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### **Upward Advice Transmission in the Family: The Role of Gender in Young Adults Giving Advice to their Parents**

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Upward Advice Transmission in the Family:  
The Role of Gender in Young Adults Giving Advice to their Parents

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**ABSTRACT**

The flow of advice from parents to their children has been explored by developmental psychologists, producing important insights into child development and parent-child relationships (Barber, 1994; Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 2001; McDowell, Parke, & Wang, 2003). Interestingly, the flow of advice in the opposite direction, from children to their parents, has not received attention from researchers. This study explores (a) the frequency of upward advice transmission and (b) the type of advice (solicited or unsolicited) that is transmitted. In particular, we look at the effects of gender—parent-gender and child-gender, as well as their interaction—on upward advice giving in family systems. Findings indicate a robust effect of parent-gender; adolescents and young adults gave significantly more advice to their mothers than to their fathers. No child-gender effect was found for frequency of upward advice giving; sons and daughters did not significantly differ in the frequency of advice giving to their parents. A trend approaching significance was found for the interaction of parent-gender and child-gender. Significantly more unsolicited advice was given to parents than solicited advice. No three-way interaction was found between child-gender, parent-gender, and type of advice. Implications of these findings for theories of (1) parent-child relationship, (2) individual development, and (3) the development of upward advice transmission in family systems are discussed.

**Upward Advice Transmission in the Family:  
The Role of Gender in Young Adults Giving Advice to Their Parents**

**INTRODUCTION**

During adolescence and young adulthood, individuals face many age-appropriate and unfamiliar concerns, for which they often seek the counsel and advice of their parents (e.g. Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 2001; Barber, 1994; McDowell, Parke, & Wang, 2003; Greene & Grimsley, 1991). A small amount of empirical research has examined the transmission of advice from parents down to their children. During adolescence and young adulthood, does advice flow in the opposite direction, and if so, when? This article explores the phenomenon of adolescent and young adult children giving advice to their parents: *upward advice transmission*.

*Why Investigate Upward Advice Transmission?*

Advice flowing down a social hierarchy is common in society and in the family: parents advise children, teachers advise students, bosses and managers advise their subordinates. Parents, possessing more experience and resources than their children, make natural advisors in the family (Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 2001; Greene & Grimsley, 1991). Parents can formally exercise their power and resources to influence their adolescent and young adult children (Mills & Grusec, 1988), but adolescents and young adults have less formal power, less authority, and fewer resources with which to influence their parents.

Upward advice transmission is a phenomenon worthy of investigation, for the following reasons:

1. Parent-child closeness may be enhanced by mutual advice-giving, as opposed to an exclusively top-down advising relationship. This has implications for relational satisfaction and well-being (Aquilino, 1997).

2. Changes in society have created domains, such as technology, popular culture, and current trends, in which young people are more expert than their parents.

3. Dramatic changes in the parent-child relationship occur during adolescence and young adulthood. Upward advice transmission may be a manifestation of the renegotiation of a more symmetrical relationship. The degree to which parents and their children renegotiate their relationship towards symmetry affects well-being and relationship satisfaction (Aquilino, 1997). Young people must overcome the constraints inherent in the formal parent-child relationship if they are to interact with their parents as advisors.

In addition, research in organizational behavior has explored the phenomenon of upward information flow and the contexts in which information flows up the organizational hierarchy (Glauser, 1984). Research in upward advice transmission can add to the literature concerning the contexts in which information (of which advice is a subset) can flow upwards for the benefit of the organization. Receiving other people's advice has also been found to be beneficial (Yaniv, 2003). Research on upward advice transmission can begin to combine these two concepts to identify the contexts in which upward advice transmission can positively affect both organizations and interpersonal relationships.

*Adolescents' and Young Adults' Preparedness to Give Advice*

During adolescence and early adulthood, children undergo a period of moral, cognitive, and social development (Kohlberg, 1964; Steinberg, 1987), during which they develop skills necessary for advising, such as the ability to differentiate one's own viewpoint from others' viewpoints, to empathize with emotions and experiences, and to integrate one's own viewpoint with the viewpoints of others (e.g. Gallatin, 1975; Piaget, 1972; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983). These skills continue to develop into young adulthood.

At the same time, children begin to assert their independence and autonomy as they differentiate themselves from their parents (White, Spiesman, & Costos, 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). They begin to see their parents as fallible human beings (Allen & Land, 1999) and may become aware that their personal opinions may be helpful to their parents. Hagestad (1978) observed that young adults contributed substantially to the maintenance of parent-child bonds by initiating intimate discussions with their parents about various personal and social issues.

Thus, it is during adolescence that the skills for upward advice transmission begin to develop and to manifest themselves in upward advice transmission interactions.

### *Gender and Upward Advice Transmission*

Upward advice transmission may be affected by different aspects of the parent-child relationship, including openness to communication, parent-child interactions, intimacy, willingness to self-disclose, and the child's perception of his or her parents. A number of studies have examined the role of gender in the development of parent-child relationships and the interaction between parents and children, which suggests that gender might have an affect on upward advice transmission. The findings of three meta-

analyses examining the effects of parent-gender (e.g. Collins & Russell, 1991), child-gender (Lytton & Romney, 1991), and the interaction between parent- and child-genders (e.g. Russell & Saebel, 1991) are described below.

*Parent-gender effects*

In their review of research concerning the role of parent-gender in mother-child and father-child relationships, Collins and Russell (1991) highlight the following findings that differentiate between mother-child and father-child relationships: Mothers have been found to spend more time with their children than do fathers during middle-childhood (Russell & Russell, 1987) and adolescence (Montemayor & Brownlee, 1987). During adolescence, interactions with fathers tend to be limited to a relatively narrow range of topics associated with instrumental goals, such as school and athletic achievement, and future plans (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Mother-child interactions are more likely to concern a greater variety of topics, and more likely than father-child interactions to involve conversations concerning personal issues and practical matters (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). The father-child relationship has been found to be more instrumental than the mother-child relationship in the child's development of self-esteem (Lecroy, 1988), individuation (Kalter, 1987), and heterosexual trust (Southworth & Schwartz, 1987). In general, the greater distance observed in parent-child relations during adolescence (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Steinberg, 1988) is differentiated between mother-child and father-child interactions. Father-child interactions are characterized by less overt contentiousness than mother-child interactions, and adolescents generally perceive less reciprocity and fewer opportunities for intimacy in interactions with fathers than in interactions with mothers (Barnes & Olson, 1985). Adolescents also report greater

feelings of responsibility for reciprocating caring and emotional support with mothers than with fathers (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). They view their mothers as knowing them better, and there are, simultaneously, a perception of greater contention and more positive perceptions of the potential for intimacy and mutuality (Collins & Russell, 1991). Barber and Thomas (1986) have also found more companionate relationships in the father-son and mother-daughter relationships than in cross-gender relationships. Collins and Russell's (1991) study concludes that salient differences can be found between mother-child and father-child relationships as a result of parent-gender differences.

In addition, Tucker, Barber, and Eccles (2001) have found parent-gender differences in the parent from whom adolescents seek advice, and McDowell, Parke, and Wang (2003) have found differences between mothers' and fathers' advice-giving styles and content. Greene and Grimsley (1990) have also found that adolescents overwhelmingly preferred maternal advice and were more likely to follow their mothers' advice on personal and interpersonal issues. Such parent-gender differences in downward advice transmission from parent to child may be mirrored in upward advice transmission from child to parent. The frequencies of upward advice transmission to mothers and to fathers may differ as a result of differences in the relationships and interactions between those parents and their adolescent children.

#### *Child-gender effects*

Findings on child-gender differences in the parent-child relationship have been inconsistent (Lytton & Romney, 1991). Adolescent sons' and daughters' advice-seeking behavior has been examined, and child-gender differences have been found between sons and daughters in advice-seeking patterns for issues in the self, social, family, and



philosophical domains (Greene & Grimsley, 1991). Daughters were found to receive more advice than sons (Greene & Grimsley, 1991; Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 2001). Benson, Harris, and Rogers (1992) have found daughters' attachment ratings for both parents to be higher than ratings by sons. Other studies, however, have found little difference between boys and girls in how they relate to their parents (e.g. Lapsley, Rice, & FitzGerald, 1990). The extent to which parents socialize and treat their sons and daughters differently has also been studied extensively. In their comprehensive meta-analysis of parents' socialization practices of sons and daughters, Lytton and Romney (1991) identified twenty socialization areas which had been examined in studies. Three of these appeared to be most relevant to advice transmission: verbal interaction; display of warmth, nurturance, and responsiveness; and clarity of communication and reasoning. Surprisingly, Lytton and Romney (1991) found the effect sizes for most socialization areas to be nonsignificant and generally very small, fluctuating in direction across studies. Child-gender differences in how parents socialize their children also diminished as the child's age increased (Lytton & Romney, 1991). The only socialization area in which child-gender differences were observed was parental encouragement of sex-typed activities in the child (Lytton & Romney, 1991). These findings regarding the effects of child-gender suggest that child-gender is an important variable to study when examining upward advice transmission.

#### *Interaction effect of parent-gender and child-gender*

While the studies mentioned examined parent- and child-gender separately, the bi-directional and interactive nature of relationships suggests that parent-child relationships may vary as a function of *both* parent-gender and child-gender (Steinberg,

1988). The literature on advice transmission from parents to children has shown that advice is most frequently transferred from mothers to daughters, and that daughters received more advice from their mothers than did sons (e.g. Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 2001; Greene & Grimsley, 1991). A number of different empirical and theoretical studies (e.g. Steinberg, 1988; Cowan, Cowan, & Kerig, 1993; Bem, 1985; Ferree, 1990) claim to demonstrate not only interaction effects, but the presence of four *distinctive* parent-child dyads (mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter, and father-son) as a function of parent-gender and child-gender. In contrast, Russell and Saebel's (1991) review of the literature showed weak and mixed evidence for the proposition of four distinctive dyadic parent-child relationships based on gender. However, reasonable evidence was found for differences at the level of the individual dyads (such as difference between mother-son and mother-daughter relationships, or same-sex and cross-sex dyads). These findings call into question the degree to which sex/gender is important enough to create four distinct relationships for the individuals. In the context of upward advice transmission, Russell and Saebel's (1991) findings may suggest that interaction effects may be found for parent-gender and child-gender, but that upward advice transmission may not be distinctive for all four dyads.

While these three categories of gender influences —parent-gender, child-gender, and the interaction of parent- and child-gender—have not been studied in the context of upward advice transmission, they suggest that the intersection of gender effects and upward advice transmission is a fruitful place for empirical study and theoretical development.

*The Present Study*

Although downward advice transmission from parents to children has been studied, the phenomenon of upward advice transmission has not previously been explored. The present study explores the phenomenon of upward advice transmission and the influence of gender. The following questions are addressed:

1. Do mothers and fathers differ in the frequency of upward advice transmission from their children?
2. Do sons and daughters differ in the frequency of upward advice transmission to their parents?
3. Do parent-gender and child-gender interact to affect the frequency of upward advice transmission?
4. Do these gender patterns of frequency hold for two specific types of advice, solicited and unsolicited advice?
5. Do all adolescents and young adults give advice to their parents?

Based on what is currently known of gender influences in the parent-child relationship, the following hypotheses can be proposed for the first four research questions:

For question one, we hypothesize that mothers and fathers differ in the frequency of upward advice received from their children. The overwhelming evidence for mother-child closeness suggests that mothers will receive significantly more advice than fathers.

For question two, we do not make a directional hypothesis. Competing hypotheses would be made if upward advice transmission were positively correlated with

parent-child relationship or, alternatively, if it were positively correlated with parental socialization practices.

For question three, we predict an interaction effect of parent-gender and child-gender that mirrors downward advice transmission from parent to child. Specifically, we predict upward advice transmission from daughter to mother to be most frequent, and advice transmission from daughter to father to be least frequent.

For question four, we predict a significant difference between unsolicited and solicited advice. Adolescent development suggests that adolescents may be ready to give advice before their parents are ready to receive advice from them (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986).

### **Methods**

*Subjects.* Data for this study were collected from 109 (male = 59; female = 50) undergraduate students as part of a larger study of the parent-child relationships of adolescents and young adults. Participants analyzed in this paper were required to identify two primary caregivers (one male and one female) who were either biological, step-, or foster-parents, whose home they considered to be their own<sup>1</sup>. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 22 years ( $M = 19.85$ ), a range that is representative of late adolescence and early adulthood. Participants were recruited from college dorms and residential

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<sup>1</sup> These criteria ensured that the participants were comparable with each other in the structural characteristics of the parent-child relationship, such as parental proximity, which may have affected the parent-child relationship in their families. Participants who did not come from the same home as their primary caregivers, who were from single families, or who identified other primary caregivers, such as grandparents, were excluded from this analysis.

houses, and received \$5 for their participation. Data were collected between February 1 and February 20, 2004.

*Measures.* Participants first answered one question regarding their history of upward advice transmission: “Did you give advice to this caregiver over the past semester?” Three response choices were provided: “Never,” “No, I did not give advice to this caregiver in the past semester,” and “Yes, I gave advice to this caregiver in the past semester.” They were then asked to recall the number of times they gave advice to each caregiver between September 2003 and February 2004. They were also asked to break their response down to the number of times *solicited* and *unsolicited* advice was given, and to ensure that the sum of these two equaled the total frequency previously recalled.

A five-month time frame (one semester) of reporting upward advice was used because (a) it was a recent enough time period to ensure accuracy of recall, (b) it was a long enough time period to capture variation between participants, and (c) it was a time period in which participants would have spent a similar amount of time living in college dormitories as well as living with their parents, thus capturing the frequency of advice that was given both in person and while physically separated from their parents.

## RESULTS

Scores on data frequency of upward advice (solicited and unsolicited) were transformed due to skewness of data<sup>2</sup>. Analyses were performed on transformed data.

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<sup>2</sup> Skewness of data rendered them unsuitable for analyses that assumed the data to be normally distributed (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). For these analyses, data were transformed by their natural logs.

Means of frequencies and scores are reported on untransformed data. Data were analyzed in a 2 (parent-gender) x 2 (child-gender) x 2 (type of advice) repeated measures ANOVA.

*Parent-gender effects.* Table 1 shows the frequency of upward advice transmission from children to parents. A significant effect of parent-gender was found,  $F(1, 107) = 43.86, p < .001$ . Participants' mothers were given significantly more advice ( $M = 2.82, SD = .78$ ) than fathers ( $M = 1.82, SD = .67$ ). 20% of the fathers, but only 8% of the mothers, had never received advice from their children. 86% of the parents had received advice from their children; 40% were fathers and 46% were mothers. Chi-square analysis comparing participants' fathers and mothers in their frequency of upward advice transmission experiences showed a significant difference between fathers and mothers,  $X^2(1) = 6.36, p = .01$ . In other words, mothers of participants in this study had significantly more experiences than fathers of upward advice transmission with their children who participated in this study. A significant correlation was found between the frequency of upward advice given to fathers and to mothers ( $r = .53, p = .01$ ). In other words, the more frequently upward advice is given to one parent, the more frequently it is also given to the other parent.

*Child-gender effects.* There was no significant difference between sons' and daughters' frequency of upward advice transmission. Of the participants who had never given advice to their parents, 86% were sons and 14% were daughters. However, chi-square analysis comparing child-gender did not show a significant difference between sons and daughters in their experience of giving upward advice to their parents.

*Interaction of parent-gender and child-gender.* A trend approaching significance was found in the interaction between child-gender and parent-gender ( $F = 2.72, p = .10$ ).

Comparing among sons, daughters, fathers, and mothers, the highest frequency of upward advice transmission flowed from daughters to mothers, followed by sons to mothers, sons to fathers, and daughters to fathers. In other words, child-gender and parent-gender interacted to affect the frequency of upward advice transmission.

*Type of advice.* A trend approaching significance was found for the type of advice (solicited advice and unsolicited advice) given to parents,  $F(1, 107) = 2.06, p = .07$ . Participants gave unsolicited advice ( $M = 2.82, SD = .78$ ) more frequently than solicited advice ( $M = 2.45, SD = .25$ ). In other words, when participants gave upward advice, it was more likely to be on their own initiative, and not at their parents' request. No significant two-way or three-way interactions were found between type of advice and child/parent-gender.

*Universality of upward advice transmission.* The mean frequency of advice given by participants to their parents over a five-month period was 2.27,  $SD = .64$ . 6% of all participants had never given advice to their parents before.

## DISCUSSION

Changes in the parent-child relationship associated with individual development during adolescence and early adulthood provide a context in which normal parent-child interactions may be altered. Advice giving, for example, may change from being a one-way interaction to a two-way interaction.

In this study we explored the incidence of upward advice transmission in families. Three major findings emerged:

1. Gender influenced upward advice transmission. Parent-gender strongly affected the frequency of upward advice transmission. Child-gender, however, did not significantly affect the frequency of upward advice given to parents.
2. There was a significant difference between the two types of advice transmitted; more unsolicited advice was given than solicited advice.
3. Although late adolescents and young adults are capable of giving advice to their parents, findings in this study suggest that upward advice transmission is not a universal phenomenon.

The most robust finding in this study is the large and significant parent-gender difference in upward advice transmission. Mothers receive advice nearly one and a half times as frequently as fathers. This finding is consistent with previous findings that differentiate between mother-child and father-child relationships. It may be a function of the greater intimacy in mother-child relationships (Montemayor & Browler, 1987); of communication being more frequent between mother and child than between father and child (Noller & Callan, 1990); and of qualitative or functional differences in mother-child versus father-child interactions (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). In addition, upward advice transmission may reflect the reciprocity that is more present in mother-child than in father-child relationships (Youniss & Smollar, 1985), or it may be a form of conflict resolution addressed to the overt contentiousness in mother-child relationships (Barnes & Olson, 1985). In other words, the variables that mediate upward advice transmission from child to father and child to mother should be further explored.



Whatever the explanation, the finding that mothers receive more frequent advice than fathers has important implications for the parent-child relationship, as there may be both positive and negative outcomes for this finding. If mothers receive advice from their children one and a half times as frequently as fathers do, the mother-child relationship may be more open and may approach mutuality and laterality more efficiently than the father-child relationship. Increased mother-child contact, as adolescents offer advice to their mothers, may build greater trust and strengthen the mother-adolescent relationship. The negative explanation, however, may be that mothers are more dependent and indecisive than fathers and require greater assistance in working with their issues. The higher frequency of upward advice transmission from child to mother may also destabilize the parent-child power relationship. To further understand the positive and negative implications of upward advice transmission, future studies should examine upward advice transmission in relation to relationship satisfaction.

The lack of child-gender difference in the frequency of upward advice transmission is supportive of the generally weak findings differentiating parents' interactions and relationships with sons and daughters. Contrary to theories of sex-differentiated socialization practices (e.g. Maccoby & Martin, 1983) and gender differences in sons' and daughters' attachment to their parents (e.g. Benson, Harris, & Rogers, 1992), upward advice transmission did not vary significantly between sons and daughters. A number of reasons may explain this. It may be that as gender-differentiated socialization wanes during adolescence and young adulthood, and as parents are less likely to treat their sons and daughters differently according to gender roles, adolescents and young adults also become more homogeneous in their interactions with their parents.

Our study also found a lack of interaction effects of parent-gender and child-gender on both frequency of advice and type of advice. This also suggests that sons and daughters may not differ in their approach to relating and interacting with their parents via upward advice transmission. In addition, the association between individual development and upward advice transmission suggests that both sons and daughters may be approaching the process of renegotiating their relationships with their parents at a similar pace. A salient limitation to any further discussion of this outcome is the lack of information concerning *what* advice is transmitted. Previous research has found that boys and girls differ in the type of advice they seek from mothers and fathers (Greene & Grimsley, 1989). While no gender difference was found in the overall frequency of upward advice given by sons and daughters, the domains in which advice is offered may differ across gender.

A significant difference was found between the two types of advice, unsolicited and solicited advice, offered by adolescents and young adults to their parents. Adolescents gave significantly more unsolicited advice than solicited advice to their parents. In offering unsolicited advice, adolescents initiate the advising relationship with their parents, which may be an assertion of their individuality and independence in the relationship. Consistent with theories of parent-child relationship renegotiations (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986), giving advice to parents may mark both the child's individuality and his or her desire to remain connected and involved in his or her parents' lives by offering assistance. However, the lower frequency with which parents seek advice from their children may imply a mismatch between parents' expectations and adolescents' expectations of how they should interact. In other words, while the

transmission of unsolicited advice may reflect the adolescent's individual development and maturity, it may also reflect desynchronized progress towards mutuality in the parent-child relationship. Transmission of solicited advice may be characteristic of the more mature and lateral relationship that is associated with family satisfaction (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Aquilino, 1997).

Despite the universality of individual development and the adolescents' preparedness for giving advice, upward advice transmission is not itself a universal phenomenon. While the majority of participants in the study had given advice to their parents, some had not. This suggests that, in some families, adolescent children do not initiate giving advice to their parents, nor do their parents solicit advice from them. On the other hand, the finding that a majority of participants do give advice to their parents suggests that adolescents are able to go against the grain of the formal parent-child relationship, reflecting the two-way communication between parents and children which improves adolescent self-esteem (Jackson et al., 1998) and the quality of parent-child relationship (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986).

### *Directions for Future Research*

Limitations in the current study highlight ways in which future research can explore the phenomenon in greater detail.

In this study, we use retrospective self-report measure design. This is consistent with previous studies on advice transmission in the family (e.g. Greene & Grimsley, 1991; McDowell, Parke, & Wang, 2003; Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 2001). Future studies may wish to examine upward advice transmission as it happens, rather than retrospectively.

The current study identified and measured the frequency of occurrence of a particular phenomenon, that of upward advice transmission. However, the only variables measured in this study were outcome variables. A number of variables that mediate or moderate upward advice transmission await further exploration. For example, the domain in which upward advice is offered, the method of delivery, and the parent-child relationship prior to upward advice transmission may play significant roles in determining who initiates and maintains upward advice transmission, as well as how such interactions are maintained. In other words, while we know that upward advice transmission exists in some families at varying frequencies, and that it is absent in other families, we do not know why. A more exhaustive list of variables that may contribute to upward advice transmission should be identified and explored.

Parents' responses to upward advice transmission should also be explored. No previous research has explicitly examined upward advice transmission from the simultaneous points of view of both parents and their children. Future studies should do so. Whether or not parents and children perceive their relationships and upward advice transmission in a similar way may affect the frequency with which they engage in upward advice transmission.

The experience of upward advice transmission should also be explored. Poon (2004) has examined the degree to which upward advice transmission was a positive or negative experience for adolescents and young adults. It was found that upward advice transmission was associated with positive affect more so than negative affect, and positive affect was also correlated with ratings of difficulty and confidence (Poon, 2004). The nuances of the upward advice transmission experience, such as affective experiences,

the interpersonal dynamics of upward advice transmission, and the cognitive experiences of upward advice transmission, should be explored in greater detail.

The current study captured the phenomenon of upward advice transmission in its most basic form, but future research should pay close attention to its implications for family relationships. Relationship measures, particularly those capturing aspects of parent-child relationship satisfaction and other channels of interaction, should be considered in conjunction with measures of upward advice transmission. Upward advice transmission may play an important role in buffering the negative effects of instability and rapid change that occur during adolescence and young adulthood.

Clearly, the concept of upward advice transmission warrants further investigation.

## **CONCLUSION**

Parents have offered their counsel and advice to their children across societies and generations. Communication facilitates the development and family cohesion that are conducive to greater well-being, flexibility in solving family problems, and greater cohesion and adaptability in the family (Jackson, Bijstra, Oostra, & Bosma, 1998; Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1979). Parents may also have much to learn from their children, and from the renegotiations that take place in the parent-child relationship when children begin to offer advice. Parents' acknowledgement of their children's role in adult development and mutual growth (Dillon, 1996) may be extremely beneficial for the well-being of the entire family.

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*TABLE 1: Parent-Gender by Child-Gender, Means and Standard Deviations of Frequency of Solicited and Unsolicited Advice, Last 5 Months*

	Type of advice	Fathers		Mothers		Both parents	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<b>Sons</b>	Solicited	1.72	.86	1.60	.59	2.10	.98
	Unsolicited	1.98	.80	2.01	.81	2.25	1.04
	Total	1.85	.90	2.57	1.06	2.18	.87
<b>Daughters</b>	Solicited	2.56	.97	2.82	.99	2.13	1.06
	Unsolicited	2.82	.99	3.40	.90	2.61	1.38
	Total	1.79	.98	3.10	1.16	2.36	.94
<b>Total</b>	Solicited	1.66	.75	1.99	.81	2.12	.72
	Unsolicited	2.69	.92	2.96	.96	2.42	.78
	Total	1.82	.67	2.82	.78	2.27	.64

*Table 2: Experience of Upward Advice Transmission by Child-Gender, Number of Participants*

	<b>Sons</b>	<b>Daughters</b>	<b>Total</b>
Has never given advice	6 (10%)	1 (2%)	7 (6%)
Has given advice before	53 (90%)	49 (98%)	102 (94%)
	59 (100%)	50 (100%)	109 (100%)

*Table 3: Experience of Upward Advice Transmission by Parent-Gender, Number of Parents*

	<b>Sons</b>	<b>Daughters</b>	<b>Total</b>
Has never been given advice	22 (20%)	9 (8%)	31 (14%)
Has been given advice	87 (80%)	100 (92%)	187 (86%)
	109 (100%)	109 (100%)	218 (100%)

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