

UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENT WORK IN SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL CONTEXTS

Cynthia Y.A. Jakob-Chien, University of Northern Iowa,
and Richard L. Dukes, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the characteristics of adolescents who work and the relationship between intensive work and risky social and behavioral consequences. A sample population of 7392 students in grades 7-12 from six school districts who responded to a survey on the effects of work were used for empirical examination. Results showed that the ideal type teen who work intensively is older, lower or middle SES, male, and a member of an ethnic minority group. Furthermore, intensive employment of teens is linked to lower levels of well-being, less achievement in academics and higher levels of delinquency and substance use.

INTRODUCTION

Traditional explanations of crime and delinquency imply that adolescent work is a useful control mechanism. For example, opportunity theory (Cloward, Ohlin 1960), provided the political basis for the inner-city youth work programs which included skill training and job placement such as New York City's Mobilization for Youth in the 1970s. Furthermore, bonding theory (Hirschi 1969) proposed that strong links to conventional groups and institutions reduce the risk of delinquency. According to bonding theory, participation of the adolescent in the labor force could serve as a functional bond to conventionality. The outcome assessment of treatment models that incorporated work as a control mechanism has been inconclusive, due in part to lack of long-term commitment to treatment by the government (Betsey, Hollister, Papageorgiou 1985).

Implications derived from opportunity and bonding theories appear to overlook the notion that the workplace can be an environment which displays significant sources of deviant activities. Social learning/differential association theory (Akers 1985; Burgess, Akers 1966; Sutherland 1947) assumes that all behavior is learned through interacting with others in relevant social milieus (e.g., family, school, and peers). The theory suggests that the learning of deviant behavior is the result of association with deviant others in respective social groups. The influence of this association can be both direct and mediated (through deviance-prone beliefs and social reinforcements of deviance). The duration and intensity of association determines the magnitude of this influence. Like family, school, and peers, the workplace is another social environment that gives rise to differential patterns of association. Thus, adolescent work can be a risk factor.

Research using cross-sectional data has

showed both benefits and liabilities of adolescent work in social and behavioral contexts. Benefits of work include increased academic motivation, mastery of non-classroom skills and problem solving techniques, practice of responsible behavior, exposure to a career, formation of adult work-attitudes and habits, interaction with adults, and development of lifelong occupational skills (Peters 1987; Steinberg, Greenberger, Garduque, Ruggiero, Vaux 1982). Job autonomy and intrinsic motivation regarding work heighten adolescent self-esteem (Mortimer, Finch 1983, 1986).

Liabilities of adolescent work include cynical work attitudes, employee deviance, increased use of alcohol and other drugs, increased school absence, tardiness and cheating, diminished time spent on homework and involvement in fewer extracurricular activities, and greater delinquency and substance use (Bachman, Schulenberg 1992; Greenberger, Steinberg 1980, 1986; Ruggiero, Greenberger, Steinberg 1982; Steinberg, Dornbusch 1991). Furthermore, work intensity decreases academic achievement; the more the hours adolescents work (15 or more hours per week) the lower the academic achievement (Greenberger, Steinberg 1980, 1986).

Most of the findings on adolescent work were based on cross-sectional data, and they suggested that work-related benefits and problems could be factors of selection-to-work rather than the outcomes of work. A few longitudinal studies have found empirical support for both the selection-to-work hypothesis and work as a causal explanation (Bachman, Shulenberg 1992; Mihalic, Elliott in press; Steinberg, Fegley, Dornbusch 1993). Mihalic and Elliott examined the short- and long-term consequences of adolescent work using data from the National Youth Survey. They found that the adverse correlates of work intensity (in excess of 20 hours per week) were partly, but

not entirely, due to selection effects (Steinberg, Dornbusch 1991; Steinberg et al 1993). Work continued to have detrimental effects after adjusting for selection effects. Furthermore, adolescents who worked over a longer period of time (duration) and who worked more hours (intensity) had more problems at school and at home, were more involved with delinquent friends, and used more alcohol.

Research has found that working females and nonwhites exit school earlier than their counterparts (Mihalic, Elliott in press). There is disagreement on a class-based differential. Some studies have not found a significant relationship between parental socioeconomic class (SES) and adolescent work (Greenberger, Steinberg 1986; Mihalic, Elliott in press). However, Phillips and Sandstrom (1990) reported that advantaged parents tended to approve of adolescent work and the initiation of work at earlier age. These parents perceived adolescent work to have benefits such as an increase of independence and responsibility, higher self-esteem, better time management, better work habits, better communication, smoother relationships, and greater appreciation of the value of education.

Studies using longitudinal data have provided empirical evidence for negative consequences of work intensity even after controlling for selection effects. Both longitudinal and cross-sectional research has confirmed that excessive work has an instantaneous effect on the risk of well-being (e.g., lower self-esteem and self efficacy), increased school disengagement (e.g., lower grades and future educational aspirations and attainment) and further delinquency and substance use (Mortimer, Finch 1986; Bachman, Schulenberg 1992; Steinberg, Dornbusch 1991; Steinberg et al 1993). Therefore, our analysis of the effects of adolescent work in social and behavioral contexts using data from cross-sectional design is defensible.

According to Greenberger and Steinberg (1986), adolescent work is associated with teenage delinquent activities such as substance use; however, age is an underlying correlate of both substance use behavior and work intensity. Might age explain the correlation between the intensity of adolescent work and teenage problem behaviors? Yamoor and Mortimer (1990) addressed the age effect through statistical interactions among specified variables. The search for statistical interaction after some of the basic relations in an

area of inquiry already being known has a long history in survey research (Kendall, Lazarsfeld 1950). Yamoor and Mortimer (1990) specified conditions under which youth work was detrimental and those under which it was not. A three-way statistical interaction (age by gender by intensity of work) showed that younger males who worked fewer hours reported an increase of life satisfaction. Conversely, older females who worked more hours reported a decrease of life satisfaction. We incorporate the interactional approach in our testing. We expect that, depending on background characteristics, work intensity will have a negative effect on well-being and academics and a facilitating effect on delinquent and substance use behavior.

METHODOLOGY

Respondents

The Youth Lifestyle Survey (YLS) is a comprehensive survey of youth in grades 7-12 in the Pikes Peak Region of Colorado. It is a joint project of local school districts and the Center for Social Science Research at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs. Five surveys have been conducted since 1983, and each survey dealt in depth with one or two adolescent issues in addition to delinquency and substance use. The Fall 1989 version dealt in depth with adolescent work.

Questionnaires were administered to the population of students in six participating districts. Two forms of the instrument, "A" and "B," were randomly assigned to students. Data on teen work came from 7392 students responding to the "B" format. Since, Forms A and B were randomly assigned, they represent random samples of the population. These samples match the population (within probability limits) for demographic characteristics with one exception: 12th graders were underrepresented in both A and B. This situation has occurred in every YLS we have done. Seniors are more likely than other students to be absent from campus (or busy with other activities) when the survey is distributed to the students. Since we invite "quiet" refusals of students (they merely do not fill out an item or the entire questionnaire), we have no way of knowing how many there were—probably no more in A than B. About 70 percent of the students actually completed the survey.

Variables

Gender, ethnicity/race, social class, and

Table 1: Significant Effects of Gender, Ethnicity, Social Class, and Age on Adolescent Work

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F	p
Main Effects	53.871	8	6.734	68.472	.000
Gender	1.684	1	1.684	17.119	.000
Social Class	1.872	2	.936	9.517	.000
Age	48.709	1	48.709	495.293	.000
2-Way Interactions	4.936	21	.235	2.390	.000
Ethnicity by Age	1.218	4	.305	3.097	.015
Social Class by Age	1.581	2	.790	8.037	.000
3-Way Interactions	.587	22	.118	1.196	.239
Social Class by Ethnicity by Age	1.555	8	.194	1.976	.045
4-Way Interaction	.927	8	.116	1.178	.308
Explained	62.321	59	1.056	10.741	.000
Residual	760.498	7733	.098		
Total	822.819	7792	.106		

age are used to describe the demographic distribution of adolescents who are engaged in labor force. The variable of gender is a dichotomy (male and female). The ethnicity of respondents in this study is grouped into five racial categories (Native American, Chicano/Mexican American, Black/African American, Asian American, and White). Respondents are stratified into three social classes (working, middle, and upper). The variable of social class is a cross-classification of occupation prestige of head of household (0=not professional and 1=professional) and the highest level of parent's education (0=not college graduate and 1=college graduate). Adding these two dichotomies, respondents are classified into 0=working class, 1=middle class, and 2=upper class. Respondents are divided into two age groups, a younger group (11 to 14 years) and an older group (15 years and older).

Adolescent work is measured by asking how many hours per week the respondent works at a paying job. The eight categories are: 1=none/no job, 2=up to 4 hours per week, 3=5 to 9 hours per week, 4=10-14 hours per week, 5=15-19 hours per week, 6=20-29 hours per week, 7=30-39 hours per week, and 8=40 and over hours per week. To further understand the impact of the intensity of adolescent work on their social and behavioral outcomes, adolescent work is differentiated into a dichotomy of work intensity (15 or more working hours per week versus less than 15 hours per week).

Well-being, academics, delinquent and substance use behavior are the three dimensions of social and behavioral contexts investigated in this paper. Well-being is measured

by self-esteem and purpose in life. Self-esteem is measured using the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (1965). Purpose in life is measured using five items from Crumbaugh's 20-item Purpose in Life Test (desperation, responsibility, suicide ideation, control of one's life, and life satisfaction; Crumbaugh 1969). High purpose in life is the result of achieving meaningful goals. Low purpose in life is characterized by little meaning and scattering of focus.

Academics are measured by educational aspirations and academic achievement in academics. Educational aspirations assess expectations by respondents of the level of education they would like to complete (junior high, high school, vocational/technical school, college, and graduate school). Educational achievement is measured by the grade point average (GPA) of respondents on their last nine-week report card.

Delinquency is measured by items dealing with three unlawful acts: fighting, stealing, and trespassing during the last 12 months. Each item incorporates a 5-point response scale ranging from "Not at all" and "5 or more times."

Substance use behavior includes alcohol use, marijuana use, and other illicit drug use. Alcohol use involves the use of beer, wine, and liquor during the last 30 days. "Other illicit drugs" involve amphetamines/barbiturates, hallucinogens, cocaine, steroids, inhalants, and other illegal drugs. Each substance-use item uses a seven-point response scale ranging from "never tried" to "over 15 times."

Table 2: Main Effects of Work Intensity and Demographic Variables on Adolescents' Well-Being, Academics, and Delinquent and Substance Use Behavior

	N	Well-Being		Academics		N	Delinquent and Substance Use Behavior			
		Self-Esteem	Purpose in Life	Educational Aspirations	Educational Achievement		Alcohol Use	Marijuana Use	Other Illicit Drug Use	Delinquency
Total Sample	7392	30.70	21.08	4.25	3.98	7433	7.55	1.51	7.21	4.61
Work Intensity										
15 or more hours	890	30.68	20.95	4.00	3.66	892	10.32	2.20	9.19	5.36
Other	6502	30.70	21.10	4.28	4.02	6541	7.17	1.42	6.94	4.50
F		.20	.07	38.10***	38.59***		175.02**	165.77***	166.08***	77.59***
Gender										
Male	3604	31.61	21.11	4.17	3.85	3628	7.56	1.57	7.49	5.13
Female	3788	29.83	21.05	4.32	4.10	3805	7.53	1.46	6.94	4.11
F		240.04***	.76	61.68***	136.41***		1.25	7.03**	21.18***	345.08***
Ethnicity										
Native American	402	30.01	20.67	4.08	3.71	408	8.29	1.70	8.47	5.58
Black	560	31.42	20.78	4.26	3.68	594	7.40	1.54	7.48	5.41
Chicano	736	30.51	20.77	4.10	3.71	752	8.38	1.79	7.55	5.06
Asian	353	29.84	20.78	4.29	4.03	389	6.84	1.44	7.36	4.67
White	5341	30.76	21.20	4.28	4.06	5731	7.43	1.46	7.03	4.38
F		8.62***	2.37*	5.94***	34.79**		12.52***	11.26***	12.67***	46.63***
Social Class										
Working Class	1711	29.91	20.67	4.05	3.71	1732	8.10	1.63	7.35	4.92
Middle Class	2509	30.40	20.96	4.17	3.87	2539	7.62	1.58	7.37	4.73
Upper Class	3172	31.36	21.39	4.42	4.21	3162	7.18	1.39	7.00	4.34
F		51.20***	19.32***	109.43***	144.58***		12.05***	13.52***	2.59	25.60***
Age										
11-14 years	3847	30.64	21.18	4.33	4.12	3891	6.18	1.27	6.84	4.52
15 years & older	3545	30.76	20.97	4.15	3.82	3542	9.05	1.78	7.61	4.70
F		.51	4.90*	49.90***	129.24***		587.22**	191.67***	20.21***	.77

RESULTS

Types of Adolescent Worker

Analysis of variance was performed to identify demographic distribution by gender, ethnicity, social class, and age of student workers. The average of adolescent work (an eight-category response measure) fell in between the first two categories with the mean score of 1.12 (mean=1.12) ("none, no job" and "up to four hours per week"). The main effects of gender, social class, and age on adolescent work were statistically significant (Table 1). Males (mean= 1.14), students of working and middle classes (mean=1.14 for working class and mean=1.13 for middle class), and older students (mean=1.20) worked more hours than did their counterparts (mean=1.10 for females, mean=1.10 for upper class, and mean=1.04 for younger students). Among demographic variables, the effect of age was the strongest.

The combination of background characteristics (statistical interactions) can be important to the level of adolescent participation in labor force. Two two-way interactions (of ethnicity by age and of social class by age) and one three-way interaction (social class by ethnicity by age) were significantly related to adolescent work. Students who worked the fewest hours were younger Asians of the middle class (mean=1.01), younger Blacks of the working class (mean=1.03), and younger Whites of the upper class (mean=1.03). Students who worked the most hours were older Blacks of the working class (mean=1.28) and older Whites of the working and middle classes (mean=1.25).

Interrelationships of Variables

Prior to the investigation of the impact of intensity of adolescent work and background characteristics, a question about the theoretical positioning of these variables should be answered. As noted by Greenberger and Steinberg (1986), age is correlated with both problem behavior (e.g., older youths have a higher alcohol consumption rate) and work intensity (older youths tend to work more hours). Is it possible that the correlation between work intensity and problem behavior might be explained away by age; therefore, work might explain the relation between age and problem behavior (Kendall, Lazarsfeld 1950)? This question can be answered by testing the interrelationships of work intensity, problem behavior, and age.

To find out if the interpretation as causal of the relationship between work intensity and problem behavior is spurious, we compared the bi-variate correlation between work intensity and problem behavior to the partial coefficient (when age is controlled statistically). Results from our analyses suggested that age does not fully explain the relation between work intensity and problem behavior. For instance, the correlation between work intensity and alcohol use was .22 ($p < .01$), while the coefficient for work intensity and alcohol use was .14 ($p < .01$) controlling for age (via partial correlation). While the partial tended toward zero, it was not zero. It indicated that age did not fully explain the relation between work intensity and alcohol use.

We further investigated the notion of work as an intervening variable and found that work intensity does not interpret the relation between age and problem behavior. For example, the zero-order correlation coefficient between age and alcohol use was .36 ($p < .01$). The partial correlation coefficient (when work intensity was controlled statistically) was .32 ($p < .01$) and did not "tend toward zero" by much. It revealed that work did not capture much of the relation between age and alcohol use. We applied this analytical comparison across all other dependent variables, and our analyses yielded similar results to those discussed above.

These results led us to conclude that the approach of treating the intensity of teenage work as a variable that specifies the relations among demographic variables and outcomes could be fruitful (Yamoor, Mortimer 1990). That is, work intensity and demographic variables interact statistically to predict well-being.

Main Effects of Work Intensity and Demographic Variables on Social and Behavioral Contextual Outcomes

Analysis of variance was employed to examine the joint effects of work intensity and demographic variables on adolescent well-being, academics, and delinquent and substance use behavior. The subgroup means for main effects of work intensity, gender, ethnicity, social class, and age are shown on Table 2. Males, on average, reported higher self-esteem than females. Among the five racial groups, self-esteem was the highest for Blacks and lowest for Native Americans. Working-class students reported lower self-esteem than

upper-class students. Neither work intensity nor age had an impact on self-esteem.

The main effect of ethnicity on purpose in life was statistically significant. Whites had the highest purpose in life, while Native Americans had the lowest. Purpose in life was the highest for upper-class students. They were followed by middle-class then working-class students. Younger students tended to have slightly higher purpose in life than older students. Neither work intensity nor gender had a statistically significant effect on purpose in life.

Work intensity and all demographic variables were significantly related to academics (educational aspirations and educational achievement). Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours (per week) reported lower educational aspirations and lower GPAs than students who worked less than 15 hours. Females had higher educational aspirations and did better at school than males. Educational aspirations were higher for Asians, Whites, and Blacks, and they were lower for Chicanos and Native Americans. Whites and Asians did better at school than Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans. GPAs were highest for upper-class students and the lowest for working-class students. Educational aspirations were higher for younger students than for older ones.

For alcohol use, effects of work intensity, ethnicity, social class, and age were statistically significant. Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours per week reported higher rates of alcohol use than their counterparts. Chicanos and Native Americans drank more than members of other racial groups. Asians were the least likely group to use alcohol. Working-class students drank more than those of the middle and upper classes. Older students used alcohol more frequently than younger ones. The effect of gender on alcohol use was not statistically significant.

Work intensity and demographic variables all had significant influences on marijuana use. Students who worked 15 or more hours were more likely to use marijuana than their counterparts. Males were more frequent users of marijuana than females. Chicanos and Native Americans used marijuana more frequently than Blacks, Whites, or Asians. Working-class students were the most frequent users of marijuana, and upper-class students used it the least. Older students reported higher rates of use than younger students.

Work intensity and demographic variables

(except social class) had a statistically significant effect on the use of other illicit drugs. Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours per week were more likely to use other illicit drugs than their counterparts. Males used illegal drugs more frequently than females. Native Americans reported using illegal drugs more frequently than students in the other groups. Whites reported the least frequent use of illegal drugs. Older students used illegal drugs more frequently than younger ones.

Work intensity, gender, ethnicity, and social class were significantly related to delinquency. Adolescents who worked 15 or more hours per week were involved in higher rates of delinquent activities than their counterparts. Males reported higher rates of involvement in delinquency than females. Among the five racial groups, Native Americans and Blacks reported higher rates of delinquency, while Whites reported the lowest rate. Working- and middle-class students were more involved in delinquent activities than upper-class students.

Interactions of Work Intensity and Demographic Variables on Social and Behavioral Contextual Outcomes

Presentation of means for the interactions is quite cumbersome; therefore, only the highest and lowest means are presented in the text. Despite over 7000 responses, frequencies became low in a few cells during the analyses of 5-way interactions. Means for statistical interactions discussed below were for cells that contained at least 20 cases. F-ratios for higher-order interactions did not subsume explained variances for main effects and lower-order interactions within them unless otherwise specified.

For self-esteem, the interaction of work intensity and age was statistically significant ($F=6.53; p<.01$). Younger students who worked less than 15 hours (per week) reported the lowest self-esteem (mean=29.81), and older students who worked 15 or more hours reported the highest self-esteem (mean=30.88).

The 3-way interaction involving work intensity, social class, and age was significantly related to purpose in life ($F=3.85; p<.05$). Purpose in life was observed to be the highest for younger, working-class students who worked less than 15 hours per week (mean=21.33). It was lowest for younger, upper-class students with 15 or more working hours (mean=19.95).

The two-way interaction of work intensity

and ethnicity had a significant effect on expectation in education ($F=3.34$; $p<.01$). Highest aspirations were observed for Asians (mean=4.34) and Whites (mean=4.31) who worked less than 15 hours. Lowest aspirations were observed for Chicanos who worked more than 15 hours (mean=3.75). For educational achievement, the 3-way interaction involving work intensity, gender, and age was statistically significant ($F=2.80$; $p<.05$). Highest grades were earned by younger, white females who worked less than 15 hours (mean=4.36). The lowest grades were earned by younger, Chicano males working more than 15 hours (mean=3.13).

The following 5-way interaction ($F=2.30$; $p<.05$), which subsumed the main effects and two 2-way interactions, was important to characterizing alcohol users. Older, upper-class, male Native Americans and Chicanos who work more than 15 hours (mean=15.44 for the former and mean=13.86 for the latter) had the highest rates of alcohol use. The lowest frequency of alcohol use was reported by younger, middle-class, female Asians who worked less than 15 hours per week and younger, upper-class, female Chicanos who worked less than 15 hours per week (mean=5.22 for both groups).

For marijuana use, three 4-way interactions, which subsumed the main effects as well as five lower-order interactions, were statistically significant. One 4-way interaction involved work intensity, gender, ethnicity, and age ($F=2.63$; $p<.05$). Older, male Native Americans who worked 15 or more hours per week reported the highest rate of marijuana use (mean=2.85). The lowest rates were reported by younger students who worked less than 15 hours from four racial groups: White males (mean=1.15); Native American females (mean=1.18); Asian males (mean=1.19); and Black females (mean=1.19).

Another 4-way interaction involved work intensity, gender, social class, and age ($F=3.08$; $p<.05$). The highest rates of marijuana use were observed for older, middle-class males who worked 15 or more hours (mean=2.58) and older, upper-class males who worked 15 or more hours (mean=2.41). The lowest rates of use were reported by younger, upper-class females who worked less than 15 hours (mean=1.15) and younger, upper-class males who worked less than 15 hours (mean=1.18).

The third 4-way interaction involved work intensity, gender, ethnicity, and social class

($F=2.52$; $p<.05$). Upper-class, male Native Americans who worked 15 or more hours were the most frequent users of marijuana (mean=3.17). The lowest rates of marijuana use were reported by upper-class, female Asians who worked less than 15 hours per week.

The following 5-way interaction ($F=4.33$; $p<.001$), which subsumed the main effects and nine lower-order interactions, was statistically significant for other illicit drug use. The highest rate of use of other illegal drugs was observed for older, upper-class, male Native Americans who worked 15 or more hours per week (mean=21.22). It was the lowest for females of the following three groups who worked less than 15 hours: younger, upper-class Asians (mean=6.00); younger, middle-class Blacks (mean=6.09); and younger, upper-class Chicanos (mean=6.09).

The following 5-way interaction, which subsumed the main effects and 6 lower-order interactions, was significantly related to delinquency ($F=2.27$; $p<.05$). Older, working-class, male Blacks who worked less than 15 hours (mean=6.97) reported the most likelihood of being involved in delinquent activities. This finding is contrary to expectations. It is difficult to interpret the effect of work intensity by relying on the two cells in this analysis, because only 5 among the 47 older, working-class, male Blacks worked 15 or more hours per week. Other comparisons showed that the delinquency rose with the intensity of work. The lowest delinquency rate was observed for both older and younger, working-class, female Asians who worked less than 15 hours per week (mean=3.57 for the older and mean=3.68 for the younger).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Results from our analyses provide justification for the usefulness of statistical interaction between work and demographic variables, rather than the notion of spuriousness or intermediation. Findings confirm that high intensity of work appears to be detrimental to adolescents' social and behavioral development, a common finding from previous research on adolescent work. Of particular interest, it seems to emerge that intensive-working, lower-class, older, male non-Whites (except for Asians) have lower levels of well-being and academics. Intensive-working, higher-class, older, male non-Whites (especially for Native Americans) are more likely to be substance users and have higher rates of delinquency.

These findings can be useful in identifying teens at risk.

More research is needed on understanding the operation of work intensity in relation to the utility of earned income among adolescents. Ianni (1989) noted that income usually was spent on extras, not on necessities. We tested the relationship between the family's money problems in the last year or two and work intensity. We found that the relationship did not exist. Furthermore, the rates of working by adolescents in minority groups continue to decline despite apparently greater financial pressure on those families. Previous surveys in the Pikes Peak region, 1983 and 1986, showed that educational aspirations were increasing, so perhaps the decrease in working is a part of an upward mobility process. Findings also suggested that sons and daughters in less affluent families do not work as intensively as their more affluent counterparts. Perhaps this finding is due to unemployment, or perhaps it is due to a process of delayed gratification. In any event, the implications of this situation seem to be positive in the long run for teens.

Another aspect of adolescent work worthy of investigation is the quality of the work experience. In our study, no attempt was made to determine quality. Typically, adolescents tend to be hired doing repetitive, low prestige work for minimum wage. If they were given high quality employment, the negative effects of work shown in this research probably would be different. Also, no attempt was made to determine the work history of a respondent. The data used for this research contained the information on work only during the school year, a time when work competes with academics. No attention was given to the summer employment, a time when some of the negative effects of work may be blunted. If a respondent had ever worked in the summer, some of the benefits and deficits would still be present, but s/he would be classified in the "low intensity" category in this study.

Given these caveats, it seems fair to suggest that work as it currently is structured for teens has become an unwholesome process in the personal growth of adolescents. Overall, intensive employment of teens is linked to lower academic inclination and greater delinquency and substance use.

REFERENCES

Akers RL 1985 *Deviant Behavior: A Social Learning Approach* Belmont: Wadsworth

- Bachman JG, J Schulenberg 1992 *How part-time work intensity relates to drug use, problem behavior, time use, and satisfaction among high school seniors: are these consequences, or merely correlates?* Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, U Michigan, Ann Arbor
- Betsey CL, RG Hollister Jr, MR Papageorgiou 1985 *Youth Employment and Training Programs: The YEDPA Years* Washington, DC: National Academy Press
- Burgess RL, RL Akers 1966 A differential association-reinforcement theory of criminal behavior *Social Problems* 14 128-147
- Cloward RA, LE Ohlin 1960 *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* NY: Free Press
- Crumbaugh JC 1969 Cross-validation of the purpose in life test based on Frankl's concepts *J Individ Psychology* 24 74-81
- Greenberger E, L Steinberg 1980 The part-time employment of high school students: a research agenda *Children Youth Services Rev* 2 159-183
- _____ 1986 *When Teenagers Work: The Psychological and Social Cost of Adolescent Employment* NY: Basic Books
- Hirschi T 1969 *Causes of Delinquency* Berkeley: U California Press
- Ianni FA 1989 *The Search for Structure: A Report on American Youth Today* NY: Free Press
- Kendall PL, PF Lazarsfeld 1950 Problems in survey analysis. In RK Merton, PF Lazarsfeld eds *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in Scope and Method of "The American Soldier"* NY: Free Press
- Mihalic SW, D Elliott In Press. Short- and long-term consequences of adolescent work *Youth Society*
- Mortimer JT, MD Finch 1983 Autonomy as a source of self-esteem in adolescence. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association
- _____ 1986 The effects of part-time work on adolescent self-concept and achievement. In KM Borman, J Reisman eds *Becoming a Worker* Norwood, NJ: Ablex
- Peters J 1987 Youth, family, and employment *Adolescence* 22 465-473
- Phillips S, KL Sandstrom 1990 Parental attitudes toward youth work *Youth Society* 22 160-183
- Rosenberg B 1965 *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image* Princeton, NJ: Princeton U Press
- Ruggiero M, E Greenberger, L Steinberg 1982 Occupational deviance among first-time workers *Youth Society* 13 423-448
- Steinberg L, S Dornbusch 1991 Negative correlates of part-time employment during adolescence: replication and elaboration *Developmental Psychology* 27 304-313
- Steinberg L, S Fegley, S Dornbusch 1993 Negative impact of part-time work on adolescent adjustment: evidence from a longitudinal study *Developmental Psychology* 27 171-180
- Steinberg L, E Greenberger, L Garduque, M Ruggiero, A Vaux 1982 Effects of working on adolescent development *Developmental Psychology* 18 385-395
- Sutherland EH 1947 *Principles of Criminology* Philadelphia: Lippincott
- Yamoor CM, JT Mortimer 1990 Age and gender differences in the effects of employment on adolescent achievement and well-being *Youth Society* 22 225-240