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ADOLESCENT-PARENT CONFLICT AS PERCEIVED BY THE ADOLESCENT:  
A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDEPENDENCE  
/ ~ ADOLESCENCE

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Helen Chong  
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## ABSTRACT

The development of independence is one of the major developmental tasks of adolescence. The development of two aspects of independence - economic independence and emotional independence - were considered in this study. It was postulated that when the individual is emotionally dependent on his parents, and acceptant of being so, the degree of conflict with parents is low and that during the period of striving for emotional independence the degree of conflict with parents rises to a maximum, then falls as emotional independence is established.

After a consideration of factors stated in the literature to be related to adolescent-parent conflict the following hypothesis was developed and tested:

for those adolescents living with their parents who are by law permitted to engage in full time employment there is an inverse relation between the degree of economic independence and the degree of conflict with parents, regardless of age, sex, socio-economic status and whether or not the adolescent is a student.

A scale to measure degree of conflict was developed and used to assess degree of conflict with mother, with father, and with both parents together.

From 133 responses to the questionnaire designed to test this hypothesis a sample of 85 Europeans, ranging in age from 15 to 19 years who came from families where both the natural parents were present was obtained.

The hypothesis was not verified. Conflict with mother was found to decrease with age. No other factors were found to be related to degree of conflict.

An analysis of the areas of conflict indicated, on average, a greater number of areas of conflict with mother than with father and a greater number of areas of conflict with father than with both parents together. Examination of the highest ranking areas indicated that adolescents argue more with their mothers about specific home-centered topics and more with their fathers and both parents together about abstract and external topics. This difference in the nature of adolescent-parent conflict was explained in terms of the structure of the New Zealand family and the role each parent plays in the family.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	111
LIST OF TABLES .....	v
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW .....	1
Introduction .....	1
Adolescence .....	1
The Developmental Tasks of Adolescence ...	5
Theories of Adolescence .....	6
Emotional Independence and Conflict with Parents .....	12
Economic Independence .....	17
Research on Emotional and Economic Dependence/Independence .....	18
CHAPTER TWO: THE STUDY - HYPOTHESIS AND PROCEDURE .....	23
The Hypothesis .....	23
Operational Definitions .....	24
Degree of Economic Independence .....	24
Degree of Conflict with Parents .....	26
Procedure .....	28
Scoring .....	30
The Sample .....	32
Calculations .....	36
CHAPTER THREE: THE STUDY - RESULTS .....	39
Degree of Economic Independence and Degree of Conflict Scores .....	39
Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients ..	40
t-tests .....	43
Areas of Conflict .....	45
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION .....	56
Discussion .....	56
Conclusion .....	66
APPENDIX .....	69
REFERENCES .....	74

## LIST OF TABLES

Tables		Page
1	Composition of the Sample according to Student/Non-Student Status and Sex.	35
2	The Range, Mean, Standard Deviation and Median of the Raw Scores obtained for Degree of Economic Independence, Degree of Conflict with Mother, Degree of Conflict with Father and Degree of Conflict with Both Parents Together.	39
3	Correlations of Degree of Conflict with Each Parent Separately and with Both Parents Together with Degree of Economic Independence, Age and Socioeconomic Status and for Degree of Economic Independence, Age and Socioeconomic Status with each other.	42
4	Correlations of Conflict Variables with Degree of Economic Independence - Age partialled out.	42
5	Comparison of Degree of Conflict scores - males vs females.	43
6	Comparison of Degree of Conflict scores - students vs non-students.	44
7	Distribution of the Number of Areas of Conflict between the Adolescent and his Parents, according to the age of the adolescent.	46
8	The ten most common areas of conflict with mother - full sample.	47
9	The twelve most common areas of conflict with father - full sample.	48
10	The ten most common areas of conflict with both parents together - full sample.	49
11	The three most common areas of conflict with mother for the full sample (N=85) and their occurrence in each age group, per cent and rank.	50
12	The three most common areas of conflict with father for the full sample (N=85) and their occurrence in each age group, per cent and rank.	52
13	The three most common areas of conflict with both parents together for the full sample (N=85) and their occurrence in each age group, per cent and rank.	54

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	A representation of the postulated relation between degree of emotional independence and degree of adolescent-parent conflict.	16
2	Distribution of Age of Sample.	34
3	Distribution of Socioeconomic Status of Sample.	34

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEWIntroduction

The development of independence from one's parents is an important aspect of the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. This period is also considered by the theorists to involve the individual in conflict with his family. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between two aspects of the development of independence - economic independence and emotional independence - and specifically to determine whether the degree of economic independence was related to the development of emotional independence as measured by the degree of adolescent-parent conflict. Other factors reported in the literature to be related to adolescent-parent conflict measured by expressed hostility, intensity and duration of conflict and the number of areas of conflict (age, sex, socioeconomic status and whether or not the subject was a student) were also examined. The areas over which adolescent-parent conflict occurs were also examined.

Since definitions of "adolescence" are many and varied, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by the term in this study before reviewing the relevant literature.

Adolescence

Definitions of adolescence vary from those in terms of physiological changes only to those in psychosocial terms only, with the majority lying somewhere between the two orientations.

Typical of the definitions using a physiological approach is that proposed by Douvan and Gold (1966). They define the adolescent phase as "maturation of sexuality." In males their criterion is the growth of the testes which:

is one of the earliest signs of puberty, it (i.e. growth of testes) correlates well with other criteria (about 0.5 - 0.75) such as skeletal measures and the appearance of pubic hair and it is a direct measure of sexual maturation. It is also a criterion which can be used in the midst of adolescent growth (p.472).

In females the criterion proposed for the onset of adolescence is the development of breast buds. Breast bud development has been found in two separate studies to have a correlation with menarche of 0.74 and 0.86 (Douvan & Gold, p.474). However Douvan and Gold were unable to find a clear criterion for the end of female adolescence. Breast bud development reaches the adult stage at an average age of 13.9 years (Nicolson & Hanley, 1953, p.37), but other aspects of sexual growth continue after this.

Douvan and Gold (1966) state:

Other measures represented in the literature also would set adulthood at an earlier age than we believe appropriate. A promising criterion suggested by Ashley Montague's work on the fertility of adolescents is the regular production of fertile eggs or perhaps the stabilisation of the menstrual cycle. (pp.474 - 475).

Since Douvan and Gold cite findings placing the youngest male adolescent at age 9.5 years, the youngest female adolescent at age 9.5 years and the youngest male adult at age 15.5 years (p.473) these physiological criteria cannot be considered the sole ones in defining adolescence for the purposes of this study.

A completely contrasting definition of adolescence is provided by Sieg (1971) who considers that adolescence should

be regarded as a social phenomenon rather than a stage of physiological development. She defines adolescence as:

The period of development in human beings that begins when the individual feels that adult privileges are due him which are not being accorded him and that ends when the full power and social status of the adult are accorded to the individual by the society (p.338).

Sieg's definition explains the existence of societies where adolescent disturbances do not occur. In societies where true adult status and puberty coincide, as in the Arapesh of New Guinea, or in societies where the change from childhood to adulthood is regulated and predictable, as in the age-graded Nyakusa villages, there is little evidence of adolescent problems relating to the individual's status in the community. Sieg (1971, pp.342-343) attributes the absence of adolescent problems in such societies to the fact that the young people do not feel deprived of rights due them.

Furthermore, this definition avoids the use of chronological age which Sieg feels is not a truly relevant factor. She does point out that in most cases age does affect the occurrence of behaviour which in a Western society would be termed typically adolescent. In some societies the age at which such behaviour occurs is definitely post-pubertal. In the Manus society, for example, in terms of her definition "adolescence occurs from marriage at age 18 to about age 35 (Sieg, 1971, p.343)."

The majority of authors, however, consider that adolescence, as the period during which the child becomes an adult, is defined by a combination of physical and socio-psychological factors. Some (e.g. Mussen, Conger & Kagan, 1974; Smart &

Smart, 1967) do not refine this definition, others (e.g. Cole & Hall, 1966; Hurlock, 1967; McCandless, 1970) do. These types of definitions place the onset of adolescence at, or close to, sexual maturation, as evidenced by menarche in females and the first orgasm related to adult biological functioning in males (McCandless, 1970, p.4), and its conclusion at the time when society awards the individual adult status.

The acquisition of full adult status poses problems both for young people and for those trying to define adolescence. If one considers the minimum legal ages at which certain facets of adult status are awarded the individual, there is a tremendous time span over which such privileges are granted. In New Zealand, a driver's licence may be obtained at 15 but the individual is penalised by higher insurance rates until he is 25. At 15 also the individual is allowed by law to enter full time employment. Individuals may marry at 16 with parental consent or with a court order; at 20 they may marry without parental consent. If a young person is in trouble with the police he is generally treated as an adult if he is over 16. Voting in local body elections is a responsibility which 18 year olds can exercise; voting in parliamentary elections is the responsibility of those aged 20 and over. At 18 the individual may enter into hire purchase and other contracts. Before he is 20 the young person may enrol in a secondary school while beginning at age 20 he may be admitted to University without matriculation, if the University Council agrees. At age 20 also, the young person may enter premises where liquor is served.\*

\*I am indebted for this information to Mrs H. Garland, Social Welfare Department, Palmerston North and Mr N. Fox, Justice Department, Palmerston North.

With the exception of the insurance ratings for drivers, the individual at the age of 20 has been awarded all the legal privileges and responsibilities of an unmarried member of the New Zealand society, and had been, when this study was performed, deprived of the child's right of enrolling in a secondary school. Consequently in this study the individual was no longer considered an adolescent at 20 years.

Thus in this study adolescence is defined as follows:

Adolescence is the period in a person's life which begins with puberty and which concludes at the age of 20 when the individual has been entrusted with most of the legal privileges and responsibilities of an adult.

#### The Developmental Tasks of Adolescence

During adolescence the individual changes physically and in other ways. These latter changes include changes in his relationships with other people and in his long term goals. Such changes are termed the developmental tasks of adolescence. Many lists of these tasks have been compiled but in this paper only three such lists will be considered, for, as will be seen, there is a considerable amount of overlap.

Cole and Hall (1966) list nine developmental tasks of adolescence:- (i) general emotional maturity (ii) establishment of heterosexual interests (iii) general social maturity (iv) emancipation from home control (v) intellectual maturity (vi) selection of an occupation (vii) uses of leisure (viii) philosophy of life (ix) identification of self (pp. 6-7).

Havighurst has specified ten:- (i) achieving new and more mature relations with age mates of both sexes (ii) achieving

a masculine or a feminine social role (iii) accepting one's physique and using the body effectively (iv) achieving emotional independence of parents and adults (v) achieving assurance of economic independence (vi) selecting and preparing for an occupation (vii) preparing for marriage and family life (viii) developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence (ix) desiring and achieving socially responsible behaviour (x) acquiring a set of values and an ethical system as a guide to behaviour, (Blair & Jones, 1964, pp.5-6) while Muller lists six, two at each of three substages of adolescence. Those of puberty are:→ the recognition of limitations and new human relationships; of "the age of enlightenment" are:- achievement of emotional independence and the choice of a life partner; and of "the age of vital choices" are:- the choice of career and the formation of a personal philosophy (Muller, 1969, p.215).

All these authors mention the development of independence in one or more forms. Emancipation from home through the development of emotional and economic independence is possibly the most important of the developmental tasks of adolescence for without such independence the remaining tasks will not be completed adequately.

In the following section the views of different theorists of adolescence will be considered with particular reference to the development of independence.

### Theories of Adolescence

The theories selected for discussion in this section are some of those in which the development of independence from

the family has been considered. Some theories deal with adolescence in general terms providing an overview of the period as a whole. The theorists selected to represent this position are: Sigmund and Anna Freud who propose a psychoanalytic perspective; Benedict and Head who both view adolescence from an anthropological aspect; and Lewin, who uses a field theory approach.

The Freuds consider that at puberty sexual impulses break through to produce the "subordination of all sexual component-instincts under the primacy of the genital zone." They claim that a second Oedipal crisis occurs at the onset of pubescence and that during pubescence these feelings are, if at all conscious, generally fulfilled at a fantasy level. The problem is normally resolved by the development of an attachment for a mature member of the opposite sex which will then be replaced by affection for someone closer to the adolescent's own age. In this way the adolescent resolves his emotional ties with his parents, changing them from those of a dependent child to those of an adult. In other words the parents will remain loved figures but no longer the main significant love objects (Muuss, 1966, pp.22-28).

Benedict points out that in some cultures (e.g. the Arapesh and the Samoans) there is a continuous growth pattern towards independence whereas in Western cultures the individual is faced with discontinuities. Of these discontinuities the shift from submission to dominance is the one of most relevance to the present study. Submission is enforced in childhood by parents and other adults, such as teachers, often with emotional attachment, while in adulthood

the individual is expected to become a dominant parent. The adolescent, realising that submission is no longer an appropriate behaviour may attempt to behave in a more dominant manner than previously. If his parents are not prepared to accept this altered behaviour conflict may occur (Muuss, 1966, pp.61-64).

Mead feels that the major task facing adolescents in Western culture today is the search for identity (Muuss, 1966, p.77). Like Benedict she finds that during this period the standards of the parents are exchanged for those of the peers. In striving for independence young people may reject parental offers of economic assistance, feeling that such assistance indicates that they are lacking in maturity. Such rejection may continue into adulthood. (Mead, 1950, p.315).

To Lewin (1939) adolescence is a state of transition. It can be viewed as a change in group-belongingness; this change involves a shift to an unknown region. The individual's space of free movement widens during adolescence and for a time the field is not very much differentiated and thus not very firm. Often the adolescent is a "marginal man", standing on the boundary between childhood and adulthood. Hence behaviour symptomatic of the marginal man can be found in the adolescent. He is oversensitive and easily shifts from one extreme to another. Thus in developing independence from the family he is striving to move into what he perceives as the adult life space. If this move into the adult life space is not accepted by his immediate family he may become completely rebellious and reject all aspects of the life space that are connected with the family. In this way he becomes

an adult but lacks some of the aspects of the adult life space that others with more accepting parents have been able to assimilate readily.

The remaining theorists selected consider, as did Miller (1969) whose developmental tasks of adolescence were outlined in the previous section, that development during adolescence occurs in stages. The theorists selected to represent this position are as follows: Gesell whose theory is a biologically oriented one of predetermined maturation; Rapaport who is a representative of the Central European theory of personality stratification; Spranger whose approach is philosophical and speculative; and Rank, a psychoanalytic theorist.

Gesell's developmental theory is based on a core concept of growth of which physical and emotional maturation is the intrinsic component. Like Levin, Gesell considered that adolescence is essentially a period of transition from child to adult. He described the maturation process in age levels although aware that these were only approximations indicating the most common ages at which different phases of development occur. This approach is, however, useful in indicating the modal ages at which independence manifests itself in different forms. Thus, at 12 the individual is achieving some independence from his home and his parents, and is now influenced more by his peer group. By 15 the individual "wishes to have free time and free choice and may show defiance of external control (Mussen, 1966, p.120)." This increased desire for independence may also result in increased tensions. By 16 the adolescent's rebellious spirit has given way to a

sense of independence based on self confidence. The 16 year old is oriented towards the future - girls already have romantic plans, i.e. the removal of emphasis from the parents' home towards the individual's own home is beginning to occur (Muuss, 1966, pp.113-120).

Like Gesell, Remplein considers that development is in stages, but, unlike Gesell, he postulates only three stages from birth to adulthood. These stages are defined as follows:

1. Early childhood, which extends from birth to the beginning of the first period of negativism circa age two.
2. Middle and late childhood, which is the period from the first to the second period of negativism (approximately from age three to thirteen).
3. Time of maturation, which extends from the second period of negativism until the end of adolescence (Muuss, 1966, p.144).

It is the last stage which is of interest here. During the period of negativism, new needs arise (e.g. the drive to wander and seek new adventure, the drive to join peers and form gangs, sexual urges). Emotions tend towards moodiness. In the second phase, an increased need for independence is combined with a consideration of values and ideals. Thus the adolescent looks at accepted values and frequently rejects them. Remplein states that maturity is achieved in the final stage. Here attitudes towards the adolescent's external and internal self fuse, his volitional energies and depth of thought are strengthened, and a new motivation for self-realization, achievement and productivity arises (Muuss, 1966, pp.147-148).

In contrast to Gesell and Remplein, Spranger does not propose a full theory of development but concentrates on the period of adolescence. He does not assume that all individuals follow the same path in developing to adulthood. He finds three patterns or rhythms which different individuals will follow:

- (i) A period of storm, stress, strain and crisis resulting in personality change.
- (ii) A slow continuous growth process and a gradual acquisition of the cultural values and ideas held in the society, without a basic personality change.
- (iii) A growth pattern in which the individual himself actively participates.

In all cases structural changes in the organisation of the "psyche" occur, but the rhythm of development will affect the way in which this reorganisation is manifested. The three stages in which Spranger postulates that the organisation of the psyche develops are (a) the discovery of ego or self; (b) the gradual formation of a life plan; (c) the selection and integration of a personal value system.

The discovery of ego or self is related to a striving for emancipation. The individual is, for the first time, aware of the consequences of his actions and is beginning to accept responsibility for them (Mauss, 1966, pp.46-56).

Rank, a psychoanalytic theorist, is concerned with the adolescent's need for independence. His theory emphasises the development of the ego (or "will") rather than placing emphasis on the unconscious, as does Freud. Like Spranger, Rank takes individual differences into account although for Rank these differences determine how far the individual progresses through the developmental stages rather than the pattern of

development.

In the first stage proposed by Rank the individual's will is freed from both the external and the internal forces that dominate it. According to Rank the average man does not proceed past this stage but he lives harmoniously because he can accept reality, adjusting his way of life to it. Such a person is duty conscious.

In the second stage a division in personality occurs, with disunity between the will and counter-will. This moral struggle contains neurotic and creative possibilities which were unknown in the first stage. Individuals in this stage are, according to Rank, guilt conscious.

The third stage involves integration of the will, counter-will and ideal formation. The individual is no longer in conflict with the external world - he is <sup>in</sup> harmony with himself and his own ideals. Rank characterised this type as the genius - conscious of his potential and self-assured. In this stage the compulsion of the second stage has been overcome by freedom (Muuss, 1966, pp.30-34).

With the exception of Rank, these theorists concur that during adolescence the individual is likely to enter into conflict with his parents in order to assert his independence. In the following section the development of emotional independence and its relation to adolescent-parent conflict will be considered.

#### Emotional Independence and Conflict with Parents

Emotional independence is termed "autonomy" by Goethals and Kies (1970, p.19) who point out the following:

It is easy to confuse the idea of independent action and behaviour with the idea of autonomous action in the psychological sense. A young person may appear to be behaving independently yet not be psychologically autonomous.

As Adelson (1969, p.48) puts it, "there are autonomies and autonomies." Too much behavioural freedom may in effect limit the adolescent's achievement of emotional and ideological freedom. Muller (1969, p.131) expresses this belief in the following manner: "Independence has to be first biological, then alimentary, then sociopsychological before it can become emotional."

The development of autonomy can stop at any point along these stages but those who do not complete the course, although no longer adolescent in terms of the definition proposed, do not exhibit the characteristics in this area which our society considers to be typical of the fully adult individual.

Bossard and Boll (1966, p.377) term the development of emotional independence "social weaning", pointing out that it is often characterised by "a series of relative crises in parent-child relationships". Factors in contemporary life which complicate the social weaning process are earlier marriage, earlier childbirth, smaller families, better health and increased longevity of the parents, all of which can create possessive parents who will not let their children go. Another factor affecting social weaning is the increasing length of education which prolongs the economic and emotional dependence of the child on his parents.

Bossard and Boll appear to have accepted that during the process of social weaning, conflicts will arise between

parent and child; other authors support this view. Count (1967, p.180) in a discussion of adolescent growth, states, "the conflict factor, however generated, is an essential element in the accommodation between the generations".

Smart and Smart (1967, p.49) point out that conflict is not essential nor inevitable but that it often occurs. Mussen et al (1974) cite evidence that child rearing patterns affect the ease with which social weaning occurs but imply that conflicts do occur between parent and child when they state:

Girls in our culture appear to experience fewer and less stressful conflicts over the development of independence than boys during the earlier years of adolescence (pp. 561-563).

Here Mussen et al are using the term "independence" to mean independent action which must be achieved before emotional independence can occur. A discussion of the findings related to sex differences in adolescent-parent conflict occurs in a later section of this chapter.

According to Hurlock (1967):

Difficulties in getting along with different members of the family usually start around the age of 12 years and reach their maximum between 15 and 17 years (p.189).

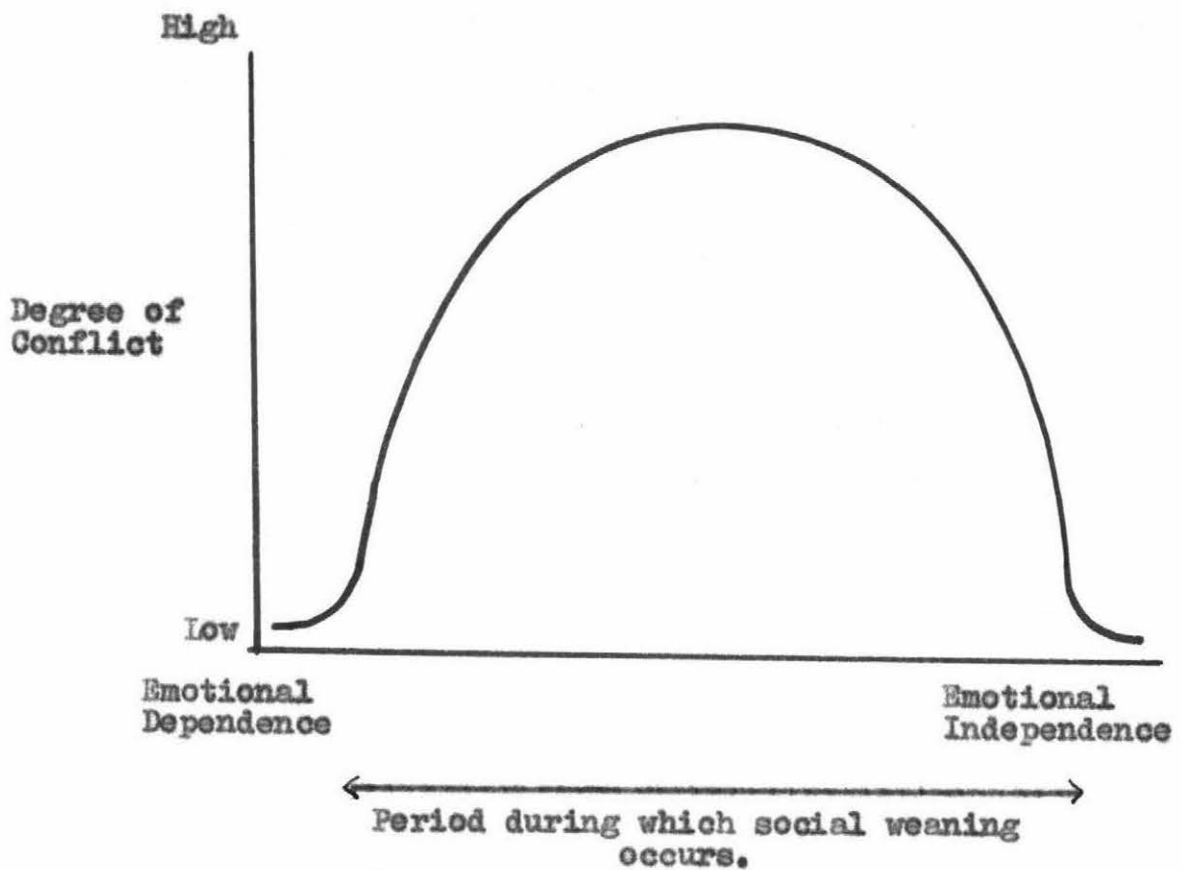
In late adolescence, family relationships generally improve. Hurlock relates this rise and fall to the physical changes associated with and following puberty but this does not appear valid in the light of the comments of Smart and Smart and of Mussen et al cited above. If Hurlock's position were correct all adolescents should experience conflict with their parents since all adolescents experience these physiological changes.

A more likely explanation of conflict behaviour derives from Sieg's (1971) definition of adolescence which was accepted with modifications, for this paper. In our culture the individual's mature appearance leads him to expect that social weaning should start, and it is this desire for social weaning which, if left unsatisfied, leads to conflict.

From the findings on the development of emotional independence and on adolescent-parent conflict a model relating the two variables is postulated: The relationship between emotional independence and adolescent-parent conflict can be represented in a U-shaped curve as detailed in Figure 1. When the individual is emotionally dependent on his parents and content with this relationship the degree of conflict, as measured by the number, intensity, and duration of argument and by the adolescent's perception of his relationship with his parents compared with his perception of his peers' relationships with their parents, between child and parent is low. As the child feels the need for "autonomy" he will show this need by engaging in more conflict behaviour with his parents. As the social weaning process draws to a close and the individual develops autonomy the degree of conflict with his parents decreases again, and, although it may never become zero, remains low once the individual is completely emotionally independent.

A representation of the postulated relation between degree of emotional independence and degree of adolescent-parent conflict.

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### Economic Independence

As well as being emotionally independent by the end of adolescence the individual, if not totally economically independent, should be preparing himself to be so (e.g. by completing his studies for a career). In discussing the development of economic independence McCandless (1970, p.326) states "work for pay serves as an important bridge between childhood and full adult status." He cites four case studies to develop his argument:

(i) A high school student with a regular job in a drug store. The money from this job was used for special clothes, treats and some was saved for college.

(ii) A high school student with a regular job in a restaurant. The money from this was used to pay for board, room and a share of the expenses of the total household as well as all personal requirements.

(iii) A college student whose summer jobs provided him with the money to buy a car and clothing, to pay for his recreation and also enabled him to contribute some money towards his education.

(iv) A waiter who attended night school. No information was given as to how the money he earned was spent but as this subject was the eldest son of a sole mother in a poor family presumably he helped to support the family (McCandless, 1970, ch.11).

From these case studies McCandless concludes that "Adolescents received ... a feeling of independence and real independence (author's italics) through their earnings" (p. 327). This statement suggests that a regular income, even if

it is insufficient to make the adolescent totally economically independent may lessen tension between adolescent and parent because of the lessening of economic, and hence emotional, dependence induced by such earnings.

#### Research on Emotional and Economic Dependence/Independence

Although the development of emotional and economic independence are the two major forms of independence referred to in the developmental tasks of adolescence there appears to have been little work to determine the relation between them.

Bandura and Walters (1959), whose study on adolescent aggression was concerned with emotional dependence report this observation:

Although for the sake of completeness a scale was included to measure the extent of the boys' economic dependency on their parents, there seemed to be no reason to suppose that such dependency would necessarily be related to the other forms of dependency behaviour that were measured and consequently no hypothesis was offered concerning economic dependency (pp.42-43).

However all of their sample, ranging in age from 14 years 6 months to 17 years 11 months were dependent on their parents for the basic necessities so that a differing degree of economic independence was not involved.

In the proceedings of the First Meeting of the W.H.O. Study Group on the Psychobiological Development of the Child, Zazzo (1956) stated:

We have carried out comparative studies on adolescents in different environments, some already working in factories, and others continuing their studies. It is most surprising to discover that among those who have already entered a social life a hostile attitude towards the family is very seldom met, whereas this attitude is at its maximum among grammar-school pupils of the same age with the same

material conditions, that is to say, having as much pocket money as the young worker. It is not, therefore, the fact of having money which explains the attitude of these young people, it is the fact of earning it or receiving it (p.169).

A similar interpretation of adolescent hostility towards parents was made by Koskas (1949) who found that the social class of adolescent boys all of whom were students at either high schools or trades courses and who were aged between 15 and 18, affected their attitudes towards their families. Koskas reports that 40% of the lower middle class youth of his sample and 80% of the working class youth were content to remain in the midst of their families because they felt that they were granted sufficient independence there. Like Zazzo, he attributes this difference to the fact that the lower middle class youth receives pocket money from his parents while the working class youth earns his money and also helps to defray the family's expenses.

Nye's (1951) findings do not support the conclusions made by Koskas (1949) and Zazzo (1956). He reports that adolescent feelings about the regulations of spending money had no significant connection with the adolescent's feeling of adjustment to his parents. Nye does not report the source of the adolescent's spending money but, as all of his sample were high school students, it is likely that their degree of economic independence was low.

The attitudes of parents were considered in a study of rural parents from a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds by Briggs and Schulz (1955). They found that the majority recognised the adolescent desire to be independent. The

parents also felt that the adolescent needed guidance and in the area of allowances this was evidenced in a trend towards an emphasis on money management conforming to the adult pattern rather than on allowing the adolescent to develop self confidence and independence through learning from experience. This study further suggests that parental attitudes may be a factor in the different relations of parents with those adolescents who work and those adolescents who do not. The statement "the teenager should report to his parents how he spends his allowance" received a positive response and few parents agreed that "the teenager's allowance should be large enough to cover his clothing costs." On the other hand no parents felt that "when teenagers lived at home they should give any money they earn to their parents."

Thus economic dependence has been found both to be and not to be a factor in adolescent-parent conflict.

Connor, Jehannis and Walters (1954) in a study of adolescent-parent relations using female college students as subjects examined the changes in the number and type of adolescent-parent conflicts during high school and during college. They found that both the percentage of students reporting conflicts and the number of expressed conflicts per reporting student declined between high school and college. They felt that this could be explained in part by the fact that the subjects were no longer living at home and in part by the maturation process.

Age was also found to be a factor in adolescent-parent relations in a study by Sobanska (1965). She analysed 300 essays written by girls and boys aged 12 to 18. These essays

showed that 78% of the group felt that their relationship with their parents was somewhat unsatisfactory. The chief source of conflict for the 15-16 age group was the inability to get along with one of their parents, while the quest for independence was the source of conflict for girls in the 13-15 age group.

Age and sex differences were also found by Block (1937) in a study of the areas of conflict which adolescents in Grades 7 to 12 had with their mothers. She found that the girls consistently showed a higher mean percentage of disturbances and that in grades 11 and 12 there was a significant difference between boys and girls in the mean percentage of problems. Further, when any two grades were compared the mean percentage of problems reported by students was higher for the lower grade level in all cases but two (seventh and eighth grade and eleventh and twelfth grade) with the largest percentage being reported by seventh and eighth grade students and the lowest by eleventh and twelfth grade students.

As stated earlier, Mussen et al (1974) also note that there is a sex difference between boys and girls during adolescence. In contrast to Block and Sobanska, however, they report that the conflict level is less for females. The lesser degree of conflict between female adolescents and their parents they claim may be due in part to the greater cultural reinforcement, in the years prior to adolescence, of dependency and compliance in girls and of independence, self-assertiveness, and aggression in boys. Also, puberty may bring a greater, more sudden, and qualitatively somewhat

different increase in the strength of sexual and aggressive impulses in boys and, consequently, a greater need for establishing independent control of these impulses and a greater likelihood of rebellion and conflict with parents (Mussen et al, 1974, p.563).

It appears that conflict between the adolescent and his parents may or may not be related to his degree of economic independence. Further, it appears that more conflict with parents may occur for males than for females, or vice versa. Social class, residential status and whether the adolescent is a student or not may also affect adolescent-parent conflict. There appears to be a concensus that as adolescents grow older the amount of conflict with parents decreases.

THE STUDY - HYPOTHESIS AND PROCEDURESThe Hypothesis

The purpose of this study was to examine <sup>the</sup> relationship between the development of the two major forms of independence - economic independence and emotional independence, as measured by degree of conflict. Since other factors (age, sex, socio-economic status, student/non-student status and residential status) have been found to be related to adolescent-parent conflict it was necessary to include these in the study also to ensure that, if degree of economic independence and degree of conflict were found to be related, this relation was independent of the other factors. Consequently the hypothesis was formulated as follows:

For those adolescents living with their parents who are by law permitted to engage in full time employment there is an inverse relation between the degree of economic independence and the degree of conflict with parents, regardless of age, sex, socioeconomic status, and whether or not the adolescent is a student.

i.e. (a) As the adolescent's degree of economic independence increases, his degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together decreases.

(b) Adolescents in different age groups show no difference in their degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together.

(c) Adolescents from families of different socioeconomic status show no difference in their degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together.

(d) Male and female adolescents do not differ in the degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together.

(e) Students and non-students do not differ in the degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together.

### Operational Definitions

Before the study to test the above hypothesis could be performed it was necessary to operationalise the terms "degree of economic independence" and "degree of conflict with parents." In this section the operational definitions and the manner in which they were implemented will be outlined.

#### Degree of Economic Independence

Degree of economic independence was defined in terms of a continuum from total economic dependence of the adolescent on his family to total economic independence from his family.

Between these two extremes are gradations as follows:

Total dependence was defined as occurring when the adolescent receives no income from external sources i.e. all the materials needed by the adolescent both for basic living and for luxuries originate from his parents.

... the adolescent obtains some spending money from irregular odd jobs (e.g. babysitting) but his parents pay for all food, most clothes and most outings.

... the adolescent has a regular but small income and his parents pay for all of his food, some clothing and some outings.

... the adolescent has a regular income sufficient to pay for most clothes and outings but his parents pay for food and supplement on clothing.

... the adolescent has a regular income sufficient to pay for all personal requirements but his parents pay for food etc.

... the adolescent has a regular income sufficient to pay for all personal requirements and to pay something towards, although insufficient to cover completely, the cost of his

maintenance by his parents.

Total independence was defined as occurring when the adolescent is able to support himself completely on his earnings. As it was a requirement of this study that the adolescent live at home (Connor et al. (1954) report that, apart from the possible effect on conflict of not living at home, conflict is difficult to measure retrospectively) to be considered totally economically independent the adolescent, in addition to the above, was also required to pay his parents a sum for board equal to that which he would have paid had he been boarding in a family not his own.

These gradations were quantified using the amounts earned by adolescents in each category, as gauged by personal interviews with adolescents and information supplied by employers. This process resulted in a scale consisting of eight steps rather than the seven shown above, as it was found on discussing incomes and the spending of them that these adolescents in part time jobs paying between \$10 and \$15 could pay for all their personal requirements but that these were not as great as the requirements of the adolescents in full time employment, who needed more clothes, for example, for the job itself. Consequently this stage was divided into two, based on the income differences between full time and part time employment. The final eight stages of economic independence used were the following (a = totally dependent h = totally independent).

- a All the adolescent's money comes from his parents. They buy or supply the money for all his needs.
- b The adolescent earns less than \$5 a week from casual jobs

like babysitting. His parents provide some spending money and buy or pay for most of the things needed. No board is paid.

a The adolescent earns less than \$5 a week from a regular job. His parents pay for some of the things needed. No board is paid.

d The adolescent earns between \$5 and \$10 a week from a regular job. His parents pay for a few of the things needed but he can afford most of them himself. No board is paid.

\*e The adolescent earns between \$10 and \$15 a week from a regular job. He pays for all personal requirements but does not pay board.

\*f The adolescent earns more than \$15 a week from a regular job. He pays for all personal requirements but does not pay board.

g The adolescent earns more than \$15 a week from a regular job. He pays for all personal requirements and pays board of less than \$15 a week.

h The adolescent earns more than \$15 a week from a regular job. He pays for all personal requirements and pays board of \$15 or more a week.

\* stages e and f are the two stages emerging from one section in the original statement.

#### Degree of Conflict With Parents

Since the study was concerned with older adolescents it was assumed that the majority would be at or past the midpoint of the social weaning period so that the degree of conflict could be considered as inversely related to degree of emotional independence i.e. the lower the degree of conflict the higher the degree of emotional independence.

Conflict with parents was operationalised as "argument." "Disagreement" was considered originally but was discarded

as being too broad a term. The degree of conflict was based on four aspects of argument: (1) number of arguments in a given period; (2) seriousness of arguments in a given period; (3) time taken for the situation to return to normal; and (4) the adolescent's view of his relationship with his parents compared with his perception of his peers' relationships with their parents.

In measuring the first aspect, number of arguments, it was assumed that the greater the degree of conflict the more arguments the adolescent would have with his parents. The period used to determine the number of arguments the adolescent had with his parents was a week as it was thought that the subjects would find it difficult to recall the number in a longer period. The divisions of numbers of arguments used were: (a) none; (b) 4 or less; (c) 5-9, (d) 10-15; (e) 16 or more.

The second aspect of conflict was the seriousness of arguments. It was assumed that the greater the degree of conflict the more serious the arguments would appear to the adolescent to be. For this factor the time period of a month was used as it was considered that the subjects would recall important arguments readily over a longer period than that over which they could recall numbers of arguments. Further, if the previous week had been atypical in that no arguments had occurred a more accurate picture would be obtained by measuring the seriousness of conflict over a month. The scale used here was a six point one: (a) we always agree; arguments have been (b) very minor; (c) fairly minor; (d) fairly serious; (e) very serious; (f) I don't

speak to her/him/them.

Duration of conflict was the third aspect of argument considered. It was assumed that the greater the degree of conflict the longer the time taken for the situation to return to normal. This period was measured on an eight point scale: (a) we always agree; situation returns to normal after most arguments in (b) less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour; (c)  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 hour; (d) 1 to 4 hours; (e) 4 to 12 hours; (f) 12 to 24 hours; (g) 1 to 3 days; (h) over 3 days.

The fourth aspect considered was the adolescent's comparison of his perception of his relationship with his parents and his perception of the relationship between his peers and their parents. It was considered that the greater the degree of conflict the worse the adolescent would consider his relationship with his parents to be when he compared his relationship with parents with that of his peers. This aspect was measured on a five point scale where he ranked his relationship as: (a) much better than most; (b) better than most; (c) about the same as most; (d) worse than most; (e) much worse than most.

#### Procedure

It was decided that a questionnaire was the most suitable method of obtaining information from a large number of adolescents on relationships with their parents. Personal interviews would have been difficult to standardise and could also have resulted in a greater degree of reticence than an anonymous and relatively impersonal questionnaire. The validity of such a self-report technique rather than a

measure based on the actual behaviour of the adolescent with his parents is discussed by Fraser (1963) who asserts the following when discussing the behaviour of parents:

A given parent behaves towards a given child with sufficient constancy from situation to situation to permit the child to differentiate himself measurably from the parent's behaviour toward other children (pp.52-53).

The same reasoning should apply in the other direction i.e. that <sup>the</sup> adolescent behaves with sufficient constancy towards each of his parents and towards them both when they are together as to differentiate his own behaviour in each case. Fraser continues:

By breaking down patterns into specific questions and then combining responses to these questions into an overall measure a more valid perception of these relationships is obtained (p.53).

The questionnaire was designed to obtain information about the adolescent (age, sex, race, whether he belonged to a one or two parent family, socioeconomic status of the family, whether the adolescent was or was not a student), his degree of economic independence and about his relationship with his parents. The format of the section determining the relationship of the adolescent with his parents is based on the questionnaire designed by Fraser (1963) for his study of adolescents. As information was required in the present study not only about the relationship of the adolescent with each parent but also about the relationship of the adolescent with both parents together the format was modified. Each question concerning relationships with parents had three columns in which answers were to be checked - one column for answers describing the relationship with mother, one for answers

describing the relationship with father and one for answers describing the relationship with both parents together. A copy of the questionnaire appears in the Appendix. The format described above may be seen in Questions 8-12. The information sought in this section was the degree of conflict between adolescent and parent and the areas of such conflict. The degree of conflict value was obtained for each subject by totalling the raw scores obtained from the subject's responses to the questions ascertaining the number of arguments, the seriousness of arguments, the time taken for the situation to return to normal and the adolescent's perception of his relationship with his parents compared to his perception of his peers' relationships with their parents. The conflict areas selected were based in part on those found by Block (1937), although only general problems rather than the specifics that she found were used, and in part on the answers obtained from Education I students who participated in a pilot study for the project.\*

### Scoring

The values for each variable were determined as follows:

a. Age, sex and whether or not the subject was a student:

These were determined directly from the responses given.

b. Socioeconomic status of the family:

This was determined from the occupation of the subject's father using the Socioeconomic Index for New Zealand Based on Levels of Education and Income from the 1966 Census (Elley and Irving, undated). Where the occupation was one not given

\*In the pilot study a preliminary draft of the questionnaire was answered by 10 European Education I students. The measure of degree of economic independence and the phrasing of some of the questions were modified as a result of the responses obtained.

in the Index, the rating of a comparable occupation was given (e.g. butcher = tradesman = 4). Where the place of work only was stated it was assumed that the individual was an unskilled worker (the nature of the places of work determined this) and a rating of 6 was given. Where the occupation was stated as "foreman" a rating of 5 was given as there were occupations involving foremen in groups 4, 5 and 6. Overall it was assumed that the number of people rated above or below their actual level would be equal.

c. Degree of economic independence:

The eight gradations from total economic dependence to total economic independence were given raw score values from 1 to 8 and the raw scores obtained were used in the analysis.

In all cases the earnings considered were net, after tax, if any, had been paid. Any subject who felt that none of the categories provided was an exact representation of his economic position listed his net earnings, the types of items he paid for, and those that his parents provided and how much board, if any, he paid. From these responses his degree of economic independence was then assessed.

d. Degree of conflict with parents:

Raw score values of:-

- ... 0 - 4 were obtained on the measure determining number of arguments.
- ... 0 - 5 were obtained on the measure determining the seriousness of the arguments.
- ... 0 - 7 were obtained on the measure determining the time taken for the situation to return to normal.
- ... 1 - 5 were obtained on the measure determining the

adolescent's view of his relationship with his parents compared with his view of the relationship of his peers with theirs.

The total raw score for conflict thus had a range of 1-21 and these raw score values were the scores used in the analysis.

A reliability check was performed by rescoring some of the responses in which socioeconomic status or degree of economic independence had had to be assessed rather than read directly from either the Socioeconomic Index Elley & Irving, (undated) or from the degree of economic independence scale.

#### The Sample

133 responses to the questionnaire were obtained from adolescents who lived with their parents. Of these, 48 were not included in the analysis on one or more of the following grounds:-

a. Age - Those not legally employable (i.e. those under 15) were eliminated. No responses were obtained from individuals aged 20 or over but these too would have been eliminated since they were post-adolescent in terms of the definition of adolescence used.

b. Race - Because family structures differ from culture to culture only those who answered that they considered themselves to be European or "kiwi" were included, in order to eliminate a possible compounding variable. Although child rearing patterns was not one of the subjects for consideration in this study the literature does indicate that it is a factor in family relations. By the elimination of non-

Europeans it was hoped that the grosser effects of differences in child-rearing patterns would be lessened if not eliminated.

c. Family structure - The family in which there is a solo parent or a step parent or a legal guardian is not, to judge by this sample, typical of the general population (13 of the responses i.e. 10% of the responses were in this category) and it is possible that the relationship between child and parent in such a family would also be atypical. For this reason these responses were not included.

d. Incomplete response - Where one or more of the questions from which data was to be obtained were not answered the response was not included.

e. Failure to provide plausible information - One response was eliminated because facetiousness in answering one question cast doubt on the validity of the remaining responses.

The composition of the sample used for analysis appears in Table 1. The sample consisted of 44% secondary school students, 36% students of vocational courses and 20% non-students. Approximately 30% of the sample were males.

The distribution of the full sample, of students and non-students and of males and females with respect to age and socioeconomic status are shown in Figures 2 and 3.

FIGURE 2  
DISTRIBUTION OF AGE OF SAMPLE

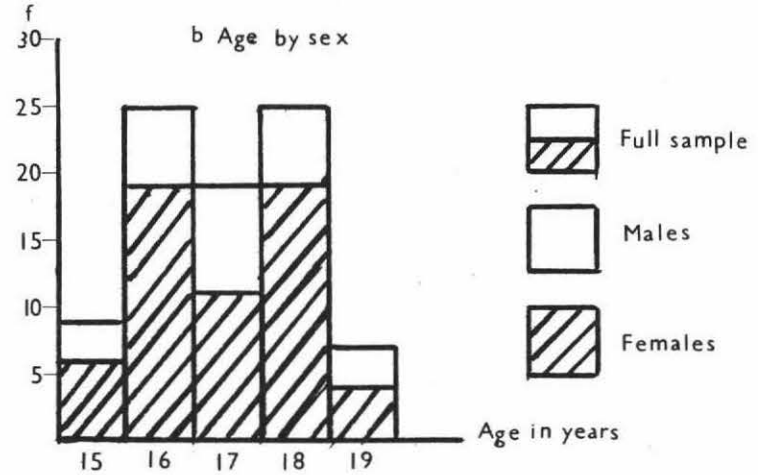
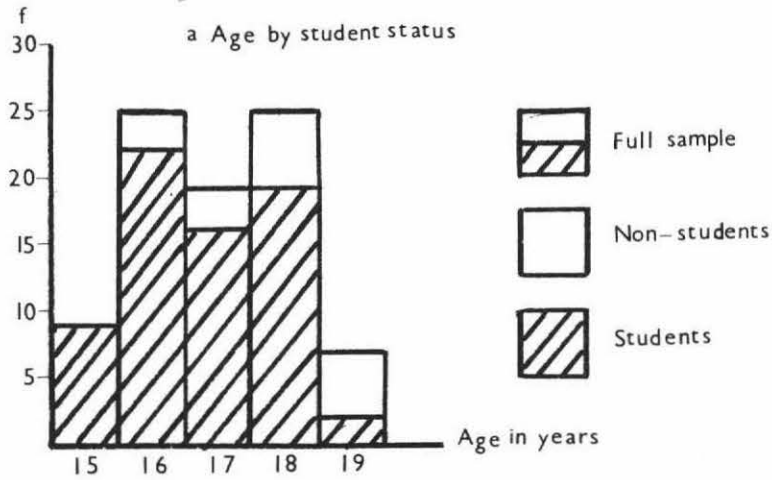
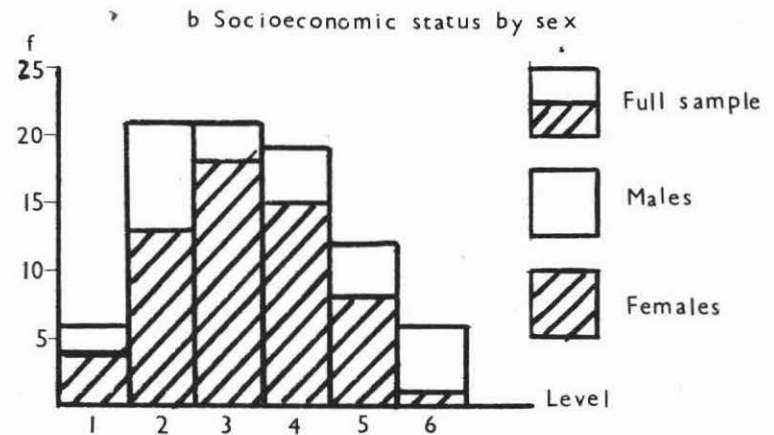
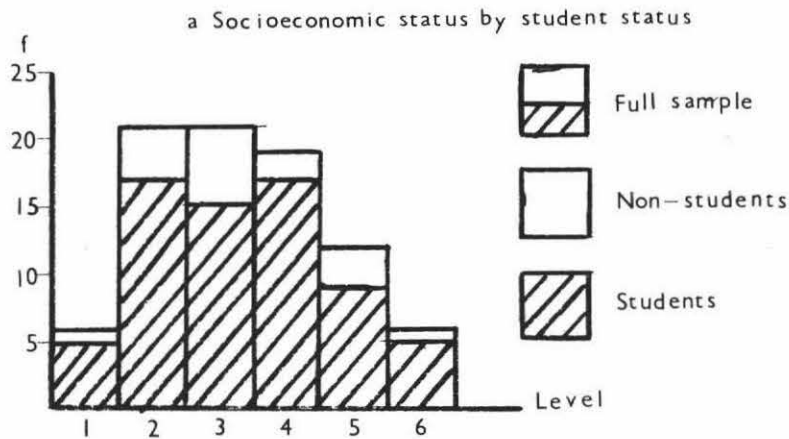


FIGURE 3  
DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF SAMPLE



Composition of the Sample according to student status and sex.

<u>Students/Non-students</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Secondary school (Form 5 & 6)	37) 68	44 ) 80
Vocational courses*	31)	36 )
Non-student employees of the Post Office**	17	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100</b>
<u>Sex</u>	<b>Males</b>	<b>31</b>
	<b>Females</b>	<b>69</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

\*the vocational courses were secretarial, teacher training, N.Z. Certificate of Engineering, other trades certificates and Post Office Examination. 7 (8%) of these subjects were not receiving remuneration from an employer. Of the remainder, 21 (25%) were engaged in full time studies.

\*\* Motor Registry and Technicians Branch.

The distribution of the sample according to age is shown for students and non-students in Figure 2a and for males and females in Figure 2b. Age is not evenly distributed over the full sample. The median occurs at 17, the middle age of the range, with 40% of the sample aged 15 and 16 and 40% aged 18 and 19. Thus although the distribution of age is not uniform the sample is divided evenly into younger and older adolescents.

For students the median age occurs at 17 but almost 50% of the sample is aged 15 or 16. For non-students the median occurs at 18. Thus the non-student sample is an older group than the student sample.

When females are considered a pattern almost the same as that for the full sample emerges. The median is in the 17

years old group and 40% of the sample are aged 15 and 16 and 40% are aged 18 and 19. For males the median again occurs at 17 with 33% of the sample aged 15 and 16 and 33% of the sample aged 18 and 19. Thus for both males and females neither the older or younger age groups predominate.

The distribution of the sample with respect to socio-economic status is shown for students and non-students in Figure 3a and for males and females in Figure 3b. The distribution of socioeconomic status for the full sample results in a skew curve with the mode occurring at both level 2 and level 3. The median occurs in level 3 with 33% of the sample in levels 1 and 2 and 40% of the sample in levels 4, 5 and 6.

For students the median occurs at level 3 with 33% of the sample in levels 1 and 2 but almost 50% in levels 4, 5 and 6. For non-students the median is in level 3 and 33% of the samples are in levels 1 and 2 and 33% of the sample are in levels 4, 5 and 6. Thus the non-student sample contains a greater percentage <sup>of</sup> subjects in the higher levels than does the student sample.

For females, too, the median occurs in level 3 with 30% in levels 1 and 2 and 40% in levels 4, 5 and 6. For males, the median lies between levels 3 and 4. Thus the female sample contains a slightly greater percentage of subjects in the higher levels than does the male sample.

### Calculations

Using the raw scores obtained from the subjects' responses the following calculations were planned:

a. The range, mean, standard deviation and median for degree of economic independence and for degree of conflict with mother, with father and with both parents together.

b. Product-moment correlation coefficients for:

1. Degree of economic independence v Degree of conflict with mother.
2. Degree of economic independence v Degree of conflict with father.
3. Degree of economic independence v Degree of conflict with both parents together.
4. Age v Degree of conflict with mother.
5. Age v Degree of conflict with father.
6. Age v Degree of conflict with both parents together.
7. Socioeconomic status v Degree of conflict with mother.
8. Socioeconomic status v Degree of conflict with father.
9. Socioeconomic status v Degree of conflict with both parents together.
10. Socioeconomic status v Degree of economic independence.
11. Socioeconomic status v Age.
12. Age v Degree of economic independence.

The last three were calculated so that if age or socioeconomic status were found to be related to degree of conflict ( $p < 0.10$ ) this factor could then be partialled out in order to determine the correlation between degree of economic independence and degree of conflict.

c. t-tests to determine whether or not there was any significant difference in the degree of conflict with mother, the degree of conflict with father or the degree of conflict with both parents together between males and females or between students and non-students.

As little research has been done on the degree of adolescent-parent conflict, a significance level of  $p < 0.10$  was accepted as indicating trends which could be examined more closely in future research.

In addition, the areas of conflict were examined in the light of the above findings to ascertain whether the incidence and the nature of the areas of conflict reflected any trends indicated by the correlations and the t-tests.

THE STUDY-RESULTSDegree of Economic Independence and Degree of Conflict Scores

The range, mean, standard deviation and median of the raw scores obtained for degree of economic independence and degree of conflict with mother, with father and with both parents together are shown in Table 2.

The degree of economic independence scores produced extremes at degree of economic independence = 1, i.e. totally dependent (15; 18%) and at degree of economic independence = 7 (37; 44%).

TABLE 2

The Range, Mean, Standard Deviation and Median of the Raw Scores obtained for Degree of Economic Independence, Degree of Conflict with Mother, Degree of Conflict with Father and Degree of Conflict with Both Parents Together.

	Range	Mean	S. D.	Median
Degree of economic independence	1 - 7 (possible) (1 - 8)	4.7	2.43	6
Degree of conflict with mother	1-18.5 (possible) (1 - 21)	6.4	2.75	6
Degree of conflict with father	1 - 20 (possible) (1 - 21)	6.2	3.33	6
Degree of conflict with both parents together	1 - 14 (possible) (1 - 21)	6.0	2.72	6

No subjects were found to have degree of economic independence 8 (i.e. total independence). However, the sample tended towards economic independence. This tendency is reflected in

the high values obtained for median (6) and the standard deviation (2.43) while the mean (4.7) is almost the same as that which would have been obtained from a uniform distribution. Hence either this sample is not typical of the adolescent population or most adolescents try to support themselves to some extent.

For degree of conflict the possible range of scores from low to high was from 1 to 21. The obtained values for the ranges were: degree of conflict with mother 1-18.5; with father 1-20; and with both parents together 1-14.

The mean degree of conflict in all cases was slightly above the median (6). This median value is considerably lower than the midpoint of the range. The mean value for degree of conflict with mother is the highest mean obtained, suggesting that subjects have more arguments with mother than with either father or both parents together. However the high S.D. and greater range found for degree of conflict with father suggest that an adolescent's relationship with his father can be either very good or very bad although more subjects were found to have a low degree of conflict than a high.

#### Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients

Using the raw scores obtained from the questionnaire correlations were made between the degree of economic dependence of the adolescent and his degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together; between the age of the subject and the degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together;

and between the socioeconomic status of the subject's family and the degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together. Correlations were also calculated for the three combinations in pairs of degree of economic independence, age and socioeconomic status.

The detailed findings are shown in Table 3. Age was found to be highly correlated with degree of economic independence ( $r=0.600$   $p < 0.01$ ). Age was also found to be correlated significantly with degree of conflict with mother ( $r=0.183$   $p < 0.10$ ). The degree of economic independence was found to be related to degree of conflict with mother at a level just below significance ( $r=0.176$ , tabled values for  $p < 0.10$   $N=82$   $r=0.183$ ,  $N=92$   $r=0.173$  (Popham, 1967, p.396), hence the interpolated value for  $N=85$  is  $r=0.180$ ).

Since the degree of economic independence increased significantly with age a further correlation of the degree of economic independence and the degree of conflict with each parent separately and with both parents together was performed with age partialled out. These findings are shown in Table 4. For all cases  $p > 0.10$ .

**TABLE 3****Correlations of Degree of Conflict with Each Parent**

Separately and with Both Parents Together with Degree of Economic Independence, Age, and Socioeconomic Status and for Degree of Economic Independence, Age and Socioeconomic Status with each other. N=85.

<u>Variables</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
1. Degree of conflict with mother	---	---	---	-0.176	-0.183*	-0.142
2. Degree of conflict with father	---	---	---	-0.075	-0.050	-0.003
3. Degree of conflict with both parents together	---	---	---	-0.021	-0.030	-0.006
4. Degree of economic independence	---	---	---	---	0.600**	0.000
5. Age	---	---	---	---	---	-0.056
6. Socioeconomic status	---	---	---	---	---	---

\*\*  $p < 0.01$       \* $p < 0.10$

**TABLE 4****Correlations of Conflict Variables with Degree of Economic Independence**

Age partialled out. N=85

<u>Conflict Variables</u>	<u>r with Economic Independence Factor</u>
Degree of conflict with mother	- 0.084
Degree of conflict with father	0.132
Degree of conflict with both parents together	-0.003

In all cases  $p > 0.10$

It appears that none of the factors considered - degree of economic independence, age or socioeconomic status - were related to the degree of conflict perceived by the adolescent with either his father or with both parents

together. However it does appear that as the subject grows older his degree of conflict with his mother decreases although there is no relation between his degree of conflict with his mother and either his degree of economic independence or his socioeconomic status.

### t-tests

In order to ascertain whether or not the sex of the subjects and whether or not the subjects were students were factors in the degree of conflict with each parent separately or with both parents together t-tests were performed on the means of conflict found for each group. These findings are shown in Table 5 and in Table 6. For neither factor was there a significant difference in the degree of conflict found.

TABLE 5

Comparison of Degree of Conflict scores - males vs females

Degree of conflict with	Males N=26		Females N=59		t-test score
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Mother	6.9	2.74	6.2	2.75	t=1.180 p > 0.10
Father	6.6	2.83	6.0	3.53	t=0.793 p > 0.10
Both parents together	6.5	2.92	5.8	2.62	t=1.074 p > 0.10

**TABLE 6**

Comparison of Degree of Conflict scores - Student vs Non-Students

Degree of conflict with	Students N=68		Non-Students N=17		t-test score
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Mother	6.5	2.86	5.9	2.29	t=0.857 p > 0.10
Father	6.2	2.91	6.1	4.77	t=0.067 p > 0.10
Both parents together	6.1	2.71	5.5	2.79	t=0.837 p > 0.10

Summarised the above findings suggest that :-

1. There is no relationship between the degree of economic independence of the adolescent and the degree of conflict with either parent or with both parents together. Thus the hypothesis that the degree of economic independence is related to the degree of adolescent-parent conflict has not been supported.
2. As the adolescent grows older the degree of conflict with his mother lessens. Thus age is a factor in ascertaining the degree of conflict between the adolescent and his mother. In this finding also the hypothesis that age was not related to degree of conflict with mother was not supported.
3. As predicted in the hypothesis, there is no relation between the age of the adolescent and the degree of conflict with either father or both parents together.
4. As predicted in the hypothesis there is no relation between the socioeconomic status of the adolescent's family and the degree of conflict between the adolescent and either parent or between the adolescent and both parents together.
5. As predicted in the hypothesis male and female adolescents

do not differ in the degree of conflict between them and either of their parents separately or between them and both their parents together.

6. As predicted in the hypothesis students and non-students do not differ in the degree of conflict between them and either of their parents separately or between them and both parents together.

#### Areas of Conflict

The number of areas of conflict found are shown in Table 7. Since many subjects gave more than one area of conflict and very few gave none, the total number of areas of conflict is greater than the number of subjects in the sample. Consequently the mean number of areas of conflict is also shown. The data is broken down into age groups as age was the only factor found to affect degree of conflict.

For the full sample the mean number of conflict areas with mother (2.2) is greater than the mean number of conflict areas with father (1.6). This in turn is greater than the mean number of conflict areas with both parents together (1.3).

**TABLE 7**

Distribution of the Number of Areas of Conflict between the Adolescent and his Parents, according to the age of the adolescent.

Age of Subject	15 yrs	16 yrs	17 yrs	18 yrs	19 yrs	Full Sample
Number of Subjects	9	25	19	25	7	85
Number of areas of Conflict with mother	17	60	50	48	15	190
Mean number of areas of conflict with mother	1.9	2.4	2.6	1.9	2.1	2.2
Number of areas of conflict with father	11	48	32	34	7	132
Mean number of areas of conflict with father	1.2	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.0	1.6
Number of areas of conflict with both parents together	10	35	27	34	5	111
Mean number of areas of conflict with both parents together	1.1	1.4	1.4	1.4	0.7	1.3

When the subjects are grouped according to age the following patterns emerge. The mean number of areas in which conflict with mother occurs rises from 1.9 at age 15 to a peak of 2.6 at age 17, drops at 18 to 1.9 again, then rises to 2.1 at 19 years. The mean number of areas of conflict with father has only one peak - at 16 years where its value is 1.9, rising from 1.2 at 15 and falling to 1.0 at 19 years. With both parents together, the mean number of conflict areas is constant from age 16 to age 18, at a value of 1.4 to

which it rises from 1.1 at age 15 and from which it falls to 0.7 at age 19.

These results indicate that the number of areas in which conflict occurs rises to a maximum at 16 or 17 years. This finding supports Hurlock's (1967, p.189) statement quoted earlier that difficulties in family relationships reach their peak between 15 and 17.

The conflict areas were also placed in rank order for the full sample. The major rankings found are shown in Tables 8, 9 and 10.

**TABLE 8**

The ten most common areas of conflict with mother - full sample.

Total number of areas = 26		Number of subjects = 85	
Rank	Area	Subjects giving this area Number	Per Cent
1	my untidy room	26	31
2	my not doing jobs around the house	20	24
3	my attitudes	19	22
4	my using bad language	18	21
5	my going out	15	18
6	my appearance	13	15
7	my studies	11	13
8	the time I get home	10	12
9	my not eating properly	9	11
10	the way I spend my money	8	9

TABLE 9

The twelve most common areas of conflict with father - full sample.

Total number of areas = 23		Number of subjects = 85	
Rank	Area	Subject giving this area Number	Per Cent
1	my attitudes	20	24
2	current affairs	15	18
3	my not doing jobs around the house	11	13
4	my using bad language	9	11
5	my studies	8	9
6=*	who has the use of the car	7	8
6=*	my untidy room	7	8
8=*	the way I spend my money	6	7
8=*	my not eating properly	6	7
8=*	my going out	6	7
8 =*	my friends of the opposite sex	6	7
8=*	my manners	6	7

\*= indicates a tie in ranking

TABLE 10

The ten most common areas of conflict with both parents together - full sample.

Total number of areas = 24		Number of subjects = 85	
Rank	Area	Subjects giving this area Number	Per Cent
1	my attitudes	22	26
2	current affairs	10	12
3	my not doing jobs around the house	8	9
4=*	freedom from my parents' control	7	8
4=*	the time I get home	7	8
4=*	my studies	7	8
7=*	my going out	6	7
7=*	who has the use of the car	6	7
9=*	my using bad language	5	6
9=*	the way I spend my money	5	6

\*= indicates a tie in ranking

All the categories provided in the checklist were checked by at least one subject as an area of conflict with mother. One area was checked by one subject only. This was "my having friends in" which was not an area of conflict between the subject and either his father or both parents together. All other categories were checked by subjects as an area of conflict with father. No subject stated that there were arguments with both parents together about his friends of the same sex, while there were two responses for this area of conflict with each parent separately. Only one category not provided in the checklist was mentioned by more than one subject. This was "she thinks I do too much", an area of

conflict with mother given by two 18 year olds.

Since age was found to be the only factor related to degree of conflict (and this only with mother) the three most common areas of conflict with parents, separately and together, were examined to determine the emphasis given them by each age group. These analyses are shown in Tables 11, 12 and 13.

**TABLE 11**

The three most common areas of conflict with mother for the full sample (N= 85) and their occurrence in each age group, percent and rank.

Area of conflict	<u>Age Group</u>									
	15yrs		16yrs		17yrs		18yrs		19yrs	
	N=9	N=25	N=25	N=19	N=25	N=7	%	Rank	%	Rank
my untidy room	0	-	32	1	37	1	28	1	57	1=
my not doing jobs around the house	22	3=	28	2	21	5	24	2=	14	4=
my attitudes	22	3=	20	5=	16	6=	20	4=	57	1=

The area over which most conflict with mother occurred when the full sample was considered, "my untidy room", was not mentioned at all as an area of conflict by 15 year olds. "My untidy room" was, however, ranked first or first equal with all other age groups. As it is unlikely that at 16 the adolescent suddenly becomes untidier it is probable that other aspects of the adolescent's behaviour are more remarked upon at age 15. The distribution of conflict about "my untidy room" is not even across the remaining age groups. The percentage of 19 year olds reporting conflict in this area (57%) is more than twice the lowest percentage citing it (18 year olds - 28%).

The area ranked second as an area of conflict with mother by the sample as a whole was "my not doing jobs around the house." It showed a fairly even distribution from ages 15 to 18 but a sharp decline at age 19. Here the percentage citing it (14%) was approximately half the maximum percentage reported (28% at age 16).

The area of conflict with mother ranked third by the full sample, "my attitudes", shows a distribution different from either of the other two areas. The curve here is U-shaped rather than bimodal. Both the higher ranked areas produced bimodal curves. Once again the 19 year olds are clearly differentiated from the rest. More than half of the subjects (57%) cite the area as one of the areas of conflict with mother. The lowest percentage citing "my attitudes" as an area of conflict with mother is 16% at 17 years - about a quarter of the percentage citing it at 19.

No clear pattern emerges from these findings. The untidiness of the adolescent may be his method of showing that on his own territory he is independent of his family's opinions. In failing to do jobs around the house the adolescent may be showing that he is capable of independent action as the percentage of subjects reporting failure to do jobs around the house reaches a maximum at age 16, the time when the development of independent action may be expected to occur, then declines with only a slight rise at 18. The pattern found in the third area "my attitudes" may indicate that there is more than one kind of attitude involved. A further study may link these attitudes to the different types of independence i.e. that the attitudes of 15 and 16

year olds are attitudes towards independent action and these of 18 and 19 year olds towards independent thought.

The first ranked area of conflict with father, "my attitudes", gives a similar pattern to that for "my attitudes" as an area of conflict with mother. As an area of conflict with father, too, the distribution over the age groups is U-shaped, with a minimum at 17 years.

TABLE 12

The three most common areas of conflict with father for the full sample (N= 85) and their occurrence in each age group, per cent and rank.

Area of conflict	Age Group									
	15yrs		16yrs		17yrs		18yrs		19yrs	
	N=9	N=25	N=19	N=25	N=7	%	Rank	%	Rank	
my attitudes	33	1	24	1	5	10=	28	2	43	1
current affairs	0	-	8	8=	21	1=	36	1	0	-
my not doing jobs around the house	11	4=	16	3=	16	3=	8	4=	14	2=

"Current affairs", ranked second overall as an area of conflict with father, does not feature at all as an area of conflict between 15 year olds and their fathers or between 19 year olds and their fathers. Between these two extremes it rises from 8% at 16 to 36% at 18. It is probable that 15 year olds are not sufficiently concerned about current affairs to argue about them while 19 year olds have accepted that this is an area where they and their fathers differ and they are able to do amicably.

"My not doing jobs around the house" is ranked third overall and the percentage of the different age groups citing

it as an area of conflict with their fathers is relatively even and the percentages themselves are low (8% to 16%).

When the areas of conflict between the adolescent and both parents together are considered, the patterns which emerge bear some similarities and some differences to the areas of conflict between the adolescent and his father and no similarity to the areas of conflict with mother.

Over the full sample the same three areas are ranked first, second and third respectively for conflict with father and conflict with both parents together. When the sample is divided into age groups the distribution of subjects citing "current affairs" as an area of conflict with father and as an area of conflict with both parents together is similar - no 15 year olds and no 19 year olds citing it in either case. With both parents together, however, the increase in the percentage citing it as an area of conflict is greater between 16 (4%) and 17 (21%) but instead of rising again, as it does as an area of conflict with father, the percentage citing "current affairs" as an area of conflict with both parents together remains almost the same at 18 (20%) as at age 17 (21%).

The three most common areas of conflict with both parents together for the full sample (N= 85) and their occurrence in each age group, per cent and rank.

Area of conflict	Age Group				
	15yrs	16yrs	17yrs	18yrs	19yrs
	N=9 % Rank	N=25 % Rank	N=19 % Rank	N=25 % Rank	N=7 % Rank
my attitudes	22 2=	28 1	21 1=	28 1	29 1=
current affairs	0 -	4 10=	21 1=	20 2	0 -
my not doing jobs around the house	0 -	16 2	5 7=	12 3=	0 -

For "my attitudes", the first ranked area of conflict, the distribution is almost even over all the age groups in sharp contrast to the U-shaped curves found for this area with mother and father separately.

"My not doing jobs around the house" is not an area of conflict between either 15 or 19 year olds and both parents together. Although there is a U-shaped curve between these ages the percentages themselves are low (16%, 5% and 12%).

The importance placed on the areas of conflict differs from mother to father. With the mother conflict tends to arise from specific, visible things which reflect on the actions of the adolescent, although "my attitudes" may be an exception. With father the abstracts "my attitudes" and "current affairs" take precedence over these visible qualities. For both parents together, a pattern similar to that with father emerges although even more emphasis is placed on the abstract. "Freedom from my parents' control" features here in 4<sup>th</sup> ranking. It does not appear as a major area of conflict with either parent separately.

Overall, the findings on the areas of conflict support the conclusion which could be drawn from the calculated product-moment correlation coefficients - namely that the adolescent is more concerned about conflict with his mother than about conflicts with either his father or both parents together.

The implications of the findings reported above will be discussed in the following chapter.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONDiscussion

The calculations in the previous chapter show that the hypothesis proposed in this study i.e. that

for those adolescents living with their parents who are by law permitted to engage in full time employment there is an inverse relation between the degree of economic independence and the degree of conflict with parents, regardless of age, sex, socioeconomic status and whether or not the adolescent is a student

was not supported. Further, the findings indicate that of the factors examined, the only one to have a significant (at the 10% level) relationship with the degree of conflict is age and this is significant only when the degree of conflict with mother is considered. Furthermore, inspection of the number of areas of conflict indicated that adolescents have more areas of conflict with their mothers than with their fathers or with both parents together. This finding was true both for the full sample and for each age group.

A possible explanation of the greater degree of conflict between the adolescent and his mother can be found by considering the nature of the role each parent is expected to play in the family.

The New Zealand and Australian attitudes and value systems have more similarities with each other than either has with the attitudes and value systems of the U.S.A. Consequently it can be assumed that the New Zealand family structure is more like the Australian family structure than it is like that of the U.S.A. Benson (1968, p.129) cites research by Day to

show that the "Australian husband and wife seem to share fewer activities and to participate less often in joint decision making" than their American counterparts. When the power wielded by parents is unequal, father is more often the dominant influence (Benson, 1968, p.105). Hence it would appear that, like its Australian counterpart, the New Zealand family is father dominated, rather than a partnership as in the U.S.A. Wives in father dominated homes are more satisfied with their family lives than either spouse in households which are mother dominated (Benson, 1968, p.105). Wives are expected to turn all their libidinal energy inward upon the family while husbands are expected to turn theirs both inward and outward (Benson, 1968, p.117).

Thus, in the New Zealand family it is the mother who is considered to be more responsible for the good appearance and manners of her child. It is therefore understandable that a mother would react strongly to those aspects of her child's behaviour which suggest that she has not fulfilled her role. The findings support this proposition since the areas over which the adolescent and his mother argue most are those connected with the home (untidy room, failure to do chores), with the adolescent's welfare (his going out, his studies, the time he gets home, his not eating properly) and with those aspects of his behaviour which reflect unfavourably on his upbringing (using bad language, appearance). As the adolescent grows older and establishes some aspects of independence he is no longer considered by the society at large to be a reflection of his home alone. Thus the mother

is able to accept less responsibility for his behaviour. Consequently there is less conflict between the adolescent and his mother, as has been shown in this study. The areas of conflict show this change to some extent - the failure to do domestic chores is not a very prominent area at 19, while "my attitudes" comes into a far more important place. The continuing emphasis on the untidiness of the adolescent's room at this stage still reflects the anxiety of the mother that her child behave in an acceptable manner. It is likely that the mother is considering the time in the not too distant future when her child will leave home and marry, and uses failure to keep his (or, more importantly, her) own room tidy as a yardstick for indicating the unsuitability of such a move ("Get married! She can't even keep her own room tidy!").

Because his energies are divided between the home and the outside world, the role of the father in New Zealand is one of lesser involvement in domestic matters than is the mother's, although he is the ultimate authority on domestic problems. The three main areas of conflict lend support to this proposition. The highest ranked area "my attitudes" requires further clarification so as to determine in what areas the adolescent's attitudes cause conflict, but other evidence from the sample considered by age suggests that in the earlier years it is attitudes towards domestic matters, while later it is attitudes towards external occurrences. The most important pointer towards this is the emphasis on "current affairs" as an area of conflict. As stated

previously this does not figure at age 15 but rises to a peak at 18. Only after these abstract, external areas do the more specific domestic areas appear as areas of conflict. Since the areas ranked highly in this section are, in the main, also major areas of conflict with mother it appears that in arguing with the adolescent about them the father is acting in support of the mother in his role as ultimate authority.

When both parents are together the dominance of the father is also in evidence. Although the amount of conflict is quantitatively less the three major areas of conflict are the same as the three major areas for father-adolescent conflict. This suggests that "parents" to the adolescent means domination by the father and his interests rather than a new and different unit with new, or at least, joint interests. It also gives validity to the proposed family structure, as does the fact that the second ranked area of conflict with mother "my not doing jobs around the house" does not appear as a source of conflict with 15 and 19 year olds and gains a relatively small percentage of responses in the other age groups.

Part of the greater conflict with mother may also be explained in terms of contact time. Since in father dominated homes mothers are satisfied with their family lives and tend to turn their energies inwards they are likely to be at home when the father is working. A majority (80%) of the sample were students and students, particularly full time students, tend to be at home during some of the time when fathers and non-students are working. Consequently such subjects are

likely to have more time with their mothers alone in which to argue. That there was no significant difference in the mean degree of conflict with mother between students and non-students does not invalidate this reasoning. More members of the non-student sample were from families high in socioeconomic status than from families low in socioeconomic status. Men in the higher levels are likely to have more responsibility and, consequently, to work longer hours than their working children, who in this sample were clerks working an eight hour day or technicians doing shift work. The validity of an explanation in terms of contact time during which arguments could occur could be determined, if, in a further study, a question on the amount of time the adolescent spends in the company of his parents, either separately or together were incorporated. Such a study could also determine whether the family structure is as postulated by obtaining information on the mother's occupation, and, if she works, whether she is at home when the adolescent is. If this were the case then, despite her apparent "emancipation" it would appear that she would still be home-centred.

Consideration of the range, means, standard deviations and medians for the degree of conflict between the full sample of adolescents and their parents suggests that adolescence may not be as stressful a time for family relationships as some of the theorists would like us to believe. However there is at least one factor inherent in the design of the study and there are at least two factors inherent in the sampling procedure of this study which may have resulted in a sample biased towards a lower degree of conflict with their

parents than the population as a whole. The factor in the design which may have affected the study involves the limitations of the instrument. The two factors in the sampling procedure which may have affected the study are the residential status of the subjects and the educational qualifications of the subjects.

#### Limitations of the Instrument

The instrument used to measure degree of conflict with parents may have been imprecise so that the failure of the study to support the hypothesis proposed may have reflected this imprecision rather than the reality of the situation. Alternatively, the failure of the study to support the hypothesis proposed may reflect the possibility of a  $\beta$ -error.

#### Residential Status of The Adolescent

It was considered that the only accurate method of gauging a subject's degree of conflict with his parents was to obtain a response based on regular and frequent contact and on immediacy which could only be obtained if the subject was actually living with his parents. It is possible, however, that those adolescents whose degree of conflict with their parents is very great leave home as soon as they are able to support themselves, and that others, whose degree of conflict may not be so great, leave when they feel the need for greater independent action as a precursor to obtaining emotional independence. That the sample used in this study might have been a group which had a lower reported degree of conflict than the adolescent population is suggested by the smaller number of subjects obtained from the Teachers' College

and the Post Office. Despite the fact that many of the people in the required age group, particularly at the Post Office, were from families resident in the area comparatively few, especially in the higher age groups were still living with their parents. A study determining why those adolescents who are living away from home did move out, what they consider their degree of conflict with their parents to have been before they did so and what they consider their degree of conflict to be now would shed light on this area. Such a study could also provide, in comparison with data from those still living at home, an indication of whether a sample consisting solely of the latter group is typical of all adolescents. The study performed by Connor et al (1954) was a retrospective one and did compare previous conflict with present conflict. However the conflict measure used was concerned with definite areas of conflict - specifically the subjects were asked to describe areas of conflict in terms either of persistence or of intensity over a short time-rather than a measure based on degree of conflict. Further Connor et al imply that their subjects all left home to attend college, which would not be the case in the proposed study.

#### Educational Qualifications of the Adolescent

All of the present sample had either completed a minimum of three years of secondary education or were in their third year at a secondary school. It would appear that they came from families that placed some importance on education which in turn may have affected the subject's relations with his family, i.e. that there were fewer conflicts between the

adolescent and his parents because both the adolescent and his parents accepted the importance of the adolescent obtaining the qualifications which would enable him to have a worthwhile career. Such an accord in the earlier years would probably create a pattern which, even after the qualifications had been obtained and the adolescent had left school, would not be easily altered.

To ascertain whether the attitude towards education is a factor in determining the degree of conflict between the adolescent and his parents, a longitudinal study could be performed. The first stage would involve assessing the degree of conflict between adolescents under 15 (and therefore unable to leave school) and their parents; determining which adolescents wish to leave school as soon as they are able; and which parents, according to the adolescent, would not permit this. The second part of this study, to be performed after those who did not leave school have completed three years of secondary education would involve grouping the adolescents into "stayers" and "nonstayers" and comparing the degrees of conflict found in those whose views on education were the same as their parents and in those whose views differed from those of their parents. Another assessment of the degree of conflict between the "stayers" and their parents could also be performed to determine whether there is, at the end of the three years of secondary education, a difference in degree of conflict between those staying voluntarily and those forced to stay. The findings obtained could indicate whether parental values have been accepted, thus creating a situation low in conflict.

The most obvious reason for the non-confirmation of the hypothesis that there is a relation between the degree of economic independence and the degree of conflict with parents is that economic dependence is not a cause for concern to the New Zealand adolescent. However the sample selected was not uniform with respect to economic independence and more of the subjects were at the higher end of the scale (6, 7) than at the lower (1, 2, 3, 4, 5). Further one adolescent with whom the questionnaire was discussed and who was not a member of the sample pointed out that many adolescents of her acquaintance were given, as spending money, the Family Benefit Allowance, paid by the Government to their parents for their support. This money comes to the adolescent directly from his parents so that in the absence of any other source of income he would have classified himself as totally dependent. However he would be aware that the Family Benefit is not earned by his parents and that it is a "gift" from the Government. Thus his being given this money to spend might not make him feel economically dependent on his parents although they are the immediate source of it. If a further study in this area is performed this source of income must be included separately. The sample must also be selected in such a way as to make the distribution of degree of economic independence more even.

Two final points emerge from this study. The first concerns the term "my attitudes", the second the adolescent's discussion of his desire for independence.

### "My Attitudes"

"My attitudes" was an extremely popular response to the areas of conflict question for all three categories of parents. The term itself is extremely nebulous and could mean many different things. The attitudes in question could be related to the tangibles such as appearance, or towards the intangibles such as religion and morality. It could also refer to the general way in which the adolescent views everything or the way in which he appears to his parents to be reacting to a given situation. An investigation of the nature of attitudes about which argument occurs and why these attitudes are sources of argument might reveal more about adolescent-parent relations.

### Adolescent Desire for Independence

As this study was devised originally to investigate the development of independence - a key area in the growth of the individual from child to adult - it was surprising to find that relatively few of the subjects considered the need for independence a major area of conflict with either parent separately. However "freedom from my parents' control" was a major area of conflict with both parents together. As an abstract topic "freedom from my parents' control" is more likely to be discussed with the father or with both parents together but this is not a full explanation of the difference in ranking. The inability of the adolescent to verbalise his feelings in the area may also be a factor. His reaction to the more immediate things may be a means of expressing his desire for independence - showing by his action (using bad

language) or his failure to act (not tidying his room) that he is capable of independent action; and, by his arguments on such things as current affairs that he is able to think independently. The development of such independence in action and in thought is a prerequisite of the development of emotional independence. The decreasing mean number of conflict areas and the more abstract nature of them as the subjects in this study neared the end of adolescence indicates that the older adolescents in this study were approaching emotional independence if they had not already achieved it.

### Conclusion

Most of the factors which other studies found to show a relationship with the degree of conflict between the adolescent and his parents did not, in this study, show any relation to the degree of conflict. The source of the adolescent's spending money, the socioeconomic status of the adolescent's family, the adolescent's sex and whether the adolescent was a student or not were not related to the degree of conflict with mother, to the degree of conflict with father, or to the degree of conflict with both parents together. The age of the adolescent was found to be inversely related to the degree of conflict with mother ( $p < 0.10$ ) but to bear no relation to the degree of conflict either with father or with both parents together.

The mean number of areas of conflict per subject was found to be greater when the mother alone was involved, and the nature of these areas was more specific when the mother was involved than when the father or both parents together

were involved. Arguments about the adolescent's need for independence were frequent only when the adolescent was arguing with both parents together.

That the development of emotional independence is preceded by the development of other forms of independence has been established in the literature and is supported by the analysis of the nature of the areas of conflict found in this study. The adolescent's arguments with his parents on domestic matters indicate his striving for independent action; his arguments on current affairs indicate his striving for independent thought. As the adolescent grows older and more emotionally independent the number of areas of argument decreases and discussions rather than conflicts about the topic occur.

Thus, this study has provided data on the relationship between adolescent-parent conflict as perceived by the adolescent, and age, degree of economic independence, socio-economic status and student/non-student status. This study also raised several questions on adolescent-parent conflict. From these, topics for future research have been suggested. These topics include determining whether the amount of time the adolescent spends with his parents, separately and together, is related to the degree of conflict found; examining the relationship between adolescents no longer living with their parents and their parents to determine whether a greater proportion in this category have a high degree of conflict with their parents than do those who live with their parents; determining whether the educational level of the adolescent, and, by implication, the value placed on

education by his family, has any effect on the degree of adolescent-parent conflict; and a clarification of the term "my attitudes" to determine more clearly what the causes of conflict are.

It will be left to one of the adolescents in the sample to have the final word on adolescent-parent relationships.

"We never argue, we only have differences of opinion."

When parent and adolescent can agree to differ and can differ amicably, the adolescent has attained, and the parent has accepted, emotional independence.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE LIVING AT HOME

Young people are an important group in the community. Newspapers and magazines write a great deal about youth and how they get on with their parents. Much of this information is not based on facts. Your help in answering this questionnaire will supply some important information on the way young people who live with their parents behave with them and what some of the problems in living together are.

Directions

1. This questionnaire is only for the single young person living with his/her parent(s) or legal guardian(s). If you are married, flatting or boarding please do not attempt to answer it.
2. Do NOT put your name on the questionnaire. No attempt will be made to identify you through your answers.
3. Please read each question and ALL possible answers carefully, then tick the response that best fits your case. Do not write in the space to the right of the solid black line.

- |                             |       |                    |  |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------|--|
| 1. My age last birthday was | _____ | less than 15       |  |
|                             | _____ | 15                 |  |
|                             | _____ | 16                 |  |
|                             | _____ | 17                 |  |
|                             | _____ | 18                 |  |
|                             | _____ | 19                 |  |
|                             | _____ | 20 or over         |  |
| 2. I consider myself to be  | _____ | European           |  |
|                             | _____ | Maori              |  |
|                             | _____ | Other<br>(specify) |  |
| 3. My sex is                | _____ | male               |  |
|                             | _____ | female             |  |

4. I usually live with \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ mother only
  - \_\_\_\_\_ father only
  - \_\_\_\_\_ both parents
  - \_\_\_\_\_ legal guardians

If none of the above fits your case exactly write who you live with here \_\_\_\_\_

5. My father's (or guardian's) job is \_\_\_\_\_  
(If he is either unemployed or retired, put this and also state what his last job was).

6. I am presently studying for \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ Fourth form
  - \_\_\_\_\_ School Certificate
  - \_\_\_\_\_ University Entrance
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Bursary
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Teachers College
  - \_\_\_\_\_ University degree
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Trade certificate
  - \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please state below)
- \_\_\_\_\_ I am not engaged in any form of study.

7. Please read this question through very carefully before you tick an answer.

- All my spending money comes from my parents. They buy or supply the money for all my needs.
- I earn less than \$5\* a week from casual jobs like babysitting. My parents give me some spending money and buy or pay for most of the things I need. I do not pay board.
- I earn less than \$5\* a week from a regular job. My parents pay for some of the things I need. I do not pay board.
- I earn between \$5 and \$10\* a week from a regular job. My parents pay for a few of the things I need but I can afford most of them myself. I do not pay board.

- I earn between \$10 and \$15\* a week from a regular job. I pay for all my personal requirements but I do not pay board.
- I earn more than \$15\* a week from a regular job. I pay for all my personal requirements but I do not pay board.
- I earn more than \$15\* a week from a regular job. I pay for all my personal requirements and I pay board of less than \$15 a week.
- I earn more than \$15\* a week from a regular job. I pay for all personal requirements and I pay board of \$15 or more a week.

\*These earnings are what you take home after tax, if any, is paid. If none of the above fit your case please fill in the blanks below.

I earn \_\_\_\_\_ after tax per week.

I can pay for \_\_\_\_\_

My parents pay for \_\_\_\_\_

I pay board of \_\_\_\_\_ per week.

In questions 8 to 12 please mark one answer in each column only if you have lived with both parents during the last month. If you have lived with just one parent mark that column only.

8. During the last week the number of arguments I have had with my parents would be about:

With my <u>mother</u>	With my <u>father</u>	With <u>both parents together</u>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------------

- |                |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| --- None       | --- None       | --- None       |
| --- 4 or less  | --- 4 or less  | --- 4 or less  |
| --- 5 to 9     | --- 5 to 9     | --- 5 to 9     |
| --- 10 to 15   | --- 10 to 15   | --- 10 to 15   |
| --- 16 or more | --- 16 or more | --- 16 or more |

\_\_\_\_\_ I have not been home

9. During the last month most of the arguments I have had:

With my <u>mother</u>	With <u>my father</u>	With <u>both parents together</u>
have been	have been	have been

7.

8a

8b

8c

---we always agree	---we always agree	---we always agree	
--- very minor	--- very minor	--- very minor	9a
--- fairly minor	--- fairly minor	--- fairly minor	
--- fairly serious	--- fairly serious	--- fairly serious	9b
--- very serious	--- very serious	--- very serious	
--- don't speak to her	--- don't speak to him	--- don't speak to them	9c

10. After most arguments things get back to normal in

With my <u>mother</u>	With my <u>father</u>	With <u>both parents</u> <u>together</u>	
---we always agree	---we always agree	---we always agree	
---less than $\frac{1}{2}$ hour	---less than $\frac{1}{2}$ hour	---less than $\frac{1}{2}$ hour	
--- $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hour	--- $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hour	--- $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hour	10a
--- 1 to 4 hours	--- 1 to 4 hours	--- 1 to 4 hours	
--- 4 to 12 hours	--- 4 to 12 hours	--- 4 to 12 hours	
--- 12 to 24 hours	--- 12 to 24 hours	--- 12 to 24 hours	10b
--- 1 to 3 days	--- 1 to 3 days	--- 1 to 3 days	
--- over 3 days	--- over 3 days	--- over 3 days	10c

11. Compared with other young people of my age I get on with my parents

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Both parents</u>	
<u>much</u> better than most	_____	_____	_____	
better than most	_____	_____	_____	11a
about the same as most	_____	_____	_____	
worse than most	_____	_____	_____	11b
<u>much</u> worse than most	_____	_____	_____	11c

12. Most of the arguments I have with my parents are about

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Both parents</u>	
my appearance	_____	_____	_____	
my manners	_____	_____	_____	
my studies	_____	_____	_____	
my friends of the same sex	_____	_____	_____	12a
my friends of the opposite sex	_____	_____	_____	
my going out	_____	_____	_____	
my having friends in the time I get home	_____	_____	_____	

money	_____	_____	_____
my attitudes	_____	_____	_____
freedom from my parents' control	_____	_____	_____
who has the use of the car	_____	_____	_____
current affairs	_____	_____	_____
my not eating properly	_____	_____	_____
my not doing jobs around the house	_____	_____	_____
my using bad language	_____	_____	_____
my untidy room	_____	_____	_____
the way I spend my money	_____	_____	_____
Other ( <u>mother</u> ) specify _____			
Other ( <u>father</u> ) specify _____			
Other ( <u>both parents</u> ) specify _____			

12b

12c

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