WORK-FAMILY CROSSOVER ON CHILD WORK CENTRALITY

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Crossover Effects of Parent Work-to-Family Experiences on Child Work Centrality: A

Moderated Mediation Model

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Abstract

Work-to-family conflict (WFC) and work-to-family enrichment (WFE) are prevalent experiences among working parents. Past research has highlighted the negative consequences of WFC and the positive implications of WFE for the focal person and crossover effects on significant others, such as spouses. However, research on crossover effects on children is sparse, especially in terms of their emerging work beliefs, such as work centrality. To address this research void, based on social support and role-modeling literature, we propose that parental WFC and WFE relate to child work centrality through perceptions of parental career support (an instrumental path) and parental job satisfaction (a socio-cognitive path). In addition, we investigated whether these effects are moderated by parental intrinsic work motivation. Results from time-lagged data of 193 parent—child dyads in Switzerland (Study 1) showed that parental WFC (but not WFE) negatively related to child perceptions of parental job satisfaction, especially when parental intrinsic work motivation was low. Child perceptions of parental job satisfaction were, in turn, positively related to child work centrality, which was positively associated with their job involvement one year later when they were in vocational education and training. A second study (Study 2) using a sample of German adolescents with additional control variables corroborated the specific relation between child perceptions of parental job satisfaction and child work centrality. We discuss the implications of our findings for the work–family crossover and work centrality literature.

Keywords: crossover, work-to-family conflict, work-to-family enrichment, adolescent work centrality, parent—child dyads

Combining work and family is a reality for many people, especially for working parents (e.g., Crawford et al., 2019). Extensive research has shown that this can result in negative experiences, notably work-to-family conflict (WFC), and positive experiences, notably work-to-family enrichment (WFE). WFC refers to a process of resource drain, whereby demands in the work domain deplete resources and impede accomplishments in the family domain. WFE refers to a process of resource accumulation, whereby resources in the work domain improve resources in the family domain (Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). Past research has illustrated that experiencing WFC and WFE not only has implications for the focal person (Amstad et al., 2011; McNall et al., 2010) but may also cross over to significant others, such as family members. Crossover refers to a dyadic or interindividual transmission, whereby work-related and family-related experiences are transmitted between closely related persons (Westman, 2001). Past research has illustrated the crossover effects of WFC and WFE among spouses (for a review, see Steiner & Krings, 2016).

Notably, only limited research has investigated the crossover effects of parental work—family experiences on children. However, such crossover is likely to occur as parent—child dyads are characterized by strong interdependencies (Elder, 1994), which facilitate the occurrence of crossover (Westman, 2001). Past research has primarily focused on the crossover effects of parental work—family experiences on young children, especially concerning their health and well-being (e.g., Vahedi, Krug, Fuller-Tyszkiewicz, & Westrupp, 2019). However, little is known about the crossover effects of parental work—family experiences on older children (i.e., adolescents), especially on their emerging work beliefs.

In this research, we focus on child work centrality, which refers to the belief about the value of work in one's life (e.g., Paullay et al., 1994). Incorporating work as a main domain in one's life (i.e., the emergence of work centrality) is a critical developmental task during adolescence (Havighurst, 1956; Savickas, 2002), which is important before one enters the world of work (Beck & Wilson, 2001). The extent to which adolescents complete this task can have long-lasting consequences on their well-being and future work life (Cemalcilar et al., 2018). Thus, it is essential to understand how work centrality emerges among adolescents.

Further, understanding the predictors of work centrality among adolescents can provide new insights into work centrality among adults. While earlier studies have provided valuable insights into the predictors of work centrality among adults (e.g., education or achievement orientation; Mannheim et al., 1997), they also indicate that work centrality remains relatively stable in adult life (e.g., Różański et al., 2020; Sharabi et al., 2019). By contrast, work values such as work centrality seem more malleable during adolescence (van der Velde et al., 1998), indicating that it might be a critical period for studying the emergence of work centrality.

Past research on work centrality among adolescents has highlighted that parents as key socializers play an essential role in their children's work centrality formation (B. Lee et al., 2016; Lim & Kim, 2014). Adolescents have few work experiences, so their work beliefs might be strongly affected by their parents' work-related experiences, including work-family experiences. Yet, little empirical research and theoretical development exist regarding how parental work-family experiences relate to child work centrality; the same holds true for such effects' underlying processes or potential boundary conditions. In addition, the possible consequences of early work centrality are not well understood. Examining these consequences, such as work commitment when adolescents enter the world of work, would further highlight the relevance of studying work centrality among adolescents.

We integrate key insights from the crossover and work centrality literature with two studies. In Study 1, we investigate how and when parental WFC and WFE relate to child work centrality and the time-lagged outcomes of child work centrality regarding work commitment (see Figure 1 for our hypothesized model). Specifically, we propose that parental WFC and WFE relate to the work centrality of the child through an instrumental path of perceived parental career support and a socio-cognitive path of perceived parental job satisfaction. Further, we propose that parental intrinsic work motivation moderates these effects by mitigating the adverse effects of parental WFC and boosting the positive effects of parental WFE. Finally, we expect positive time-lagged results of child work centrality on work commitment (i.e., occupational commitment and job involvement) one year later when adolescents are in vocational education and training (VET). Study 2 further examines the

robustness of the instrumental and socio-cognitive paths relating to child work centrality.

Our studies make key contributions to the work–family crossover and work centrality literature. First, we contribute to work–family crossover research by offering insights into how and why negative (WFC) and positive (WFE) parental work–family experiences relate to child work centrality. Second, we provide a more in-depth understanding of the boundary conditions under which crossover effects of parental WFC and WFE occur on child outcomes. Third, we contribute to the work centrality literature by providing insights into early predictors and outcomes of work centrality among adolescents at the beginning of their work life and in the context of close family relationships, notably parent–child dyads.

Literature Review and Theoretical Development

Parental Work-Family Conflict and Enrichment and Child Work Centrality

The work–family literature has developed a growing interest in the implications of work–family experiences that go beyond the focal person experiencing WFC or WFE, extending the scope to include the impact for significant others, such as spouses (see Steiner & Krings, 2016). However, when it comes to children, this research has focused chiefly on how parents' work-family conflicts relate to the mental health and well-being of their preschool children (e.g., Ferreira et al., 2018; Vahedi, Krug, & Westrupp, 2019). Little is known about how parental work-family experiences relate to their children's emerging work beliefs, such as work centrality. However, the formation of such beliefs represents a central developmental task for adolescents (e.g., Super, 1996). An exception is Lim and Kim (2014), who investigated how parental WFC relates to the work centrality of their children enrolled in a university. They found that parental WFC is indirectly associated with lower child work centrality through parental frustration about their WFC, resulting in unsupportive parenting behaviors characterized by lack of attention, warmth, and assistance. Their study provided essential insights into the crossover effects of parental WFC on child work centrality. However, in addition to WFC, positive experiences at the work–family interface—parental WFE—may also shape child work centrality in essential ways. Specifically, if parents perceive their work as enriching other life domains (i.e., family), their children may be more

inclined to assign work high importance in their lives. Further, besides the general parenting behaviors studied by Lim and Kim (2014), other processes may also explain the link between parental WFC and WFE and child work centrality. In addition, the strength of crossover effects may depend on certain boundary conditions that have not received adequate attention.

In the current research, we target these research issues and investigate two theoretical mechanisms through which parental WFC and WFE may relate to child-reported work centrality, as well as a potential boundary condition. Specifically, based on social support literature, we propose parental career support as an instrumental path through which parental work-family experiences relate to child work centrality. Parental career support involves parental behaviors targeted at supporting the development of a child's professional career. This can include emotional forms of career support (e.g., counseling children's career-related anxieties and uncertainties or encouraging the child to explore career options) and practical forms of career support (e.g., helping them with applications or giving career-related advice) (e.g., Michaeli et al., 2018). By investigating parental career support as an instrumental path linking parental work-family experiences with child work centrality, we extend Lim and Kim's (2014) findings regarding parental general social support. According to the compatibility principle (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2007), career-specific parental support should also be relevant—if not more relevant—for the emergence of work centrality. Further, based on the role-modeling literature, we propose that adolescent work centrality can also develop through a socio-cognitive path via observing parents' work experiences (e.g., how satisfied their parents are with their jobs).

Instrumental Path via Parental Career Support

In this research, we focus on parental career support as perceived by the child. For the support to shape the child's work centrality, the behaviors must be perceived as supportive by the targeted person (e.g., Ginevra et al., 2015). Because WFC drains and WFE builds resources (e.g., in terms of time, attention, and energy; Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012; Le Zhou et al., 2017; Liu et al., 2015) and because providing support is an effort-intensive behavior that consumes resources (Hobfoll et al., 1990), WFC should inhibit and WFE should

facilitate parental career support. For example, a parent who experiences strong WFC is likely to lack the time or be too exhausted after work to actively provide advice to their child about career development or attentively listen to the child's career-related concerns. Conversely, a parent who experiences WFE and, thus, has a better mood and has more energy at home is more likely to be motivated and capable of providing career support to the child.

If one parent experiences WFC and provides less career support to the child, as we argued above, it is possible that the other parent may compensate by providing even more career support to the child. Similarly, suppose one parent provides more career support to the child because they have more resources available due to their WFE. In that case, the other parent may undo this increase of career support by giving little or no career support to the child. Although these patterns might reflect reality to some extent (Graziano et al., 2009), it is even more likely that if at least one parent experiences WFC/WFE, this will diminish/increase the total amount of career support that the child receives. In fact, the literature has shown that the amount of career support provided to the child (e.g., Ginevra et al., 2015) and the WFC and WFE (e.g., Ho et al., 2013) are interrelated between parents. Hence, if one parent experiences resource drain due to WFC, the other parent is also likely to experience WFC and, consequently, is not expected to have sufficient resources available to provide career support to the child. Similarly, suppose one parent experiences resource gain due to WFE. In that case, the other parent is also likely to experience WFE and, hence, have sufficient resources to support the child in their career development. Taken together, we argue that if at least one parent experiences WFC/WFE, this will have implications for the whole family, resulting in less/more career support provided to the child in the case of WFC and WFE, respectively.

Moreover, we argue that children who receive more career support will be more likely to consider work as a central part of their lives, that is, to develop a stronger work centrality. Adolescents who perceive more parental career support are likely to invest more time and effort in establishing their careers and their future working lives, ultimately increasing the centrality that they assign to work in their life. Indeed, adolescents who receive more career

support from their parents invest more effort into career-exploration activities (Kracke & Noack, 2005). In addition, children who receive more emotional career support from their parents likely feel more confident about developing their future work life and, therefore, develop more positive beliefs about work (Keller & Whiston, 2008; Michaeli et al., 2018), including work centrality. Furthermore, children who receive more practical career support from their parents may be more effective in developing their future work lives, which also likely fosters positive beliefs about work, including work centrality. Indeed, adolescents who received more maternal emotional career support and more paternal practical career support reported more progress in attaining their career goals (Michaeli et al., 2018), possibly fostering work centrality. Taken together, we expect that:

Hypothesis 1: Parental a) WFC is negatively related and (b) WFE is positively related to parental career support as perceived by the child.

Hypothesis 2: Parental career support as perceived by the child is positively related to the work centrality of the child.

Hypothesis 3: Parental WFC is negatively and WFE is positively related to child work centrality, partially mediated by (a) lower (for WFC) and (b) higher (for WFE) parental career support as perceived by the child.

Socio-Cognitive Path via Parental Job Satisfaction

Theorizing and research on role-modeling suggest that observation of parental work experiences is another way through which adolescents' work centrality may be shaped (Bandura, 2001; Morgenroth et al., 2015). A pivotal parental work experience that is easily observable is parental job satisfaction. As WFC is negatively (Amstad et al., 2011) and WFE is positively (McNall et al., 2010) related to job satisfaction, parents are likely to talk negatively about their jobs in the case of WFC and talk positively about their jobs in the case of WFE. In this manner, they communicate their job satisfaction to their children. Further, according to the source-attribution perspective (Amstad et al., 2011), the work domain is responsible for WFC and WFE; specifically, it is blamed for WFC and praised for WFE. Thus, if parents often experience WFC, they are likely to show dissatisfaction about their

work at home, which the child perceives. Conversely, if parents often experience WFE, they are more likely to express satisfaction about their jobs at home, which the child also perceives. Indeed, past research has shown that children are pretty accurate in perceiving their parents' work-related experiences (Barling et al., 1998).

Hence, through communication, parents may signal to their children that work is a (dis)satisfying part of their lives, which can serve as a blueprint for their children's work centrality. Specifically, suppose children perceive their parents as being highly satisfied with their jobs. In that case, this can lead them to consider work as a positive life role from which they could derive meaning and satisfaction, ultimately leading to higher work centrality. Conversely, suppose children perceive their parents to be dissatisfied with their jobs, they will likely consider work as a life role that causes frustration and dissatisfaction and that it would be better if work is not a central part of their life (i.e., low work centrality).

Hypothesis 4: Parental (a) WFC is negatively and (b) WFE is positively related to parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child.

Hypothesis 5: Parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child is positively related to the work centrality of the child.

Hypothesis 6: Parental WFC is negatively and WFE is positively related to child work centrality, partially mediated by (a) lower (for WFC) and (b) higher (for WFE) parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child.

The Moderating Role of Parental Intrinsic Work Motivation

To establish potential boundary conditions of the previously described effects, we focus on parental intrinsic work motivation, referring to a hedonistic motivational state that reflects the desire to expend effort because one finds work interesting, pleasurable, and enjoyable (Gagné & Deci, 2005). Motivation, especially intrinsic motivation, is a crucial determinant of resource allocation decisions (see Kanfer et al., 2017). Based on the self-determination theory, people perceive actions for which they are intrinsically motivated as less resource depleting or less effortful because they do it out of volition or self-endorsement (e.g., Strauss et al., 2017). Hence, parents who are intrinsically motivated for their work likely

perceive a work-related activity, such as providing career support to the child, as less effortful because they experience more volition or self-endorsement in this action than parents for whom intrinsic work motivation is low. Accordingly, parents with strong intrinsic work motivation are more likely to provide a similar level of career support to the child regardless of whether they experience WFC (i.e., have drained resources), thereby buffering the negative link between WFC and career support.

Resource allocation decisions are also relevant in the case of parental WFE. Parents who experience resource gain due to WFE may not necessarily invest their gained resources into their child's career development; they can also do something else with their resources, such as leisure activities. Based on the self-determination theory, people are more likely to expend effort (i.e., invest their resources) into an action they are intrinsically motivated for or, in other words, into an activity that aligns with their intrinsic motivation (e.g., Deci et al., 2001). Given that parents who are intrinsically motivated regarding their work find it more important and enjoyable to provide career support to the child, they are more likely to invest their gained resources from WFE into career support, thereby amplifying the positive link between WFE and career support. Taken together, we expect that:

Hypothesis 7: Parental intrinsic work motivation moderates the relation between parental work—family experiences and career support perceived by the child, such that (a) the negative relation between WFC and perceived career support is weaker and (b) the positive relation between WFE and perceived career support is stronger when intrinsic work motivation is high (vs. low).

Moreover, because intrinsic work motivation is a positive motivational state toward work, it can act as an additional signal of positive parental job attitudes, reinforcing the role-modeling effect through parental job satisfaction on child work centrality. In particular, the adverse effects of parental WFC on parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child may be attenuated when parental intrinsic work motivation is high. In the case of parents with high WFC and high intrinsic work motivation, children may perceive that their parents enjoy their work despite it creating conflict with their family life, thereby buffering the potential negative

relation between parental WFC and perceived parental job satisfaction.

Conversely, the positive effects of parental WFE on parental job satisfaction perceived by the child may be amplified when paired with a highly intrinsic work motivation on the part of the parent. In the case of high WFE and high intrinsic work motivation, children may see the work of their parents as having not only positive effects on their family life but that their parents also intrinsically enjoy their work. This accumulation of positive signals regarding their parents' work likely results in particularly positive evaluations of their parents' job satisfaction by the children, thereby amplifying the expected positive relation between parental WFE and perceived parental job satisfaction. Altogether, we expect that:

Hypothesis 8: Parental intrinsic work motivation moderates the relation between parental work–family experiences and parental job satisfaction perceived by the child, such that (a) the negative relation between WFC and perceived job satisfaction is weaker and (b) the positive relation between WFE and perceived job satisfaction is stronger when intrinsic work motivation is high (vs. low).

Time-Lagged Effects of Child Work Centrality on Work Commitment

Work commitment is a multidimensional concept (Cooper-Hakim & Viswesvaran, 2005; Morrow, 1993) in which commitment to one's occupation (i.e., occupational commitment, K. Lee et al., 2000) and commitment to one's job (i.e., job involvement, Kanungo, 1982) are two main forms. Previous studies have highlighted the relevance of these constructs for adolescents (Lorence & Mortimer, 1985; Nägele & Neuenschwander, 2014). Research suggests that occupational commitment and job involvement begin to develop when individuals enter the world of work, such as in the context of VET, and are primarily determined by work-related experiences, such as job demands and resources (e.g., Bal & Kooij, 2011). Another vital predictor, however, may be early manifestations of work centrality. As a rather general work-related belief, work centrality may act as a predictor of later more specific work-related attitudes, such as occupational commitment and job involvement. Thus, we expect adolescents' work centrality to be positively related to their occupational commitment and job involvement one year later when they are in VET. Brown

(1996) provided meta-analytical evidence that work ethic endorsement, which is conceptually similar to work centrality, predicts job involvement among adult samples.

Hypothesis 9: The work centrality of the child is positively related to (a) occupational commitment and (b) job involvement in VET one year later.

Study 1

The aim of Study 1 was to test the complete hypothesized model depicted in Figure 1 in a sample of dyads consisting of adolescents and their parents in Switzerland. In Switzerland, students complete nine years of compulsory school. Afterward, about 70% continue with a VET program. In these VET programs, they are trained in a specific occupation, work on the job in an organization, and attend a vocational school for one to two days per week, depending on their particular program (State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation SERI, 2018). Switzerland has a well-established VET system, offering training in more than 200 different occupations (Federal Office for Professional Education & Technology, 2018). As such, the country represents a promising context to study the development of work centrality and later manifestations of work commitment, including job involvement and occupational commitment, at the beginning of work life.

Method

Transparency and Openness

We describe our sampling plan, data exclusions, and measures in the Study, and we adhered to the *Journal of Applied Psychology* methodological checklist. Data and analysis code are available online. Data were analyzed using Mplus 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017). To test the indirect effects, we used a bootstrapping test with 1,000 bootstrap samples, following the code developed from Stride et al. (2015). This study's design and its analysis were not preregistered.

Procedure and Participants

The data included in this study was part of a larger research project about developing work orientations in adolescence (Hirschi & Valero, 2017; Steiner et al., 2019; Valero et al., 2015; Valero et al., 2019; Valero & Hirschi, 2016). For this study, we included data from two

waves over a period of one year. Parents participated at T1, where we assessed their WFC, WFE, and intrinsic work motivation. From children, we assessed at T1 their perceptions of parental career support, perceptions of parental job satisfaction, and their work centrality and at T2, we assessed their occupational commitment and job involvement. This research was approved from the ethical committee of the Swiss National Science Foundation (Grant #166035).

At T1, we contacted principals of secondary schools and vocational schools in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, who then asked students currently in the ninth grade or first year of VET, respectively, to participate in our study. Data were collected during class hours via an online survey. Students were supervised by their teachers during participation and were free to decline participation (78.2% response rate). Further, we contacted adolescents from a previous project who were currently in the second year of VET via email or postal letter for renewed study participation (58.79% response rate). This procedure led to the inclusion of 1,772 students at T1 (ninth grade: n = 502; first year VET: n = 1,173; second year VET: n = 97). One year later at T2, we contacted these students again and sent a link of the online survey via email or postal letter. A total of 1,106 students (62.4%) responded at T2, which is in the commonly observed range for this type of data collection (Baruch & Holtom, 2008). We chose a time lag of one year because work commitment (occupational commitment; job involvement) develops over longer time spans, such as years (Arnold, 1990; G. Blau, 1999; Chang & Choi, 2007). In addition, the one-year time lag is natural for the current sample because the school and VET system changes grades on a yearly basis. At both measurement points, the participating students had the opportunity to win one of four gift vouchers of their choice with a total value of approximately 600 USD (one voucher for 300 USD, three vouchers for 100 USD each).

To collect T1 data from parents, we asked children to provide us the contact information of a parent they live with and who works for at least 20 hours per week; 389 children did so. We then invited these parents via email and/or postal letter to participate in our study; 254 parents did so (65.3% response rate). Attrition analyses indicated that children

who participated in our study with a parent were slightly younger (M = 15.79 years) compared to those in the full T1 sample (M = 16.68 years), F(1, 1,605) = 12.99, p < .001. Further, children who participated with a parent were more likely to live in a dual-earner family (87.4%) compared to those in the full T1 sample (78.4%), $\chi^2(1) = 7.85$, p = .01 (more details and further attrition analyses are provided in the Online Supplement A).

To establish parent—child dyads, we matched parents with children based on an anonymous identification number that the children created and that we provided to the parents. We excluded 33 parents who could not be matched accordingly. We also excluded two dyads in which the non-child participant was not a parent but a caregiver from a youth center and a child's romantic partner, respectively. Further, we excluded three dyads in which the parents indicated that they were not currently employed. Finally, given that our T2-dependent measures (occupational commitment, job involvement) require active occupation/work experience, we excluded 11 dyads in which the child indicated not being in VET at T2 (e.g., being in high school instead). This yielded a sample of 205 parent—child dyads. Due to missing values on all our focal study variables for 12 dyads, our final sample consisted of 193 parent—child dyads.

At T1, children (45.6% female) were almost 16 years old (M = 15.79, SD = 1.19) on average, with 64.2% in VET and 35.8% in secondary school. Among the parents, 53.4% were mothers and 46.6% were fathers; all were working at least 20 hours per week. About two-thirds of the parents (66.3%) indicated VET or a higher vocational education as their highest education. More than a quarter (28.3%) indicated a university degree and 4.4% a high school degree as their highest education, while 1.0% had no formal education. Majority of the families were dual earners, that is, both parents were employed (87.4%).

Measures

We applied all surveys in German and used a translation-back-translation procedure to translate the original English items into German (Brislin, 1970). One of the authors translated the original English items into German, and the other author back-translated the items.

Afterwards, the two authors compared the item translations to the original and resolved

deviations as has been done in other research (e.g., Burmeister et al., 2022). Example items for all measures are provided in Table A1 in the Appendix. Means, standard deviations (SDs), and reliability coefficients of all focal study measures are presented in Table 1.

Parent Measures. Work-to-Family Conflict. The WFC of the parent (T1) was measured with the six-item scale from Carlson and Frone (2003). Three items asked about external WFC, namely, when externally generated demands at work inhibit or prevent participation in the family domain. Three items asked about internal WFC, namely, an internally generated psychological preoccupation with work while within the role boundaries of the family domain. Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always).

Work-to-Family Enrichment. The WFE of the parent (T1) was measured with the five-item work-to-family enhancement subscale from the Survey Work-home Interaction—NijmeGen (SWING) developed by Geurts et al. (2005), rated on a four-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*always*).

Intrinsic Work Motivation. The intrinsic work motivation of the parent (T1) was measured with the four-item scale developed by Grant (2008). The participants were asked to respond on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 7 (*agree strongly*).

Child Measures. *Perceived Parental Career Support*. To measure child perceptions of parental career support (T1), we used the four-item scale by Schwarzer et al. (1994) that was developed to measure general social support. To assess career-specific support from parents, we instructed participants to refer to *career-relevant parental behaviors* during the past six months when responding to the items. Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). We formulated items referring to career support from both parents, similar to other research (e.g., Dietrich & Kracke, 2009; Guan et al., 2016), to assess the total amount of career support that the child receives.

Perceived Parental Job Satisfaction. To measure child perceptions of parental job satisfaction (T1), we adapted the three-item scale developed by Cammann et al. (1983) to assess child perceptions of parental job satisfaction. Items were rated on a seven-point scale

ranging from 1 (*don't agree at all*) to 7 (*fully agree*). We assessed perceived parental job satisfaction separately for mothers and fathers. For the analyses, we coded the predictor using the child's rating of the job satisfaction of the parent who participated in the study.

Work Centrality. Child work centrality (T1) was measured with the 10-item Life Role Salience Scale developed by Amatea et al. (1986). Five items asked about work role reward, namely, the personal importance or value one attributes to participation in the work role. Five items asked about work role commitment, namely, how much personal time and energy one commits to the role of work. Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (disagree) to 5 (agree). Participants who were in secondary school at T1 were instructed to imagine what it will be like when they start working. In the analyses presented below, we excluded one reverse-coded item (i.e., "Building a name and reputation for myself through work/a career is not one of my life goals") because it considerably decreased scale reliability.

Occupational Commitment. Occupational commitment of the child (T2) was measured with the eight-item scale developed by G. J. Blau (1985), rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Job Involvement. Job involvement of the child (T2) was measured with the five-item scale developed by Frone et al. (1995), rated on a six-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).

Control Variables. To isolate the effects of our focal variables, following previous research, we controlled for *child gender* (e.g., Patton & Creed, 2002), *age of the child* (Fingerman et al., 2009), *parents' highest level of education* (e.g., Johnson & Monserud, 2012), and *parent gender* (Michaeli et al., 2018). We also included the *interaction term* between the child and parent gender (e.g., Basuil & Casper, 2012) as a control for T1 parental career support perceived by the child and T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child: Children may receive more career support from the same-sex parent and/or more accurately perceive the job satisfaction of the parent with the same sex. Further, we controlled for T1 *school type*, that is, whether children were enrolled in secondary school or VET, for all childrated constructs at T1. Children's first work experiences within the context of VET may affect

their work centrality, as well as their perceptions of parental career support and parental job satisfaction. Finally, we controlled for *family type* (single-earner family vs. dual-earner family) in T1 parental career support and T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child. *Analytical Strategy*

We used structural equation modeling (SEM) to account for measurement errors and common method biases. Due to the complexity of the model (i.e., multiple latent interactions), we followed the procedure described by Sardeshmukh and Vandenberg (2017), using single-score indicators, adjusted for measurement errors for the latent variables, which is an acceptable technique to estimate SEM models (Cortina et al., 2001).² Missing data were estimated using the full information maximum likelihood (FIML; see e.g., Graham, 2009) procedure in Mplus. FIML yields parameter estimates that are very close to those estimates that would have resulted without attritions (Widaman, 2006; Wothke, 2000).

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

We conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to examine the construct validity of the studied variables. Our study sample size was relatively small in relation to the parameters to be estimated, so we used composite parcels of items to represent the latent variables, as has been done in other research (e.g., Direnzo et al., 2015).³ To create item parcels, we followed the procedures described by Landis et al. (2000). This procedure resulted in four parcels for T1 child work centrality and T2 child occupational commitment, three parcels for T1 parental WFC, and two parcels for T1 parental WFE, T1 parental intrinsic work motivation, T1 parental career support perceived by the child, and T2 child job involvement. The appropriateness to represent latent constructs with two indicators has been discussed in previous research (Bagozzi & Edwards, 1998; Eisinga et al., 2013). Further, we followed the recommendations in the literature and placed an equality constraint (tau-equivalence) on the loadings associated with the constructs that were represented by two parcels (Eisinga et al., 2013; Little et al., 1999; Little et al., 2002; Little et al., 2013). The measure of T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child consisted only of three items; we thus did not use parcels

but instead used the original three items to model the latent factor. More details are provided in the Online Supplement B.

The measurement model, including T1 parental WFC and WFE, T1 parental intrinsic work motivation, T1 parental career support perceived by the child, T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child, T1 child work centrality, T2 child job involvement, and occupational commitment as latent variables showed good fit to the data (see Table 2). Standardized factor loadings ranged from .50 to .95 for all parcels. This measurement model fit the data better than a three-factor model (see Table 2), combining the variables assessed by the parent at T1 (i.e., WFC and WFE, intrinsic work motivation), the variables assessed by the child at T1 (perceived parental career support, perceived parental job satisfaction, work centrality), and the variables assessed by the child at T2 (job involvement, occupational commitment) into one factor each.

Fit of the Structural Model

To gauge the fit of our structural model (i.e., the hypothesized model depicted in Figure 1, including the effects of control variables), we followed the two-step estimation procedure by Maslowsky et al. (2015). Because the latent interaction estimation built into Mplus does not produce traditional fit statistics, we first estimated a baseline model including all hypothesized relations depicted in Figure 1, except for the four latent interaction terms.⁴ This model had a good fit to the data, $\chi^2 = 31.18$, df = 24, p = .15; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .04; SRMR = .05; log-likelihood value = -2147.98. In a second step, we added the four latent interaction effects into the model, resulting in a log-likelihood value of -2144.61. However, only one of the four latent interaction effects was significant (see Table 3). Therefore, for the purpose of assessing model fit improvement that is attributable to the significant interaction effect, we further estimated a model where we fixed the three non-significant latent interaction effects to zero to be more parsimonious, resulting in a log-likelihood value of -2145.28. The log-likelihood ratio test between this model and the baseline model yielded D (1) = 5.40, p = .02, indicating that this model fit the data significantly better than the baseline model (Maslowsky et al., (2015)). To comprehensively test all our hypotheses, we report the

results of the model containing all four latent interaction terms (see Table 3).

Hypothesis Testing

The results of SEM, including the effects of the control variables, are presented in Table 3 (unstandardized coefficients) and Figure 2 (standardized coefficients).⁵ T1 parental WFC significantly and negatively predicted T1 parental career support perceived by the child ($\gamma = -0.32$, p = .01, $\Delta R^2 = 6.2\%$), supporting H1a. However, T1 parental WFE did not predict T1 parental career support perceived by the child ($\gamma = 0.18$, p = .16), not supporting H1b. Further, T1 parental career support perceived by the child did not predict T1 child work centrality ($\gamma = 0.14$, p = .20), not supporting H2. Hence, the mediations of parental WFC and WFE on child work centrality through parental career support were also insignificant, not supporting H3a and H3b.

T1 parental WFC significantly and negatively predicted T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child (γ = -0.31, p = .02, ΔR^2 = 2.9%), supporting H4a. However, T1 parental WFE did not predict T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child (γ = 0.02, p = .91), not supporting H4b. The effect of T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child on T1 child work centrality was significant and positive (γ = 0.18, p = .01, ΔR^2 = 4.6%), supporting H5. The results of mediation analyses indicate that T1 parental WFC had a negative indirect effect on T1 child work centrality through T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child (indirect effect = -0.056, 95% BCB CI = [-0.166, -0.003]), supporting H6a. The mediation of parental WFE on child work centrality through parental job satisfaction was not significant, not supporting H6b.

Neither the interaction between parental WFC and parental intrinsic work motivation $(\gamma = 0.03, p = .77)$ nor the interaction between parental WFE and parental intrinsic work motivation $(\gamma = 0.02, p = .90)$ significantly predicted parental career support perceived by the child, not supporting H7a or H7b. The interaction between parental WFE and parental intrinsic work motivation did not significantly predict parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child $(\gamma = -0.14, p = .27)$, not supporting H8b. However, the interaction between parental WFC and parental intrinsic work motivation significantly predicted parental job satisfaction

as perceived by the child ($\gamma = 0.25$, p = .03, $\Delta R^2 = 2.1\%$). The interaction is depicted in Figure 3. Simple slope tests showed that parental WFC was negatively related to parental job satisfaction perceived by the child when parental intrinsic motivation was low (i.e., -1 SD; $\gamma = -.56$, p = .001), but was unrelated to perceived parental job satisfaction when parental intrinsic motivation was high (i.e., +1 SD; $\gamma = -.06$, p = .77). Thus, H8a was supported.

T1 child work centrality significantly and positively predicted child job involvement one year later at T2 ($\gamma = 0.70$, p = .002, $\Delta R^2 = 16.9\%$), supporting H9b. However, the effect of T1 child work centrality on T2 child occupational commitment was not significant ($\gamma = 0.30$, p = .08), not supporting H9a.

Supplemental Analyses

Although not hypothesized, given the supporting findings for H6a and H9b, we conducted supplemental analyses to test whether parental WFC indirectly relates to lower job involvement of the child one year later. The results of a sequential mediation model indicate that T1 parental WFC had a negative indirect effect on T2 child job involvement, sequentially through lower T1 parental job satisfaction perceived by the child and lower T1 child work centrality (indirect effect = -0.069, 95% BCB CI = [-0.208, -0.016]).

Further, given the supportive finding for H8a (i.e., parental intrinsic work motivation significantly moderates the relation between parental WFC and parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child), we conducted supplemental analyses to test whether parental intrinsic motivation also moderates the indirect effects of parental WFC on T1 child centrality and T2 job involvement. That is, we tested two moderated mediation effects. The results (see Table 4) suggest that high intrinsic work motivation of the parent can buffer the negative indirect effects of parental WFC on child work centrality and later job involvement.

Discussion

Study 1 provided evidence for the expected socio-cognitive path rooted in the role-modeling literature, showing that parental WFC was linked to lower concurrent child work centrality and time-lagged job involvement through lower perceived parental job satisfaction. The results, however, did not support the expected instrumental path through perceived

parental career support. In a follow-up study (Study 2), we aim to provide evidence for the robustness of these findings by including additional control variables informed by past research and using a different measure of perceived parental career support.

Study 2

Study 1 found evidence for the expected socio-cognitive path (through perceived parental job satisfaction) by controlling for relevant socio-demographic and schooling variables. Yet, previous literature on predictors of work centrality highlighted the relevance of additional predictors. For example, the (lack of) general support stemming from parents can explain why children whose parents had higher levels of WFC reported lower work centrality (Lim & Kim, 2014). Further, achievement value, defined as people's striving for success through demonstrating competence (e.g., Schmidt et al., 2007), is a relevant predictor of work centrality (Mannheim et al., 1997). Hence, the first aim of Study 2 was to assess if the sociocognitive path identified in Study 1 explained a significant amount of variance in child work centrality above and beyond general parental support and child achievement value.

Further, in Study 1, we did not find evidence for the hypothesized instrumental path (through perceived parental career support) when assessing children's collective perceptions of parental career support for mothers and fathers. It seems unlikely that career support stemming from just one parent would foster children's work centrality when career support from both parents does not. However, we would like to empirically rule out this possibility to provide a robustness check of the non-significant finding for the instrumental path in Study 1. Hence, Study 2 also aimed to assess whether parental career support was unrelated to child work centrality when measured separately from the mother and the father.

In sum, in Study 2, we sought to replicate the supportive findings more rigorously for Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 5 from Study 1. That is, we assess whether only perceived parental job satisfaction but not perceived parental career support predicted child work centrality when including further control variables and when differentiating between maternal and paternal career support. We conducted Study 2 in Germany, which is comparable to Switzerland in terms of societal values and educational systems (e.g., Roose, 2010).

Method

Transparency and Openness

We describe our sampling plan, data exclusions, and measures in the Study, and we adhered to the *Journal of Applied Psychology* methodological checklist. Data are available online. Data were analyzed using SPSS 27 (IBM Corp., 2020). This study's design and its analysis were not preregistered.

Procedures and Participants

We recruited 170 adolescents through the German panel provider *Respondi*, which compensated them with the equivalent of about 0.5 USD each for study participation. We excluded 11 adolescents (6.2%) who reported that both parents were currently not employed, resulting in a final sample of 159 adolescents. The adolescents (67.9% female) were on average 18 years old (M = 18.26; SD = 2.84). More than one-third (37.2%) were currently enrolled in VET, 37.2% were in secondary or middle school, and 25% were in high school. The children's reports of the highest education of their parents indicated that 30.7% of mothers (32.9% of fathers) had completed tertiary education (e.g., university), 38.6% of mothers (40.1% of fathers) had completed a VET program, 4.6% of mothers (2.6% of fathers) had a high school degree, and 9.2% of mothers (5.9% of fathers) had no formal education. Seventeen percent and 18.4% of the children did not know the highest education of their mothers and fathers, respectively. The majority of the children (65.8%) reported that both parents were currently employed, 23.7% reported that only their father was employed, and 10.5% reported that only their mother was employed.

Measures

We applied all surveys in German and used the same translation-back-translation procedure as described in Study 1. Example items are provided in Tables A1 and A2 in the Appendix. Means, SDs, reliability coefficients, and bivariate correlations of all focal study variables are presented in Table 5.

Perceived Parental Job Satisfaction. We used the same measures to assess parental job satisfaction perceived by the child as in Study 1 (Cammann et al., 1983).

Perceived Parental Career Support. We used the same measure to assess parental career support perceived by the child as in Study 1 (Schwarzer et al., 1994), but we adapted the items accordingly to assess career support separately for mothers and fathers.

Perceived Parental General Support. To measure child perceptions of parental general support, separately for mothers and fathers, we used the four-item scale developed by Gecas and Schwalbe (1986), that is, the same measure that Lim and Kim (2014) used in their study. The items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). The participants referred to the supportive behaviors of their parents over the past six months.

Achievement Value. We used the four-item achievement value dimension of the values questionnaire developed by Schmidt et al. (2007), which is especially suitable for respondents with low to medium levels of education, as is the case for the adolescents included in this data collection. The participants indicated how each description matched them on a six-point scale ranging from 1 (*very similar*) to 6 (*very dissimilar*). We recoded the items, such that the higher values presented a higher achievement value.

Work Centrality. We used the same measure of child work centrality as in Study 1.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Results

Because our study's sample size was relatively small in relation to the parameters to be estimated, we used composite parcels of items to represent the latent variables, resulting in four parcels for child work centrality, and in two parcels for maternal and paternal career support, maternal and paternal general support and child achievement value. The appropriateness to represent latent constructs with two indicators has been discussed in previous research (Bagozzi & Edwards, 1998; Eisinga et al., 2013). Further, we followed the recommendations in the literature and placed an equality constraint on the loadings (tau-equivalence) associated with the constructs that were represented by two parcels (e.g., Little et al., 1999). The measures of maternal and paternal job satisfaction perceived by the child consisted only of three items each; thus, we did not use parcels but instead used the original three items to model the latent factors for them, respectively. More details are provided in the

Online Supplement H.

The measurement model, including child work centrality, child achievement value, maternal and paternal job satisfaction perceived by the child, maternal and paternal career support perceived by the child, and maternal and paternal general support perceived by the child as latent variables, showed a good fit to the data (see Table 2). The standardized factor loadings ranged from .58 to 1.00 for all parcels. This measurement model fitted the data better than several alternative models (see Table 2).

Hypotheses Testing

We conducted regression analyses and first tested a baseline model (Model 1) that only included child-related control variables in terms of gender, age, and achievement value of the child. We then tested a model including control variables and all the predictors from the mothers and fathers together (i.e., maternal and paternal job satisfaction; maternal and paternal career support; maternal and paternal general support). However, this model encountered multicollinearity issues and did not provide meaningful estimates. Hence, we tested maternal (Model 2), paternal (Model 3), and parental (Model 4) predictors above and beyond control variables. Specifically, in Model 2, we added child perceptions of maternal job satisfaction, maternal career support, and maternal general support. In Model 3, we added child perceptions of paternal job satisfaction, paternal career support, and paternal general support. Finally, in Model 4, we averaged the respective maternal and paternal predictors to create parental predictors (i.e., parental job satisfaction, parental career support, parental general support), to further replicate the findings from Study 1 where we assessed combined parental career support. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 6.

Perceived maternal job satisfaction (Model 2; b = 0.10; p = .03, $\Delta R^2 = 7.6\%$) and perceived paternal job satisfaction (Model 3; b = 0.08; p = .05, $\Delta R^2 = 3.0\%$) positively predicted child work centrality, thereby supporting H5. Further, parental job satisfaction (i.e., aggregated maternal and paternal job satisfaction) also significantly and positively predicted child work centrality (Model 4; b = 0.09; p = .03, $\Delta R^2 = 5.0\%$). Perceived maternal career support (Model 2; b = 0.02; p = .83) and perceived paternal career support (Model 3; b = 0.03;

p = .71), however, were both unrelated to child work centrality, thereby not supporting H2. Parental career support (i.e., aggregated maternal and paternal career support; Model 4; b = 0.03; p = .78) was also unrelated to child work centrality, replicating findings from Study 1. Finally, perceived maternal, paternal, and parental general support were all unrelated to child work centrality (see Models 2, 3, and 4 in Table 6, respectively; all $bs \le 0.06$, all $ps \ge .48$). Among the control variables, child achievement value significantly and positively predicted child work centrality in all models (all $bs \ge 0.13$; $p \le .01$).

Discussion

With Study 2, we replicated the results from Study 1 and showed that only perceived parental job satisfaction, but not perceived parental career support, predicted child work centrality. Further, in Study 2, we showed that the effects of the socio-cognitive path (i.e., perceived parental job satisfaction) remained robust also when controlling for additional parental behaviors (i.e., general parental support) and relevant child value (i.e., achievement value). The findings remained robust regardless of whether parental career support was assessed for mothers or for fathers. Thereby, we can mitigate concerns about omitted variables and potential measurement effects and highlight the relevance of the socio-cognitive path linking parental WFC to child work centrality.

General Discussion

The current research examined parental work–family interface experiences as predictors of child work centrality and its time-lagged outcomes (job involvement, occupational commitment) among adolescents (Study 1). We also investigated the underlying mechanisms (instrumental and socio-cognitive paths; Studies 1 & 2) and boundary conditions (parental intrinsic work motivation; Study 1) of these effects. The results supported some, but not all, of our hypotheses. Specifically, the results of Study 1 supported the expected negative relation between parental WFC and parental career support as perceived by the child (H1a). The results of Study 1 also supported the expected negative association between parental WFC and parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child (H4a), especially if parental intrinsic work motivation was low (H8a). Further, as expected, perceived parental job

satisfaction (but not parental career support) was positively related to child work centrality (H5; Studies 1 & 2), which in turn was positively related to job involvement of the child one year later (H9b; Study 1). The other hypotheses were not supported.

Instrumental Path

As expected, we found that when parents reported more WFC, their children reported receiving less career support from them. This finding aligns with the spillover-crossover model (Bakker et al., 2009), suggesting that WFC inhibits supportive interactions among spouses. Our results extend this idea by illustrating that WFC is also linked to fewer supportive interactions among parent—child dyads. Unexpectedly, the link between parental WFC and parental career support was not moderated by parental intrinsic work motivation. This suggests that parental WFC alone is sufficient to hinder parents from providing career support to their children.

Although we found that WFC related to lower parental career support to the child in Study 1, parental career support was unrelated to child work centrality in Studies 1 and 2. Thus, our findings did not support the proposed instrumental path. However, in Study 1, parental career support was positively correlated with child work centrality (r = .20, p < .01), and in Study 2, career support from the mother was positively correlated with child work centrality (r = .23, p < .01), indicating that parental career support is not entirely irrelevant to children's work centrality. In addition, child perceptions of parental career support and parental job satisfaction were significantly correlated in both studies (rs > .31, ps < .001), indicating that the instrumental and socio-cognitive paths are not entirely independent, either. This shared variance may partly explain why perceived parental career support was unrelated to children's work centrality once perceived parental job satisfaction was included in the model, indicating that the socio-cognitive path is the more relevant path for the formation of children's work centrality.

Another explanation for the lack of support to the proposed instrumental path might be that some adolescents may not assign a high value to receiving career support from their parents because adolescence is a developmental phase where children increasingly seek separation from their parents (e.g., Soenens et al., 2007). These adolescents might have rejected the career support offered by their parents because they saw this as interfering with their attempts to establish independence from them. This is in line with study findings illustrating that the effects of parental involvement on child vocational outcomes, such as vocational maturity, decreased through adolescence and early adulthood (Bae, 2017). Another reason might be that children receive parental career support only when they approach working age. Having said that, they can observe their parents' job satisfaction over many years (i.e., the socio-cognitive path, see further below). Thus, parental career support is likely a relatively recent perception for adolescents, which may partly explain why it did not translate into higher concurrent work centrality in the child. This might also explain why Lim and Kim (2014) found that general parental support predicted child work centrality, while we found that a more specific form of support (i.e., career support) did not. Children may receive general support (e.g., attention, care, warmth) from their parents from early childhood, thereby giving more room for general parental support to shape their work centrality than the career-specific support they only recently received. At the same time, in Study 2, we found no support for the path for which Lim and Kim (2014) found evidence for, namely parental general support linking parental WFC to child work centrality. This indicates that children's perception of their parents' job satisfaction is a more relevant predictor of children's work centrality than general support from parents. This is in line with the compatibility principle (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2007), indicating that parental work-related experiences are more relevant for forming children's work beliefs than general parental behaviors.

Socio-Cognitive Path

We found that when parents reported more WFC, their children perceived them as less satisfied with their job. This indicates that children take notice of their parents' low job satisfaction resulting from their WFC. This further corroborates the source attribution perspective (Zhao et al., 2019), according to which individuals perceive the sending domain (i.e., the domain in which the conflict originates), which is work, in this case, as responsible for the WFC, resulting in lower satisfaction with the sending domain (i.e., lower job

satisfaction). Our findings extend this perspective by showing that source attribution processes also occur in the interindividual context, that is, when children attribute the source of WFC to the parents' work domain.

Parental job satisfaction, in turn, significantly predicted child work centrality in both studies. The adolescents reported that work takes a more central role in their lives (i.e., strong work centrality) if they perceive their parents to be more satisfied with their jobs. These findings support the expected socio-cognitive path through which parental WFC crosses over to their children's emerging work centrality through children observing how satisfied their parents are with their jobs. This is in line with the core contentions of the role-modeling mechanism, according to which children refer to their parents as role models for developing their emerging work beliefs (e.g., Lent et al., 1994). Our findings extend this body of research by illustrating that beyond parents acting as role models in terms of their work beliefs (e.g., Cemalcilar et al., 2018), pivotal work experiences of the parents, such as parents' job satisfaction, can also act as signals that adolescents take into account concerning the development of their work beliefs, namely, their work centrality.

Interestingly, in Study 2, maternal job satisfaction was the more important predictor of child work centrality than paternal job satisfaction (see Table 6). This might at least partly be explained by the fact that mothers tend to remain primarily responsible for family matters, even when they are employed (e.g., Milkie et al., 2010). It is thus probable that mothers spend more time with their children than fathers, thereby having more opportunities to communicate their level of job satisfaction to them, making it more likely that they figure as role models for their children's work centrality.

Notably, in Study 1, we found that parental intrinsic work motivation buffered the negative socio-cognitive path between parental WFC and child work centrality. The perceived decrease in parental job satisfaction resulting from higher levels of parental WFC was less pronounced if the parent had a strong intrinsic work motivation. In addition, WFC had less detrimental indirect crossover effects on child work centrality and child job involvement one year later for parents who were more intrinsically motivated regarding their job. This

indicates that children consider different positive (e.g., high parental intrinsic work motivation) and negative (e.g., low job satisfaction) signals from their parents' jobs and that positive signals can buffer the detrimental effects of negative signals on their emerging work beliefs.

Lack of Evidence for the Crossover of WFE

Unexpectedly, we found no effect of parents' positive experiences at the work–family interface (i.e., WFE) on parental career support or parental job satisfaction perceived by the child. In other words, the children did not report their parents to offer more career support to them or perceive their parents to be more satisfied with their jobs if the parent experienced more WFE. One explanation for these unexpected findings might be found in the primacy of loss principle (e.g., Hobfoll et al., 2018), according to which people have an evolutionary tendency to over rate resource losses (in the case of WFC) and underweight resource gains (in the case of WFE). For our study, this could mean that parents reduce the career support they offer their children if they experience WFC, potentially preserving and re-establishing their drained resources. At the same time, they do not necessarily transfer their gained resources in WFE to increase career support for their children, even when they are intrinsically motivated for work. Similarly, parents may send stronger signals of their (lowered) job satisfaction in the case of WFC-induced resource loss. In comparison, resource gain in the case of WFE does not translate into stronger signals of (enhanced) job satisfaction.

Time-Lagged Effects

Concerning the lagged outcomes of work centrality one year later, we found the expected positive effect of work centrality on job involvement, but not on occupational commitment. This is surprising because adolescents are enrolled in occupation-specific VET programs in Switzerland, making the occupational commitment a theoretically relevant form of commitment even at this early career stage (e.g., Nägele & Neuenschwander, 2014). One explanation for the inconsistent effects of work centrality on later aspects of work commitment could be that at the very beginning of one's career, work commitment is predominantly expressed through commitment toward one's current job (i.e., job

involvement). Commitment toward more general and abstract aspects of one's work, such as occupation, may become more relevant in subsequent years when adolescents gain more work experience, possibly in different jobs (e.g., K. Lee et al., 2000).

Implications for Theory and Practice

This research has several theoretical implications. First, our study contributes to the work-family crossover literature and theory building. We extend this research by showing that parental WFC can have adverse indirect crossover effects on children's emerging work beliefs. Our findings also contribute to a deeper understanding of the underlying processes of this crossover effect. We found support for a socio-cognitive path—rooted in the rolemodeling literature—showing that child perceptions of the parent as being dissatisfied with the job explained why parental WFC decreased child work centrality. In addition, we found a negative indirect effect of parental WFC on the involvement of children in their current job during VET one year later. Although this indirect effect was small, it is essential to note that it unfolded over a period of one year and was above and beyond several socio-demographic factors. This indicates that parental WFC has a "long arm" (Lim & Kim, 2014), with longerterm consequences for children's work outcomes. These are important findings, as the emergence of positive work beliefs and the establishment of a satisfying work life are central developmental tasks of adolescence (e.g., Super, 1996). Our findings indicate that WFC and the resulting lower job satisfaction of parents can hinder children from successfully achieving these core developmental tasks.

Our findings also shed light on a boundary condition (i.e., high intrinsic work motivation) that can buffer the otherwise adverse crossover effects of parental WFC on children's emerging work beliefs. Future theory-building about the crossover of parental experiences at the work–family interface may consider such crossover effects as unfolding within a larger context that is at least partly defined by parents' work-related (or family-related) motivations and attitudes, which may attenuate or strengthen the crossover effects from parents' work–family experiences to children.

Second, our study contributes to the literature and theory about work centrality. By

opting for a work–family perspective, we provide new knowledge about the early predictors of work centrality in the context of parent–child relationships. Previous models on the development of child work beliefs, such as work centrality, primarily focused on the parents' own work beliefs as predominant parental predictors of their children's work beliefs. Based on our results, future theoretical models about the development of work centrality could consider that parents' experiences at the work–family interface—notably negative ones, such as WFC—might play a pivotal role in developing child work beliefs. Depending on their work–family experiences, parents send more or less positive signals about their jobs, which children note when forming central work beliefs.

The insights from this study are also relevant for the theoretical development of work centrality during adulthood. Studies among adults have found that work centrality remains relatively stable among adult workers (e.g., Bal & Kooij, 2011). Thus, our findings can provide new insights into why some adults assign higher importance to work than others. Specifically, our results suggest that people who assign high importance to work when they are adults might have been exposed early in their life to parental role models who signaled that work is a life domain where one can derive pleasure and satisfaction. Further, our finding that work centrality predicted later job involvement indicates that adolescents who assign high importance to work also become, over time, more committed toward other aspects of their work (such as their jobs), which may have further implications for the work centrality during adulthood: Individuals who are already more committed to their jobs at the beginning of their work life (e.g., in VET) are likely to become more successful in their careers, which may further strengthen, over time, the belief that work is a domain from which one can derive satisfaction and meaning (i.e., high work centrality). Thus, our findings indicate that theoretical development about work centrality may benefit from a lifespan approach (see for example, Wang & Wanberg, 2017) to examine early predictors and later consequences of work centrality.

From a practical perspective, this research has the following implications. For political stakeholders and organizations, our findings suggest that parental WFC can have detrimental

effects on the value that the next generation attributes to work and, as such, can also indirectly impair organizational performance, economic growth, and welfare. This confirms that political measures (e.g., paid parental leaves) and human resources (HR) practices (e.g., flexible scheduling) for promoting work—family balance are relevant, not only for reducing stress among parents but also for indirectly supporting their children in the development of work beliefs that are considered appropriate in most organizations and capitalist societies. Further, our study suggests that political stakeholders, HR practitioners, and managers should be made aware that supporting a successful integration of work and family is not only pivotal when children are young but that parental WFC can also have detrimental effects when children are older.

For family or career counselors, our findings indicate that they should be made aware that parental WFC can have detrimental effects on children's emerging work beliefs and that training parents in strategies to efficiently deal with demands arising from the work and family domains (e.g., Higgins et al., 2010) might be one way to provide optimal conditions for the development of work beliefs among adolescents. In addition, by being aware that WFC is not always avoidable, counselors might focus on factors that can attenuate the adverse effects of parental WFC on child work centrality. For example, they can highlight that parents can express their intrinsic motivation for their job (despite their WFC) and actively share with their children aspects that they enjoy about their job.

Limitations and Future Research

Although this study has several strengths such as the dyadic sample and time-lagged design, some limitations must be considered when interpreting the results. First, we focused on child perceptions of parental career support because social support is more likely to be effective if perceived by the receiver (e.g., Haber et al., 2007). However, it is possible that adolescents might have strived to present themselves as relatively independent from their parents, which could have resulted in an underestimation of the amount of career support they perceived from their parents, thereby attenuating the relation between parental career support and child work centrality. Further, we assessed a child's perceptions of parental career support

and work centrality at the same measurement point. It is possible that career support from parents might not immediately translate into higher work centrality but it instead shows accumulating effects over time. Thus, it may be too early to conclude that parental career support is irrelevant for developing child work centrality. Future research may want to include career support reported by the parents and measures of work centrality at different time points to replicate our findings.

Second, in Study 1, only one parent provided data. This allowed us to recruit a considerably large sample, which would have been difficult had we required both parents to participate. Further, we asked the children to indicate a parent with whom they live and who is considerably invested in work (i.e., 20 hours per week or more). Hence, this parent is particularly likely to shape child work centrality via our proposed instrumental and sociocognitive paths. Nevertheless, future studies might want to include measures for both parents and investigate the possible dynamics between both parents' WFC and WFE and how they indirectly relate to child work centrality. For example, the WFE of one parent may buffer the negative indirect effect of the WFC of the other parent on child work centrality. Alternatively, the adverse effects of the WFC of both parents may exacerbate each other and indirectly relate to particularly low levels of child work centrality.

Third, we focused on parental intrinsic work motivation as a moderator of the proposed instrumental and socio-cognitive paths linking parental WFC and WFE to child work centrality. Other parental (and child) characteristics may also have moderating effects. For example, parental intrinsic motivation for family activities (e.g., Menges et al., 2017), such as how much they enjoy spending time with their children, may affect parents' allocation of drained resources (in the case of WFC) and gained resources (in the case of WFE) into the home domain. The intrinsic motivation for family activities may be a particularly relevant boundary condition for the effects of WFE on parental career support and parental job satisfaction—effects for which we did not find support in our study. For example, parents who enjoy spending time with their children may be particularly likely to allocate their gained resources in case of WFE into activities with their children, such as supporting them in their

career development. Thus, future research should include other boundary conditions that are likely to amplify or attenuate the relation between parental negative and positive work–family experiences and child work centrality.

Finally, other boundary conditions, reflecting the demographic background of the child and the parent, might also be relevant for understanding in more detail the crossover effects of parental work—family experiences on child work beliefs. For example, we found in Study 1 that children's perception of their parents' job satisfaction depended on the gender constellation of the dyad (see Table 3). Children perceived their same-sex parent to be more satisfied with their job compared with the other parent. Further, the adolescents who participated in Study 1 were slightly younger and more likely to live in a dual-earner family than the full sample of adolescents who participated in the larger research project from which we derived our data. Future research may build on these findings and unveil more systematically how and why gender plays into the crossover of parental work—family experiences on child work beliefs and how crossover unfolds in older adolescents and those living in more diverse family constellations (e.g., single-earner families, rainbow families).

Conclusion

This research contributes to the work–family crossover and work centrality literature by demonstrating the crossover effects of parental negative (WFC), but not positive (WFE), work–family experiences on child work centrality and the time-lagged effects of work centrality on job involvement (but not occupational commitment) one year later. We further shed light on the underlying mechanisms and boundary conditions. Our results provide evidence for a socio-cognitive (but not instrumental) path, relating WFC to lower levels of child work centrality and lower child job involvement one year later. Parental intrinsic work motivation was identified as a boundary condition of these effects that attenuated the antagonistic relation between parental WFC and parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child. Our study contributes to theoretical and empirical knowledge on crossovers in parent—child dyads and the development of work centrality.

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Footnotes

¹ The data sets, analysis codes and the supplementary materials and analyses mentioned in this manuscript have been made publicly available at the Open Science Framework (OSF) and can be assessed at https://osf.io/ganzm/?view_only=6297682654a746f8b67f1731d943f365.

² Instead of the full SEM model, we took the average score of each scale to create a single indicator for each latent variable. To account for measurement error in these variables, the factor loading for each average score was set equal to the square root of reliability of the scale. The measurement variance was set to one minus the reliability of the scale, times the variance of the scale.

³ It is not possible to estimate the fit of the measurement model based on the SEM approach that we used to test our hypotheses (using single score indicators, adjusted for measurement error, for the latent variables) because it is a fully saturated model. We nevertheless wanted to examine the construct validity of our focal variables, and hence, test the goodness of the fit for the measurement model per CFA based on item parcels.

⁴ All latent predictors, but not observed predictors (i.e., observed control variables) were allowed to correlate freely with each other per Mplus default settings. All outcome variables, but not mediators, were also allowed to correlate freely with each other per Mplus default settings. Specifically, among the predictor variables, T1 parental WFC, T1 parental WFE and T1 parental intrinsic work motivation were allowed to correlate freely. Among the outcome variables, T2 child occupational commitment and T2 child job involvement were allowed to correlate freely. We manually added correlations between the mediator variables (i.e., T1 perceived parental career support and T1 perceived parental job satisfaction) and correlations between the control variables.

⁵ The Mplus syntaxes for the main analyses, as well as for the supplemental analyses are provided in the Online Supplements C-G.

⁶ We did not, in Study 2, include socio-economic status and school type as control variables for child work centrality as we did in Study 1 because there were in total more than 20% of missing values on these variables in Study 2 and socio-economic status and school type did not significantly predict child work centrality in Study 1.

Tables

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach Alpha Coefficients, and Correlations of Study Variables (Study 1)

-			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	T1 Child	Gender														
2	T1 Child	Age	05													
3	T1 Child	School type	08	.57***												
4	T1 Child	Family type	.06	21**	12											
5	T1 Parent	Gender	02	.04	.05	24**										
6	T1 Parent	SES	.07	07	11	09	.20**									
7	T1 Parent	WFC	.08	08	10	.04	.12	.18*	(.81)							
8	T1 Parent	WFE	.03	05	.02	01	.01	.08	00	(.77)						
9	T1 Parent	Intr. WM	.01	15*	16*	.05	17*	.13	14*	.11	(.87)					
10	T1 Child	Par. CP	11	05	00	03	.13	.09	21**	.15*	.15*	(.82)				
11	T1 Child	Par. JS	.03	13	06	05	04	03	24**	.01	.34***	.31***	(.92)			
12	T1 Child	Work centr.	02	15*	05	.05	.01	.03	04	.05	.13	.20**	.26***	(.70)		
13	T2 Child	Occ. com.	16	21*	14	19	.09	.25*	17	.12	.05	.27**	.18	.24*	(.79)	
14	T2 Child	Job involv.	02	22*	35*	18	04	.26*	05	.06	.21*	.17	.20	.37***	.62***	(.77)
		M	0.54	15.79	0.64	0.87	0.47	0.54	2.49	2.43	5.60	4.22	5.91	3.77	3.49	3.96
		SD	0.50	1.19	0.48	0.33	0.50	0.50	0.60	0.58	0.87	0.73	1.09	0.50	0.74	0.93

Note: N = 193. SES: socio-economic status; WFC: work-to-family conflict; WFE: work-to-family enrichment; Intr. WM: intrinsic work motivation; Par. CP: parental career support; Par. JS: parental job satisfaction; Work centr: work centrality; Occ. com.: occupational commitment; Job involv.: job involvement; M = mean; SD = standard deviation; gender: 0 = female, 1 = male; school type: 0 = in secondary school, 1 = in vocational education and training; SES: 0 = parents without post-secondary education, 1 = parents with post-secondary education; Family type: 0 = single-earner family; 1 = dual-earner family. Reliabilities are in parentheses along the diagonal.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (two-tailed)

Table 2

Fit Indices for CFA Models (Study 1 and Study 2)

Model	$\chi^2(p\text{-value})$	df	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	$\Delta \chi^2$ (<i>p</i> -value)	Δdf
Study 1							
Measurement model	219.096* (.04)	185	.977	.031	.056		
Three-factor model ^a	939.878*** (<.001)	206	.510	.136	.135	891.545*** (<.001)	21
Study 2							
Measurement model	199.203** (.003)	148	.970	.047	.064		
Three-factor model b	750.650** (<.001)	168	.661	.148	.153	397.122*** (<.001)	20
Two-factor model ^c	1112.117*** (<.001)	170	.451	.187	.188	655.619*** (<.001)	22
Combined support model ^d	252.801*** (<.001)	157	.944	.062	.066	38.965*** (<.001)	9

Note. $N_{\text{Study 1}} = 193$. $N_{\text{Study 2}} = 159$. $\chi^2 = \text{chi-square value}$; df = degree of freedom; CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual. The $\Delta \chi^2$ values and Δdf refer to comparisons to the respective measurement model. ^a The *three-factor model* (Study 1) combines the variables assessed by the parent at T1 (i.e., work-to-family conflict, work-to-family enrichment, intrinsic work motivation), the variables assessed by the child at T1 (perceived parental career support, perceived parental job satisfaction, work centrality), and the variables assessed by the child at T2 (job involvement, occupational commitment) into one factor each.

^b The *three-factor model* (Study 2) combines child perceptions of mothers (i.e., maternal job satisfaction, maternal career support, and maternal general support), child perceptions of fathers (i.e., paternal job satisfaction, paternal career support, and paternal general support), and child work centrality and child work value, into one factor each.

^c The *two-factor model* (Study 2) combines child perceptions of parents (i.e., maternal and paternal job satisfaction, maternal and paternal career support, and maternal and paternal general support), and child work centrality and child achievement value into one factor each.

^d The *combined support model* (Study 2) combines maternal career support and maternal general support perceived by the child, and paternal career support and paternal general support perceived by the child, into one factor, respectively, while all other factors are represented by their respective item parcels.

Table 3

Results of Structural Equation Modeling (Study 1)

	Parental career support		Parental job satisfaction		Work centrality		Occupational commitment		Job involvement	
	γ-coefficient (SE)	Effect size ^a	γ-coefficient (SE)	Effect size ^a	γ-coefficient (SE)	Effect size a	γ-coefficient (SE)	Effect size a	γ-coefficient (SE)	Effect size ^a
Child gender	-0.30 (0.22)		-0.25 (0.24)		-0.02 (0.14)		-0.53* (0.25)	3.5%	-0.41 (0.33)	
Age	-0.04 (0.06)		-0.15* (0.06)	1.4%	-0.11 (0.10)		-0.12 (0.10)		-0.07 (0.12)	
SES	0.17 (0.18)		-0.20 (0.21)		0.03(0.14)		0.57* (0.24)	4.2%	0.60(0.32)	
School type	0.04 (0.18)		0.19(0.21)		0.05 (0.19)		` ,		` ,	
Family type	0.10(0.25)		-0.16(0.25)		, ,					
Parent gender	0.32 (0.23)		-0.27 (0.30)							
Child gender X Parent gender	0.12(0.32)		$0.75*^{\dot{b}}(0.36)$	2.0%						
WFC	-0.32** (0.11)	6.2%	-0.31* (0.13)	2.9%						
WFE	0.18 (0.13)	1.3%	0.02 (0.13)	0.0%						
Intrinsic work motiv.	0.11(0.09)		0.36*** (0.10)	5.9%						
WFC X intrinsic work motiv.	0.03 (0.12)	0.0%	0.25* (0.11)	2.1%						
WFE X intrinsic work motiv.	0.02(0.15)	0.1%	-0.14 (0.12)	0.1%						
Parental career support	, ,		` ,		0.14(0.11)	1.7%				
Parental job satisfaction					0.18*(0.07)	4.6%				
Work centrality					,		0.30 (0.18)	4.9%	0.70**(0.23)	16.9%
$R^{2 c}$	17.2%**		26.3%***		15.3%*		23.8%**		28.3%**	
	(4.6%)		(5.8%)		(4.1%)		(17.6%*)		(9.6%)	

Note: N = 193. SE: standard error; SES: socio-economic status; Child gender X Parent gender = interaction (multiplicative term) between gender of the parent and the child; WFC: parental work-to-family conflict; WFE: parental work-to-family enrichment; Intrinsic work motiv = parental intrinsic work motivation; WFC X intrinsic work motiv. = latent interaction between parental WFC and parental intrinsic work motivation; WFE X intrinsic work motiv. = latent interaction between parental intrinsic work motivation; gender: 0 = female, 1 = male; school type: 0 = in secondary school, 1 = in vocational education and training; SES: 0 = parents without post-secondary education, 1 = parents with post-secondary education; Family type: 0 = single-earner family; 1 = dual-earner family.

Unstandardized coefficients are reported.

^a The effect sizes refer to changes in R^2 when the respective predictor is removed from the full model including all hypothesized effects and relevant control variables

^b The significant interaction between child and parent genders in predicting parental job satisfaction as perceived by the child indicates that children perceived the same-sex parent to be more satisfied with their job compared with the opposite-sex parent. That is, girls perceived their mothers to be more satisfied with their jobs compared with their fathers, t (192) = -7.49, p < .001, while boys perceived their fathers to be more satisfied with their jobs compared with their mothers, t (192) = 8.00, p < .001.

^c The R^2 values in the parentheses refer to the amount of variance explained by the respective control variables only.

^{*}p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (two-tailed)

Table 4

Results of Supplemental Moderated Mediation Analyses (Study 1)

	Estimates	LLCI	ULCI
Moderator: Parental intrinsic work motivation			
Conditional indirect effect of T1 WFC → T1			
parental job satisfaction → T1 work centrality			
Index of moderated mediation	0.057	0.005	0.147
Low intrinsic work motivation (-1 SD)	-0.127	-0.291	-0.028
Average intrinsic work motivation (M)	-0.070	-0.180	-0.010
High intrinsic work motivation (+1SD)	-0.012	-0.104	0.065
Conditional indirect effect of T1 WFC → T1			
parental job satisfaction \rightarrow T1 work centrality \rightarrow T2			
job involvement			
Index of moderated mediation	0.038	0.004	0.131
Low intrinsic work motivation (-1 SD)	-0.085	-0.250	-0.020
Average intrinsic work motivation (M)	-0.046	-0.159	-0.006
High intrinsic work motivation (+1SD)	-0.008	-0.081	0.044

Note. N = 193. LLCI: lower-level confidence interval (bias-corrected and bootstrapped);

ULCI: upper-level confidence interval (bias-corrected and bootstrapped).

Unstandardized coefficients are reported.

Significant estimates (i.e., LLCI and ULCI do not include zero) are presented in bold.

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach Alpha Coefficients, and Correlations of Study Variables (Study 2)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Child gender										
2	Child age	.02									
3	Child achievement value	01	27**	(.84)							
4	Child work centrality	02	12	.32***	(.75)						
5	Job satisfaction: mother	.04	08	.27**	.32***	(.85)					
6	Job satisfaction: father	.01	26**	.04	.19*	.30**	(.92)				
7	Career support: mother	02	18*	.14	.23**	.33***	.29***	(.85)			
8	Career support: father	06	13	.06	.08	.08	.39***	.46***	(.90)		
9	General support: mother	.04	12	.14	.24**	.37***	.29***	.81***	.35***	(.89)	
10	General support: father	05	17*	.08	.09	.09	.50***	.47***	.87***	.46***	(.94)
	M	0.32	18.25	3.94	3.43	4.96	4.87	3.42	3.07	3.57	3.17
	SD	0.47	2.84	1.05	0.59	1.27	1.53	0.96	1.12	0.98	1.23

Note. N = 124-159. M = mean; SD = standard deviation; all measures refer to child reports. Child gender: 0 = female, 1 = male. Reliabilities are in parentheses along the diagonal.

^{*} $p \le .05$, ** $p \le .01$, *** $p \le .001$ (two-tailed)

Table 6 Regression Results in Predicting Child Work Centrality (Study 2)

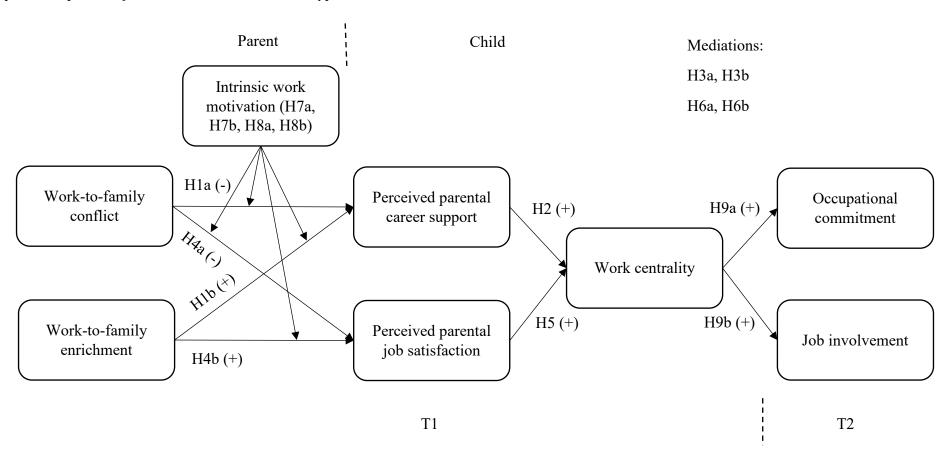
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	(only child controls)	(mothers)	(fathers)	(parents)
	b-coefficient	b-coefficient	b-coefficient	b-coefficient
	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)
Child gender	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.10)
Child age	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00(0.02)	0.00(0.02)
Child achievement value	0.17***(0.05)	0.13** (0.05)	0.18***(0.05)	0.16*** (0.05)
Job satisfaction: mother		0.10* (0.04)		
Career support: mother		0.02(0.09)		
General support: mother		0.06(0.09)		
Job satisfaction: father			0.08*(0.04)	
Career support: father			0.03(0.09)	
General support: father			-0.04 (0.09)	
Job satisfaction: parents ^a				0.09* (0.04)
Career support: parents ^a				0.03 (0.10)
General support: parents ^a				0.02 (0.10)
R^2	10.3%	17.9%	13.3%	15.2%
<i>F</i> -value	5.69**	4.25***	3.14**	4.31***
ΔR^2		7.6%	3.0%	5.0%
ΔF -value		3.61*	1.43	2.80*
N	159	124	130	159

Note: SE: standard error; Child gender: 0 = female, 1 = male. All measures refer to child reports. Unstandardized coefficients are reported.

^a Refers to average scores of the respective maternal and paternal predictors. $*p \le .05$, $**p \le .01$, $***p \le .001$ (two-tailed)

Figures

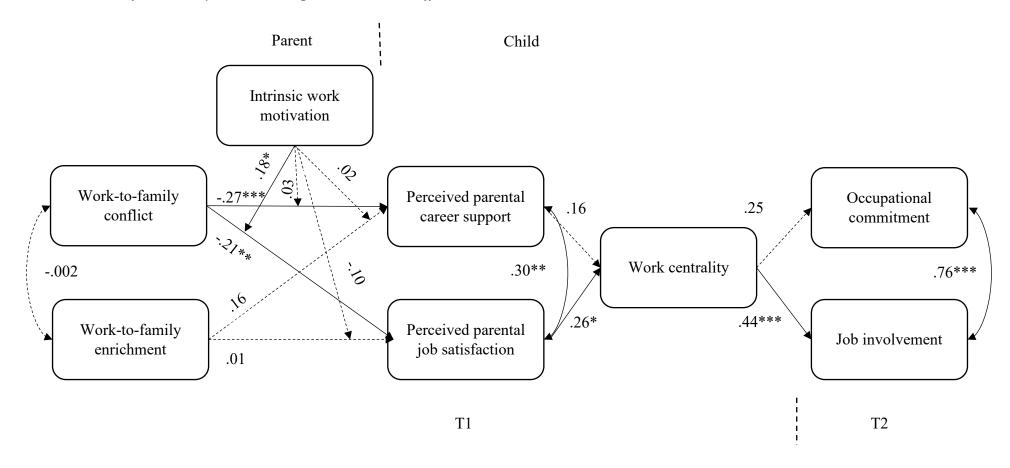
Figure 1Graphical Depiction of the Theoretical Model and Hypotheses



Note: The plus and minus in the parentheses refer to the direction of hypothesized relations.

Figure 2

N = 193. Results of Path Analysis, Presenting Standardized Coefficients

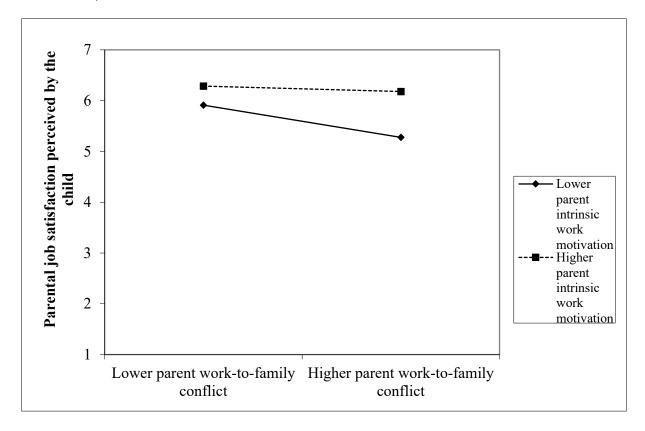


Note: The dotted lines represent nonsignificant relations. The effects of the control variables are included but not shown.

*
$$p \le .05$$
, ** $p \le .01$, *** $p \le .001$ (two-tailed)

Figure 3

Hypothesis 8a: The Interaction Between Work-To-Family Conflict Reported by the Parent and Intrinsic Work Motivation Reported by the Parent in Predicting Parental Job Satisfaction Perceived by the Child



Appendix A

Table A1Example Items for Measures of Study 1

Variable Name	Instruction	Example Item
Parent Measures		-
Work-to-family conflict	How often do you experience the following situations:	How often does your job or career keep you from spending the amount of time that you would like to spend with your family?
Work-to-family enrichment	How often does it happen that	after a pleasant working day/working week, you feel more in the mood to engage in activities with your spouse/family/friends?
Intrinsic work motivation	Why are you motivated to do your work?	Because I enjoy the work itself
Child Measures		
Perceived parental career support	In the following questions, please refer to parental behaviors that target supporting you in the development of your <i>professional career</i> :	How often did your parents give you information, suggestions, and guidance?
Perceived parental job satisfaction	The following questions are about your mother's/father's work.	Overall, my mother/father is satisfied with her/his job.
Work centrality	To what extent do you agree with the following statements? If you are not employed, answer the questions by thinking about what it will be like when you work in the future.	Having work/a career that is interesting and exciting to me is my most important life goal.
Occupational commitment	This is about the profession in which you work. How much do you agree with the following statements?	I definitely want to pursue a career in my current occupational field.
Job involvement	This is about your relationship with your current job or apprenticeship. How much do you agree with the following statements?	The most important things that happen to me involve my present job.

Table A2Example Items for Measures of Study 2

Variable Name	Instruction	Example Item
Perceived maternal/paternal	In the following questions, please refer to parental	How often did your mother/father give you information,
career support	behaviors that target supporting you in the	suggestions, and guidance?
	development of your professional career:	
Perceived maternal/paternal	The following questions are about the general support	My mother/father made me feel she/he was there when I
general support	you get from your parents. How often did your	needed her/him.
	mother/father support you in the following ways?	
Achievement value	Here we briefly describe some people. Please read	Being very successful is important to him/her. He/she
	each description and choose the answer that reflects	hopes people will recognize his/her achievements.
	how similar or dissimilar each person is to you.	