AFRICAN AMERICAN FATHER INFLUENCES ON THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT OF EMERGING ADULTS

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The current study examined the paternal influences on the career development of African American emerging adults. While statistics have shown that many African Americans remain in the lower socioeconomic status bracket and have worse academic and career outcomes, still many African Americans are successful. The literature seems to attribute lack of success to low socioeconomic status, but attributes success to close family relationships. However, most of these studies have focused on maternal relationships and have neglected to include the influence of paternal relationships. Studies that have examined African American fathers have emphasized their negative attributes. Previous studies have also failed to consider the influence of other factors on the career development process such as ethnic identity and psychological adjustment. This study explored the influence of contextual, family, and developmental factors on the career process of African American emerging adults. One hundred sixty-seven African American undergraduate students ages 18 to 25 were recruited for participation in this study. Regression analyses indicated that the quality of the father-child relationship influenced career development, though not in the manner expected. High levels of father support enhanced well-being for individuals with high ethnic identity, but did not produce the same results for individuals with low ethnic identity. Well-being was a significant predictor of career maturity. Explanations, implications, and future directions are discussed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Well-intentioned adults often tell children, "You can be anything you want to be in life." In a utopia, this may be ideal and in fact, this may actually be true for some, but the current statistics prove otherwise for African Americans. Many people do not realize the socioeconomic and racial obstacles African Americans face or overcome in order to achieve success. As of 2010, the rate of poverty for African Americans was 27.4% compared to the 9.9% rate of poverty for Caucasians (United States Census Bureau, 2010). Educationally, African Americans are also ranked lower in academic achievement rates than the ethnic majority population. In 2009, 9% of high school dropouts were African American, while only 5% were Caucasians (United States Department of Education, 2011). Statistics are similar for high school completion such that approximately 86% of African Americans complete high school, whereas approximately 94% of Caucasians complete high school. Additionally, the racial injustices African American children encounter in school also influence their academic outcomes (Brown, Linver, Evans & DeGannaro, 2009).

However, Black parents are very much aware of the socioeconomic and racial barriers, and must face the realization that these barriers could possibly hinder their children from attaining success. Consequently, parents begin to buffer against the effects of these difficulties by nurturing and keeping them in a protected environment. Condoleezza Rice's book *Extraordinary, Ordinary People* is a great example of such parenting efforts. In her memoir, Rice candidly discussed how African American parents in Birmingham, Alabama during the 1960s, including her own, made conscious decisions to protect their children from the effects of racism. Parents taught their children excellence in education was great protection against the racism frequently experienced by African Americans (Rice, 2010). In spite of this, what happens

when these children grow into emerging adults and enter a college environment to which they are unaccustomed? Despite having similar aspirations to Caucasians in high school to earn a bachelor's degree, 32% and 35% respectively (United States Department of Education, 2006), only 40% of African Americans actually attain this goal (Aud et al., 2011). The causes for this discrepancy are puzzling. Perhaps the career development process is similar for African American adolescents in secondary school, but eventually changes into a different process when making the transition to college.

Condoleezza Rice said, "You can come from humble circumstances and still do great things" (2013), and research has supported this sentiment (Nichols, Kotchick, Barry, & Haskins, 2010). The factors that explain why some African Americans attain success while others do not are complex. In order to facilitate effective intervention programs, attention must expand beyond making inferences based solely on the socioeconomic differences between African Americans and the ethnic majority population (Perry, 2011). Instead, some thoughtful attention should be given to several important dimensions that may be uniquely meaningful to this population. For instance, ethnic identity is a contextual variable in addition to socioeconomic status (SES) that may influence career development. It is likely that African American emerging adults in college will encounter racial and ethnic situations, yet it is unclear whether ethnic identity plays a role in their success. The family is another key dimension to consider when studying career development in African Americans. Historically, African American parents have been involved in the education of their children (Cooper, 2009), therefore, parental influence, specifically *paternal* influence, should be considered when studying the career development of African American emerging adults. Fathers seem to be the forgotten and often estranged family member the literature on family development omits. Yet, studies that do include fathers often

demonize them by highlighting their failures. The current study explores the implications of the current career development literature, and discusses whether they are applicable to African American emerging adults. This study also examines the influence of other factors that may influence their career development process. The literature reviews theories of career development, family and paternal influence on career development and psychological adjustment.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Career Development and Family Influence Theories

There are several existing career theories that explain an individual's vocational development. However, critics argue the existing theories make assumptions that may not be applicable to ethnic minorities, especially African Americans (Brown, 1995). Brown calls attention to the idea that current theories were developed from the framework of White, middle-class males and disregard racial and ethnic factors. Although researchers usually acknowledge the limitations of the current literature, a theory specific to the career development of African Americans has yet to be created. Nevertheless, there were a few general career theories identified which might have some applicability to the African American population. Even so, it is important to note only those career theories that considered some aspect of family were reviewed since the scientific community recognizes the family as one of the most important influences on career development (Whiston & Keller, 2004b). This decision seems most appropriate given the strong achievement orientation, strong work orientation, and strong kinship bonds found in African American families (Belgrave & Allison, 2009). The following sections briefly discuss Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise, social cognitive career theory, integrative life planning theory, Roe's theory of career choice, and Super's life span, life space theory.

Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise attempts to explain why individuals differ in their career development outcomes (Gottfredson, 2002). Although her original theory focused on between-group differences in career development based on class and gender, she later realized individual differences likely have more bearing on career outcomes.

One of the major ideas of this theory is the notion of self-concept, which signifies how people view themselves both privately and publicly. Gottfredson believed children create a list of preferred occupations that is reduced as they grow older and begin to consider their self-concept (circumscription). Consequently, they begin to opt for less preferred, less compatible occupations (compromise). One unique aspect of this theory is its consideration of cultural influence. According to Gottfredson, not only do people select occupations based on their self-concept, but they also select occupations based on cultural and social class factors. For example, each culture offers a "menu" of acceptable occupations, which means each person's original list of preferred occupations will be different. Parent socioeconomic status will also likely influence a person's vocational selection because children from higher social class backgrounds are encouraged to consider a more expanded list of occupations than are children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. These cultural considerations seem relevant to African Americans because it may help to explain why some are successful and others are not so successful.

Social cognitive career theory (SCCT) concentrates on the influence of self-efficacy and contextual factors on an individual's career development (Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000). The general idea is a person's belief about their abilities and success will affect career outcomes. SCCT also bears in mind the influence of the cultural environment, recognizing that race/ethnic identity, gender, and parenting behaviors will make a difference in the development of career interests and goals (Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Lent et al., 2000). Though this theory was not developed specifically for African Americans, it certainly seems to have some applicability for minority groups. For example, SCCT acknowledges that negative messages about race and ethnicity in some cultures may shape the career behavior of minorities (Gushue & Whitson, 2006). However, SCCT also suggests familial support and ethnic identity

may have a counteractive effect on the racism experienced in some cultures, thereby producing better career outcomes. Evidence to support this suggestion was found in a study on African American high school students. Positive environmental factors (i.e., parental support) positively correlated with career decision-making self-efficacy (Gushue & Whitson, 2006). Their finding gives credence to the belief that investigators should consider contextual factors in the career development of ethnic minorities.

L. Sunny Hansen developed integrative life planning (ILP) theory as a supplement to existing theories (Hansen, 2001). ILP is a more holistic approach that integrates career counseling within the larger framework of other roles in a person's life. It challenges vocational counselors to implement the idea of integrative thinking instead of the linear thinking, which focuses on one dimension of finding a job. Hansen proposed one of the major life tasks is to connect family and work by negotiating roles and relationships. ILP seems to be a theory that values a comprehensive perspective on career development, which may make it a useful theory for African Americans given the collective nature of the people.

Of the theories reviewed, Roe and Super's theories were the only theories to provide specific information on the influence of family on career development. While many have disregarded Anne Roe's theory of career choice, she was one of the first theorists to posit that parenting behavior indirectly influences career behavior through personality development (Brown, Lum, & Voyle, 1997). Specifically, Roe reasoned the manner in which parents respond to the needs of their children would play a significant role in the types of occupations selected by their children. Even though the empirical literature on Roe's theory has been limited and her ideas seem largely ignored, it is worth mentioning she introduced the idea that parenting style and family dynamics may affect vocational development.

Donald Super's theory is one of the most well-known career development theories to consider family influence. Super developed the life-span, life-space approach based on Buehler's general life stages in 1954 (Super, 1957). According to Super, selecting a career is a life-long process that occurs in five stages, which include growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline (Patton & Lokan, 2001; Super, 1957). This study only focuses on the Exploration stage since it is relative to the current population of interest. The exploration stage occurs between the ages of 15 and 24 years old (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996). While Super offered these stages as a typical career pattern sequence based on chronological age, he acknowledged various life roles and events may cause individuals to recycle through a certain stage at any age (Super et al., 1996). Within each stage, there are certain tasks that must take place in order for successful completion of each stage. The tasks required in the exploration stage include crystallization, specifying, and implementing a vocational selection (Super et al., 1996). Simply put, individuals in this stage will need to engage in the tasks of tentatively selecting an occupation, making a solid decision to pursue the occupation, and then obtaining the necessary training for the occupation. Exploration occurs in the domains of home, self, and school. Parents are most influential within the home domain (Super, 1957). The rationale is the working adult in the home (likely fathers) introduces the child to the world of work by setting an example of what constitutes adult behavior. Having a working role model helps the adolescent to establish values and attitudes towards work.

Of the all the theories discussed, Super's theory seems to be the most applicable to exploring the career development of African Americans for several reasons. First, Super acknowledged the influence of parent SES on career behavior. This is evidenced in his idea that a person's "starting point is his [*sic*] father's socioeconomic status" (Naidoo, 1998, p. 7). Super

also suggested parental SES will determine the types of opportunities to which a person is exposed and ultimately affect the person's career pattern (Super et al., 1996). Because African Americans tend to fall on the lower end of the socioeconomic bracket, Super's theory may help explain the limited career exposure experienced by this population.

Second, Super recognized social class affects vocational development (Brown, 1995). Specifically, he argues racial discrimination may restrict career opportunities. Brown noted Super's observation that racial discrimination motivates some individuals to achieve, while it discourages others from making efforts to succeed. Along those same lines, Super also observed racial discrimination keeps those who do make an effort from succeeding. His observations seem especially applicable to African Americans because of their frequent encounters with racial discrimination. At this point, it is unclear how/whether these encounters affect the career behavior of African Americans, which supports the argument researchers should not focus on career outcomes but rather on the career process of African Americans. In this way, investigators are able to discern various reasons for success in some African Americans and the lack of success in others. It may also counter the assumption that lack of success in African Americans is due to a lack of effort.

Finally, Super's theory highlights the importance of the career process rather than career content. Career content refers to specific occupations individuals select whereas career process refers to the actions taken (or not taken) to inform occupational selection (Savickas, 2001). Super created two career constructs to measure and examine the career selection process: career salience and career maturity, which the later sections discuss. Using the career process point of view with African Americans may be most informative since the career development process of African Americans may well be different from other ethnic groups.

The current study proposes three different types of influences on the career development process: contextual (SES and ethnic identity), family relationship (quality of father-child relationship), and developmental (adjustment). First, other factors that could possibly hinder or propel the career development process are discussed. One must be aware of the multidimensional factors that influence the career development process in this population to comprehend fully the vocational progression of African Americans. What follows is a discussion on each of these facets.

Career Development and Socioeconomic Status

Literature well documents the impact of family socioeconomic status on academic achievement and career development. Many argue that lack of achievement in African Americans is due to socioeconomic factors (Dillard, 1976). However, this argument uses SES to explain achievement and career outcomes. The current study explores the impact of SES on career process. One way to understand the impact and characteristics of an individual's childhood environment is to examine his/her SES. To facilitate this goal, the literature was reviewed to obtain a broad sense of the impact of SES on career development overall. The literature review includes studies from 1976 through the current date, and most of these studies use primarily Caucasian populations, with small numbers of different ethnic groups.

There has been some question over how to measure SES, but the general social science community agrees level of family income, level of parental education, and occupational status defines SES (Milne & Plourde, 2006; Schulenberg, Vondracek, & Crouter, 1984). More recently, Diemer and Ali (2009) reported similar ways of operationalizing SES including using the highest level of education obtained by either parent or the average level of parental education, occupational prestige, occupational attainment, and income. SES has been measured in the

literature by various scales: Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position (Dillard, 1976), Warner Scale (Super & Neville, 1984), NAM-POWERS Scale (Jackson & Healy, 1996), Occupational Prestige Scores from the 1989 General Social Survey (Trusty, Watts, & Erdman, 1997), Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Studies (Naidoo et al., 1998), and the Socioeconomic Indexes (Perry, 2011).

Findings in the literature have consistently concluded SES correlates positively with academic achievement, affecting realms such as standardized test scores, IQ scores, high school completion, and likelihood for pursuing postsecondary education (Halle, Kurtz-Costes, & Mahoney, 1997; Milne & Plourde, 2006). The common assumption is a higher SES will yield better academic outcomes. Bradley and Corwyn (2002) made this connection clearer by explaining children from higher SES backgrounds tend to have more opportunities to access better educational resources and materials, whereas children from lower SES backgrounds may not have these same opportunities. They also explained SES affects parenting behavior in that parents in higher SES groups tend to engage more in intellectual conversations with their children and provide more achievement-oriented activities for them than do parents in lower SES groups. These parenting practices are in contrast to the non-productive activities provided by parents from lower SES backgrounds (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Likewise, Davis-Kean (2005) made similar implications adding that parent SES had an effect on their parenting behavior and achievement expectations for their children.

In spite of the positive correlation between SES and academic achievement, there have been several notable exceptions. Some students from low SES backgrounds go on to be academically successful (Milne & Plourde, 2006). The factors that account for these exceptions seem to center around some aspect of parental influence. Milne and Plourde attempted to

understand what accounts for variations of success in African Americans from low SES backgrounds. In their qualitative study researchers interviewed parents of successful second-grade students to discuss the specific factors which contributed to the success of their children. The findings indicated these parents compensated for their SES by ensuring that their children had adequate education materials and by creating a structured environment that was conducive to learning. Findings also revealed the parent-child relationship was a significant factor in the success of these children. Another study suggested SES also influenced the level of parent involvement (Trusty et al., 1997), which was similar to the results obtained by Yan (1999). Yan examined 6,459 African American and Caucasian students using data from a 1988 NELS study. The author proposed SES could contribute to social capital, which could influence academic outcomes. In their study four areas measured social capital: family norms, parent-adolescent interactions, parent-school interactions, and parent-parent interactions. Findings indicated parents of successful African American adolescents were more involved in their school activities via communication and participation than were parents of unsuccessful African American adolescents. They also reported a better quality parent-adolescent relationship and more often engaged in the discussion of topics of importance to the teen. Studies of this nature seem to suggest SES may be indicative of factors that go beyond the traditional sense of SES that may account for the success of African Americans.

Career Development and Ethnic Identity

In addition to SES, ethnic identity is another important factor that may shed light on the perspective of African Americans. Cokley and Chapman (2008) described ethnic identity as a "subjective sense of being a member of an ethnic group that involves having a sense of belonging to the group, having knowledge of and a preference for the group, and being involved

in ethnic group activities" (p. 350). Exploring ethnic identity may add some additional information than what we learn from an individual's SES. Johnson and Arbona (2006) stated the concept of ethnicity deals with the psychological implications that happen because of commitment to a particular heritage. Furthermore, Sherry, Wood, Jackson, and Kaslow (2006) reported ethnic identity would vary based on the history of oppression, segregation, and immigration of the identified group. Given the history of oppression in African Americans, and the knowledge that racism continues to exist toward this population, despite the perceived advancement of African Americans (Johnson & Arbona, 2006; Pierre & Mahalik, 2005), it makes sense that racism may likely affect the ethnic identity of African Americans. Sherry et al. (2006) demonstrated this link in their study of racism and ethnic identity in a sample of African Americans. Findings indicated racism positively correlated with ethnic identity such that higher incidents of racism yielded more reports of a stronger ethnic identity. These issues raise a couple of important questions. How might these experiences impact career development? In light of Super's theory, it might be safe to assume some individuals respond in ways that result in constructive career outcomes whereas others respond in ways that result in destructive career outcomes. Furthermore, does ethnic identity have any bearing on the individual's career response style? It seems plausible ethnic identity may color a person's perception or determine certain career behavior paths.

The literature has addressed some of these questions. Research findings suggest there is a correlation between ethnic identity and academic achievement in African Americans, but the results have fallen on a continuum. One body of literature suggests a strong ethnic identity results in better academic achievement. For example, Graham and Anderson (2008) examined the ethnic identity of academically gifted African American high school males using case studies.

Findings indicated these students strongly believed in their education and had a strong ethnic identity. In fact, these students believed awareness of their heritage encouraged them to succeed in order to dispel stereotypes and improve their ethnic community. Similarly, some of the African American high school students in Hemming's (1996) study reported a desire to own their black identity, while still obtaining academic success. More recently, Cokley and Chapman (2008) examined the ethnic identity of African American college students attending a historically Black university using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (MEIM). The results of the study indicated ethnic identity indirectly influenced academic achievement via academic self-concept. The authors explained ethnic identity influences the perception a person has towards his or her academic self-efficacy. In this way, it makes sense that if a person's ethnic identity does not lend itself towards a more positive academic self-concept, he or she will not likely engage in tasks necessary for career success. Kerpelman, Enyigi, and Stephens (2008) found evidence for this hypothesis when they examined ethnic identity using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale, Revised (MEIM-R) in a sample of African American junior high and high school students. Findings indicated ethnic identity strongly correlated with future education orientation, which refers to the presence of positive thoughts towards education that serve as a motivating factor in positive career behavior.

In contrast, there is another body of literature, which claims that a strong ethnic identity yields just the opposite effect by producing academic and career failure. For example, some participants in Hemmings' (1996) study expressed a desire to maintain their ethnic identity and participated in dishonest methods to obtain success. They also chided other successful students for "acting white." A more recent study examined racial identity and academic performance (GPA and GRE) in a sample of African American college students attending a historically Black

university (Awad, 2007). The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) measured racial identity. Results indicated students who reported a stronger racial identity scored lower on standardized tests.

These studies all imply ethnic identity influences academic achievement, although the effects are mixed. The explanations for the connection between these two variables are also mixed. Several investigators have hypothesized the reason for academic success is because ethnic identity actually serves as a protective barrier from the detrimental effects of discrimination (Harris & Marsh, 2010), which propels individuals towards success. In contrast, others theorize some African Americans perceive academic success as "acting white" (Hemmings, 1996). Therefore, when African Americans face scholarly decision-making, they are more likely to reject academic success in order to maintain the emotional bonds provided by their ethnic culture. Stereotype threat has also been another justification for the lack of success in African Americans. Steele and Aronson's (1995) classic study on the effects of stereotype threat demonstrated lower achievement when African Americans became aware of the negative stereotypes associated with their ethnicity. Based on these results, some might conclude negative experiences or perceived negative outcomes may deter some African American individuals from putting forth effort towards success. These studies also suggest it is important to know an individual's attitudes about education or success.

Career Maturity

As adolescents emerge into adulthood one of their expected tasks includes engaging in career-related activities. Career maturity is the main career construct used to measure success in those tasks (Naidoo, 1998). First created by Donald Super in 1957, career maturity is "the degree of development, the place reached on the continuum of vocational development from

exploration to decline" (Super, 1957, p. 186). Super and Thompson (1979) identified 6 factors involved in career maturity, which include planfulness, decision-making, knowledge and use of information, general knowledge about careers, general knowledge about the world of work, and knowledge about the careers of interest. The idea is engaging in the tasks implied by these factors leads to career maturity. A career mature individual demonstrates a readiness to make well-informed, age-appropriate career decisions (Naidoo, 1998).

Empirical Studies on Career Maturity

Most studies on career maturity have focused on demographic factors because they are believed to affect its development. Demographic variables such as gender, age, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity are common correlates of career maturity (Naidoo, 1998). Given the demographic variability within the African American population, it is imperative for researchers to consider these factors when exploring career maturity in this population. Therefore, only studies that included these relevant factors were reviewed.

Career Maturity and Gender

Several studies have examined gender differences in career maturity, and understanding the conclusions drawn from these studies may be helpful in understanding the achievement gap between African American males and females. As of 2010, approximately 91% of African American females completed high school, while only about 88% of African American males completed high school (United States Department of Education, 2010). Similarly, the percentage of African American females to earn bachelor's degrees was higher than that of African American males, 23.3% and 15% respectively.

The findings in the literature on gender differences in career maturity are mixed. While most studies have concluded females tend to have more career maturity than males (Creed &

Patton, 2003; Keller & Whiston, 2008; Powell & Luzzo, 1998), there have been some studies to state otherwise. Patton and Creed (2001) studied career maturity in students who were 12 to 17 years old. Findings indicated females had higher career maturity scores than males overall. However, a closer examination of these results revealed females consistently reported more career mature knowledge than males, but inconsistently reported career mature attitudes in comparison to males. The authors explained the variation in female's career mature attitudes seemed to center around their age. Likewise, in Creed and Patton's (2003) study, females were more career mature than males, reporting more general knowledge about the world of work than males. In contrast, Naidoo (1998) reported a number of studies that found males to have more career maturity knowledge and attitudes than females. Only one study was located which found no gender differences in career maturity (Perry, 2011).

A couple of key inferences may be made even though the findings on the relationship between career maturity and the demographic variable of gender have been slightly inconsistent. First, the findings seem to allude to the importance of being specific in the measurement of the construct of career maturity. In other words, it seems necessary to consider the two components of career maturity (attitude and knowledge) separately, as first suggested by Crites in 1976 (Walker, 2010). The attitude component of career maturity measures a person's dispositional style towards career planning and exploration, whereas the cognitive component measures a person's knowledge about work and their career decision-making skills (Creed & Patton, 2003; Crites & Savickas, 1996). Analyzing these dimensions separately may shed light on specific components of career maturity in African Americans, and therefore, allow for intervention that is more thoughtful and specific with this population. Second, the findings imply both age and gender may influence career maturity. Therefore, it might be useful to check for variations in

one variable before making solid conclusions about the other variable. The next section discusses the empirical studies on career maturity and age.

Career Maturity and Age

Because emerging adults are the population of interest in the current study, it seems crucial to consider age as a possible influential factor on career maturity. Unlike career maturity and gender, the findings on career maturity and age have been clear. Most studies assert age correlates positively with career maturity. To illustrate, the older high school students in Patton and Creed's (2001) study reported more career maturity than the younger high school students reported. This same finding was also seen in an earlier study on high school students, with students aged 15 to 17 years old endorsing higher levels of career maturity than students 12 to 14 years old (Creed & Patton's, 2003). More recently, Keller and Whiston (2008) examined career maturity in middle school students. The results revealed older students (8^{th} grade) had higher career maturity scores than younger students (6^{th} grade). The findings all support Super's developmental explanation of career maturity (Creed & Patton, 2003). Super believed that as people age, they would likely engage in more career-related tasks, thus developing more career maturity. Although there was one study located that found no relationship between career maturity and age (Powell & Luzzo, 1998), the authors explained the high school students in their study had all been exposed to career development activities, regardless of grade level. The general consistency in the results implies that as age increases, career maturity also increases. However, one cannot study age in isolation from other demographic variables.

Career Maturity and Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status is recognized as a factor that has considerable influence on career development. The main line of thought is higher SES affords individuals with more cultural and

educational opportunities (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Brown (2004) noted several studies found a relationship between family SES and career constructs such as occupational aspirations, self-efficacy, attainment, and prestige. This notion may have been what inspired investigators to examine the impact of SES on career maturity. The literature has yielded various conclusions. In spite of the common expectation, some research has not found a relationship between SES and career maturity in mostly Caucasian samples (Naidoo, 1998; Patton & Lokan, 2001). Interestingly, Super even called attention to one of his own studies that was unsuccessful in demonstrating a relationship between SES and career maturity, using the Career Development Inventory (CDI) in a sample of high school students (Super & Nevill, 1984). The authors asserted that while SES may not directly relate to career maturity, SES might be an important influence on commitment to the role of work (Naidoo et al., 1998). Creed and Patton's (2003) work is another study that found no relationship between SES and career maturity, using the Career Development Inventory (CDI-A) in a sample of Australian adolescents. Similar results were also found when Luzzo (1991) hypothesized undergraduate students from higher SES backgrounds would have higher career maturity scores than those from lower SES backgrounds. The Career Maturity Inventory (CMI) measured career maturity. Although the hypothesis was unsupported, Luzzo (1991) still proposed SES likely interacts with other variables to have an influence on career maturity. In the same way, SES was not a significant predictor of career maturity in a sample of African American adolescents (Perry, 2011). The Career Maturity Inventory-Revised, Attitude Scale (CMI-R AS) measured career maturity and the Socioeconomic Status Indexes (SEI) measured SES. However, it is important to note parent education level, another SES indicator, significantly correlated with other career variables, thus, leading the author to hypothesize perhaps the SEI itself confounded the relationship between SES and career

maturity since it only measures occupational prestige. This suggests parent occupation alone may not be the best indicator of an individual's childhood environment growing up that would influence career maturity.

However, there is still a large body of research to suggest a relationship between SES and career maturity does exist. For instance, Holland (1981) examined the influence of demographic variables on the career maturity of African American 6th grade students using the Career Maturity Inventory-Attitude Scale (CMI-AS) and found SES was significantly related to career maturity. Likewise, an earlier study explored SES and career maturity in 12th grade Caucasian and African American students, and results revealed similar findings (Lawrence & Brown, 1976). SES also significantly correlated with career maturity in an exclusive sample of African Americans (Naidoo et al., 1998). It is important to note the authors pointed out the fact that SES along with other demographic variables only explained 9% of the variance in career maturity.

The variation in these findings seems to indicate SES might relate to career maturity in some samples, but not in others. Specifically, about African Americans, it is unclear on the exact relationship between SES and career maturity, therefore supporting the need for future research in this population. It appears other demographic factors besides SES might influence career maturity.

Career Maturity and Ethnicity

As previously mentioned, one of the biggest criticisms of the career development literature is the lack of research on ethnic minorities, especially African Americans. Most of the studies that have included African Americans have drawn conclusions about career maturity by making between-group comparisons to Caucasians. Findings in those studies state African Americans have less career maturity than Caucasians (Brown, 1995). This comparative

approach is not useful to researchers interested in studying the career maturity of African Americans alone. Consequently, it is still unclear whether the construct of career maturity is applicable to that population. Although limited, there have been a few studies to examine career maturity in a sample including only African Americans (Dillard, 1976, Naidoo et al., 1998, Perry, 2011). In general, the results of these studies indicated African Americans reported varying degrees of career mature attitudes, as would be expected in a normative population. While these findings suggest the construct of career maturity is relevant to this population, there were also other factors such as family, racial identity, and work role salience that may affect its development.

Conclusions on Career Maturity

Overall, the empirical literature on career maturity has been somewhat informative suggesting gender, age, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity could possibly influence career maturity, but it appears that factors beyond demographic variables are influential in the development of this construct. Therefore, more research on African Americans is needed to determine how these factors influence the career maturity of this population.

Career Salience

Career maturity is thought to develop through career salience, which measures the degree of importance placed on the role of work relative to other roles in a person's life (Greenhaus, 1971). In 1978, the Work Importance Study identified several life roles: family, work, and leisure (Super & Neville, 1984). Although work is only one of many roles in an individual's life, it may affect other domains (Savickas, 2001). African Americans have a strong work orientation (Belgrave & Allison, 2009), which makes career salience a relevant construct to explore in this population.

The empirical literature on career salience has been limited, but most studies have explored the relationship between career salience and career maturity. Over time, the conclusions have remained the same. For instance, in 1984, Super and Neville explored career salience and career maturity in sample of high school students and found career salience to be a determinant of career maturity. These same conclusions were drawn when career salience and career maturity were studied in a sample of African American college students in 1998 (Naidoo et al.). More recently, Perry (2011) examined career salience and career maturity in a sample of African American undergraduates. Results indicated career salience was a significant predictor of career maturity. Overall, these findings seem to suggest a positive relationship between career salience and career maturity such that as career salience increases, career maturity also tends to increase.

Naidoo et al. (1998) and Perry's (2011) studies support the idea that career salience is applicable to the African American population. However, there were aspects of the findings that point toward a larger conclusion that family may be a more important influence in the lives of African Americans than career. For example, in the Naidoo et al. (1998) study, African Americans still placed more salience on the home and family role. Similarly, while the participants in Perry's (2011) study clearly endorsed work as an important role in their lives, they seemed more conflicted about questions related to work in the context of family. Participants answered those questions with less certainty, indicating career salience should not be studied in isolation from family in this population.

Career Locus of Control

To understand career salience fully, it seems logical to explore whether individuals even believe they have the power to influence the career development process. While the role of work

may be important to African Americans, the current statistics on education and unemployment do not demonstrate this notion. Given the history of oppression in this population, African Americans may believe they have no control over their achievement outcomes in the end.

Rotter developed the original concept of locus of control in the larger context of his social learning theory (Twenge, Zhang, & Im, 2004). This construct relates to whether a person believes he/she has some degree of control over the events that happen in life (Findley & Cooper, 1983). In particular, a person who believes they have no control over the events that happen to them are thought to have an external locus of control. Consequently, they are likely to believe external forces such as fate or other people are responsible for what occurs in their lives. On the other hand are people who believe they have some degree of control over what happens to them. These people have an internal locus of control (Findley & Cooper, 1983).

Similar ideas applied when the concept of locus of control was extended to examine its applicability to career development, thus the term career locus of control. Lease et al. (2004) defined career locus of control as the degree to which a person believes career outcomes are based upon his/her own actions or upon forces beyond his/her control. The common impression is individuals with an internal career locus of control are more likely to accept personal responsibility and take more initiative in career-related tasks. However, individuals with an external career locus of control are more likely to assign responsibility to others (Millar & Shevlin, 2007).

Empirical Literature on Career Locus of Control

In general, locus of control has been widely studied in relation to several variables including health outcomes (Zampieri & de Souza, 2011), sexual risk-taking (Crisp & Barber, 1995), and self-esteem (Galbraith & Alexander, 2005). There has even been empirical literature

on locus of control and its influence on psychological adjustment and academic achievement. For example, Njus and Brockway (1999) examined the impact of locus of control on psychological well-being and academic adjustment in college students. The results indicated students who maintained an internal locus of control over positive events had better psychological well-being and academic adjustment than those without an internal locus of control. Likewise, de Carralho, Gadzella, Henley, and Ball (2009) studied locus of control and stress levels in undergraduate students and found individuals with severe levels of stress attributed experiences to external factors (chance). This suggests they believed they had no control over events that happened to them.

While the conclusions drawn from these studies are helpful, they do not provide useful information on how locus of control influences specific career domains. The current review revealed only a small amount of literature has examined career locus of control. The conclusions of those studies have mostly indicated an external career locus of control relates to negative career outcomes, whereas an internal locus of control relates positively to career outcomes. For example, an external career locus of control was related to lower levels of career maturity (Gable et al., 1976), career indecision (Brown, Glastetter-Fender, & Shelton, 2000), and lower amounts of career exploration (Lease et al., 2004).

Within this small body of literature on career locus of control, a couple of studies have included African Americans. Like other career development studies on African Americans, findings are mixed. For example, Perry, Liu, and Griffin (2011) investigated career locus of control in a sample of high school students and the results indicated no racial differences in the construct. In fact, the amount of pessimism and optimism towards career outcomes were nearly the same amongst the participants. In contrast, Lease (2004) examined racial differences in

career locus of control, and found African Americans reported more external locus of control than Caucasians. While it is unclear whether racial differences in career locus of control exist between African Americans and Caucasians, it seems obvious investigators have mostly focused on making between-group comparisons, which makes it difficult to know whether findings are applicable to the African American population. One study examined career locus of control in a sample of African American male athletes and non-athletes in college (Bader, 2011). Findings indicated a negative correlation between career locus of control and educational aspirations such that individuals with a more internal career locus of control reported higher educational aspirations. Furthermore, differences emerged between the athletes and non-athletes such that athletes reported a more external career locus of control than non-athletes.

Career Development and Family Relationships

The studies noted above seem to imply SES, ethnic identity, and career development all relate in some way. However, the exact link that connects these variables is unclear. The current study proposes one underlying link might be the element of family dynamics. Exploring the influence of family on contextual and career variables may provide helpful information on the career process of emerging adults.

Emerging adulthood is a distinct developmental period in an individual's life, occurring between the ages of 18 and 25 (Arnett, 2006). Arnett proposes emerging adults undergo changes in several domains in their lives including cognitive development, identity, ethnic identity, resilience, family and peer relationships, and work and college. In particular, a parent relationship once characterized by complete dependence transforms into an interdependent relationship during emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2006). With this in mind, it makes sense that family may also have an influence on career decisions as adolescents emerge into adulthood.

The literature well documents the influence of family on career development. Within the past 50 years, many studies have examined whether certain aspects of family relationships have any bearing on various vocational outcomes (Keller & Whitson, 2004). A great amount of the past literature on family and career has centered on attachment relationships, emphasizing secure attachment with parental figures help individuals to explore their environment and engage in career-related behavior (Ketterson & Bluestein, 1997). More recently, a major emphasis in the career development literature has been on the quality of the current parent-child relationship. Dietrich and Kracke (2009) examined parenting behaviors in a sample of German adolescents and found parental support related to career decision-making. Parenting behavior was also explored in relation to career exploratory behavior in a sample of German adolescents (Noack, Kracke, Griewosz, & Dietrich, 2010). Findings indicated parental support significantly related to career exploration. Likewise, Dietrich, Kracke, and Nurmi (2011) explored parenting behavior during the college transition process of German adolescents. The results indicated parenting support was highest during the college application phase. Schultheiss et al. (2001) also examined parental influence on career development and found college students perceived parental support (e.g., emotional, informational, tangible) to be the most influential factor on their career development process. Other studies cited in Whiston and Keller's (2004) review indicates parental support is influential in career self-efficacy. Overall, these findings suggest the importance of parental support on career development through several periods of development.

However, conflict is another aspect of parent-child relationships that may be especially important for emerging adults. As adolescents emerge into adulthood, the quality of the relationship with their parents will also likely change and become a source of conflict that may

impact career development (Perry, 2011). One study noted while the frequency of parental conflict decrease as adolescents age, the intensity of parental conflict increases (Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003). A few studies have documented the detrimental effects parental conflict has on achievement. In a study of perceived family conflict and career development on college students, Constantine and Flores (2006) found lower levels of conflict yielded higher levels of career aspiration. Dotterer, Hoffman, Crouter and McHale (2008) found a similar outcome when they studied the longitudinal effect of parental conflict on academic achievement in a sample of adolescents. Findings indicated higher levels of conflict within the parent-adolescent relationship related to lower academic achievement over time. These studies give the impression that conflict within the parent-child relationship has negative outcomes.

Nevertheless, another body of literature suggests otherwise. Laursen and Hafen (2009) are two of the few researchers to introduce the idea that conflict has both positive and negative connotations. They propose conflict has three distinct patterns: 1) constructive conflicts: conflicts that include positive affect and result in favorable outcomes, 2) unresolved conflicts: conflicts that include various affect and do not have a clear outcome, and 3) coercive conflicts: conflicts that include negative affect and unfavorable outcomes. With this information, it seems valuable to examine closer the type of conflict in the parent-child relationship before concluding destructive outcomes. To illustrate, Perry (2011) hypothesized a parent-adolescent relationship characterized by more support and less conflict, would result in better career outcomes. Interestingly, while the results regarding parental support were in the expected direction, the findings on conflict were unexpected. Low levels of parental conflict still did not produce higher levels of career salience. Although conflict was characterized by guilt feelings and pressure to

change, the topic or theme of the conflict reported by the participants was unknown. More evidence is needed on the type and nature of the conflict to better predict outcomes.

Role of the Father

While the scientific community acknowledges parental influence on career development, one of the most outstanding limitations is the lack of information on the specific influence of each parent, especially fathers. Many of the studies emphasize findings from an attachment-related view that focuses on the mother-child relationship or emphasize findings that combine the behavior of both parents as a unified construct. Understanding the contributions of each parent is necessary because research shows mothers and fathers can have a different, but positive impact on child development. It is important to note the role of fathers in the context of family has changed over time. Brotherson and White (2007) identified four types of fatherhood. During the colonial period, fathers were the stern patriarch of the family, serving as role models of good moral character and imparting theological reasoning. Between 1830 and 1900, fathers' roles changed to distant breadwinners as many of them moved away from the family to establish businesses. In this provider role, fathers' responsibility included mostly financial obligations while mothers assumed the responsibility of displaying love and affection. From 1900 to 1970, the role of fathers changed yet again. At that time, fathers began to display emotional connectedness and participate with mothers in raising the children (Brotherson & White, 2007). Since the 1970s, much emphasis has been on co-parenting, which includes childcare, financial responsibilities, and nurturing the children. Because father involvement has continued to increase within the past 30 years (Combs-Orme & Renkert, 2009), it is important to continue to consider fathers' role in the psychological and career development of children and adult-children alike.

African American Fathers

Still, the literature citing the influence of African American fathers is lacking. In the current study, it seems even more critical to understand the particular role African American fathers play in the career development process of emerging adults due to the variety of family compositions found within Black families. In general, most of the information published on African American fathers has been negative. In a decade review of the literature on African American fathers, Cochran (1997) discussed five theoretical frameworks that served as a guide on researching the African American family. Of these, the deficit model and the matriarchy model have been the most applied frameworks and the most damaging to the image of Black fathers. For example, the deficit model emphasizes the negative aspects of the Black family and suggests African American fathers are irresponsible and absent. The matriarchy model is an extension of the deficit model because it argues African American mothers must be the leaders of their families due to negligence of fathers (Cochran, 1997). These types of frameworks produced a myriad of empirical literature emphasizing the failures and absenteeism of African American fathers.

To illustrate, historical research on African American teenage fathers suggest many are uneducated, unemployed, and more likely to repeat unplanned fatherhood (Hendricks, 1983, Hendricks et al., 1984). Other studies highlight that Black fathers do not pay child support, leaving the child in a socioeconomically disadvantaged environment (Walker, Reid, & Logan, 2010). Furthermore, additional studies suggest African American fathers become less involved in the lives of their children when they are no longer romantically interested in the child's mother. The lack of romantic interest is usually followed by inter parental conflict, which studies have found to be a strong determinant of a father's involvement with his children. For example, one

sample of African American non-residential fathers reported they would be more involved in the lives of their children if there was less inter parental conflict (Leite & McKenry, 2006). These are just a few studies from the vast amount of literature calling attention to the shortfalls of African American fathers.

In contrast, the studies that have emphasized the positive attributes of fathers have mostly included a sample of Caucasian fathers, with little to no African American fathers. The empirical evidence on fathers mostly focuses on their level of involvement and their impact on children. The idea is that when fathers are involved in the lives of their children, there are better outcomes. First, it is important to understand the definition of the term "father involvement." Michael Lamb, a well-known leader on father research, noted the components of father involvement include engagement, responsibility, and availability (Goncy & van Dulmen, 2010). Engagement refers to the amount of direct contact the father has with the child, which may be through caretaking or play. Responsibility refers to whether the father ensures that the child has available resources such as finances, health care, and his participation on day-to-day issues. Availability refers to the father's accessibility (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Lamb, & Boller, 1999; Sarkadi et al., 2008).

In general, a large amount of research on has focused on fathers' involvement with their infants and children. No studies emerged that explored father involvement in emerging adults. Most of the results indicate fathers are just as nurturing and involved in their interactions with their children as mothers (Green, 2007). For instance, Williams (2007) reported fathers typically engage in playing with their infants in addition to caring for them. He further goes on to discuss how fathers continue to play with their children as they get older, and notes their play is essential for numerous aspects of development. Another study examined fathers' perception of their role and found fathers had a useful understanding of being a "good father" (Summers, Boller,

Schiffman, & Raikes, 2006). These low-income fathers identified factors such as teaching, communication, love, emotional and financial support, and physical interaction as key components in their role as fathers to their children. Forste, Bartowski, and Jackson (2009) demonstrated similar results when they studied men's perception of their role as fathers based on the history with their own fathers. The results indicated in addition to financial responsibility, "just being there" was as a major theme for fathers who reported a close relationship with their own fathers. These studies suggest fathers tend to view the quality of the father-child relationship as important as financial obligations.

Father involvement also relates to the cognitive development and academic achievement of their children. For example, a father's connection with his children through play develops several types of intelligence in children including linguistic intelligence, spatial intelligence, interpersonal intelligence, and intrapersonal intelligence (Williams, 2007). Fathers also help to develop their child's literacy skills when they read to them (Green, 2007). Empirical studies seem to make similar conclusions about the positive impact of fathers' involvement on children's academic achievement. Sarkadi et al. (2008) discussed the findings of one study that suggested educational attainment (of children from higher SES groups) significantly related to father engagement. In the same way, McBride et al. (2005) examined father involvement and the academic achievement of children. The study measured several dimensions of father involvement including communication with children about academic topics, physical presence in the child's school, and communication with the teacher. The Woodcock-Johnson Achievement battery measured academic achievement. The results suggested greater paternal involvement related to greater achievement in children. In a more recent study, Martin et al. (2010) studied whether fathers' supportiveness would affect the school readiness of small children. Findings

indicated father's support, as determined by his emotional expression toward the child, related to school readiness when there was low maternal support. These studies all support the notion that fathers have a unique contribution to the academic outcomes of their children.

Again, the conclusions from the studies above have mostly drawn from samples of Caucasian fathers with few to no African American fathers. These small numbers of African Americans make it difficult to know whether the findings are applicable to ethnic minorities. Therefore, studies on ethnic minorities were reviewed in order to determine whether similar patterns of influence on achievement and career development would emerge.

Career Development, Family, and Ethnic Minorities

Many investigators have recognized the majority of the career literature has mainly studied White, middle class participants with little attention given to ethnic minorities. Because of this recognition, several studies have specifically aimed to study parental influences on career development in ethnic minority populations. Most studies ask about parents rather than mother and father separately. Fisher and Padmawidjaja (1999) examined factors of parental influence on the career development of a small sample of Mexican American and African American college students. The results of semi-structured interviews revealed several parental factors influence the career development of ethnic minorities. The most prevalent factor was encouragement, which included the subfields of availability, advice, autonomy, and acceptance. Sixty-five percent of students reported parental availability contributed to the quality of the parent-child relationship, which in turn, opened the door for consistent conversations about career options. Findings also suggested parental expectations were a significant influence on their career development. Parents in both SES groups (college educated vs. non-college educated) had high achievement expectations of their children. The authors explained high parental expectations

derived from a desire to shield them from the same challenges they faced and from a desire to dispel negative stereotypes about ethnic minorities. Another study demonstrated similar results when investigators explored parental influence in the lives of Latino college students (Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006). Findings suggested parental support was a mediating factor between SES and achievement. These results all indicate the quality of the parent-child relationship may buffer against the effects of low SES and positively impact career development in ethnic minorities.

Likewise, Diemer (2007) conducted a longitudinal study to explore parental influences on the vocational expectations and career salience of minority youth. The participants in the study were Hispanic, African Americans, Asians, and Native Americans from low SES backgrounds. Investigators categorized parental influence into relational support and instrumental support. Relational support reflects the quantity and quality of time spent between the parent and adolescent, whereas instrumental support reflects the frequency of direct communication between parent and adolescent about specific career plans. Results suggested instrumental support had more of an overall and long-lasting effect on career salience and career expectations than relational support.

A similar study examined the role of parents in education in a sample of African Americans, Latino immigrants, and U.S-born Chicanas (Auerbach, 2007). Researchers interviewed parents using semi-structured interviews. The dialogues revealed three typologies of parents: Moral Supporters, Struggling Advocates, and Ambivalent Companions each offering support along a continuum. Moral Supporters assumed a “hands off” approach in which they mostly allowed their children to engage in academic pursuits independently. These parents placed value on providing emotional support and cultural advice. Moral Supporters’ less

proactive approach was in contrast to the proactive approach taken by parents in the Struggling Advocates group. Struggling Advocates assumed a "hands on" approach and tended to provide their children with emotional support and concrete information on schools and college entrance exams. Ambivalent Companions fell in the middle of the continuum. Parents in this category assumed a more ambiguous approach. While they provided emotional support to their children, they also communicated fear that their success would change the dynamics of family relationships.

Overall, the findings suggest direct action from parents generates better career outcomes in ethnic minorities, and illustrates variability in the types of support provided by ethnic minority parents. However, all but one of these studies failed to consider the specific role of each parent. The interview questions and items on the measures tended to ask about parents in general, indicating investigators consolidated parental behavior into one meaningful construct. Only one study made a note of fathers' influence, but the sample size was very small. At this point, it is clear the quality of the parent-child relationship is important in the career development of ethnic minorities, but it is unclear whether mothers and fathers contribute to this process in different ways for African Americans. The next section reviews studies relevant to this question.

Empirical Findings of African American Family Influence on Career Development

There are only a few career development studies to examine an exclusively African American population. Within these limited studies, the results denote the family as a major source of influence on the career development of African Americans. In particular, findings have been similar to other bodies of career literature, which suggest family and parental support lead to better career outcomes for African Americans. However, the specific role of fathers is overlooked. For example, Barnett (2004) used qualitative measures to examine family support

of fifty Black college students who attended a predominantly White university. Findings indicated parental support was most influential in their academic success before and during college. These parents provided advice, wisdom, emotional support, encouragement, and tangible information on college. Although participants gave specific accounts of the influences of their mothers and/or fathers, their descriptions were consolidated into one domain of "parental support." Pearson and Bieschke's (2001) took a similar approach when they explored family influences on the success of fourteen African American women using qualitative measures. Some participants cited specific examples of their father's influence, yet the results presented parental influence as a unified construct. For instance, some participants recalled their fathers communicating with them about the value of education and sharing their parental expectations of success. Even though the findings suggest family had an overall influence on their success, it would have been helpful to know whether distinct patterns of influence emerged between mothers and fathers.

Another study considered family influences on the success of twenty African American college students using qualitative methods (Herndon & Hirt, 2004). Findings indicated the motivation, encouragement, and support provided by family during precollege years were most important for laying the groundwork to pursue higher education. Family influences included immediate and extended family, but presented it as a single construct. Likewise, Gushue and Whitson (2006) explored various types of support, including parental support, on the career decision-making self-efficacy and outcome expectations of 104 African American students. The Parental Support Scale measured parental support. Results indicated parental support significantly related to career decision-making self-efficacy. However, it is important to note participants were asked to report on their parents in general, which makes it difficult to know

how each parent influenced their confidence in making career decisions. While these findings are all helpful in one way, they are not beneficial toward understanding the specific role of fathers on career development.

A single study was located that considered the influence African American fathers on academic achievement. In a longitudinal study, Somers, Chiodo, Yoon, Ratner, Barton, and Delaney-Black (2011) considered the role of fathers when they studied the impact of family disruption on academic achievement in a sample of African American adolescents. Specifically, they examined his residency status and the amount of time he spent with his child(ren). Findings revealed although some participants did not live with their biological fathers, the amount of time spent with them made a significant difference in their academic achievement. Interestingly, when maternal caregivers were remarried, paternal involvement was higher. These findings suggest fathers made an effort to maintain a good quality relationship with their children despite their non-resident status. The findings also support the claim that valuable information is obtained when attention is paid to African American fathers.

Conclusions on African American Fathers and Career Development

While the career development research on African Americans acknowledges the influence of family in general, the research on the specific role of fathers is limited. The only study that examined African American fathers suggests fathers make positive contributions toward their children's career development through the quality of the father-child relationship. More research is needed to extend our knowledge in this area.

Parental Relationships, Psychological Adjustment, and Career Development

So far, it seems clear that ethnic identity and the quality of the parent-child relationship may have a significant effect on the career development process, but one is left to question

whether other factors may affect the process. The current study proposes the consideration of psychological adjustment. Exploring adjustment may answer some unsettled questions about whether fathers/parents have an impact on their children's adjustment and how an individual's well-being and distress can influence the career development process.

The association between the parent-child relationship and psychological outcomes is well documented. However, many of those findings are based on mother-child relationships. The research on paternal influence and the psychological adjustment of children has been both limited and mixed. Amato and Gilbreth (1999) discussed several studies that concluded the relationship between nonresidential fathers' involvement and their children's well-being was nonexistent. Nevertheless, much more of the literature points to the idea of a link between the quality of father-child relationship and psychological adjustment in children. Sheeber, Davis, Leves, Hops, and Tildesley (2007) measured the association between the quality of the parent-child relationship and depressive symptomatology in a sample of adolescents. Depression was measured using the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV -TR) and the Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Scales (CES-D). Several instruments measured the quality of parent-child relationship including the Issues Checklist (IC), Children's Report of Parent Behavior Inventory (CRPBI), and the Conflict Negotiation Scale (CNS). Findings indicated adolescents who met criteria for depression were more likely to report low levels of paternal support and high levels of paternal conflict. Another study explored parental attachment on depression in a large sample of children in Argentina (de Minzi, 2010). Kerns' Security Scale measured parental attachment and Dimensions of Depression Profile for Children and Adolescents measured depression. The results indicated fathers had the most influence on psychological outcomes such that lack of availability and reliability were stronger predictors of

depression. These findings suggest parents have distinct contributions to the psychological adjustment of children.

Comparable results were found in studies with large samples of African Americans or in samples exclusively African American. For example, Harper and Fine (2006) investigated 129 nonresidential fathers using mostly qualitative methods. Results indicated paternal warmth related to the quality of the parent-child relationship, which related to child well-being (health, self-esteem, and general outlook on the future) (Harper & Fine, 2006). King and Sobolewski (2006) studied nonresidential fathers' role in adolescent well-being using qualitative measures. In that study, well-being included externalizing and internalizing problems, self-efficacy, and grades. Results indicated a father-adolescent relationship characterized by warmth and support significantly related to less externalizing and internalizing behaviors. Later, Love (2008) examined the role of parental attachment on psychological distress among 167 African American college students. The Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI) measured mother and father attachment separately. The Anxiety and Depression subscales of the Comprehensive Personality and Affective Scale (COPAS) measured psychological distress. Results indicated the quality of paternal relationship characterized by warmth and support yielded better psychological outcomes. These few studies highlight the positive impact African American fathers may have on the psychological adjustment of their children. They also confirm the benefit of considering nonresidential fathers in studies on African Americans rather than only relying on mothers' reports or excluding them altogether.

It seems important to understand the connection between parents and children's psychological adjustment, as there have been several studies to link psychological adjustment and career development, especially career decision-making. However, only a few studies

reviewed specifically considered fathers' influence on psychological adjustment. Rottinghaus, Jenkins, and Jantzer (2009) found career indecision significantly related to depression in a sample of college students. Similarly, Uthayakumar, Schimmack, Hartung, and Rogers (2010) examined the relationship between career decidedness and subjective well-being in a sample of undergraduate students. Career compromise also related to adjustment in Tsaousides and Jome's (2008) study. Their study investigated the types of emotional bearing that happened because of career compromise. First, participants were asked to rate their desirability of several occupations. Then they were randomly assigned to occupations of varying degrees of desirability (Major Compromise, Moderate Compromise, Minor Compromise, No Compromise). Findings indicated more career compromise leads to more negative affect and less positive affect. In an earlier study, Lucas, Skokowski, and Ancis (2000) explored career decision-making in female counseling center clients who reported depression. Participants mostly attributed family relationships as the main barrier in their career decision-making process. Specifically, some participants described their father's career expectations as a source of distress and thus, a hindrance to their career decision-making process. These findings all suggest psychological adjustment may have a bearing on career development, particularly career decision-making. However, it seems valuable to explore the impact of psychological adjustment on other career development variables, especially since an association was made between levels of adjustment in emerging adulthood and levels of life and career satisfaction in later adulthood for some individuals (Howard, Galambos, & Krahn, 2010).

Conclusion on Fathers

The overall question the literature has sought to answer is how are fathers able to influence the academic achievement and psychological outcomes of their children? Although

not concrete, the answer seems to lie in the quality of the father-child relationship. The conclusions of the aforementioned studies all seem to suggest the quality of the father-child relationship is just as important as other aspects of family influence on the outcomes of children. However, a limitation of the studies is they do not include African Americans, include a small number of African Americans, or utilize a diverse sample to compare African Americans to the ethnic majority. Therefore, it is unclear whether the same conclusions apply to a sample of solely African Americans. Given the uniqueness of the African American community, it is critical to understand the role of African American fathers and their influence on child outcomes.

Rationale

Although there has been extensive research on career development in the general population, researchers acknowledge the lack of research on ethnic minorities, especially African Americans (Brown, 1995). The studies that did include African Americans have commonly made between-group comparisons against the ethnic majority of Caucasians (Halle et al., 1997). It is still unclear whether the conclusions are applicable to African Americans as a whole. Additionally, studies conducted solely on African Americans have often had small sample sizes and utilized qualitative methods (Whiston & Keller, 2004). The current study aims to add to the career development literature on African Americans by sampling from a large enough group to make within-group comparisons using quantitative methods.

African American emerging adults are of particular interest in this study for several reasons. First, studies on African Americans' career development are lacking, leaving many questions unanswered. Second, studies on African Americans have focused mostly on adolescents or a limited sample of college students who attend historically Black universities. Emerging adulthood is a significant period in an individual's life and may be even more critical for African Americans. It is a period characterized by changes in school and work, identity, and

family relationships (Arnett, 2006). This study explores each of these domains by examining specific career process variables, while also taking into consideration the role of contextual, family, and psychological adjustment factors. The career variables of interest in the current study were career maturity, career salience, and career locus of control. These three process variables provide insight into the course of career development rather than focusing solely on the outcomes. It seems as though the process of career development may be different for African Americans making it necessary to explore these process variables to understand differences in achievement in this population.

Career maturity reflects a readiness to make age-appropriate career decisions (Naidoo, 1998). Career maturity also serves as an indicator that an individual is engaged in career development activities. If an individual has a career mature attitude, it is likely he/she will engage in career-related tasks necessary to achieve certain goals. While the information provided by this construct is enlightening, other process variables were important to consider. Primarily, career maturity assumes a person views work as important. Such an assumption may not necessarily be the case for African Americans given the history of work discrimination and hardships faced by this population. Therefore, it was essential to obtain a measure of career salience, which denotes the importance of work in a person's life relative to other roles (Savickas, 2001). Career salience may offer helpful information to explain the career behavior (or the lack thereof) in this population. Career maturity also assumes individuals believe they have control over the ultimate outcomes of their career. Given the history of social injustice faced by African Americans it may be safe to assume that not everyone in this culture may believe this to be true. For that reason, it seems crucial to obtain a measure of career locus of control as it, too, may also explain the variable career behavior of African Americans.

Given previous findings, a relationship between career salience and career maturity is expected. Empirical studies have indicated career salience is a determinant of career maturity (Super & Neville, 1984; Naidoo et al., 1998). In this way, it was expected that individuals who deem work as an important role in their lives would engage in more career exploration and preparation. They would likely be better prepared to make age-appropriate career decisions.

Even though a relationship between career salience and career maturity is expected, the construct of career locus of control may better account for the relationship between the two variables. While African American adolescents have similar educational aspirations as adolescents from other ethnicities (United States Department of Education, 2006), it appears other barriers may affect their attitudes about career outcomes (Nichols et al., 2010). In this way, it makes sense that although some individuals may deem work as important; they are not likely to engage in certain career tasks if they do not believe that they have control over the outcome. In this study it was hypothesized that career locus of control would mediate between career salience and career maturity.

Although the literature suggests these career constructs are related, it also suggests other factors such as contextual and family relationships may influence how they are carried out. Parent SES and ethnic identity are the two contextual variables of interest in this study, as they seem to be important elements that may color the perceptions of African Americans towards career development. Concerning parent SES, the literature consistently shows a positive correlation between SES and academic and occupational achievement outcomes. Post-secondary education, occupational aspirations, achievement, occupational attainment, and vocational choice are a few of the variables known to affect parent SES (Cosby & Picou, 1975, Davis-Kean, 2005; Halle et al., 1997; Whiston & Keller, 2004). Investigators usually study parent SES in relation to

career outcome variables. Instead, the current study examines parent SES in relation to career process variables.

Even though a relationship between parent SES and career salience is expected, there are still some unanswered questions regarding this relationship. How is it that some individuals from low SES backgrounds achieve success while others from better SES backgrounds do not achieve the expected outcome? The general belief is some components of parent SES (i.e., parent education, income, occupation) will serve to improve or hinder an individual's career development (Schulenberg et al., 1984). However, parent SES alone does not explain whether the child takes advantage of the opportunities afforded by a better SES. As an alternative, Schulenberg et al. (1984) proposed future research consider family relationships. Exploring family relationships is meaningful in the African American population given the value placed on family and collective career-decision making (Herndon & Hirt, 2004, Pearson & Bieschke, 2001). In particular, it seems especially important to consider parental relationships for African American emerging adults. It has been acknowledged that some aspects of emerging adulthood are the same for ethnic minorities (i.e., African Americans) as Caucasians (Arnett, 2003), but it has also been recognized that the experience of emerging adulthood is shaped by the role of culture (Arnett, 2011). For example, Caucasian individuals may view emerging adulthood as a self-focused period characterized by independence in finances and decision-making (Arnett, 2003; Arnett, 2010). In contrast, African Americans value some degree of independence, yet they also place a strong emphasis on respect and obedience to parental authority (Dixon, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008). Therefore, it seems likely that the parental relationship may influence the career development process even during the period of emerging adulthood.

The empirical literature does support the notion that quality of relationships with parents is important to African Americans' career outcomes. However, there are two noticeable gaps in the literature. First, most studies have failed to consider the distinct role of African American fathers on career development. Paternal contributions were combined with maternal contributions and were presented as a unified construct. It is unclear whether the conclusions are applicable to African American fathers. Other studies have omitted African American fathers altogether, supporting the need for more research in this area. Given the variety of family compositions found in the African American community, it seems meaningful to consider the influence of fathers beyond their residential status and financial contributions (or lack thereof). The current study aims to explore the quality of the father-child relationship and its influence on the career process. The quality of the father-adolescent relationship was expected to moderate the relationship between parent SES and career salience. While it seems sensible t individuals from high SES backgrounds would report more career salience, the research suggests the parental relationship may lessen the impact of low SES. In addition, a poor relationship may result in attitudes that undo the advantages of higher SES.

The second noticeable gap in the literature is the specific qualities of the father-child relationship. Nearly all the studies have highlighted the positive effect of parental support on vocational development, which implies other qualities of the parent-child relationship have not been considered. Given the multifaceted aspects of relationships and the current population of interest, it seemed necessary to explore other dimensions of the parent-child relationship, namely conflict. The hypothesis noted above was extended to add that a certain quality father-child relationship would moderate the relationship between parent SES and career salience. A high quality parent-child relationship, characterized by high support and beneficial conflict, was

expected to encourage more career salience, regardless of the advantages or disadvantages associated with SES. The speculation was that a better father-child relationship would lessen the impact of low parent SES, and a poor father-child relationship would negate the advantages offered by high parent SES. Consequently, the relationship between parent SES and career salience would vary depending on the quality of the father-child relationship.

Ethnic identity is another contextual variable that may influence career behavior. Findings on the relationship between ethnic identity and career development are mixed. Some have suggested that a strong ethnic identity facilitates academic achievement, whereas others have suggested that a strong ethnic identity hinders academic achievement. These varied findings make it unclear which relationship exists for African American emerging adults, especially since most of the studies have sampled from high school students or college students attending historically Black universities. The current study suggests ethnic identity may be even more prevalent when African Americans choose to attend predominantly White universities. It makes sense that individuals in college with a stronger ethnic identity will likely have more career salience. However, the current study proposed that the quality of the father-child relationship would moderate the effects of ethnic identity on career salience. In other words, the quality of the father-child relationship might help explain the strength of the relationship between ethnic identity and career salience. The idea was a better relationship with fathers would lessen the impact of low ethnic identity on career salience, while a poor relationship with fathers would work against the advantages presumed by a high ethnic identity. Therefore, the relationship between ethnic identity and career salience would vary depending on the quality of the father-child relationship.

Not only are fathers thought to have an impact on career development, it is also believed fathers have a significant impact on psychological adjustment. The empirical literature has shown the relationship fathers have with their children tends to influence their well-being. Studies that examined African American fathers also support these findings. However, those studies used mostly qualitative methods. This study expected similar results using quantitative methods. The quality of the father-child relationship was expected to significantly relate to the psychological well-being of African American emerging adults. Understanding the link between parents and psychological adjustment was critical since a few studies have suggested adjustment may influence career functioning. Using knowledge from previous studies, the current study expected psychological adjustment would significantly relate to career salience. If individuals are more concerned with the state of their parental relationship, they are less likely to think of the role of work and career as important. Therefore, better psychological adjustment was expected to significantly relate to career salience.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants and Procedures

Participants in this study consisted of 167 African American undergraduate students from the University of North Texas. Because the population of interest in the current study was emerging adults, recruitment was limited to African American males and females ages 18 to 25 years old. G Power 3, a statistical program, was used to conduct an a priori power analysis for multiple regressions. The results indicated a sample size of 107 was needed to obtain an effect size of .05, with $\alpha = .05$. Participation in the study was voluntary and course credit was offered to participants, when permissible. Participants completed an informed consent form and a packet of questionnaires.

Demographic information was gathered from a questionnaire, which consisted of questions regarding the participants' ethnicity, age, gender, school classification, religious affiliation, employment status, relationship status, parents' marital status, parents' occupation, and parents' education level.

Instruments

Socioeconomic Status

In this study, parent education and parent occupation were measured. Participants indicated their parents' current and historical level of education (e.g., *"What is your father's current educational level*). Participants also indicated their parents' current and historical occupation (e.g., *"What was your father's occupation when you were in 6th grade?"*). Parent occupation was coded with the Socioeconomic Indexes (SEI) developed by Stevens and Cho (1985). The SEI gives two SES scores: Total Labor Force (TSEI) and Male Labor Force (MSEI).

The TSEI score is the best measure of parental SES because it incorporates both males and females in the workforce, and will not discriminate against any participants raised in single-mother homes. TSEI scores may range from 13.98 to 90.45. The highest TSEI scores between both parents in each category were used to obtain a single score for their current socioeconomic status and a single score for their historical socioeconomic status.

Ethnic Identity

The 12-item version of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) measured ethnic identity. Phinney developed the original MEIM in 1992 as a measure of ethnic identity for adolescents and young adults. Item analyses revealed the original version of the MEIM depicted ethnic identity as a single-factor structure (Phinney & Ong, 2007). However, a more recent analysis suggested ethnic identity is comprised of two factors: ethnic identity search, which is the cognitive component, and commitment, which is the affective component (Roberts et al., 1999). Items are based on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate a better-developed ethnic identity. Like the original version, the internal consistencies for the 12-item version of the MEIM have been acceptable, ranging from .75 to .82 (Seaton, Scottham, & Sellers, 2006). The reliability coefficient in this study was also acceptable (.85). Roberts et al. (1999) also reported evidence of construct validity when measuring ethnic identity with the MEIM.

Career Maturity

Although career maturity consists of two components, attitudes and competencies, the current study only focused on career maturity attitudes. The Career Maturity Inventory Screening Form S (CMI Screening Form S) measured career maturity attitudes. The original CMI was developed in 1961 and has since been revised several times (Savickas & Porfeli, 2011). The

most recent version of the CMI, Form C was created by Savickas and Porfeli in order to develop a more theoretically and empirically sound measure of career maturity. More specifically, the CMI (Form C) was developed based on the career adaptability model from Savickas' career construction theory. Career adaptability involves a readiness to engage in vocational tasks**.** That is, they should demonstrate concern, control, curiosity, and confidence towards career tasks. The authors reported evidence of acceptable reliability (Cronbach alpha = .86) and convergent validity with the CMI Form B-1.

The Screening Form (CMI Screening Form S) was used because it was specifically designed for use in research and career education. The Screening Form is a 10-item measure that has item-overlap with the CMI Form C. These same items also indicate career choice readiness. Scores may range from 0 to 10 with higher scores reflecting more positive attitudes towards making career decisions. Like Form C, the Screening Form also has acceptable reliability (Cronbach alpha = .83) and external validity with the Vocational Identity Scale (VIS), a well-established measure. The Cronbach alpha in the current study also indicated acceptable reliability (.77). An added benefit to using the Screening Form is the items do not penalize participants who identify collectively rather than individually, which may be more appropriate for an African American sample.

Career Salience

The Work Role Salience Scale (WRS), created by Greenhaus (1971), measured career salience. The WRS is a 27-item instrument that measures three domains: the relative importance of work in a person's life, thoughts towards vocational planning, and attitudes towards work (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Greenhaus, 1971). Items are based on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Scores on the WRS range from 27 to 135.

Internal consistencies have ranged from .75 (Perry, 2011) to .85 (Salami, 2008). The Cronbach alpha in the current study was acceptable (.77). Greenhaus (1971) and Blustein (2006) also reported evidence of construct validity when measuring work role salience with the WRS.

Career Locus of Control

The Career Locus of Control Scale (CLCS) measured career locus of control (Trice, Haire, and Elliot in 1989). The CLCS is an 18-item measure that examines an individual's career planning. Each item requires a true or false answer (Luzzo & Ward, 1995). Scores on the CLCS range from 0-18. Lower scores on the CLCS reflect an internal career locus of control, while higher scores on the CLCS reflect an external career locus of control (Brown, Garavalia, Fritts & Olson, 2006; Luzzo & Ward, 1995). Kuder-Richardson reliability coeffecients have ranged from .78 to .82 (Trice et al., 1989). The Cronbach alpha coefficient in this study was .52, indicating questionable reliability. Trice et al. also reported evidence of construct and discriminant validity of the CLCS.

Quality of Father-Child Relationships

The Quality of Relationships Inventory (QRI) measured the quality of father-child relationships. Designed by Pierce, Sarason, and Sarason (1991), the QRI is a 25-item instrument that measures three domains of relationships: support, depth, and conflict. The Support subscale represents the perceived level of support and needs sensitivity within the relationship (Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Solky-Butzel, & Nagle, 1997; Verhofstadt, Buysse, Rosseel, & Peene, 2006). The Depth subscale measures whether the individual views relationship as positive and important. The Conflict subscale measures the amount of conflict and ambivalence towards the relationship. Items on the QRI are answered on a 4-point Likert scale and range from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*very much*; Verhofstadt et al., 2006). Scores on each subscale of the QRI may range from 1-4, with

higher scores reflecting higher levels of that domain. Previous studies have reported adequate Cronbach alphas ranging from .70s to .90s (Pierce et al., 1991; Pierce et al., 1997; Perry, 2011). Cronbach alphas for the Support/Depth and Conflict subscales in the current study were acceptable, .97 and .77 respectively. Empirical studies have also reported acceptable construct validity of the QRI (Pierce et al., 1997; Verhofstadt et al., 2006).

Intensity of Conflict

The Family Conflict Scale (FCS) created by Lee, Choe, Kim, and Ngo (2000) measured father-child conflict intensity. Originally created for use with Asian Americans, this instrument may be adapted for use with other populations. The FCS is a 10-item self-report measure of conflict within the family. For each item, respondents rated the likelihood each situation occurred with their father and then rated the severity of each problem in their relationship with their father. Items were answered on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*almost never/not at all*) to 5 (*almost always/extremely*). The FCS yields two scores, FCS-Likelihood and FCS-Seriousness, with higher scores indicative of more likelihood and severity of the conflict (Lee, Su, & Yoshida, 2005). Another score, FCS-Intensity was calculated by taking the average of the FCS-Likelihood and FCS-Seriousness mean scores. Psychometric properties of the FCS have been acceptable. Lee and Liu (2001) reported Cronbach alphas ranging from .81 to .89 and a 3-week test-rest reliability coefficient of .80. Constantine (2006) reported a Cronbach alpha of .84 when the FCS-Likelihood subscale was used with African American females. The mean score for African Americans in that sample was 27.45. Cronbach alpha in the current study was acceptable (.95). Lee et al. (2000) reported evidence of acceptable construct validity of the FCS.

Psychological Adjustment

The Mental Health Inventory (MHI; Veit & Ware, 1983) measured psychological adjustment. Originally developed in 1975, the MHI is a 38-item self-report measure of mental health. Because the MHI has a hierarchical structure, there are several scoring formats ranging from a five-factor structure to a single-factor structure. Veit and Ware recommend using the two-factor structure, which consists of the Well-Being subscale and the Distress subscale. The Well-Being subscale is comprised of the Positive Affect and Emotional Ties subscales, and the Distress subscale is comprises of the Anxiety, Depression, and Loss of Emotional/Behavioral Control subscales. Items are scored on a 6-point Likert-scale ranging from 1(*always*) to 6(*never*). Some items were reversed so higher scores indicate more presence of that particular construct. Psychometric properties of the MHI have been adequate. Veit and Ware reported internal consistencies ranging from .83 to .96. Adequate reliability scores have also been demonstrated when the MHI was used in studies with ethnic minorities: .94 in a sample of African Americans (Fischer & Shaw, 1999) and .84 to .95 in a sample of Asian Americans (Miller, Yang, Hui, Choi, & Lim, 2011). Cronbach alphas for the Well-Being and Distress subscales were acceptable in this study, .92 and .94 respectively. Fischer and Shaw and Miller et al., (2011) reported evidence of construct validity.

Hypotheses

The current study tested the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis I: Career salience will be a significant predictor of career maturity. Career locus of control will be a significant predictor of career maturity. Career locus of control will mediate the relationship between career salience and career maturity.

Hypothesis II: Parent SES will be a significant predictor of career salience. The father-child relationship will be a significant predictor of career salience. The father-child relationship will moderate the relationship between parent SES and career salience.

Hypothesis III: Ethnic Identity will be a significant predictor of career salience. The father-child relationship will be a significant predictor of career salience. The father-child relationship will moderate the relationship between ethnic identity and career salience.

Hypothesis IV: Contextual (parent SES, ethnic identity), family relationship (quality of the father-child relationship), and developmental (well-being, distress, career salience, and career locus of control) variables will all contribute significantly to career maturity.

Research Design and Analyses

First, a series of preliminary analyses were conducted to examine for missing data, out-of-range values, fit between distributions, and the principle assumptions for the proposed analyses. Then, primary analyses tested each hypothesis.

Hypothesis I: Using Baron and Kenny's regression model, analyses examined whether career salience significantly related to career maturity and whether career locus of control significantly related to career maturity. A final regression analysis tested whether career locus of control mediated the relationship between career salience and career maturity (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier, Barron, & Tix, 2004).

Hypothesis II: First, in order to test for moderation, the predictor variable (parent SES) and the moderator variable (quality of father-child relationship) were centered. Next, a product term was created. Last, a regression analysis tested whether the quality of the father-child relationship moderated the relationship between parent SES and career salience (Frazier et al., 2004).

Hypothesis III: First, the predictor variable (ethnic identity) and moderator variable (quality of father-child relationship) were centered. Next, a product term was created. Last, a regression analysis tested whether the quality of the father-child relationship would moderate the relationship between ethnic identity and career salience.

Hypothesis IV: A regression analysis tested whether each block of variables, contextual (parent SES, ethnic identity), and family relationship (quality of the father-child relationship), and developmental (well-being, distress, career salience, and career locus of control) would contribute significantly to career maturity.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Demographic Description

The sample consisted of 167 African American undergraduate students (males = 65; females = 102). Participation was limited to individuals age 18 to 25 (M = 20.13; SD = 1.85). Participants classified as freshman made up a majority of the sample at 35.9%, with similar numbers of sophomores, juniors, and seniors (19.2%, 21%, and 22.8% respectively). Approximately 40% of participants reported being involved in a romantic relationship. Most participants reported living on campus (40%) or off campus with a roommate/significant other (approximately 40%). No participants reported living with their fathers. More than half of the participants reported they were not employed (53.9%), while some (16.8%) reported working 25 hours or more per week.

Although the current study focuses on fathers, it seemed valuable to examine demographic factors of both parents to get a better understanding of participants' backgrounds. Participants compared their current relationships to their past relationships with their parents. Most participants reported the relationships with their father was the same or better (79.1%), while a small number of participants reported the relationship was worse (19.2%). With respect to mothers, almost all participants reported their relationships with her is either the same or better than the relationships they had with her as a child (90.4), while only 10% of participants reported the relationship was worse. (see Table 1). Participants also reported how often they communicate with each parent, how often they see each parent, and how often they spend quality time with each parent. Over half of participants said they talk to their father on a daily or weekly basis (58.7%), while a small number said they never talked to their father (13.8%). With respect

to seeing their father, nearly half of participants reported seeing their fathers on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis (46.7%), while the other roughly half reported seeing their father less frequently (53.4%). About 40% said they spend quality time with their fathers on a weekly or monthly basis, and over half reported spending quality time with him on a less frequent basis (57.5%). With respect to mothers, an overwhelming majority of participants reported communicating with her on a daily or weekly basis (91.6%). The same was true for seeing and spending quality time with mothers. Approximately 66% of participants said they see her on a weekly or monthly basis, with a very small amount of participants who said they never see her (0.6%). Over half of participants reported they spend quality time with their mothers on a weekly basis (68.3%), while a very small amount of participants said they never spend quality time with her (1.8%).

Contextual Variables

Socioeconomic Status Variables

Participants reported information on their parents' marital status, current and historical level of education, and their current and historical occupation. (see Table 1). Almost 35% of participants reported they were from intact families (parents were married and living together) and 4.2% reported their parents were never married but still living together. However, a majority of participants said they were from non-intact families (61%). With regard to parent education, participants reported lower levels of father education than mother education both currently and historically. Participants said 37.8% of their fathers had earned at least a junior college degree when they were in 6th grade, while 47.9% of mothers had earned at least a junior college degree. Fathers' current level of education had increased only slightly (39.6% with at least a junior college degree), while mothers' current level of education had increased to 55.1%.

The Socioeconomic Indexes (SEI; Stevens & Cho, 1985) measured both parents' current and historical occupations. The (TSEI) occupational codes were used since these scores represent males and females from the labor force. The highest TSEI score between mother and father's current occupation was used as a single measure of parents' current SES, and the highest TSEI score between mother and father's historical occupation was used as a single measure of parents' historical SES. The mean TSEI scores of 50.52 (*SD* = 19.19) for current parent SES and 47.82 (*SD* = 18.57) for historical parent SES indicate that parents' occupations reflect average income and education for women and men in the total 1980 workforce (see Table 2).

Ethnic Identity

Participants answered questions related to their ethnic identity using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). The mean score suggests participants reported a moderately high level of ethnic identity (*M* = 3.17; *SD* = .48; see Table 3). African American college students in other studies reported similar ethnic identity scores (see Johnson & Arbona, 2006; Juang & Syed, 2010).

Family Relationship Variables

Quality of Father-Child Relationship

The Quality of Relationships Inventory (QRI; Pierce, Sarason, & Sarason, 1991) measured the quality of the father-child relationship. Descriptive analyses suggest an overall positive relationship between father and child. More specifically, the Support and Depth scales indicate participants reported an average amount of support and depth in their relationship with their fathers (*M* = 2.65; *SD* = 1.01). The Conflict scale suggests participants perceived little conflict in the relationship with their fathers (*M* = 1.93; *SD* = .68; see Table 3). Similarly, the Family Conflict Scale (FCS) examined the likelihood, severity, and overall intensity of various

conflictual situations that could occur in father-child relationships. Participants reported common situations that occur in parent-child relationships were not as likely to occur in their father-child relationships (M = 1.86; SD = .92). Of those same situations, participants reported if they did occur, the conflict was not as severe in their father-child relationship (M = 1.70; SD = .88; see Table 6). Overall, descriptive analyses suggest participants reported a father-child relationship with low intensity of conflict (M = 1.78; SD = .88; Table 6 lists the means, standard deviations, and ranges for subscales of the Family Conflict Scale [FCS]). The intensity of conflict reported in this study is slightly higher than the intensity of conflict reported in other samples of college students (see Lee et al., 2005; Lee, Jung, Su, Tran, & Bahrassa, 2009). However, these studies included participants from Asian American and Hmong American populations.

Developmental Variables

Psychological Adjustment

The Mental Health Inventory (MHI; Veit & Ware, 1983) measured psychological adjustment. Participants reported average well-being (M = 56.29; SD = 12.60) and little psychological distress (M = 61.84; SD = 18.75; see Tables 3 & 7). These mean scores are similar to the mean scores in another study which examined the ethnic identity of African Americans, well-being (M = 58.01) and distress (M = 51.07).

Career Process Variables

Career Salience, Career Locus of Control, and Career Maturity

The Work Role Salience Inventory (WRS; Greenhaus, 1971) measured career salience. Mean scores (M = 94.10; SD = 10.87) suggest participants viewed the role of work as moderately important relative to other roles in their lives (see Table 3). The Career Locus of Control Scale

(CLCS) measured career locus of control (Trice, Haire, & Elliot, 1989). Participants answered questions about their career planning. Mean scores reflect participants have an internal career locus of control (M =5.90; SD = 2.40; see Table 3). The Career Maturity Inventory Screening Form measured career maturity. Mean scores suggest participants reported average feelings and attitudes towards career decision-making (M =7.19; SD = 2.32). Savickas and Porfeli (2011) suggest scores between 4 and 8 may indicate a need to encourage greater readiness to engage in career choices.

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted initially to examine for missing data, out-of-range values, outliers, and the assumptions for the proposed analyses. Several cases included missing values; however, most of them were able to be included in the analyses. Those participants, who reported their fathers were deceased or had no relationship with their fathers, completed the other measures based on a father figure (e.g., stepfather or uncle) in his or her life. Only three cases were excluded from the principal analyses that included measures that examined those relationships. Descriptive analyses exposed only a few out-of-range values, and those values were corrected for accuracy to correspond with the values of the measures.

Frequency histograms for all the scale evaluated the assumption of normality of the distribution. Most of the scales were normally distributed with the exception of two highly skewed scales Father Conflict Intensity (positively) and Career Maturity (negatively). Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) recommend a log-linear transformation for substantially skewed variables both positive and negative. Skewedness of these scales improved after transformation. However, when transforming negatively skewed variables there is the potential for misinterpretation, so Tabachnick and Fidell recommend reversing the direction of the

transformed variable. Tables 4 and 5 depict the mean, standard deviation, and range of the transformed variables.

Boxplots revealed few to no outliers for most of the scales. The decision was made to retain those cases for the scales with outliers because the means were not much different when they were removed.

The proposed analysis also assumes the absence of multicollinearity, which refers to highly correlated variables (i.e., $r > .70$). Mulitcollinear variables may be problematic in that it may be difficult to determine the influence of a given predictor variable ("Multiple Regression," 2008). Correlations tested the variables for multicollinearity. Correlations in the current study revealed the highest correlation between the variables was $r = .60$), indicating that this assumption is met. Tables 8 and 9 show the correlations of the variables before and after the transformations.

Additional analyses were conducted to examine gender differences on variables since the sample consisted of more females ($n = 102$) than males ($n = 65$). With respect to demographic variables, *t-tests* revealed no significant differences between females and males on parents' marital status, the amount of time they see, talk, or spend quality time with their father, and the quality of their current father-child relationship in comparison to their past father-child relationship. Also, *t-tests* revealed no significant differences between females and males on key variables, including career maturity. This finding is surprising given that many previous studies have concluded females tend to report more career mature attitudes than males (Creed & Patton, 2003; Keller & Whiston, 2008; Powell & Luzzo, 1998). However, correlation matrices revealed some variables significantly correlated for females but not for males. For instance, for females career maturity was significantly positively correlated with parent SES ($r = .22$, $p = .03$), but for

males career maturity was not significantly related with parent SES (r = .07, p = .61). Ethnic identity was significantly related to father support and depth (r = .22, p =.03), intensity of father conflict (r = .22, p = .03), and well-being (r = -.28, p = .01) for females, yet ethnic identity was not significantly related to any variables for males. Furthermore, father support and depth was significantly negatively related to father conflict for females (r = .45, p = .00), but this was not the case for males (r = 00, p = .97*)*. Father support and depth was significantly related to father conflict intensity for males (r = .31, p = .01), but these two variables were not significantly related for females (r = .02, p = .81). However, there were several significantly related variables between both males and females. For example, career maturity significantly related to career salience and career locus of control in both independent samples. Father conflict and intensity of father conflict also related significantly in both samples of males and females (see Tables 10 and 11).

Further analyses examined whether any demographic variables would need to be accounted for in the principal analyses. *t-tests* were conducted to examine for differences between younger (18-21 years old) and older (22-25 years old) participants, parental marital status, and first-generation college student status. First, the results indicated there were no significant differences in age on career maturity, $t(165) = 1.59$, p =.12, or career salience, $t(165) = -.05$, p =.96. Second, there were no significant differences between participants from intact families or non-intact families on career maturity, $t(165) = .36$, p =.72, or career salience, $t(165) = .15$, p =.88. Last, there were no significant differences between first-generation college students and non-first generation college students on both career maturity, $t(148) = 1.80$, p =.08, and career salience, $t(148) = .24$, p =.81. Overall, these exploratory analyses indicated the principal analyses needed no control variables.

Principle Analyses

Hypothesis I predicted career locus of control would mediate the relationship between career salience and career maturity. The hypothesis was tested at an alpha level of .05 using Baron and Kenny's (1986) 4-step regression model. The first step in this model is to demonstrate a significant relationship exists between the predictor variable and the outcome variable. The second step is to establish a significant relationship between the predictor variable and the mediator variable, and the third step is to establish a significant relationship between mediator variable and the outcome variable. The last step is to demonstrate the significance between the predictor and outcome variable decreases when the mediator variable is included in the model (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004).

The first regression demonstrated a significant relationship between career salience (predictor variable) and career maturity (outcome variable), $F(1, 166) = 20.51$, $p = .00$. (see Table 12). However, the second regression analysis indicated no relationship between career salience and career locus of control, $F(1, 166) = 3.26$, $p = .07$ (see Table 13). Although the regression analysis indicated a significant relationship between career locus of control and career maturity, $F(1, 166) = 14.64$, $p = .00$, Hypothesis I was not supported since the second step of Baron and Kenny's (1986) criteria was not met (see Table 12).

Hypotheses II and III predicted the quality of the father-child relationship would moderate the relationship between parent SES and career salience, and ethnic identity and career salience, respectively. When predictions include moderator variables, the predictor and moderator variables should be centered before creating the product terms (Frazier et al., 2004). Therefore, parent SES (predictor variable) and the parent-child relationship variables (father support/depth and conflict) as the moderator variables were centered. Next, following Frazier et al. recommendations, product terms were created using these centered variables.

Table 14 shows no significant relationship between parent SES and career salience, $F(1, 155) = 2.68$, $p = .10$. It also shows that quality of father-child relationship variables added no significance to the model, $F(1, 155) = 1.93$, $p = .11$. The model remained insignificant when the interaction terms were added in the final block, $F(1, 155) = 1.35$, $p = .23$. These results indicate the father-child relationship does not moderate the relationship between parent SES and career salience; therefore, Hypothesis II was unsupported.

The hierarchical regression for Hypothesis III demonstrated ethnic identity was not a significant predictor of career salience, $F(1, 163) = 1.94$, $p = .17$ (see Table 15). The second block included the father-child relationship variables and added no significance to the model, $F_{change}(4, 163) = 1.34$, $p = .26$ (see Table 15). The final block included the interaction terms and also added no significance to the model, $F_{change}(7, 163) = .84$, $p = .47$. These results indicate Hypothesis III was unsupported.

Hypothesis IV predicted contextual variables (parent SES, ethnic Identity), family relationship variables (quality of the Father-Child Relationship), and developmental variables (well-being, distress, career salience, and career locus of control) would all contribute significantly to career maturity.

A hierarchical regression tested Hypothesis IV. The first block included parent SES and ethnic identity and was not a significant predictor of career maturity, $F(2, 153) = 1.05$, $p = .35$ (see Table 16). The second block included father support/depth, father conflict, and intensity of conflict and did not add significance to the model, $F_{change}(5, 153) = .94$, $p = .46$. The final block included well-being, distress, career salience, and career locus of control. Although the entire model was significant when the developmental variables were added, $F_{change}(9, 153) = 3.35$, $p = .00$, only the career variables (career salience and career locus of control) added to the

significance of the model (see Table 16). Because this model did not provide any more relevant information than the correlation tables, Hypothesis IV was unsupported.

Exploratory Analysis

Previous studies have shown family relationships are related to the psychological adjustment of adult children (Campbell, Sandhu, & Perry, 2011; Raudino, Fergusson, & Horwood, 2013), and psychological adjustment has been shown to influence career development (Constantine & Flores, 2006). For that reason, additional analyses explored the influence of family relationships and contextual variables (i.e., ethnic identity) on psychological adjustment, and explored the influence of psychological adjustment on career development. A hierarchical regression analysis tested whether ethnic identity and father support/depth influenced well-being. The first regression demonstrated ethnic identity was a significant predictor of well-being, $F(1, 164) = 11.10$, $p = .00$ (see Table 17). The second block included ethnic identity and father support/depth. Although the model remained significant, $F(2, 164) = 5.75$, $p = .00$, there was not a significant change in R^2 with the addition of father support/depth $F_{change}(2, 164) = .44$, $p = .51$. The addition of the third block with the interaction between ethnic identity and father support resulted in a significant change in R^2, $F_{change}(3, 164) = 3.87$, $p = .05$. The final model accounted for 9% of the variance in well-being and beta weights showed the interaction term contributed significantly to the prediction of well-being ($t = -1.97$, $p = .05$).

A hierarchical regression analysis examined whether ethnic identity and father conflict and conflict intensity influenced well-being. The first regression demonstrated ethnic identity was a significant predictor of well-being, $F(1, 162) = 10.40$, $p = .00$. (see Table 18). The second block included father conflict and conflict intensity. Although the model remained significant, $F(3, 162) = 4.84$, $p = .00$, there was not a significant change in R^2 with the addition

of father conflict and conflict intensity, F_{change} (3, 162) = 2.00, p = .14. The third block included the interactions between ethnic identity and conflict and between ethnic identity and conflict intensity and did not result in a significant change in R^2, F_{change} (5, 162) = 2.33, p = .10. The final model accounted for 11% of the variance in well-being and beta weights indicated the interaction between ethnic identity and conflict contributed significantly to the prediction of well-being (t = -2.00, p = .05).

Exploring the interactions separately helped to understand their nature. When examining interactions, Frazier et al., (2004) suggests plotting predictor values for the outcome variables and testing the significance of the slopes. ModGraph-I (Jose, 2008) was the statistical program used to employ both of the recommended methods.

First, the interaction between ethnic identity and father support was explored by plotting low, average, and high levels of ethnic identity and father support/depth (see Figure 1), and then the significance of the slopes were tested. Results indicated ethnic identity is significantly positively associated with well-being when father support/depth is high (t = 3.28, p = .00*)* and average (t = 3.17, p = .00), and not when father support/depth is low (t = 1.17, p = 0.24). Note that higher scores on the Well-Being Scale of the MHI indicate more well-being. In this case, the results imply ethnic identity tends to yield more well-being when father support/depth is average or high than when father support/depth is low as would be expected. The fact that father support/depth accounted for only 9% of the variance in well-being suggests that additional factors influence well-being.

Second, the interaction between ethnic identity and father conflict was explored by plotting low, average, and high levels of ethnic identity and low, average, and high levels of father conflict (see Figure 2), and then the significance of the slopes were tested. Results

demonstrated the interaction is not significant on any level of conflict (low: $t = 0.56$, $p = .58$; average: $t = 0.23$, $p = .82$; high: $t = 0.13$, $p = .90$).

Additional correlations explored the relationship between the father-child relationship variables and more extreme levels of ethnic identity. Cases were filtered to identify cases one standard deviation above the mean (high ethnic identity; $n = 31$) and one standard deviation below the mean (low ethnic identity; $n = 27$). Although not significant due to low numbers in each group, there were some interesting variations between the groups. Correlations indicated parent SES was significantly negatively related to conflict ($r = -.43$, $p = .04$) in the low ethnic identity group but the significance between these two variables were negligent in the high ethnic identity group. In contrast, parent education level significantly negatively related to conflict in the high ethnic identity group ($r = -.37$, $p = .04$), whereas the significance between these two variables was negligent in the low ethnic identity group ($r = -.01$, $p = .08$). Furthermore, the career variables correlated significantly with one another in the high ethnic identity group, while none of the career variables was significantly related in the low ethnic identity group. Well-Being was also significantly related to a number of variables in the high ethnic identity group, including career maturity ($r = .45$, $p = .01$), work role salience ($r = .51$, $p = .00$), conflict ($r = -.49$, $p = .01$), and distress ($r = -.43$, $p = .02$), while well-being was only significantly correlated with distress ($r = -.48$, $p = .01$) in the low ethnic identity group. Furthermore, independent samples *t-tests* indicated statistically significant differences between both groups on level of father support/depth, $t(56) = -2.35$, $p = .03$, and on levels of well-being, $t(56) = 3.75$, $p = .00$. With respect to parent SES, participants' parents were similar in both groups and the SEI coding system indicated they mostly held occupations classified in the *Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support Occupations.* The education level of parents in the low ethnic identity

group indicated t they had at least some college experience, while parents in the high ethnic identity group on average had at least a junior college degree. There were also noticeable differences between both groups in relation to family status and parental relationships; nearly 40% of the participants in the high ethnic identity group were from intact families, whereas only 30% of the participants were from intact families in the low ethnic identity group. Participants in the high ethnic identity group reported a better quality father-child relationship than participants in the low ethnic identity group such that they reported talking to their father weekly (vs. monthly), seeing their father monthly (vs. yearly), and spending quality time with him monthly (vs. yearly).

In support of the previous literature, additional analyses explored the relationship between psychological adjustment and career development variables. A regression analyses examined the relationship between well-being and career maturity. Results indicated well-being was a significant predictor of career maturity, $F(1, 165) = 5.52$, $p = .02$.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings

An extensive body of research has consistently demonstrated a link between family relationships and career development. Most of the studies suggest parental support, mostly maternal support, is a critical ingredient for successful career outcomes. Despite this vast amount of literature, the number of studies that have included African Americans has been minimal. An even smaller number of studies have considered the role of African American fathers or other factors within the parent-child relationship. For those reasons, the current study explores the influence of the quality of the father-child relationship on the career development of African American emerging adults. In particular, this study aims to examine contextual and developmental influences on specific career process variables, while also taking into consideration the impact of the role of the father-child relationship. Overall, the purpose of this study was to add to the career development literature on African Americans by sampling from a large enough group to make within-group comparisons using quantitative methods.

Hypothesis I predicted career salience would be a significant predictor of career maturity, career locus of control would be a significant predictor of career maturity, and career locus of control would mediate the relationship between career salience and career maturity. Even though career salience and career locus of control each related significantly to career maturity, career salience and career locus of control did not significantly relate to one another as predicted. The significance of the relationship between the predictor variable (career salience) and mediator variable (career locus of control) is a prerequisite when testing for mediation between career salience and career maturity using Baron and Kenny's (1986) mediation model. Therefore, Hypothesis I was unsupported.

Hypothesis II predicted parent SES would be a significant predictor of career salience, the father-child relationship would be a significant predictor of career salience, and the father-child relationship would moderate the relationship between parent SES and career salience. Regression analyses indicated no main effects for parent SES and no main effects for the quality of the father-child relationship. Including the interaction terms also did not add significance to the model. Hypothesis II was unsupported.

Hypothesis III predicted ethnic identity would be a significant predictor of career salience, the father-child relationship would be a significant predictor of career salience, and the father-child relationship would moderate the relationship between ethnic identity and career salience. Regression analyses indicated no main effects for ethnic identity and no main effects for the quality of the father-child relationship. Including the interaction terms also did not add significance to the model. Hypothesis III was unsupported.

Hypothesis IV predicted contextual variables (parent SES & ethnic identity), family relationship variables (quality of the father-child relationship), and developmental variables (psychological adjustment, career salience, and career locus of control) would all contribute significantly to career maturity. Regression analyses indicated neither contextual nor family relationship variables were significant predictors of career maturity. Although the model became significant when the developmental variables were added to the model, only the career variables (career salience and career locus of control) added significance to the model. Therefore, Hypothesis IV was also unsupported.

On the basis of previous literature, some additional exploratory analyses were conducted, and the findings can be summarized as follows: First, significant interactions indicated ethnic identity is positively associated with well-being when there is average to high support/depth in

the father-child relationship. Second, father conflict did not interact significantly with ethnic identity to influence well-being. Finally, results indicated well-being is a significant predictor of career maturity. Taken together, these results indicate certain aspects of the quality of the father-child relationship appear to moderate the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being, and psychological adjustment is a significant predictor of some career variables.

Overall, the current study produces several important findings. Some of the results were similar to findings in previous studies, while other results introduced new ideas. First, career process variables are applicable to the African American population. Second, findings indicated relationships exist between the career process variables. Third, most family demographic variables did not significantly relate to career variables. Fourth, the quality of the father-child relationship influences the career development process, though not in the manner expected. Finally, variables may have various meanings or levels of impact in different African American populations. The following sections discuss these findings in depth followed by implications, limitations, and future directions.

Career Process Variables and African Americans

Career maturity, career locus of control, and career salience are controversial career constructs, especially when applied to the African American population. One of the main criticisms is studies examining these constructs have often made between group comparisons or generalized findings to African Americans altogether, which has made it difficult to know whether they are applicable to this population. Though limited, a few studies have supported the notion that career maturity, career salience, and career locus of control are all applicable and relevant to African Americans (see Bader, 2011; Dillard, 1976; Naidoo et al., 1998; Perry, 2011), and the current study supports that notion. Descriptive analyses indicated participants endorsed

various levels of all three career process variables as would be expected in a normative population. They tended to answer in such a way that indicates a sense of personal responsibility for career outcomes. For example, an examination of item responses revealed participants recognize career outcomes are largely due to their personal efforts such as earning good grades and skill acquisition, rather than due to external factors such as "luck" or social and family connections. These endorsements are characteristics of an internal career locus of control. This finding is contrary to previous studies that suggest most African Americans tend to report a more external locus of control. With respect to career salience, participants also responded to items that indicate the importance of the role of work in their lives. However, they seemed more ambivalent on questions that involved deciding whether work was more important than family roles. Such responses in this sample are not surprising given the African American culture's emphasis on strong family ties and work orientation (Belgrave & Allison, 2009). Overall, participants in this study reported a moderate amount of confidence, curiosity, and concern, which are all components of career maturity (Savickas & Porfeli, 2011).

Relationships between Career Process Variables

The relationship between career salience and career maturity is strongly supported in the career development literature. The idea is if the role of work is important to an individual relevant to other roles, he or she will be more likely to engage in career-related behaviors. Findings in the current study continue to support that notion. Results indicated a significant positive relationship between career salience and career maturity, which indicates as levels of career salience increase, career maturity increases. The current study also demonstrated a negatively significant relationship between career locus of control and career maturity. This finding is comparable to another study that found a significant relationship between these two

variables (Gable et al., 1976). Savickas and Porfeli (2011) explained individuals with an internal career locus of control are more likely to approach career tasks in a deliberate and organized manner. In this way, it makes sense that individuals with a sense of personal responsibility are also likely to exhibit more career maturity.

However, there was an unexpected finding between two of the career process variables in the current study. It was hypothesized that career locus of control would be the mediating variable to explain the link between career salience and career maturity. The idea was although African Americans may consider the role of work important, they might not engage in activities necessary to make age-appropriate career decisions if they do not believe their own efforts will affect their career outcomes. This idea assumes a significant relationship exists between career salience and career locus of control, but results indicated no such significant relationship exists. Such a finding was surprising because the theoretical definition of both constructs suggest individuals who deem the role of work important in their lives would likely have an internal career locus of control. These unexpected findings point toward the idea that other factors may be involved in the relationship between career salience and career locus of control. These factors could include ethnic identity and family relationships. Perhaps even if the role of work is viewed as important, African Americans still may not believe personal action shapes career outcomes if ethnic identity is low or the quality of significant relationships is poor (Naidoo, 1998; Trice et al., 1989). Ethnic identity and the quality of family relationships might be some especially important considerations when studying career salience and career locus of control in African Americans.

Family Demographics and Career Process Variables

Family demographics have been widely studied in relation to career outcomes, especially those of African Americans. One of the major family demographics explored in the career development literature has been parent SES. Although the findings are mixed, the most common findings suggest a positive correlation between SES and career outcomes. That is, individuals from higher SES backgrounds have better educational opportunities, which facilitate the career development process, thus yielding better career outcomes. On the other hand, individuals from lower SES backgrounds tend to have fewer opportunities for high-quality education, which hinders the career development process, thus yielding worse career outcomes. Because African Americans tend to fall on the lower end of the SES bracket compared to those of the ethnic majority groups, it seemed important to think about the influence of parent SES on the career salience, career maturity, and career locus of control of African Americans.

Parent education and occupational prestige are two of the common indicators of SES used in this study. Results indicated parent occupation as measured by the SEI, did not significantly relate to any of the career variables. Even using parent education level as a measure of SES did not reveal significant relationships with any of the career variables, which was dissimilar to the findings in Perry's (2011) study which found a significant relationship between parent education level and career salience. Though surprising, these findings are not rare in the literature. Several studies have been unsuccessful in demonstrating a significant relationship between parent SES and career constructs, mostly the construct of career maturity (Naidoo, 1998; Naidoo et al., 1998; Patton & Lokan, 2001). However, results in the current study revealed an interesting relationship between community SES and career maturity. As part of the demographic questionnaire, participants indicated the SES of the students of their high school,

and they reported a mostly low to middle class community SES. When community SES was used as an indicator of SES, a regression analyses indicated community SES was a significant predictor of career maturity. This finding introduces a relatively new idea that community SES may be an influential factor in the career development process. Bradley and Corwyn (2002) discussed a similar concept called "collective SES" in their review of socioeconomic status and child development. They explained SES has multiple levels, including the SES of the community, because it provides insight into availability and access to resources and environmental support/stressors. The consideration of collective SES seems relevant to African Americans because of the collective nature of their culture and the fact that African Americans are three times more likely to live in poverty-stricken areas than Caucasians and that African Americans are more likely to attend high-poverty schools (American Psychological Association, n.d.). Because low community SES is believed to indirectly influence adaptive functioning via joblessness, poor parenting, exposure to violence, and limited access to health and educational resources, the findings in the current study make sense. If participants went to high school in a lower SES environment, the stressors of the community likely hindered the development of the adaptive skills necessary to make age-appropriate career decisions. Therefore, community SES may be an important factor to consider when studying contextual influences on the career development process of African Americans.

Since previous studies have made some implications about the relationship between career development and other family demographics besides SES, such as parental marital status and first-generation status, this study considered those variables. For example, individuals from intact families show signs of better career outcomes than do children from not-intact families (Whiston & Keller, 2004), and first-generation college students tend to have poorer career

development outcomes than do non-first–generation college students (McCarron & Inkelas, 2006). In the current study, there were no significant differences in family intactness on career maturity, career locus of control, or career salience. There were also no significant differences between first-generation participants and non-first-generation participants on career maturity, career locus of control, or career salience. These findings were similar to the results in Perry's (2011) study, which failed to find significant differences in family intactness and first-generation status on career maturity and career salience in an African American sample. These findings suggest family demographics alone do not predict the career development process of African Americans.

Quality of Father-Child Relationship and Career Process

The quality of African American father-child relationships was important in this study for a number of reasons. First, even though the link between the quality of parent-child relationships and career outcomes has been strongly supported in the literature, the specific influence of fathers has been largely ignored, especially in the African American community. Second, works on African American fathers have mainly focused on the negative aspects of their fatherhood (e.g., lack of financial support, lack of education, lack of involvement, and propensity towards imprisonment) with little regard to the positive influence fathers may have on their children. Another reason to explore the influence of fathers is it appears most African American fathers are outside the home of their biological children. Statistics show over half (55.1%) of African American children are raised in single parent homes, with nearly all (50.9%) raised by mothers only and only 4.2% as single fathers (United States Census Bureau, 2012). While some research indicates family configuration is related to African American achievement (Battle & Coates, 2004), other research acknowledge African Americans are successful in spite of the demographic

challenges they face (Nichols et al., 2010). The explanation is the quality of family relationships, especially the parent-child relationship, is the moderating variable that buffers the effect of disadvantaged backgrounds. Nevertheless, a couple of questions remain unanswered. Which aspects of the father-child relationship affect the career development process, and how does the quality of the father-child relationship moderate the influence of contextual factors (SES and ethnic identity) on career development? These questions were the central focus of this study.

Overall, results indicate the quality of the father-child relationship influences the career development process, though not in the manner predicted. There were four main dimensions of the father-child relationship explored in this study: support, depth, conflict, and intensity of conflict. Support represents the perceived level of encouragement and needs sensitivity within the relationship. Depth represents the perceived importance of the relationship. Conflict refers to the perceived level of conflict and ambivalence within the relationship, and conflict intensity refers to the perceived likelihood and severity of problems within the relationship (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000; Pierce, Sarason, Sarason, Solky-Butzel, & Nagle, 1997; Verhofstadt, Buysse, Rosseel, & Peene, 2006). In the current study, the quality of the father-child relationship did not moderate the relationship between parent SES and career salience as predicted. In addition, the quality of the father-child relationship did not moderate the relationship between ethnic identity and career salience. These findings were true for all four dimensions of the father-child relationship (support, depth, conflict, intensity of conflict), and indicate none of these variables interacted with parent SES or ethnic identity to influence career salience. These results were unlike those of previous studies that found the quality of the parent-child relationship to interact with demographic variables to influence achievement in some way. A possible explanation is

fathers may have a unique influence on career development that has not been considered. The next section may illustrate a step toward that discovery.

Knowing that family relationships tend to influence psychological adjustment, exploratory analyses examined whether the father-child relationship influenced the psychological adjustment (i.e., well-being) of participants in this study. Positive affect and emotional ties characterized well-being. Results of the exploratory analyses revealed an interesting interaction between father support/depth and ethnic identity to influence well-being. Findings indicate well-being was highest when ethnic identity was high and father support/depth was high. What this means is a high level of father support/depth seems to enhance the benefits of a high ethnic identity. This portion of the findings is in the expected direction since a number of studies suggest African Americans value the quality of support in the parent-child relationship (Perry, 2011). In this study, some behavioral examples depicted support in the father-child relationship included giving advice, listening to emotional expression, providing honest feedback, and helping to relieve distress. The quality of depth meant the individual viewed the father-child relationship as a significant role in his or her life. Maybe significant support from fathers helps improve well-being in the sense that they feel happy, satisfied, loved, and wanted with hope of a promising future.

On the contrary, results showed well-being was lowest when ethnic identity was low and father support/depth was high which implies these same levels of support/depth may not buffer against the negative effects of low ethnic identity. This piece of the findings was not in the expected direction given the emphasis placed on parental support in the African American community. Although low ethnic identity is linked to poor well-being (e.g., compromised self-esteem, limited coping ability, and perceived lack of belonging and social support) (Smith &

Silva, 2011), the assumption was that a high level of paternal support would lessen the impact of low ethnic identity on well-being. A possible explanation for this unexpected finding points to the notion that certain variables may have various outcomes in different sub-populations of African Americans, which the next section discusses.

Several findings in the current study point to the possibility that some variables have different degrees of influence on career development within the African American population. One example is parent SES, which seemed to correlate differently with other variables in this study than in previous studies. A closer look at the samples revealed some noteworthy differences. For example, in Perry's (2011) study, parent SES (as indicated by parent education level) significantly related to career variables, but such was not the case in this study. The sample in that study was limited to 18 and 19 year-old African Americans, of which 39% were from intact families. The current study included a broader age range of participants (18 to 25 years old) and more participants from non-intact families (66%). These demographic differences suggest socioeconomic status may have a variable effect in different populations. Perhaps parent SES has a more direct influence on the career development process of younger African Americans or African Americans who have the benefit of an intact family. However, it might be possible other socioeconomic factors are equally influential in other groups of African Americans. In the current study, SES (as defined by parent occupation and education level) did not significantly correlate with any career variables until operationally defined by community SES. Not only does community SES provide insight into the availability and access to resources, it also gives some indication of the collective messages given about academic achievement and career advancement outside of the family environment. This seems especially important to

consider when studying the career development process of African Americans because of the collective nature of their culture and the roles parental relationships and ethnic identity may play.

The quality of the parent-child relationship is another example of variables that seem to have differing degrees of influence in subpopulations of African Americans. The consensus in the literature is the quality of the parent-child relationship directly affects the career development process and outcomes. For example, in Perry's (2011) study, a parent-child relationship that consisted of high support and depth moderated the relationship between parent SES and career salience. However, in the current study, none of the hypotheses supporting the relationship between the father-child relationship and career variables were supported. Instead, the quality of the father-child relationship had an indirect effect on career development via ethnic identity and well-being. In fact, the results demonstrated the quality of the father-child relationship influenced well-being differently depending on the level of ethnic identity. In comparison to individuals with low ethnic identity, individuals with high ethnic identity reported talking, seeing, and spending more quality time with their father, thus leading to a significant difference in the amount of support/depth in the relationship. Even the content of discussions was different amongst the two groups. Participants in the high identity group said their fathers sometimes talked with them about his high academic expectations and about the proper behavior of respectable African Americans. Participants also said they felt he sometimes tried to influence their lives. These reports were significantly different from the reports of participants from the low ethnic identity group. Most participants said their fathers almost never discussed academic expectations or concerns about being African American, and he did not try to influence their lives. These findings offer two suggestions. First, the type of father support may carry more weight than the level of support for African American emerging adults who have low ethnic

identity. It makes sense that well-being is negatively affected if African American emerging adults receive negative messages related to educational achievement and career advancement in the community and do not receive adequate paternal support to counteract those messages. Well-being is important because studies show its influence on career development. The current study supported this notion when findings demonstrated well-being was a significant predictor of career maturity. In this way, it seems sensible that African American emerging adults who have poor psychological adjustment are not likely to engage in those activities necessary to make age-appropriate career decisions. The second suggestion is while conflict is usually considered to be a negative quality in relationships, conflict in the father-child relationship was especially beneficial to the well-being of individuals this study. African American emerging adults may consider a moderate amount of constructive conflict with their fathers to be beneficial and perceive a lack of constructive conflict with them as a lack of concern and attention to their individual needs (Perry, 2011).

Implications

There are several implications for counselors, fathers, and non-profit organizations in the current study. First, the constructs of career locus of control, career salience, and career maturity are applicable to the African American population, despite questions about their applicability from previous studies. African Americans deem the role of work as important relative to other roles in their lives and recognize career outcomes are largely due to their own efforts. Vocational counselors may use this information to guide their work with African American emerging adults.

Second, contextual factors such as community SES and ethnic identity both seem to play a significant role in the psychological adjustment and career development process of African Americans. Therefore, counseling sessions with African Americans might include discussions

about within-group diversity and consider how these factors may influence presenting concerns. Career programming at institutions of higher education might also encourage peer and professional mentors who are African American.

Third, counselors can educate fathers on the lasting impact of the relationship with their children, even into emerging adulthood. Counselors can educate fathers and their adult children on the transitional phase of emerging adulthood. Because emerging adulthood is characterized by changes in school and work, ethnic identity, and family relationships (Arnett, 2006), a certain quality father-child relationship during this period still seems critical. While individuals from ethnic majority groups may view this period as a time of increasing independence, African American emerging adults may view this time as increasing interdependence. More knowledge about how African Americans experience emerging adulthood may help explain some differences in adjustment for this population of college students and inform individuals working with this population. It may also help African Americans better cope with this period in their development.

Fourth, the quality of the father-child relationship indirectly influences the career development process via well-being. Therefore, it is critical for fathers to know level of support is not the only important influence on their child's well-being, but the kind of support offered to him or her is equally important. High levels of support that lack a certain quality of content and constructive conflict are not as beneficial as high levels of support that include conversations about overcoming personal and cultural challenges as an African American. Such knowledge might be useful for mothers and especially encouraging for fathers who are outside the home or those who feel inadequate due to lack of education or finances. This might even be helpful to

organizations with the initiative of strengthening and supporting fathers and families or for counselors working with incarcerated fathers.

Limitations

Several limitations emerged in this study. First, generalizability is limited. Participants in this study were African American college students who were enrolled in a university in the southern part of the United States, which may make it difficult to generalize to African Americans in other regions of the country. Additionally, females consisted of 61% of the participants in this study, which may limit generalization of results to African American females.

Second, interpretation of these results should be considered with caution because of the fact that the participants were college students. One could make the case that because this group of African Americans is already in college, they are more likely to have more career maturity, career salience, and an internal career locus of control. Furthermore, nearly half of these participants had at least one parent with a junior college degree, which could lend itself toward better career development processes.

Third, some of the measures used in this study presented some challenges. The Career Locus of Control Scale (Trice et la., 1989) had limited internal consistency (.52), which indicates the scale measures constructs other than career locus of control. Another limitation is the use of the Career Maturity Inventory Screening Form S (Savickas & Porfeli, 2011). Although Savickas and Porfeli state college orientation instructors may use the screening form, it is unclear of the specific age range for which this measure is appropriate. Furthermore, the Mental Health Inventory (Veit & Ware, 1983) has several scoring options and it appears investigators have adapted various interpretations making it difficult to examine peer research for comparisons.

Finally, all the measures in the study were self-report. Information gathered on the quality of the father-child relationship was based solely on the child's perception. Without a

measure of fathers' perceptions of their relationships, it might be difficult to establish full reliability of participants' reports of these relationships.

Future Directions

Several considerations may be useful for future research on African Americans. It would valuable if future research included a more diverse group of African Americans, specifically a sample of African Americans from all regions of the United States and included an adequate number of male participants. This approach would allow for examination of gender differences in parent-child interactions and of differences in career development processes. It would also likely make results generalizable to African American emerging adults both in and out of college.

Investigators could also attempt to obtain a measure of fathers' perceptions of the quality of father-child relationships because it could help to corroborate the child's perception of that relationship. It could also reduce the reliance on mothers to report the quality of the father-child relationship.

A longitudinal study would also be ideal when studying parental influences on the career development process of African Americans. Following participants upon entry to high school, entry to college, and entry to the workforce could provide researchers with both quantity and quality of information on career development, psychological adjustment, and the transformation of the parent-child relationship over time.

Conclusions

Recognizing the negative influence of absent fathers on their children and feeling the weight of his own absent father, President Barack Obama launched a Fatherhood and Mentoring Initiative in 2010. His initiative supports the claim that fathers play a critical role in the lives of their children, affecting their psychological well-being and educational outcomes. The findings

of the current study support his notion. High levels of father support interacted with ethnic identity to influence the well-being of African American emerging adults, which significantly predicted career maturity. The most critical finding was the type of support needed from fathers varies in different groups of African Americans. More research is needed on African American fathers to support the idea of their unique contribution to the lives of their children and to affirm their efforts despite any demographic disadvantages.

> Over the course of my life, I have been an attorney, I've been a professor, I've been a state senator, I've been a U.S. senator – and I currently am serving as President of the United States. But I can say without hesitation that the most challenging, most fulfilling, most important job I will have during my time on Earth is to be Sasha and Malia's dad. So you don't need a fancy degree for that. You don't need a lot of money for that. No matter what doubts we may feel, what difficulties we may face, we all have to remember being a father – it's not just an obligation and a responsibility; it is a privilege and a blessing, one that we all have to embrace as individuals and as a nation (President Barack Obama, June 20, 2010).

Table 1

Demographics

Variables	Frequency	Percent
Gender (n = 167)		
Female	102	61.1
Male	65	38.9
Classification (n = 167)		
Freshman	60	35.9
Sophomore	32	19.2
Junior	35	21
Senior	38	22.8
Other	2	1.2
Employment (n = 167)		
>35 hrs/week	9	4.2
25-35 hrs/week	21	12.6
15-24 hrs/week	38	22.8
<15 hrs/week	13	11
Not employed	90	53.9

(table continues)

Table 1 *(continued)*

Living Arrangements	Frequency	Percent		
Living with both parents	9	5.4		
Living with mother	9	5.4		
Living with father	1	.6		
Living with ext. family	1	.6		
Living on campus	68	40.7		
Living off campus alone	14	8.4		
Living with roommate/sign. other	66	39.5		
Romantic Relationship				
Yes	67	40.1		
No	100	59.9		
Parent Education (Current)	Father Frequency (n =163)	Father Percent	Mother Frequency (n = 167)	Mother Percent
Less than high school diploma	7	4.2	3	1.8
High school diploma	34	20.4	19	11.4
Vocational/trade school	8	4.8	12	7.2
Some college	43	25.7	41	24.6
Jr. College degree	5	3.0	20	12.0
College degree	38	22.8	42	25.1
Some graduate courses	5	3.0	4	2.4
Master's degree	14	8.4	24	14.4
Professional degree	9	5.4	2	1.2

(table continues)

Table 1 *(continued)*

Parent Education (Historical)	Father Frequency (n = 161)	Father Percent	Mother Frequency (n = 166)	Mother Percent
Less than high school diploma	9	5.4	4	2.4
High school diploma	34	20.4	27	16.2
Vocational/trade school	9	5.4	12	7.2
Some college	46	27.5	43	25.7
Jr. College degree	3	1.8	18	10.8
College degree	40	24.0	44	26.3
Some graduate courses	5	3.0	4	2.4
Master's degree	8	4.8	14	8.4
Professional degree	7	4.2	0	0
Parent Communication	Father Frequency (n = 167)	Father Percent	Mother Frequency (n = 167)	Mother Percent
Daily	33	19.8	105	62.9
Weekly	65	38.9	48	28.7
Monthly	22	13.2	6	3.6
Yearly	13	7.8	2	1.2
Never	23	13.8	0	0
Other	11	6.6	6	3.6

(table continues)

Table 1 *(continued)*

See Parents	Father Frequency (n = 167)	Father Percent	Mother Frequency (n = 166)	Mother Percent
Daily	11	6.6	22	13.2
Weekly	23	13.8	40	24
Monthly	44	26.3	71	42.5
Yearly	32	19.2	12	7.2
Never	31	18.6	1	.6
Other	26	15.6	20	12
Quality Time with Parents	Father Frequency (n = 167)	Father Percent	Mother Frequency (n = 166)	Mother Percent
Daily	5	3.0	20	12
Weekly	24	14.4	40	24
Monthly	42	25.1	74	44.3
Yearly	31	18.6	14	8.4
Never	46	27.5	3	1.8
Other	19	11.4	15	9
Relationship Status	Father Frequency (n = 164)	Father Percent	Mother Frequency (n = 165)	Mother Percent
Much Better	26	15.6	56	33.5
Slightly Better	37	22.2	31	18.6
Same	69	41.3	64	38.3
Slightly Worse	12	7.2	10	6.0
Much Worse	20	12	4	2.4

(table continues)

Table 1 *(continued)*

Parents' Marital Status (n=167)	Frequency	Percent
Married, Living Together	57	34.1
Married, Living Apart	9	5.4
Never Married, Living Together	7	4.2
Divorced, Mother Remarried	14	8.4
Divorced, Father Remarried	8	4.8
Divorced, Neither Remarried	15	9.0
Both Parents Deceased	0	0
Mother Deceased	3	1.8
Father Deceased	6	3.6
Never Married	41	24.6
Other	7	4.2

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for Parents' Current and Historical SES

Variable	M	SD	Possible Range	Actual Range
Father Current SES (n=122)	43.31	20.95	13.98 - 90.45	17.24 - 88.42
Father Historical SES (n=134)	40.91	19.68	13.98 - 90.45	17.54 - 88.42
Mother Current SES (n=138)	44.24	17.57	13.98 - 90.45	17.75 - 88.42
Mother Historical SES (n=156)	40.51	17.23	13.98 - 90.45	14.83 - 88.42
Highest Parent Current SES (n=158)	50.52	19.19	13.98 - 90.45	17.55 - 88.42
Highest Parent Historical SES (n=162)	47.80	18.56	13.98 - 90.45	19.33 - 88.42

Note. The variables represent the occupational scores from the following measure: Socioeconomic Indexes (TSEI). The values were rounded to the nearest hundredth.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for All Variables

Variable	M	SD	Possible Range	Actual Range
Highest Parent Current SES (n = 158)	50.52	19.19	13.98 - 90.45	17.55 - 88.42
Career Maturity (n = 167)	7.19	2.32	0 - 10	0 - 10
Career Salience (n = 167)	94.10	10.87	27 - 135	63 – 119
Career Locus of Control (n = 167)	5.90	2.40	0 - 18	0 – 11
Ethnic Identity (n = 166)	3.17	.48	1-4	1.33-4
Father Supp/Depth (n = 167)	2.65	1.01	1 - 4	.92 – 4
Father Conflict (n = 167)	1.93	.68	1 - 4	1 - 4
Well-Being (n = 166)	56.29	12.59	14 – 84	25 – 84
Distress (n = 167)	61.84	18.75	24 - 144	27 - 134
Father Conflict Intensity *(Avg of Mean Item Scores)* (n = 165)	1.78	.88	1 - 5	1 – 5

Note. The variables represent scales from the following measures: Parent SES (Socioeconomic Indexes (TSEI), Ethnic Identity (Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure), Career Maturity (Career Maturity Inventory Screening Form), Career Locus of Control (Career Locus of Control Scale), Work Role Salience (Work Role Salience Scale), Father Support/Depth, Father Conflict (Quality of Relationships Inventory), Psychological Adjustment (Mental Health Inventory), and Family Conflicts Scale (FCS). The variable Father Conflict Intensity from the FCS is the average of the mean item scores from the Likelihood and Severity subscales. The values were rounded to the nearest hundredth.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges After Transformation of Father Conflict Intensity Variable

Variable	M	SD	Possible Range	Actual Range
Father Conflict Intensity(n=165) *(Transformed)*	.21	.19	1 - 5	.00 - .70

Note. The variables represent scales from the following measures: Family Conflicts Scale (FCS). The values were rounded to the nearest hundredth. Possible Range is based on the non-transformed variable. Actual Range is based on the transformed variable.

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges After Transformation of Career Maturity Variable

Variable	M	SD	Possible Range	Actual Range
Career Maturity (n=167) *(Transformed)*	.50	.19	0 - 10	0 - 1.04

Note. The variables represent scales from the following measures: Career Maturity Inventory, Screening Form (CMI Screening Form). The values were rounded to the nearest hundredth. Possible Range is based on the non-transformed variable. Actual Range is based on the transformed variable.

Table 6

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Subscales from Family Conflict Scale (Fathers only)

Variable	M	SD	Possible Range	Actual Range
Father Conflict Intensity	1.78	.88	1 - 5	1 - 5
Likelihood	1.86	.92	1 - 5	1 - 5
Severity	1.70	.88	1 - 5	1 - 5

Note. The variables represent scales and subscales from the following measures: Family Conflicts Scale (FCS). The variable Father Conflict Intensity is the average of the mean item scores from the Likelihood and Severity subscales. All values were rounded to the nearest hundredth.

Table 7

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for Psychological Adjustment Variables

Variable	M	SD	Possible Range	Actual Range
Psychological Adjustment (n=166)	117.87	13.39	38 – 228	86 - 162
Well Being	56.29	12.60	14 – 84	25 - 84
Positive Affect	44.08	10.01	11 – 66	19 - 66
Emotional Ties	8.10	2.60	2 - 12	3 - 12
Distress	61.84	18.75	4 - 144	27 – 134
Anxiety	24.42	7.91	9 – 54	27 – 134
Depression	10.58	4.03	4 – 24	4 – 23
Loss of Control	20.12	6.98	9 – 54	9 - 52

Note. The variables represent scales from the following measures: Psychological Adjustment (Mental Health Inventory). The values were rounded to the nearest hundredth.

Table 8

Correlations of All Variables and Scales' Alpha Coefficients

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Parent SES	--	.00	.11	.12	.02	.01	.00	-.06	.02	.02
2. Ethnic Identity		(.85)	.08	.10	.09	.23**	.08	.25**	-.07	.21*
3. Career Maturity			(.77)	.32*	-.23**	.11	-.10	.15	-.18*	-.15
4. Career Salience				(.77)	-.14	.05	.00	.09	-.01	.11
5. Career Locus of Control					(.52)	.04	-.04	-.03	.10	.09
6. Father Support/Depth						(.97)	-.30**	.11	-.07	.08
7. Father Conflict							(.88)	-.14	.26**	.60**
8. Well-Being								(.92)	-.69**	-.02
9. Distress									(.94)	.05
10. Intensity of Father Conflict										(.95)

Note. All values were rounded to the nearest hundredth. Cronbach alpha coefficients are reported in parenthesis.
* = $p < .05$. ** = $p < .01$

Table 9

Correlations of All Variables and Scales' Alpha Coefficients after Transformation of Two Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Parent SES	--	.01	.11	.12	.02	.01	.00	.06	.02	.05
2. Ethnic Identity		--	.08	.10	.09	.23**	.09	.26**	-.07	.21**
3. Career Maturity *(Transformed)*			--	.33**	-.25**	.10	-.11	.18*	-.12	-.03
4. Career Salience				--	-.14	.05	.00	.09	-.01	.14
5. Career Locus of Control					--	.04	-.04	-.03	.10	.08
6. Father Support/Depth						--	-.29**	.11	-.07	.13
7. Father Conflict							--	-.14	.26**	.57**
8. Well-Being								--	-.69**	-.04
9. Distress									--	.04
10.Intensity of Father Conflict *(Transformed)*										--

Note. Because reflections were performed, signs have been reversed where appropriate. All values were rounded to the nearest hundredth.
* = $p < .05$. ** = $p < .01$.

Table 10

Correlation for Females After Transformation of Two Variables (n=102)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Parent SES	--	-.06	.22*	.15	-.08	.04	.02	-.13	.00	.13
2. Ethnic Identity		--	.00	.09	.05	.22*	.04	.29**	-.15	.24*
3. Career Maturity *(Transformed)*			--	.36**	-.23*	.09	-.14	.21*	-.13	.00
4. Career Salience				--	-.14	-.02	-.04	.01	.00	.08
5. Career Locus of Control					--	.06	-.03	.00	.10	.06
6. Father Support/Depth						--	-.45**	.15	-.10	.02
7. Father Conflict							--	-.17	.24*	.56**
8. Well-Being								--	-.69**	-.07
9. Distress									--	.04
10. Intensity of Father Conflict *(Transformed)*										--

Note. Because reflections were performed, signs have been reversed where appropriate. All values were rounded to the nearest hundredth.
* = $p < .05$. ** = $p < .01$.

Table 11

Correlation for Males After Transformation of Two Variables (n = 65)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Parent SES	--	.10	-.07	.08	.18	-.04	-.03	.06	.02	-.07
2. Ethnic Identity		--	.19	.12	.16	.24	.16	.21	.04	.19
3. Career Maturity *(Transformed)*			--	.28*	-.27*	.11	-.09	.15	-.16	-.05
4. Career Salience				--	-.15	.17	.05	.22	-.06	.24
5. Career Locus of Control					--	.00	-.05	-.07	.10	.11
6. Father Support/Depth						--	.00	.04	-.03	.31*
7. Father Conflict							--	-.05	.27*	.63**
8. Well-Being								--	.69**	-.02
9. Distress									--	.06
10. Intensity of Father Conflict *(Transformed)*										--

Note. Because reflections were performed, signs have been reversed where appropriate. All values were rounded to the nearest hundredth.
* = $p < .05$. ** = $p < .01$.

Table 12

Summary of Regression Analysis Predicting Career Maturity – Hypothesis I

Variable	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	F Sig	ΔR^2	FΔ	FΔ Sig	β^a	t *Sig*	ES
Career Salience	.33	.11	.11	20.51	.00**	.11			.33	.00	.12
Career Locus of Control	.39	.15	.14	14.64	.00**	.04	7.91	.01	-.20	.01	.18

Note. Transformations were made on the following variables: Career Maturity.
[a]β values reported in the table are for the entire model.
*p < .05; **p<.01.

Table 13

Summary of Regression Analysis Predicting Career Locus of Control – Hypothesis I

Variable	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	F Sig	ΔR^2	FΔ	FΔ Sig	β	t Sig	ES
Career Salience	.14	.02	.01	3.26	.07						

Table 14

Summary of Regression Analysis Predicting Career Salience for Father-Child Relationship – Hypothesis II

Variable	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	F Sig	ΔR^2	FΔ	FΔ Sig	β	t Sig	ES
Parent SES	.13	.02	.01	2.68	.10				.13	.10	.02
Relationship	.22	.05	.02	1.93	.11	.02	1.67	.18			.05
Supp/Depth									-.05	.59	
Conflict									-.19	.10	
Intensity									.22	.03	
Interaction	.25	.06	.02	1.35	.23	.02	.60	.61			.06
SESxSupp/Depth									.11	.24	
SESxConflict									.00	.98	
SESxIntensity									.19	.82	

Note. The following variables were centered: Parent SES, Support/Depth, Conflict, and Intensity. Transformations were made on the following variables before centering: Intensity.

Table 15

Summary of Regression Analysis Predicting Career Salience for Father-Child Relationship – Hypothesis III

Variable	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	F Sig	ΔR^2	FΔ	FΔ Sig	β	t Sig	ES
Ethnic Identity	.11	.01	.01	1.94	.17				.11	.17	.01
Relationship	.19	.04	.01	1.50	.21	.04	1.34	.26			.04
Supp/Depth									-.01	.90	
Conflict									-.12	.17	
Intensity									.20	.06	
Interaction	.23	.05	.01	1.21	.30	.02	.84	.47			.05
EthnicxSupp/Depth									-.13	.19	
EthnicxConflict									-.14	.19	
EthnicxIntensity									.49	.52	

Note. The following variables were centered: Parent SES, Support/Depth, Conflict, and Intensity. Transformations were made on the following variables before centering: Intensity

*p < .05; **p<.01.

Table 16

Summary of Regression Analysis Predicting Career Maturity for all Variables – Hypothesis IV

Variable	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	F Sig	ΔR^2	FΔ	FΔ Sig	β	t Sig	ES
Contextual	.12	.01	.00	1.05	.35						.01
SES									.11	.17	
Ethnic Identity									.04	.65	
Relationship	.18	.03	.00	.94	.46	.02	.86	.46			.03
Supp/Depth									.03	.80	
Conflict									-.12	.31	
Intensity									.00	.99	
Developmental	.42	.17	.12	3.34	.00**	.14	6.20	.00			.20
Well-Being									.19	.09	
Distress									.08	.50	
Locus of Control									-.19	.02	
Career Salience									.26	.00	

Note. The following variables were transformed: Intensity and Career Maturity.

**p<.01.

Table 17

Exploratory Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Well-Being for Ethnic Identity and Father Support/Depth

Variable	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	F Sig	ΔR^2	FΔ	FΔ Sig	β	t Sig	ES
Ethnic Identity	.25	.06	.06	11.10	.00**				.25	.00	.06
Relationship Supp/Depth	.26	.07	.06	5.75	.00	.00	.44	.51	.05	.51	.08
Interaction EthnicxSuppDepth	.30	.09	.07	5.19	.00	.02	3.87	.05	.15	.05	.10

**p<.01.

Table 18

Exploratory Hierarchical Regression Predicting Well-Being for Ethnic Identity, Father Conflict, and Conflict Intensity

Variable	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	F Sig	ΔR^2	FΔ	FΔ Sig	β	t Sig	ES
Ethnic Identity	.25	.06	.06	10.40	.00**				.25	.00	.06
Relationship	.29	.08	.07	4.84	.00	.02	2.00	.14			.09
Conflict									-.15	.10	
Conflict Intensity									.00	1.00	
Interaction	.33	.11	.08	3.89	.00	.03	2.33	.10			.12
EthnicxConflict									-.18	.05	
EthnicxIntensity									1.16	.09	

**p<.01.

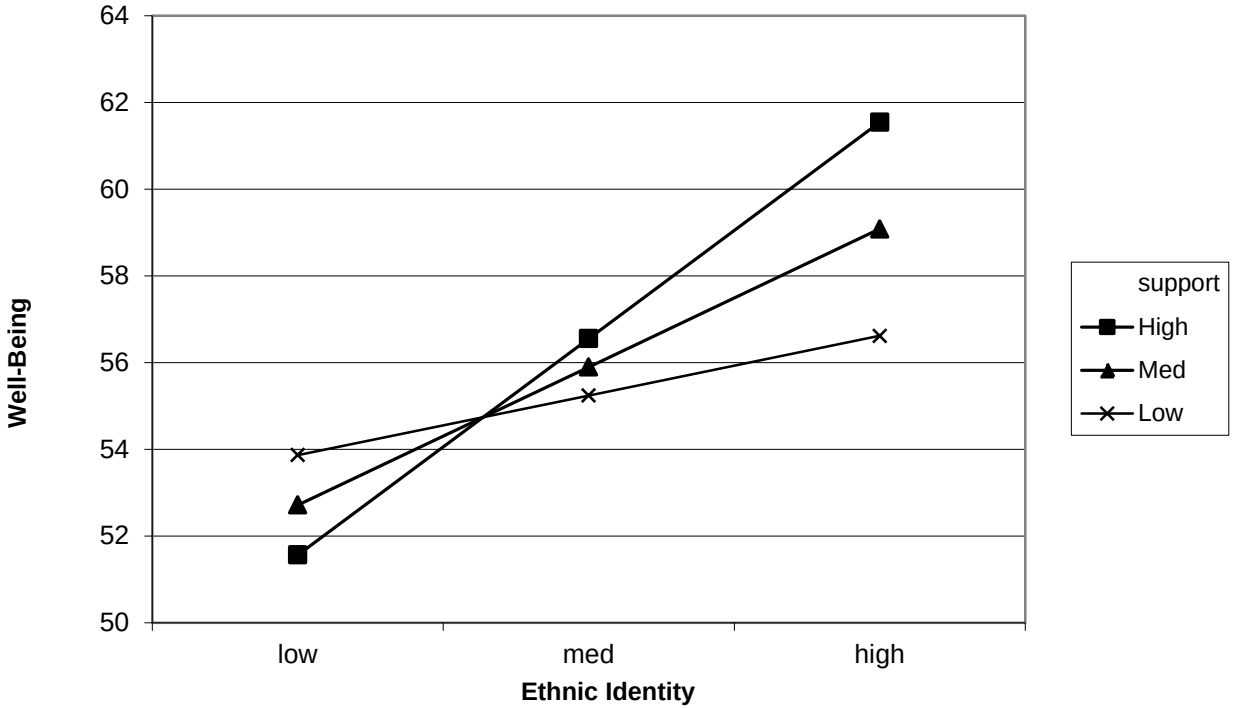

Figure 1. Plot of predicted values of outcome variable (well-being) at low, average, and high levels of ethnic identity, and low, average, and high levels of father support/depth. Low represents 1 standard deviation below the mean; Medium represents the mean; High represents 1 standard deviation above the move.

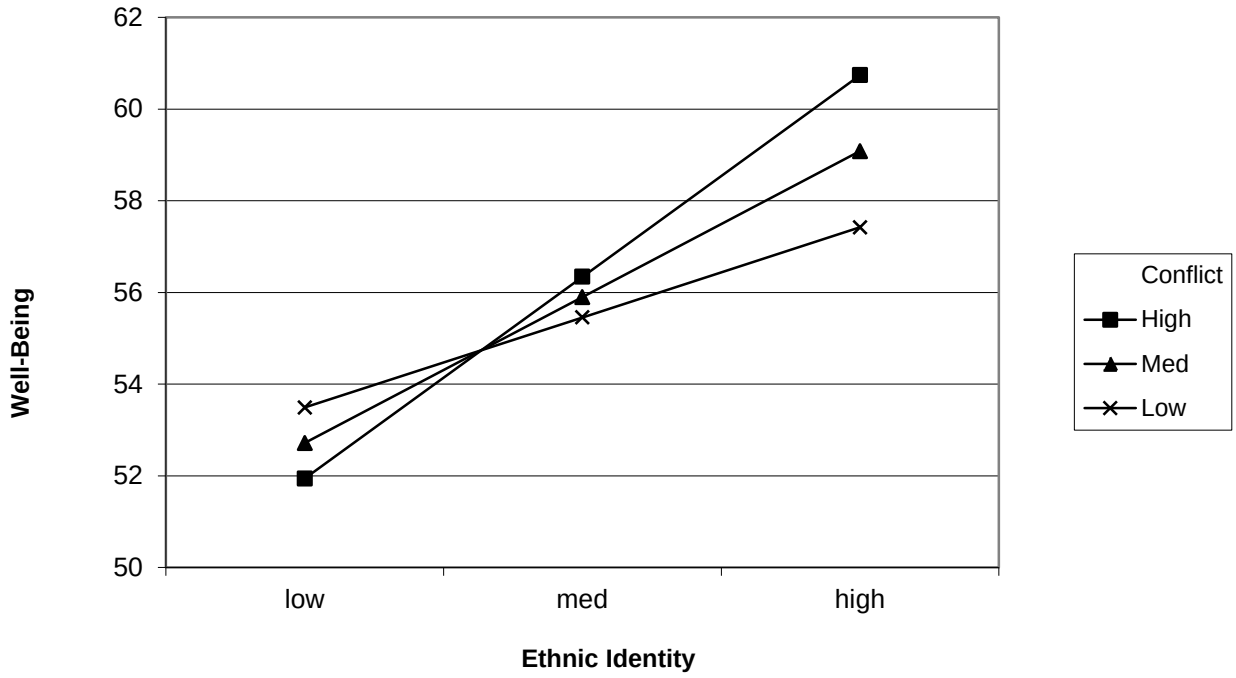

Figure 2. Plot of predicted values of outcome variable (well-being) at low, average, and high levels of ethnic identity, and low, average, and high levels of father support/depth. Low represents 1 standard deviation below the mean; Medium represents the mean; High represents 1 standard deviation above the mean.

APPENDIX

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Black Families and Career Influences Study

You are being asked to participate in a study of the ways that African American families influence the career development of emerging adults.

YOUR PARTICIPATION

If you agree to participate, the time commitment will be 1½ to 2 hours. You will fill out questionnaires asking about your family, how your life is going, and your ideas about the future. We know that families are important and that every family is different. We are not asking for this information to judge you or your family, but because you can help us learn more about the many roles that families play in the development of African American emerging adults.

CONFIDENTIALITY

To safeguard your privacy your consent form will be separated from the questionnaires. Only the researchers will see your specific responses and your name will not be on any of the materials. All of your responses will be kept confidential. Only summarized data will be reported concerning the study. Please feel free to ask questions at any time.

BENEFITS

Possible benefits of the study are that it may help you think about where you are in your life and your ideas about the future, including ideas about career and family relationships in your life. Your participation may help us understand more about families and emerging adult development, and what we learn could eventually help parents, emerging adults, and those who work with emerging adults and families.

COMPENSATION

You may be able to earn extra credit for your participation in this study, if permissible by your course instructor.

POSSIBLE RISK

The risks from participating in this study are considered minimal. Some questions may address information you feel is personal. It could be uncomfortable to disclose this information, or make you more aware of concerns that you have, or you may find that it doesn't bother you at all. If you have any concerns or problems please let the researchers know at once. They will be prepared to help you find appropriate assistance. We believe the potential benefits outweigh any minimal risk.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION/WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide not to participate and you can discontinue participation at any time. Should you decide not to participate or discontinue participation, there will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you would otherwise be entitled.

If you have any questions or concerns, feel free to contact us.

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If you are willing to participate, please sign the consent on the following page.

This research project has been reviewed and approved by the UNT Institutional Review Board (940) 565-3940. Contact the UNT IRB with any questions regarding your rights as a research subject.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
Black Families and Career Influences Study

CONSENT
This study, including the risks and benefits, has been explained to my satisfaction. I have been given the opportunity to have my questions answered to my satisfaction. I have read and I understand the information in this consent form. I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study and have been given a copy of the consent form.

Participant

Name (print): _____ Age: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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