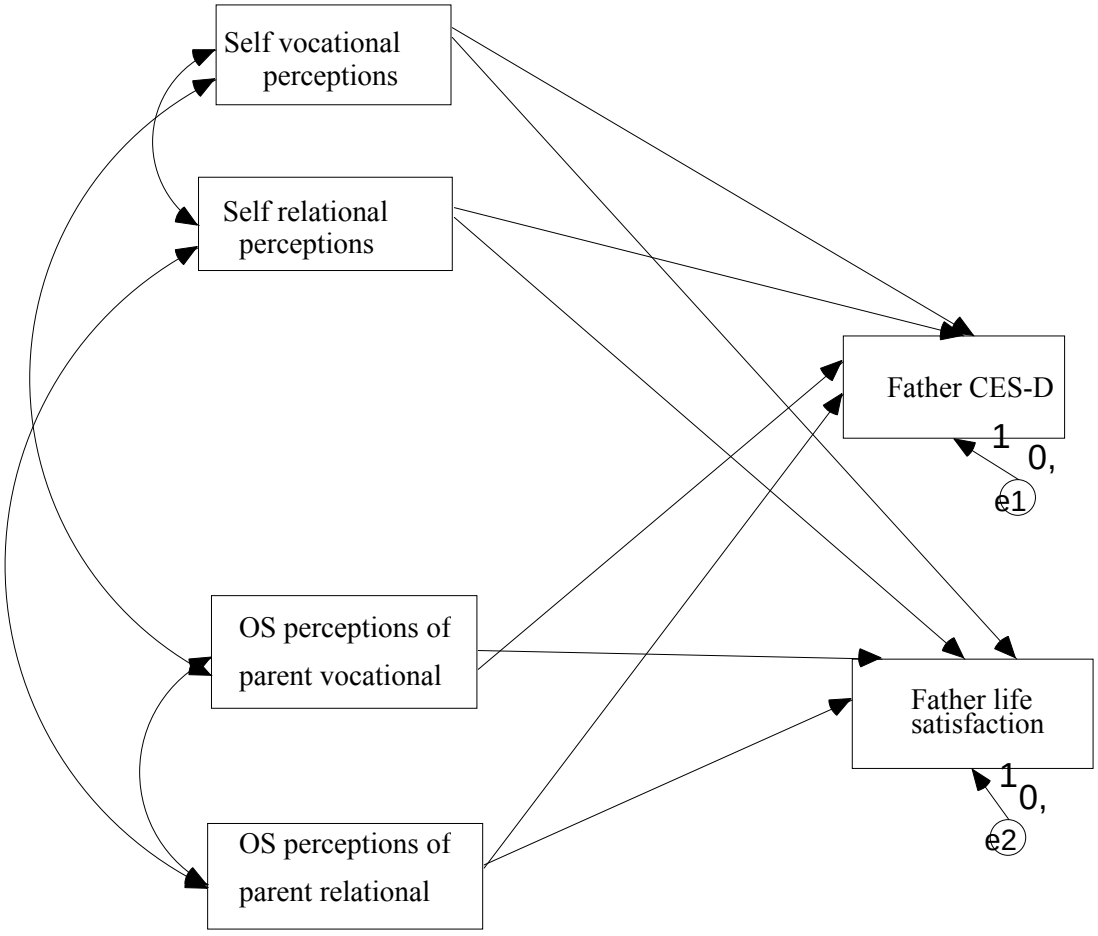
Summary of Regression Results for Offspring's Well-being

Variables	B	S.E. B	β
Depressive symptoms			
Self vocational perceptions	.09	.53	.01
Self relational perceptions	-1.25	.37	-.26***
Father perceptions of other vocational	-.47	.49	-.07
Father perceptions of other relational	.76	.38	.16*
Mother perceptions of other vocational	-1.12	.50	-.18*
Mother perceptions of other relational	-.90	.36	-.20**
Life satisfaction			
Self vocational perceptions	.38	.14	.19**
Self relational perceptions	.52	.10	.38***
Father perceptions of other vocational	-.03	.13	-.02
Father perceptions of other relational	.04	.10	.03
Mother perceptions of other vocational	.36	.13	.21**
Mother Perceptions of other relational	.01	.10	.01

Note. Self perceptions refer to offspring's perceptions of their own achievements and Perceptions of other refer to each parent's perceptions of their offspring's achievements. Results are considered statistically significant when the significance level reached $p < .01$.

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


Self vocational perceptions
Self relational perceptions
Perceptions of other vocational
Perceptions of other relational
Father CES-D
1
e1
Father life satisfaction
1
e2


Self vocational perceptions
Self relational perceptions
OS perceptions of parent vocational
OS perceptions of parent relational
Father CES-D
1
0,
e1
Father life satisfaction
1
0,
e2

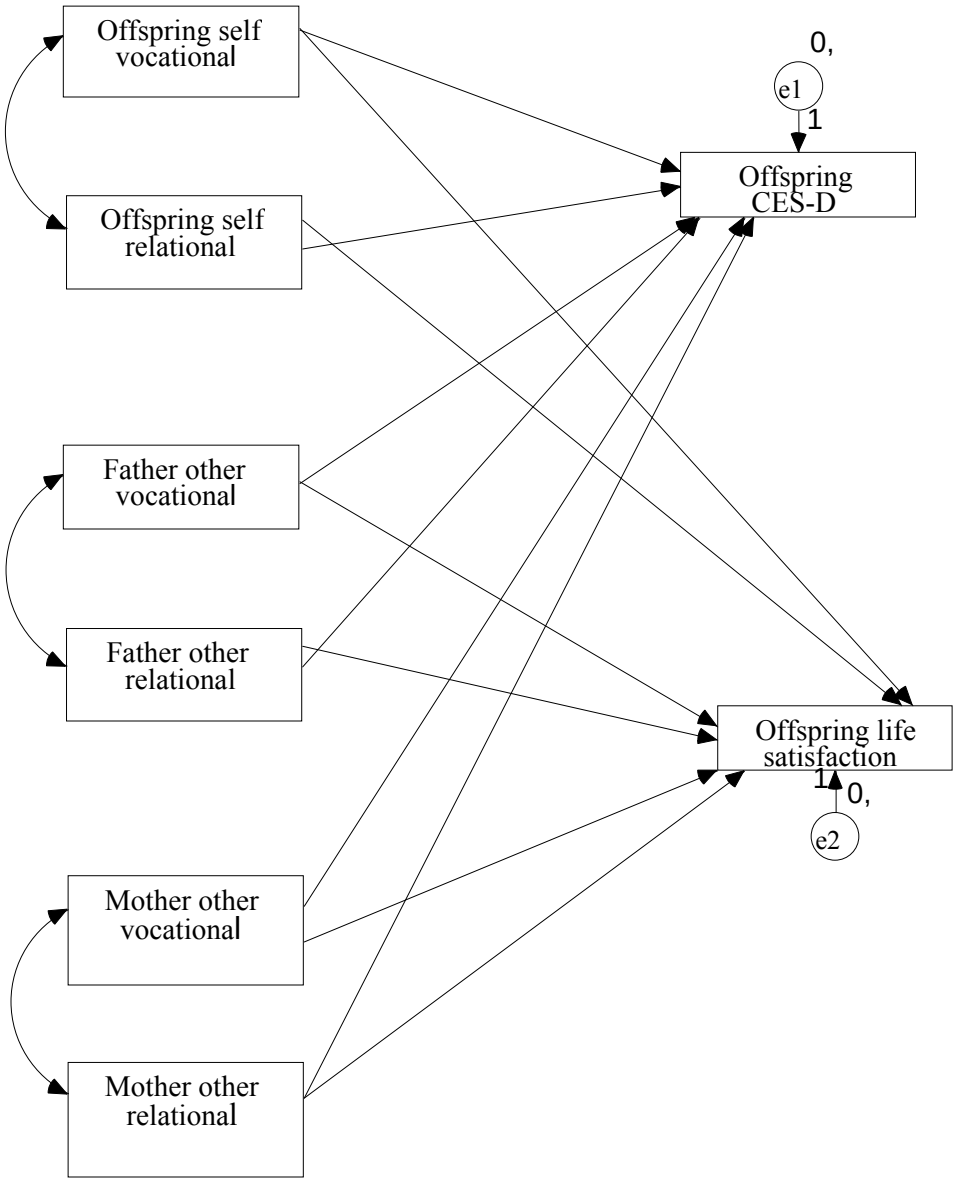

Offspring self vocational
Offspring self relational
Father other vocational
Father other relational
Mother other vocational
Mother other relational
0,
e1
1
Offspring CES-D
Offspring life satisfaction
1
0,
e2

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Example of path analytic model examining associations between fathers' self-perceptions, their perceptions of their offspring's achievements, and fathers' well-being.

Figure 2. Example of path analytic model examining associations between fathers' self perceptions, offspring's perceptions of their fathers, and fathers' well-being.

Figure 3. Example of path analytic model examining associations between offspring's self perceptions, parents' perceptions, and offspring's well-being.

APPENDIX A

Please rate your agreement with each statement by circling the appropriate number.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Housework and childcare should be more a woman's job than a man's.	1	2	3	4
2. Ideally the wife should do the cooking and housekeeping and the husband should provide the family with money.	1	2	3	4
3. Men should make the really important decisions in the family.	1	2	3	4
4. By and large, the husband should have more say-so in a marriage than a wife should.	1	2	3	4
5. For a woman, taking care of the children is the main thing but for a man, his job is.	1	2	3	4
6. A husband's job is more important than a wife's.	1	2	3	4
7. It is more important to raise a son to be strong and independent than to raise a daughter that way.	1	2	3	4
8. I would give a daughter as much encouragement and help in getting an education as I would a son.	1	2	3	4
9. It is as important to steer a daughter toward a good job as it is with a son.	1	2	3	4
10. Raising a child to be able to hold down a good job when they're grown is more important for a son than for a daughter.	1	2	3	4
11. I would be more likely to ask a daughter than a son to dust or set the table.	1	2	3	4
12. Education is more important for a son than for a daughter.	1	2	3	4
13. It's fine to give a little boy a doll to play with.	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX B

Adult Family Study Parent-Offspring Interaction

Overview: You will be coding videotaped interactions between parents and their adult son or daughter. The adult offspring are between the ages of 22 and 44 years, and they were videotaped once with their mother and once with their father. During the videotaping, they discussed 3 different topics (i.e. enjoy, worry, problem), but you will only be coding parents and their adult offspring discussing the things that bother or annoy them about each other.

Tapes: For each family, there are 2 tapes, one with the mother and one with the father. Each tape is labeled with a 5-digit identification number that identifies the dyad. The label will also indicate who is on the tape with a 2-letter code: **MD** (**mother-daughter**), **FD** (**father-daughter**), **MS** (**mother-son**), or **FS** (**father-son**).

On the right side of the tape label, you will see either **WP** or **PW**. This refers to the order of the conversations (*i.e. worry & problem*). The *enjoy* conversation is the first conversation on every tape. For some tapes the *problem* conversation is the second conversation on the tape, whereas for other tapes the *problem* conversation is the last conversation on the tape. This will be important to keep in mind when you are looking for the correct conversation to code.

Finding the Problem Conversation: For each dyad you are assigned, you will need to find the problem conversation on the tape. Remember, the *enjoy* conversation is always first, but the problem conversation could be the second or third conversation on the tape. The beginning and end time for the problem conversation is listed on the inside label of the videotape. You will need to fast forward or rewind the tape to get to the beginning of the problem conversation. For example, if you are at the beginning of the tape, and the problem conversation is the second conversation on the tape (PW), you will need to fast forward the tape 8 minutes and then continue fast forwarding until you see the interviewer take back the questionnaires from the participants. You will know you have found the problem conversation if you hear the interviewer say:

PROBLEMS*: People we love and value can also be annoying at times – nobody is perfect. Parents and grown children experience different types of problems, even if they do not discuss those problems. For the next 8 minutes, I'd like you to talk about what bothers you about each other, and what you both do about it.*

Each problem conversation lasts 8 minutes. You should watch the entire 8-minute conversation before you begin coding. You should begin watching the conversation at the time written on the label of the videotape that indicates the beginning of the problem conversation. While you are watching the tape, take notes on what you see. The notes you take will help you to fill in the coding sheet, and they will be **very important** during coding meetings where you will need to explain/support the coding decisions you have made.

Coding: You will be coding parents and offspring separately, although you will need to consider them both when coding "latency", "who talks more", and "struggle for power". You will answer questions about how they respond to each other, how they communicate with one another, and the overall global

qualities of their interaction. From here on in the coding instructions, the person you are coding will be referred to as the "target".

You will need to watch each tape at least twice. The first time you should just watch the tape and write down notes next to each code. The second time you should fill in the coding sheet, taking your time and rewinding to listen/see something again whenever necessary.

Coding Sheet: At the top of the coding sheet you will need to fill in the ID number, who you are coding (Target) and who the person you are coding is with (Who with?). You will also put your initials on your coding sheet and the date you coded. Who you are coding is the "target".

Example:

ID number: 20001 **Target**: mother **Who with?** son

Coder initials: KEC **Date coded:** 9/10/04

Coding Descriptions:

I. Dyadic Codes

A. **Latency**

When coding the time conversation begins, just write down the time on the tape label. This code refers to the amount of time it takes for the dyad to bring up a bother topic (i.e. discuss things that bother them about one another). This code refers to the first time someone explicitly mentions something that bothers them about the other person. It does not refer to the time when the parent or offspring says something about "not being bothered" by anything. So, saying something like, "I can't think of anything that bothers me about you" would **NOT** be counted as the start time for discussing a bother topic. Something like, "It does bother me when you…" or "Does it bother you when I…" **would be** counted as discussing a bother topic. To code latency, you need to write down the time when the conversation begins (you will find this time on the label of the videotape), then you should write down the time when the dyad discusses something that bothers them about one another. We will then use these two times to calculate the amount of time it takes for the dyad to begin discussing problems.

On Topic Yes/No

As part of the Latency code, you will also need to indicate whether or not the dyad gets on topic (yes/no) during the conversation. You would circle "yes" on the coding sheet when the dyad gets on topic, and you would **only** circle "no" on the coding sheet if the dyad **never** gets on topic. For a dyad to be coded as **never being on topic**, they need to **never** mention something that bothers them and instead talk exclusively about an unrelated topic (e.g. the weather, their jobs, other people) rather than talking about what bothers or annoys them about one another.

B**. Who Talks More**

This code is used to determine which member of the dyad talks **more** during the conversation, the parent or the offspring. The content of the conversation does not matter for this code. It is who is talking **more** or for a **longer period of time**, rather than whose problem they are discussing.

1. Parent talks much more than the offspring
2. Parent talks more than the offspring
3. Parent & offspring both talk about the same amount
4. Offspring talks more than the parent
5. Offspring talks much more than the parent

C**. Struggle for Power**

This code is used to classify dyads according to how power and control is distributed throughout the interaction. For this code, you want to consider the behavior of both the parent and the offspring. This code does not refer to who controls the conversation, but rather who *attempts* to control the conversation in the face of resistance from the other member of the dyad. This code has 3 categories. The categories are described in detail below:

DECIDING IF SOMEONE IS ATTEMPTING TO DOMINATE:

To decide if someone is *attempting to dominate*, consider whether s/he does any of the following: 1) selects the topic of conversation, 2) tries to change the subject, 3) tells their partner what they should do (e.g. "You go first" or "Tell me what bothers you about me"), and 4) interrupts partner.

DECIDING IF SOMEONE IS RESISTING PARTNER'S ATTEMPT TO DOMINATE:

To decide if someone is *resisting being dominated*, consider whether s/he does any of the following: 1) refuses to remain on the topic partner selects, 2) refuses to let partner change the subject, 3) refuses to obey what partner tells them (e.g. counter questions, "What bothers you about me?" or "No, you go first"), 4) interrupts partner, and 5) actively disengages (e.g. looks away, becomes silent).

1. **Parent attempts to dominate while offspring resists**

Parent attempts to dominate while offspring resists refers to interactions where parents appear to be battling with offspring for control or the upper hand in the interaction at the same time the offspring is resisting the parent's attempts to seize control of the conversation. Parents may attempt to direct conversation by selecting the topic of discussion or by attempting to change the topic of discussion. Offspring may resist parent's attempt for control by refusing to remain on the topic selected by the parent, by refusing to allow the parent to change the topic of discussion, by refusing to obey what their parent tells them (e.g. counter questions, "What bothers you about me?" or "No, you go first"), interrupting their parent, or actively disengaging (e.g. looks away, becomes silent, refusing non-verbally to engage with their parent).

2. **Offspring attempts to dominate while parent resists**

Offspring attempts to dominate while parent resists refers to interactions where offspring appear to be battling with parent for control or the upper hand in the interaction at the same time the parent is resisting the offspring's attempts to seize control of the conversation. Offspring may attempt to direct

conversation by selecting the topic of discussion or by attempting to change the topic of discussion. Parent may resist offspring's attempt for control by refusing to remain on the topic selected by the offspring, by refusing to allow the offspring to change the topic of discussion, by refusing to obey what their offspring tells them (e.g. counter questions, "What bothers you about me?" or "No, you go first"), interrupting their offspring, or actively disengaging (e.g. looks away, becomes silent, refusing non-verbally to engage with their offspring).

3. Parent and offspring do not struggle for control of the conversation

Parent and offspring do not struggle for control of the conversation refers to interactions where parent and offspring both accept the distribution of power during the conversation. This code is used to characterize interactions where parent and offspring appear to share the power during the conversation. This code is also used to characterize interactions where one member of the dyad dominates the conversation, but the other member of the dyad accepts this situation and does not attempt to resist the other's control of the conversation.

****

Coding Note: For dyads where both the parent and offspring seem to attempt to dominate and both seem to resist the other's attempts, you should decide which member of the dyad (i.e. parent or offspring) attempts to dominate the most during the conversation. You should then choose code 1 (parent attempts to dominate while offspring resists) or 2 (offspring attempts to dominate while parent resists).

****

II. Target Codes

The remaining codes involve assessing how often the following behaviors occur during the interaction. Each member of the dyad (parent and offspring) will be coded separately to rate the frequency of these behaviors. For these codes, you only want to pay attention to the behavior of the "target" and only code the frequency with which the target displays these behaviors.

When you are rating the frequency of the occurrence of these behaviors you can use the guidelines provided below to help you determine the meaning associated with the points on the scale.

1. Not at all
2. A little
3. Somewhat
4. Quite a bit
5. A great deal

Not at all refers to conversations where throughout the entire conversation you never see the target displaying this behavior.

A little refers to conversations where you see the target displaying this behavior at least once or twice during the duration of the conversation.

Somewhat refers to conversations where you see the target displaying this behavior relatively more frequently (e.g. more often than twice) during the duration of the conversation.

Quite a bit refers to conversations where you see the target displaying this behavior frequently, but you can imagine it happening more often.

A great deal refers to conversations where you almost always see the target displaying this behavior or it is hard to imagine someone being able to display more of this behavior.

Descriptions of Target Codes:

D. **Pressures for change**

Pressures for change refers to how often the target requests, demands, or nags for some kind of change in behavior or in the relationship.

E. **Hesitates**

Hesitates refers to how often the target says things like "er, uhm, ah" during the discussion. It also refers to how often the target abandons his/her statement (e.g. trails off without completing thought), and uses terms like "kinda" and "sorta". Should be coded as 3 or greater if target displays **any or all of these behaviors more than twice during the tape**. For example, if target says "er, uhm, ah" more than twice, must be coded as 3 or above. If target says "uhm" and trails off more than once, must be coded as 3 or above.

F. **Negotiates**

Negotiates refers to how often the target suggests possible solutions or compromises.

G. **Avoidant**

Avoidant refers to how often the target avoids discussing the problem by hesitating, changing topics, diverting attention, or delaying the discussion. Avoidant is active, where the target must do something to be considered avoidant, simply ignoring the partner or becoming silent is not considered avoidant.

H. **Blaming**

Blaming refers to how often the target blames, accuses, criticizes, or uses sarcasm or character assassinations (e.g. put downs, insults, mocking).

I. **Validates**

Validates refers to how often the target indicates verbal understanding or acceptance of feelings, points of view, and/or ideas. Validates may also refer to how often the target non-verbally acknowledges other's feelings, points of view, or ideas. (e.g. nodding of the head, sustained eye contact, etc.). **To be coded as a 5, target must be BOTH verbally (e.g. says "I understand") and non-verbally validating (e.g. nods head) throughout most of the conversation.**

J. **Dominant**

Dominant refers to how often the target tries to control the conversation by talking more than the partner, lecturing, trying to invalidate what the partner say, treating the partner as inferior (e.g. being patronizing). Dominant also refers to being energetic and dynamic while talking, having a lively

communication style, and communicating powerfully during the discussion. A dominant target has direct eye contact, expressive face, eyes, and voice, and animated gestures. **To be coded as a 5, the target needs to not only control the conversation, but must also be actively dominant where s/he speaks powerfully with energy & animated gestures and has a strong presence.**

K. **Withdraws**

Withdraws refers to how often the target is silent, refuses to discuss an issue, looks away, refuses to make eye contact, or disengages from the conversation.

L. **Interrupts**

Interrupts refers to how often the target interrupts or speaks simultaneously. Simultaneous speech refers to target attempting to talk over his/her partner. It does not count when the other person interrupts the target. You should code only when the target interrupts. **DOES NOT INCLUDE WHEN TARGET INTERJECTS, MUST BE TALKING OVER PARTNER**.

M. **Quick to give in**

Quick to give in refers to how often the target easily admits s/he is wrong and how often s/he is quick to back down, give up, and yield to the partner. Target may be quick to give in even when s/he does not resist partner. For example, if target easily backs away from discussion or yields to partner immediately, still code as "quick to give in".

N. ***Forceful/Assertive***

***Forceful/Assertive* refers to how often the target comes on strong, directs the course of conversation, talks forcefully, and takes charge with her/his partner. Forceful/assertive is indicated by a change in mannerisms, making strong assertions, talking with a strong sense of purpose, and clearly articulating one's point in a strong, assured way.** To be coded as a 5, target must direct the course of conversation, but also needs to changes his/her mannerisms, make strong assertions, and speak with a strong sense of purpose.

O**. Defensive**

Defensive refers to how often the target communicates that s/he is blameless during the discussion. It refers to situations where the target says things like "It's not my fault" in response to his/her partner's descriptions of things that annoy them about the target. Also refers to when target contradicts partner's statement or attempts to justify their position.

P. Submissive

Submissive refers to how often the target exhibits limited use of space, high amounts of gaze while listening but low amounts of eye contact while speaking, and shorter turns at talk**. Cannot be coded as more than a 4, unless target high amounts of gaze, low amounts of eye contact while speaking AND either take up limited space and/or have shorter turns at talk.**

Adult Family Study Parent-Offspring Interaction Coding Sheet
ID number: _____ ***Target*** _____ ***Who with?*** _____

Coder initials: _____ Date coded: ___/___/___

I. Dyadic Codes

A. *Latency*

Time conversation begins: _____ Time first mentions a problem: _____

On Topic Yes/No Yes No

B. *Who Talks More?*

1. Parent talks much more than the offspring
2. Parent talks more than the offspring
3. Parent & offspring both talk about the same amount
4. Offspring talks more than the parent
5. Offspring talks much more than the parent

C. *Struggle for Power*

1. Parent attempts to dominate while offspring resists.
2. Offspring attempts to dominate while parent resists.
3. Parent and offspring do not struggle for control of the conversation.

II. Target Codes

D. *Pressures for change*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

E. *Hesitates*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

F. *Negotiates*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

G. *Avoidant*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

H. *Blaming*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

I. *Validates*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

J. *Dominant*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

K. *Withdraws*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

L. *Interrupts*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

M. *Quick to give in*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

N. *Forceful*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

O. *Defensive*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

P. *Submissive*

1. not at all
2. a little
3. somewhat
4. quite a bit
5. a great deal

APPENDIX C

A. These questions are about your accomplishments. Circle how successful you feel with regard to each life task in comparison to other people your age.

In comparison to other people your age, how would you rate your achievements in:	Less Successful	Somewhat Less Successful	About the Same	Somewhat More Successful	More Successful
1. Education	1	2	3	4	5
2. Work or career	1	2	3	4	5
3. Romantic relationships or marriage	1	2	3	4	5
4. Family life (such as having children)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Finances	1	2	3	4	5
6. The type of person you are	1	2	3	4	5

B. Next, think how your mother would answer if she were to compare you to other people your age. If you do not know exactly how she feels, make your best guess for each item.

How would your mother rate your achievements in:	Less Successful	Somewhat Less Successful	About the Same	Somewhat More Successful	More Successful
1. Education	1	2	3	4	5
2. Work or career	1	2	3	4	5
3. Romantic relationships or marriage	1	2	3	4	5
4. Family life (such as having children)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Finances	1	2	3	4	5
6. The type of person you are	1	2	3	4	5

MAC1. On the whole, how important to you is your mother's opinion regarding your achievements in work and education?

1 Not at all

2 Very little

3 Somewhat

4 A great deal

MAC2. On the whole, how important to you is your mother's opinion regarding your achievements in social and family life?

1 Not at all

2 Very little

3 Somewhat

4 A great deal

C. Finally, think about how your mother compares to other people her age. Please rate your mother on each item.

In comparison to other people her age, how would you rate your mother's achievements in:	Less Successful	Somewhat Less Successful	About the Same	Somewhat More Successful	More Successful
1. Education	1	2	3	4	5
2. Work or career	1	2	3	4	5
3. Romantic relationships or marriage	1	2	3	4	5
4. Family life (such as relationships with adult children)	1	2	3	4	5
5. Finances	1	2	3	4	5
6. The type of person she is	1	2	3	4	5

VITAE

Kelly E. Cichy

EDUCATION:

Ph.D Human Development & Family Studies	The Pennsylvania State University	2007
M.S. Human Development & Family Studies	The Pennsylvania State University	2003
B.S. Psychology (magna cum laude)	Xavier University	2001

HONORS:

National Institutes of Mental Health Pre-Doctoral Fellowship	2005
National Institutes on Aging Pre-Doctoral Fellowship	2002-2004

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE:

2001-present Adult Family Study
Karen L. Fingerman (principal investigator) & Eva S. Lefkowitz (co-investigator) National Institutes on Aging, National Institutes of Health Grant AG17916-01A2

2005 National Study of Daily Experiences (NSDE)
David M. Almeida (principal investigator)

MANUSCRIPTS:

Cichy, K. E., Fingerman, K. L., & Lefkowitz, E. S. (2007). Age differences in types of interpersonal tensions. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 64,* 171-193.

Fingerman, K. L., Chen, P. C., Hay, E., Cichy, K. E & Lefkowitz, E. S. (2006). Parents' and offspring's ambivalent reactions to each other. *Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences, 61*, P152-P160.

Fingerman, K. L., Hay, E. L., Kamp Dush, C. M., Cichy, K. E., & Hosterman, S. (in press). Parents' and offspring's perceptions of change and continuity when parents experience the transition to old age. *Advances in Life Course Research.*

Cichy, K. E., Lefkowitz, E. S., & Fingerman, K. L. (under review). Generational differences in gender attitudes between parents and grown offspring. *Sex Roles.*

PRESENTATIONS:

Cichy, K. E., Savla, J., & Almeida, D. M. (2006, November). Coping with daily stressors among widowed women. In C. A. Hoppmann (Chair), *On the Goals for Solving Everyday Problems and Coping across the Lifespan.* Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Gerontological Society of America, Dallas, TX.

Cichy, K. E., Lefkowitz, E. S., & Fingerman, K. L. (2006, November). Talking about conflict:
Linking relationship quality and communication behavior during interactions between adults and their parents. Poster presented at the meeting of the Gerontological Society of America, Dallas, TX.