Class and conformity revisited: Parental values and self-conception in contemporary Germany and Japan

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Introduction

Many scholars have discussed how values and beliefs in the context of the family relate to social inequality (Hoff, Laursen, and Tardif 2002). Sherman and Harris (2012) distinguish between two prevailing perspectives in this field in the Western sociological debate: The first perspective highlights that values are class-specific, as value formation is shaped by class-based experience, specifically in the educational and occupational context (Kohn 1977 [1966]; Lareau 2003). This stream of literature assumes that values themselves play a key role for the reproduction of inequality, both through value transmission in the family, and through shaping parental practice [social class perspective]. The second perspective emphasizes that at each point in time, specific ideal models of values and beliefs prevail in a given society. This stream of thought highlights that these ideal models emerge in interaction with dynamic structural and social contexts and are thus subject to constant change (Coontz 1992; Hays 1996). It assumes that parents share similar values across social classes at a given point in time, but that socially disadvantaged families often lack the resources to adhere to ideal parenting styles [social change perspective]. Cross-cultural research within and beyond the West has furthermore shown that the cultural context shapes parents' values and beliefs (Harkness and Super 2002; Levy and Silver 2006; Silver 2002). Following Harkness and Super (2002), this third perspective has contributed to an understanding of both, universalist and unique aspects of parental beliefs in different cultural and institutional contexts, and their emergence within specific historical, social, and economic conditions [cross-cultural perspective].

These three perspectives, however, have remained largely disconnected from each other: The social class perspective tends to ignore how class-specific value differences change across time, and how the cultural and institutional context affects the relationship between class and values (Kohn 1977 [1966]; Weininger and Lareau 2009). The social change perspective often generally neglects class-specific value differences and rare-

ly considers cross-cultural differences (Coontz 1992; Hays 1996; Sherman and Harris 2012). The cross-cultural perspective, eventually, often highlights deep-rooted contextual conditions, while disregarding their interplay with social class and changing ideal norms across time (Harkness and Super 2002; Silver 2002).

This chapter seeks to contribute to a better understanding of how parents' values are interlinked with social inequality in different structural, cultural, and institutional contexts. I compare contemporary Germany and Japan. This allows me to contrast two societies that have gone through comparable radical structural and social changes over the last decades but remain rooted in different long-standing cultural and institutional contexts (Matsuo 2003; Schooler 1990). The transition from industrial to knowledge-based society has been aligned with increasing educational opportunities in both countries, whereas in parallel, economic risks have reoccurred after decades of economic stability (Castel and Dörre 2009; Castells 2004; Gordon 2017). In both countries, class divides have deepened but class status has also dispersed in this process, as the new economic risks hit the least educated most strongly, but simultaneously spread across educational groups (Bertram and Deuflhard 2015; Hommerich 2012). Moreover, women benefited particularly strongly from new educational opportunities in both countries, but it is also women – especially mothers – that now face stronger structural contradictions between high qualification and high labor uncertainty (OECD 2012a, b).

Previous literature addressing the value change that has paralleled these structural changes – within and beyond Germany and Japan – emphasizes both, rising attachments to and opportunities for self-direction, but also increasing economic anxieties and subjectively experienced powerlessness (Beck 1986; Bourdieu 1998; Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai 2012; van de Kaa 1987). However, little is known about how these aspects vary across and within contemporary societies depending on their cultural and institutional pathways, specifically beyond the West (Matsuo 2003). The current article analyzes these issues of self-direction, autonomy and anxiety with respect to parental values, defined as "values that parents would most like to see embodied in their children's behavior" (Kohn (1977 [1966]: 18), and to parents' own self-conception. It addresses two research questions: How do parental values and parents' self-conception differ in contemporary Germany and Japan (research question 1)? How is social class associated with parental values and parents' self-conception within these contexts, and are there gender differences in how class status is linked with parental values and parents' self-conception (research question 2)?

For parental values, I look at self-direction in contrast to conformity, following the research tradition established by Melvin Kohn (1977 [1966]; Lareau 2003). Self-direction refers to emphasizing internal characteristics in children such as independent thought, empathy, and curiosity, whereas conformity is defined as attachment to externally prescribed norms such as obedience, good manners, and school performance (Kohn (1977 [1966]). Kohn and subsequent scholars argued from a social class perspective that class-specific attachments to self-direction and conformity in parental values are a key mechanism in the reproduction of social inequality (see below). For parents' self-conception, I consider subjective autonomy in contrast to subjective powerlessness in order to assess not only parents' commitments to self-direction in their children but also their own perceived opportunities to live an autonomous life. Eventually, I analyze economic anxiety as a second aspect of parents' self-conception, as economic instability and job uncertainty are portrayed as increasingly pressing concerns in the academic and public debates in Germany and Japan (Castel and Dörre 2009; Hommerich 2012). Autonomy and material security are moreover fundamental promises of advanced capitalist societies, and as such closely linked to modern conceptions of well-being (Castel 2011).

The empirical analysis is based on unique comparative survey data on parents with young children, which was collected 2009 in Germany and 2012 in Japan (see Huber 2018 in this volume). The results show a number of similarities that indicate comparable social changes in both countries. Yet, strong differences, particularly in the way how parental values and self-conception are interlocked with social class and gender, mirror the distinctiveness of the two country contexts. Before elaborating on my data and presenting the empirical results, I formulate consecutive expectations on my two research questions based on communalities and differences in Germany's and Japan's structural, cultural, and institutional pathways over the period of social change since the 1960s.

A point of departure for the present study have been Melvin Kohn's aforementioned studies on *class and conformity* (Kohn 1977 [1966]). Under the economically more stable conditions of the industrial societies of the 1960s and 1970s, Kohn had shown – for the three diverging contexts of the Western capitalist U. S., non-Western capitalist Japan, and socialist Poland – that higher class position was associated with valuing self-direction, whereas lower class position was associated with valuing conformity (Kohn 1977 [1966]; Kohn and Slomczynski 1993; Kohn et al. 1990). He argued that this relationship primarily stems from the occupational con-

ditions. Following this model, jobs at lower positions foster conformity because they demand obedience and adaptation to externally set standards, whereas jobs at higher positions promote self-direction because they require initiative and independent thinking. Accordingly, he argued that parents also transmit these values to their children and thus socialize them into class roles. His works have been replicated across the world, including Germany (Bertram 1978, 1991; Hennig 1999), and have remained an important reference point in the social class discourse, specifically in the debate on how parenting affects the transmission of social inequality across generations (Kikkawa 2016; Sherman and Harris 2012; Weininger and Lareau 2009). Previous scholars, however, have questioned the cross-cultural plausibility of this model, for example with respect to the Japanese context (Kikkawa 2016). Kohn himself, moreover, assumed that "radical social change" could alter the relationship between class and self-direction, for example through stimulating distress and anxieties (Kohn 1995, 2006).

I argue in the current paper that this model still tends to fit Germany's stratification-based context. In this context, life chances are distributed according to the vertical principle of stratification, as reflected, most clearly, in Germany's occupation-based employment system, the corresponding version of the welfare state, and in mothers' diverging life chances according to education and occupational qualification. My findings support the notion that in such a context, subjective attachments to and possibilities for self-direction tend to correspond with objective life chances. The Japanese more group-based cultural and institutional context, in contrast, tends to distribute life chances stricter according to the principle of inclusion and exclusion, as reflected, most clearly, in the company-based employment system, the corresponding company-based welfare system, and mothers' stronger labor exclusion independently of educational level. At the normative level, this group-based system entails more horizontal aspects of participation, while simultaneously formulating stricter expectations on devotion across the social latter. My results suggest that in such a context, subjective autonomy is least guaranteed for those objectively *and* normatively excluded, while subjective orientations and objective life chances simultaneously overall less strictly correlate.

Country contexts

The structural shift from industrial to knowledge-based economies has been shaped by seemingly paradoxical tendencies. On the one hand, new

opportunities for education[1] and skilled work have arisen against the backdrop of stable growth rates, full employment, and a rising standard of living across social classes within and beyond Germany and Japan for several decades after World War II (Beck 1986, 2000; Castells 2004: 247–259; Kikkawa 2016). In different versions, scholars argue that these factors have been aligned with a value change towards an extended identification with individual self-direction (Beck 1986, 2000; Kikkawa 2016; Matsuo 2003; van de Kaa 1987). Studies on parental values resonate with this perspective, as they indicate a long-term shift away from emphasizing obedience in children towards emphasizing autonomy, independent thought, and self-control (Alwin 1990; Hays 1996). Since the early 1990s, however, employment insecurity has re-occurred and social inequality has increased in the context of declining growth rates and neoliberal policy adjustments in response to increasing global competition (Berger and Offe 1984; Castel and Dörre 2009; Gordon 2017). Scholars have argued, accordingly, that this shift has stimulated rising economic anxiety and feelings of powerlessness at the individual level (Bourdieu 1998; Castel and Dörre 2009; Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai 2012; Gordon 2017).

Whereas these ambivalences have been discussed in the literature, little is known on how they cross-nationally differ depending on context-specific cultural and institutional trajectories – especially in non-Western regions (Matsuo 2003). Considering possible variations in parents' commitments to self-direction and conformity in contemporary Germany and Japan, it seems most relevant to consider a major cultural and institutional difference: Whereas the notion of individual self-direction is more deeply anchored in the understanding of Western societies, Japan is more strongly shaped by the notion of group attachment (Matsuo 2003; Sugimoto 2003). Scholars have warned to oversimplify this difference as Western individualism in contrast to Japanese collectivism (Suzuki et al. 2010). However, the literature seems to coincide that – more so than in the West – individual behavior in all institutional contexts is still fundamentally guided by social norms in Japan, and that the adherence to these norms

[1] In 1961, only about 9 percent of the population aged 30 to 35 had completed vocational training or a university degree in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, *Volkszählung 1961*). In 2015, in contrast, about 27 percent of this age group had a university degree, and less than 15 percent had no occupational qualification (Statistisches Bundesamt 2017: 41). In Japan, the trends have been even more striking: From 1960 to 2000, advancement rates to upper secondary schools rose from 58 percent to 96 percent, while advancement rates to college or university rose from 8 percent to 40 percent (Matsuo 2003: 113). By 2012, more than 50 percent of the population aged 25 to 34 had attained a university degree (OECD 2012a).

is often enforced through mechanisms of social control (Caudill 1970; Matsuo 2003; Sugimoto 2003). Importantly, the higher standing of the group also entails more inclusive forms of participation, and more self-evident aspects of mutual support, for example in the working context (Sugimoto 2003). Previous research has indicated, however, overall slightly lower possibilities for subjective autonomy in the Japanese group-based in comparison to the German individual-based context (Smith, Trompenaars, and Dugan 1995).

More controversial in the Japanese debate is the question whether younger generations still identify with the notion of group attachment. Sugimoto (2003), for example, argues that the young generation in Japan follows prescribed codes of conduct in the working context due to high social control, but is internally primarily attached to individual self-realization, comparable to Western countries. Other scholars assume that younger generations' lives are shaped by the contradictions between the new image of the self-realizing individual, and the attachment to traditional aspects of group belonging (Matsuo 2003; Suzuki et al. 2010). Based on these preliminary considerations, I formulate the following expectation on cross-national communalities and differences in parental values and parents' subjective autonomy:

Expectation 1: In both countries, self-direction has become the dominant ideal value for childrearing as part of a broader value change. However, due to the higher prevalence of prescribed institutional and cultural expectations, Japanese parents might place higher emphasis on conformity in their children than German parents, and might have a weaker sense of subjective autonomy.

Concerning possible cross-national differences in economic anxiety, a major institutional difference stands out: In Germany, the decades of economic growth after World War II have been aligned with the development of a comprehensive welfare state (Beck 1986). In principle, this welfare state strongly reproduces market-based income inequality, while it entails at the same time the universalist component of covering all citizens' existential needs and guaranteeing basic universal aspects of social participation (Castel 2011). Although this social risk system strongly privileges the full-time employed, and since 2004 more workfare-oriented elements have been introduced, the German welfare states' guiding principle that individuals and families can rely on basic material and social risk protection has remained unchanged (Hassel 2010; Mayer-Ahuja 2003).

In Japan, in contrast, the company has primarily guaranteed risk protection of individuals and families in the context of – primarily male – long-term employment, whereas the public welfare system has yet remained porous (Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai 2012; Hommerich 2012). Pri-

vate corporations, in other words, have worked as "functional equivalent" to the German welfare state (Suzuki et al. 2010: 515). Whereas regular employees usually still benefit from in-house welfare services and regular bonuses, since the early 1990s firms have begun to rapidly supplement their staff by a flexible core of non-regular employees who made up 40 percent of the labor force by the 2010s (Gordon 2017; Hommerich 2012). A non-regular employee of the same age and educational group earns on average only 53 percent of a regular employee – a gap that is much larger than in Germany and other major OECD countries, and non-regular employees are usually entirely excluded from bonuses and company-based welfare services (Gordon 2017; Hommerich 2012: 211). Thus, whereas the welfare state in Germany protects individuals and families from the mere subjection to the market, in Japan, employees outside the company-based welfare system mainly have to deal with the risks on an individual basis (Suzuki et al. 2010). Based on these considerations, I formulate the following expectation:

Expectation 2: Corresponding with Japan's stronger labor market dualization and its more porous public welfare system, I expect Japanese parents to have a higher level of economic anxiety than German parents.

I now employ considerations on the question whether parental values and parents' self-conception differ by class-status in Germany and Japan. To formulate expectations, I disentangle two components that are usually aligned in the Western social class discourse (Kohn 1977 [1966]; Lareau 2003): First, the question how material risks – that can trigger disempowerment and anxiety at the individual level – are related to social class, and second, the question how class position affects possibilities for self-direction beyond material aspects. With respect to the first question, previous studies in both countries show that employment risks have most strongly increased for the least qualified over the last decades, as education has become a more important condition for job attainment and income (Castell and Dörre 2009; Gordon 2017). Yet employment risks have also expanded for the highly educated, as the opportunities for skilled work have not risen at the same pace as the number of university graduates (Bertram and Deuflhard 2015; Hommerich 2012). In Japan, for example, a growing share of prospective graduates was no longer able to get a *naitei*, the promise to get a fixed job after graduation since the mid-1990s (Hommerich 2012: 221). Similarly, in Germany, a university degree used to guarantee a stable high-paying career, whereas the group of the highly educated has become more heterogeneous with respect to income and job security by today (Bertram and Deuflhard 2015). Class status itself, in other words, has become more diffuse in Germany and Japan in comparison

to the industrial society of the 1960s. Yet these changes have occurred within different institutional contexts.

In the German employment context, material opportunities have always strongly varied depending on the occupational position. The opportunities to reach a certain position, in turn, have been shaped by the occupational qualification in the context of the dual educational system, or the field of study at university (Berger 2003). Corresponding with this institutional context, some scholars assume that higher labor market competition has stimulated diffuse anxieties across the society (Candeias 2010; Hardering 2011), while other studies clearly indicate that the highly qualified tend to be able to mobilize material and social resources to bridge periods of job uncertainty (Kronauer 2008; Manske 2010). Employees in the most precarious sectors of the economy, in contrast – specifically in jobs at lower service levels –, are more directly exposed to material and social risks (Mayer-Ahuja 2003).

In Japan, in contrast, career prospects have been and continue to be strongly varied depending on the company someone is employed in, with large companies offering higher salary levels, higher bonuses, and more comprehensive welfare coverage (Gordon 2017; Hommerich 2012; Sugimoto 2003). Similar to the German context, the chances to be hired by a large company, in turn, strongly depend on the level of education (Hommerich 2012). In contrast to the German occupation-based context, however, career tracks for regular employees have been more standardized, entailing training and consecutive stages in various job segments along with rising privileges across the life course (Gordon 2017; Kikkawa 2016; Sugimoto 2003). The stark expansion of non-regular work since the 1990s has thus introduced an extreme kind of dual inequality between employees at the same horizontal level, which has surpassed the inequality between employees of different firm sizes by today (Gordon 2017). Corresponding with this institutional trajectory, a previous ethnographic study shows that non-regular employees tend to suffer from existential anxieties and feel socially excluded at the workplace (Fu 2013). Beyond that, various authors (e. g. Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai 2012; Suzuki et al. 2010) argue that extremely high labor market competition – along with the danger to fall out of the protected core of the labor force and the associated system of risk protection – does not only affect precarious workers themselves but has nurtured a "sense of being excluded from relationships, groups, and society itself" across the whole society (Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai 2012: 439). Correspondingly, Hommerich (2012: 224) in her representative study finds that "subjectively experienced vulnerability does not strongly correlate with the actual living situation" in Japan.

Suzuki et al. (2010) reckon that the contradiction between high labor market competition on the one hand, and ever higher educational qualifications on the other hand, has stimulated further fundamental effects across Japan such as "parental obsession with their children's academic performance, even at preschool age" (ibid.: 522). Other studies, however, provide evidence that despite stronger labor market competition in both country contexts, the educational expansion in Germany and Japan has been aligned with an overarching value change in parenting away from emphasizing obedience (Alwin 1990; Hays 1996; Hennig 1999: 118–125; Olbrich 2011: 110–115). These studies resonate with the social change perspective's assumption that the value shift towards increasing attachments to individual self-realization might have departed from the middle class in the 1960s and 1970s, but that it has become universalized by today (Kikkawa 2016).

With respect to the second question – how class position affects self-direction and conformity beyond material aspects – another crucial cross-national difference stands out. In the German occupation-based context, previous research indicates that higher occupational position enhances self-direction due to the intrinsic aspects aligned with the job, as suggested in Kohn's social class model (Kohn 1977 [1966], 2006). Various quantitative studies at different time points, for example, yield evidence that lower occupational position is associated with a more external orientation to work and stronger attachments to conformity in childrearing (Bertram 1978, 1991; Hennig 1999; Hoff and Grüneisen 1978; Olbrich 2011). These studies consequently also resonate with Kohn's assumption that high exposure to external control at lower occupational positions stimulates conformity.

In and beyond the Japanese company-based employment system, in contrast, this assumption seems less applicable, as previous research has shown that the Japanese working culture tends to combine two paradoxical elements: Whereas employees tend to be included more equally throughout the hierarchy in decision-making processes than in the Western context, they simultaneously tend to be confronted with higher expectations regarding devotion to the company's demands throughout hierarchical levels (summarizing, see Sugimoto 2003). This is empirically reflected, for example, in the extremely long working hours in Japan in international comparison (OECD 2017; Sugimoto 2003). The working culture, however, is only one aspect of a larger context that is considerably more strongly shaped by collective normative behavioral expectations, as outlined previously (Matsuo 2003). Within this context, the notion that class status could affect values and self-conception has historically not been much stressed (Caudill 1970).

Correspondingly, class differences in Japan were also greatly understudied and only became a topic of public discourse in the 1990s (Holthus and Iwata-Weickgenannt 2010). There is also little empirical evidence that social class shapes values and self-conception in Japan. Kohn's 1979 study on parental attachments to self-direction and conformity in Japan, for example, found only small class-based differences in comparison to the U. S., and was re-interpreted by a Japanese author from a social change perspective[2] (Kohn et al. 1990). A more recent study considering a number of value dimensions similarly finds rather small class-based variations (Kikkawa 2016).

To summarize: Despite the diffusion of class status in the transition to the knowledge economy in both countries, the social class perspective still seems relevant in the German context: Previous research indicates that higher economic risks coincide with higher exposure to external control at the workplace at lower occupational levels. At higher educational and occupational levels, in contrast, lower economic risk is aligned with more possibilities for intrinsic work and capacities to mobilize resources rather allow for the protection against job uncertainties. In the Japanese context, higher education is similarly associated with objectively higher career opportunities and lower economic risks. However, rather than on the principle of occupational stratification, Japan's company-based employment system is based on the principle of inclusion and exclusion. Non-regular employees as those materially and socially excluded seem to be most strongly affected by economic anxieties and subjective powerlessness, while the possibility of more radical exclusion simultaneously seems to stimulate diffuse anxieties across status levels. Beyond these material aspects, behavior in Japan's more group-based cultural and institutional context is overall more strictly guided by social norms. Possibilities for subjective autonomy in such a context seem to correspond less strongly with objective status level than in the German more individualist context. Based on these considerations, I formulate the following expectation:

[2] Kohn's social stratification index – a combination of occupational position and education – yielded a correlation of .34 with the parental valuation of self-direction in Japan in 1979 in comparison to a correlation of .66 for the US in the year 1964 (Kohn et al. 1990: 989). In a re-analysis of the same data, Kikkawa (2016) reinterpreted these findings from a social change perspective. Specifically, he argued that the differences in attachments to conformity which Kohn had found in 1979 reflected the more authoritarian values of the share of the elder generation that had only attained primary education in the still authoritarian postwar school system.

Expectation 3: In Germany's occupation-based stratification system, I expect higher occupational and educational status to be associated with less restrictive parental values as well as higher subjective autonomy and fewer economic anxieties. In Japan's company-based employment system, which is more strictly based on the principle of inclusion/exclusion, I expect disempowerment and economic anxiety to be specifically high for non-regular employees [the excluded]. Based on the possibility of more radical material and social exclusion, as well as the higher prevalence of normative and institutional prescription for behavior across status groups, however, I expect overall lower class-based variations in parental values and self-conception in Japan than in Germany.

Before elaborating on my data and empirical results, I now employ considerations on the question whether class status affects fathers' and mothers' values and self-conception differently in the two countries. At the structural level, the contradiction between high education and high job risks is specifically high for women in both countries. Over the last decades, women's educational chances have tremendously expanded, as best reflected in the recent reversal of the gender gap in education in both countries (OECD 2015), and female labor market participation has substantially risen cross-nationally (Dalton 2017; Matsuo 2003; OECD 2015). Yet the gap between women's higher education and lower labor market participation and earnings is particularly high in Germany and Japan: In both countries, the gender pay gap is above OECD average and increases strongly by age (OECD 2012a,b). This reflects that women usually withdraw from the labor market at the time of family formation, and that most women work part-time (Germany) or in non-regular positions (Japan) during their childrearing years (OECD 2012a,b), whereas career paths still follow the industrial model of the male, permanent full-time/regular worker (Bertram and Deuflhard 2015; Dalton 2017; Matsuo 2003).

Besides these communalities, there is a major structural difference in mothers' career opportunities in cross-national comparison. In Germany's occupation-based stratification system, mothers' employment chances are strongly linked to their occupational position. Low pay and precarious employment forms are most widespread in the lower service sector, in which women are largely overrepresented (Gundert and Mayer 2012; Hassel 2010). Highly qualified mothers, in contrast, can more easily return to full-time positions according to individual preferences, and at higher occupational levels, part-time employment more often entails comparable hourly pay to full-time employment (Tõnurist and Pavlopoulos 2014). In Japan, in contrast, which has the third largest gender pay gap

in the OECD (OECD 2017), mothers' labor market discrimination is high across educational groups. Previous research has shown that it is practically impossible for women to return to regular employment after family formation in Japan (Dalton 2017; OECD 2012b). Relatively independent of educational attainment, once they become mothers, women are pushed to the margins of the labor market in the long-term. This is stabilized by the extremely long working hours for regular employees, which are very difficult to combine with motherhood, and a still far from adequate provision of public childcare spaces (Dalton 2017; OECD 2012b). The structural contradictions between education, employment, and motherhood are thus more extreme in the Japanese case.

A second difference concerns the cultural expectations towards motherhood and fatherhood in the two countries. In Germany, the structural contradictions of motherhood remain strong, but – as in other Western industrialized countries – normative prescriptions of how to combine work and family have largely dispersed; this remains paradoxical, however, insofar as fathers' attachment to the full-time norm has been unbroken (Wanger 2015). In Japan, in contrast, motherhood has remained normatively prescribed (Holthus and Tanaka 2013; Matsuo 2003). Following Matsuo (2003), mothers are confronted with two contradictory images of how to combine work and family: On the one hand, there is the ideal of the "new, self-realizing individual, trying to realize her potential in all dimensions of life. This means work but also non-exclusive family" (Matsuo 2003: 265). On the other hand, there is the "old constructed image of exclusive wife and mother, especially mother" (ibid.). Fathers, correspondingly, are pressured to fulfill the regular employment norm, in order to provide the family with material and social security (Fu 2013). Long working hours for regular employees and long commuting times make it even more difficult for Japanese in comparison to German fathers to engage in childcare at home (OECD 2015).

Corresponding with Germany's occupation-based stratification system that shapes job opportunities according to individual education and occupational qualification, a number of studies found that individual class status equally affects mothers' and fathers' values and self-conception (Bertram 1991; Hennig 1999; Hoff and Grüneisen 1978; Olbrich 2011). Hennig (1999), for example, found that lower class position was associated for both fathers and mothers with more restrictive parental values and a more extrinsic orientation to work. However, another study (Dörre 2009) indicated that unemployment, marginal employment, and part-time work nearly always disempower fathers, whereas mothers are rather able to deal with individual-based insecurity if embedded in a materially safe environment within the family. This resonates with the contra-

diction that women's attachment to the labor market is normatively rather flexible in Germany, whereas for men the rather uniform full-time breadwinner role still prevails.

Corresponding with the overall stronger structural and cultural contradictions that women face with respect to the compatibility of work and family in Japan, independently of education, I am aware of no previous studies that have explicitly addressed women's values and self-conception depending on class indicators. Fu (2013), however, has conducted an ethnographic study on how non-regular work affects men and women. He found that non-regular working forms result in considerable emotional pain for men in light of the high pressure to fulfill the breadwinner role in the family. For women, in contrast, he found different effects according to the two contradictory normative images of motherhood described above: Whereas more work-oriented women similarly suffered from the worse material conditions and social exclusion at the workplace, the larger share of home-oriented mothers mainly identified with the family role and rather pragmatically saw non-regular work as a means to increase family income. Based on these considerations, I formulate the following expectation:

Expectation 4: As parents' job opportunities strongly differ by individual class status in Germany's occupation-based stratification system, I expect education and occupational position to equally affect fathers' and mothers' parental values and self-conception (see expectation 3). However, as fathers' employment is still attached to the full-time norm, whereas mothers' employment is more diverse and less normatively prescribed, I expect deviations from full-time employment to have more adverse effects on fathers' than on mothers' self-conception. In the context of Japan's company-based employment system, in combination with overall more gender-specific norms and institutions across the society, I expect deviations from regular employment to have considerably more adverse effects on fathers' than on mothers' self-conception.

Data and methods

The inclusion of comparative survey instruments in our data on parents with young children up to the age of six [the Ravensburger Elternsurvey 2009 for Germany and the Parental Well-Being Survey 2012 for Japan; for a general description of the data, see Huber's (2018) article in this volume] allowed me to analyze the research questions. Table 1 lists the survey questions and the corresponding items on parental values and parents' self-conception used in the analysis.

Table 1: Survey questions and items on parental values and self-conception

Parental Values	**Parents' Self-Conception**
Q1: Regarding your youngest child's training and education, how important are the following matters to you? 1. Having good manners and keeping to etiquette 2. Putting effort into reaching his/her goals 3. Being honest 4. Paying attention to his/her orderly and clean appearance 5. Learning/acquiring the ability to make right decisions 6. Ability to control him-/herself 7. Behaving like a typical boy/like a typical girl 8. Being friends with other children 9. Obeying his/her parents 10. Having a feeling of responsibility 11. Having empathy with others 12. To be curious to understand how and why things happen 13. Achieving good grades/results in school	*Q2 (Locus of Control): The statements below, how much do they fit your own opinion?* 1. How my personal life is developing depends on myself. 2. Compared to other people, I don't think I am getting what I deserve. 3. What people acquire/possess or reach, depends on chance or fate. 4. It is more important to have ability and talent than putting in effort. 5. I think that many things that happen to people cannot be controlled 6. When one engages in society or politics, one can influence social circumstances / society. *Q3 (Economic Anxiety): Among the items listed below, what are you currently afraid of or have fears about?* 1. The economy 2. Loosing work

For parental values (see table 1, left side), with minor modifications of wording, the 13-item battery developed by Melvin Kohn (1977 [1966]: 48, 257) was adopted. As a measure of subjective autonomy in contrast to subjective powerlessness, I employed the well-established psychological concept "locus of control". The concept goes back to Rotter (1954) and is defined as the degree to which people feel in control over their own life versus feeling determined by outside forces. It was indexed by a reduced battery of six items adapted from the youth questionnaire of the 2008 study *Leben in Deutschland* (*Living in Germany*), conducted by the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin 2008). Items 1 and 6 of Q2 represent subjective autonomy/an internal locus of control, whereas items 2 to 5 represent an external locus of control/subjective powerlessness (see table 1, right side). Economic anxiety, eventually, was measured by two items on worries about the economy and job loss (see table 1, right side, Q3). The items on parental values range on a 5-point Likert-Scale, the items on locus of control range on a 7-point Likert-Scale, and the items on economic anxiety consist of three ordinal levels.

For both countries, I considered occupational position, educational attainment, and labor force status as individual social class indicators, as

well as income as a social class indicator at the household level. For Japan, I additionally considered firm size at the individual level, since, rather than occupation, it is regarded as fundamental indicator of individual class status, as mentioned above. The operationalization aims at a balance between mechanical cross-national comparability and the preservation of country-specific particularity. It was realized as follows:

Occupational Position. To measure occupational position, I used the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). Due to stark cross-national differences in the survey instruments, I was not able to recode the nine levels of the scale, but summarized them into the following four levels: 1 "Managers/academic professionals", 2 "Technicians/associate professionals", 3 "Craft workers", 4 "Clerical/service workers". Level 1 as the highest level summarizes managers and occupational positions that require a university degree; level 2 as the second highest level describes occupations that require at least 3 to 4 years of professional training; level 3 and 4 summarize occupations that require at least vocational training or professional experience; they do not differ between each other by skill requirement but by field of work (for more information see Appendix 1).

Educational Attainment. Educational attainment was also measured comparatively. Based on high overall educational levels in both countries, I summarized the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED-97) into the following 3 levels: 1 "low", 2 "middle", 3 "high". Level 1 refers to attainments that are equal to or below high school education [ISCED level 0 to 3a], level 2 summarizes levels above that up to post-secondary, non-tertiary education [ISCED level 3b to 4], and level 3 refers to tertiary education [ISCED level 5 to 6].

Income. Based on broad income information at the household level, income levels were defined in reference to the national median equivalized household income, adjusted by the modified OECD scale[3]. Following Rainwater and Smeeding (2003), I differentiated the following three levels: 1 "Marginal income" [less than two thirds of the median], 2 "Middle income" [between two thirds and one and a half times the median], 3 "High income" [more than one and a half times the median].

Labor Force Status. Due to institutional differences in the labor market between Germany and Japan, I defined country-specific labor force status instruments. For Germany, I differentiated the following four levels according to individual self-assessment: 1 "full-time employed", 2 "part

[3] As the household income was collected in income groups in both surveys in order to minimize missing values, beforehand, a metric variable was constructed by assigning the mean of each income category to all cases falling into the respective category.

time employed", 3 "marginally or unregularly employed", 4 "not employed". For Japan, I defined the following 3 levels: 1 "regularly employed", 2 "non-regularly employed" [including temporary, part-time, and dispatched work], 3 "not employed". As the data did not allow for differentiating between the unemployed and those out of the labor force, both of these groups are included in the "not employed".

Firm size. For Japan, I differentiated the following two levels of firm size: 1 "large" [firms with at least 1000 employees / government office employees], 2 "small/medium" [firms with less than 1000 employees], as employment in large firms and government offices is supposed to be of higher prestige than employment in small and medium sized firms.

Rather than building a class index, I treated each of the social class variables separately. This is based on the consideration that due to the diffusion of class status discussed above, different social class aspects – such as education and occupation – must not necessarily describe the same underlying dimension, and can potentially even have contradictory effects on values and self-conception. This assumption stands in line with previous research in the context of parenting (Hoff, Laursen, and Tardif 2002; Houtman 2009; Kikkawa 2016).

I employed the following methods: To identify general cross-national communalities and differences in parental value priorities and dominant aspects of self-conception according to research question 1, in a first step, I ranked all items by their mean values, broken down by survey question (see table 1) and country of analysis. In a second step, I employed exploratory factor analysis on the item batteries on parental values and self-conception, separately by country of analysis. Following Silver (2002), factor analysis was used as a tool to identify underlying value patterns from a comparative perspective. The method was also applied in Kohn's studies (Kohn 1977 [1966]; Kohn et al. 1990), and allowed me to evaluate to what extent value items cluster into self-direction and conformity, as assumed in Kohn's social class model, and to what extent uniqueness remains meaningful in the patterns, as assumed by the cultural perspective (Silver 2002). I conducted a principal component analysis (PCA) with orthogonal rotation (varimax) to extract independent components. Factor extraction was based on scree plots and the Kaiser's criterion[4]. In a third step, according to research question 2, I tested whether parents significantly differ in their adherence to these value patterns according to social class, and whether class status affects fathers' and mothers' values and self-conception differently. I performed two-way analyses of variances [factorial

[4] Scree plots were preferably used if they indicated clear points of inflexion, as the Kaiser's criterion usually overestimates the number of meaningful components.

ANOVA] to test the association of each of the social class indicators (1) and gender (2) on each of the factor scores under consideration of possible interaction effects.

Appendix 2 gives an overview on the distribution of all considered social class variables by gender in cross-national comparison. In line with previous research discussed above, it shows that Germany and Japan are both contemporary knowledge economies with high shares of qualified positions and high shares of service workers. At the same time, we see strong gender differences in labor force participation: In both countries, mothers with young children are – in contrast to predominantly full time employed fathers – primarily not employed or non-regularly employed (Japan) / part time or marginally employed (Germany). As aforementioned, the data also confirms that the contradiction between high qualification and high labor market marginalization is specifically pronounced for Japanese mothers.

Results

Table 2 presents the ranks and mean ratings of the considered items on parental values and parents' self-conception. For parental values, the overall value hierarchies are very similar in cross-national perspective: In line with expectations, parents in both countries place high emphasis on self-direction in their children, as reflected in the high ranking of value items such as learning to make right decisions, goal-orientation, empathy [Japan], and responsibility [Germany]. However, parents in both countries also highly value conformity with respect to behavioral standards such as good manners and honesty. Conformity in the sense of submission to authority, in contrast, is least important to parents in both countries, as indicated by parents' least attachment to values such as obedience [submission to parental authority], good school grades [submission to the dominant educational evaluation system], and acting like a typical boy/girl [submission to gender-specific behavioral standards]. Although similarities prevail, a major difference is, for example, that Japanese parents most highly stress empathy, whereas German parents most highly stress honesty. The strongest difference, however, is that whereas Japanese and German parents both regard obedience, school performance, and gender-specific behavior as least important out of the 13 items, these characteristics are only *slightly* less important than the other values to German parents, but *substantially* less important to Japanese parents. The differences between the means are thus simultaneously largest for these items (all at $p < .001$).

Table 2: Importance of individual value items in Germany and Japan (ranks and mean ratings)

Germany		Japan	
Parental Values			
1 Being honest	4,74	1 Having empathy with others	4,71
2 Learning to make right decisions	4,60	2 Good manners	4,60
3 Good manners	4,46	3 Learning to make right decisions	4,59
4 Feeling of responsibility	4,44	4 Being honest	4,53
5 Putting effort into reaching own goals	4,43	5 Putting effort into reaching own goals	4,44
6 Having empathy with others	4,42	6 Being friends with other children	4,35
7 Being friends with other children	4,38	7 Feeling of responsibility	4,30
8 Being curious to understand how/why	4,37	8 Orderly and clean appearance	4,28
9 Orderly and clean appearance	4,29	9 Ability to control him-/herself	4,25
10 Ability to control him-/herself	4,27	10 Being curious to understand how/why	4,23
11 Obeying his/ her parent(s)	4,24	11 Obeying his/ her parent(s)	3,55
12 Good school grades	4,20	12 Acting like a typical boy/ girl	3,41
13 Acting like a typical boy/ girl	4,12	13 Good school grades	3,23
Self Conception			
a) Economic Anxiety			
1 Afraid of/ worried about the economy	1,83	1 Afraid of/ worried about the economy	2,43
2 Afraid of/ worried about losing work	1,78	2 Afraid of/ worried about losing work	2,06
b) Locus of Control			
1 My personal life depends on myself	5,60	1 My personal life depends on myself	5,41
2 Talent is more important than effort	4,91	2 What people reach depends on fate	4,37
3 One can influence society by engaging	3,67	3 Many things cannot be controlled	4,08
4 What people reach depends on fate	3,59	4 Talent is more important than effort	3,64
5 I don't get what I deserve	3,10	5 One can influence society by engaging	3,35
6 Many things cannot be controlled	2,77	6 I don't get what I deserve	3,35

Note. Parental Values: Likert-Scale ranging from 1 "not important" to 5 "important"; Economic Anxiety: Categories ranging from 1 "no worries" to 3 "a lot of worries"; Locus of Control: Likert Scale ranging from 1 "doesn't fit at all" to 7 "fits completely".

Moreover, in line with expectations, Japanese parents have significantly higher economic anxieties ($p < .001$). This is mirrored in higher means on both items – worries about losing one's job and worries about the economy – but the differences are specifically high concerning worries about the economy as the more diffuse item ($M_{\text{Japan}} = 2.43$; $M_{\text{Germany}} = 1.83$ on a scale from 1 "no worries" to 3 "a lot of worries"). For locus of control, the pattern is cross-nationally similar insofar that parents in both countries, out of the six items, most strongly agree with the notion of subjective autonomy that "their own life depends on themselves". Subjective powerlessness is predominantly prevalent with respect to economic achievement in Germany, as parents most strongly consent to the notion that "it is more important to have talent than putting in effort", out of the four items indicating subjective powerlessness (the item is ranked second out of the overall six items on locus of control). In Japan, however, subjective powerlessness is overall more predominant, and entails more all-encompassing aspects of low control over the outcome of one's life, as indicated by parents' comparatively high agreement with the statements "I think that many things that happen to people cannot be controlled" and "What people reach depends on fate/chance".

The results of the factor analyses for parental values and self-conception are given in table 3 and 4. For parental values in Germany, two components were extracted and in combination they explain about 50 percent of the variance (see table 3). The first component clearly represents *self-direction* according to Kohn's (1977 [1966]) definition, as the items that cluster on it – most clearly responsibility, empathy, curiosity, and learning to make right decisions – refer to internal dynamics within children and the concern for others. The second component seems to represent *submission to authority*, as the four items on good school grades, obedience to parents, acting like a typical boy/girl, and clean appearance load onto this second factor, whereas it is not associated with conformity in the sense of behavioral standards such as honesty and good manners.

For Japan, three components were extracted, which in combination explain 52 percent of the variance (see table 3). In aligning notions of appropriate moral and behavioral codes of conduct (honesty, good manners, and clean appearance) as well as notions of empathy and sociability (having friends), the first factor seems to refer to normative guiding principles of how the individual is supposed to integrate in group-contexts. It was thus labeled *group attachment*. This component is obviously different from the components extracted for Germany, and questions the conceptual opposition between self-direction and conformity for the Japanese context, as it combines aspects of both concepts. The items loading on the other two components strongly resemble the ones extracted for Germany. They were thus equivalently labeled *submission to authority* and *self-direction*. Importantly, however, whereas in Germany self-direction entails both the notion of individual autonomy and group belonging, in Japan individual self-direction is opposed to group attachment.

For self-conception, in both countries, two components were extracted that clearly represent *locus of control* and *economic anxiety* with cross-nationally very similar connotations (see table 4). In both countries, locus of control describes *subjective powerlessness* (an external locus of control) versus *subjective autonomy* (an internal locus of control). *Subjective powerlessness* refers to low control over the outcome of one's life in contrast to *subjective autonomy* as the capacity to direct one's life according to individual choice[5]. Economic anxiety primarily refers to

[5] In the factor analysis on self-conception, some items did not load on either of the two components, as indicated by low correlations with the other items. In line with established standards, these items were excluded from the analysis. This applied to the item "When one engages in society, one can have an influence on society" in both countries as well as to the item "It is more important to have talent/abilities than putting in effort" in Germany.

worries about the economy and worries about losing one's job. In Germany, the two components in combination explain 60.17 percent of the variance in self-conception, and in Japan they account for 49.96 percent of the variance.

Table 3: Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for parental values in Germany and Japan

Germany			Japan			
	Factor Loadings			Factor Loadings		
Item	Self-Direction	Sub-mission	Item	Group Attachment	Sub-mission	Self-Direction
responsible	**,75**	,16	honest	**,74**	,05	,10
empathetic	**,73**	,13	good manners	**,66**	,09	,20
curious	**,66**	,14	empathetic	**,66**	,01	,27
learning decisions	**,65**	,16	having friends	**,54**	**,51**	-,03
goal oriented	**,64**	,30	clean appearance	**,52**	,35	,23
honest	**,50**	,26	self control	**,41**	,36	,30
good manners	**,48**	**,45**	typical boy/ girl	,22	**,77**	-,03
having friends	**,46**	,40	obeying	,05	**,70**	,20
typical boy/ girl	,09	**,78**	school grades	-,05	**,67**	,32
clean appearance	,27	**,71**	curious	,02	,13	**,76**
school grades	,17	**,70**	learning decisions	,34	,11	**,64**
obeying	,19	**,68**	goal oriented	,39	,10	**,58**
self control	**,47**	**,55**	responsible	,33	,37	**,53**
Eigenvalues	5,11	1,28	Eigenvalues	4,48	1,32	1,02
% of Variance	26,32	22,84	% of Variance	19,76	17,18	15,54
Cum. % of Variance	26,32	49,15	Cum. % of Variance	19,76	36,94	52,48

Note. Rotated Factor loadings > .40 appear in bold.

Table 4: Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for self-conception in Germany and Japan

Germany			Japan		
	Factor Loadings			Factor Loadings	
Item	Locus of Control	Economic Anxiety	Item	Locus of Control	Economic Anxiety
Things can't be controlled	**,76**	,20	Talent more imp. than effort	**,69**	-,02
Outcome depends on fate	**,72**	,13	Outcome depends on fate	**,65**	,06
I don't get what I deserve	**,62**	,39	Things can't be controlled	**,60**	,28
Worried about losing work	,09	**,88**	I don't get what I deserve	**,55**	**,43**
Worried about economy	,15	**,87**	Worried about economy	,02	**,81**
My life depends on myself	**-,58**	,05	Worried about losing work	,04	**,77**
			My life depends on myself	**-,51**	,06
Eigenvalues	2,48	1,31	Eigenvalues	2,15	1,21
% of Variance	30,92	29,25	% of Variance	26,24	21,72
Cum. % of Variance	30,92	60,17	Cum. % of Variance	26,24	47,96

Note. Factor loadings > .40 and < -.40 appear in bold.

In the next step of the analysis, according to research question 2, I tested whether parents vary in their attachment to *self-direction, submission to authority,* and *group attachment* [Japan] in parental values, as well as in *locus of control* and *economic anxiety,* according to indicators

of class status [occupational status, educational attainment, household income, labor force status, and firm size (Japan)], and whether social class affects fathers' and mothers' values and self-conception differently. Specifically, multiple two-way ANOVAs were conducted to test each of the overall effects of the social class indicators and gender as well as possible interaction effects. Figures 1 to 3 plot all effects that yielded significance in the ANOVAs, and indicate which comparison groups significantly differ from each other. For post-hoc analysis, Tukey's HSD and specific contrasts were used.[6] As the factor scores were extracted separately by country of analysis and are standardized ($M = 0$, $SD = 1$), group means above 0 indicate approval above country average, whereas group means below 0 indicate approval below country average (for the F-statistics, effect sizes, and descriptives see Appendices 3 to 8).

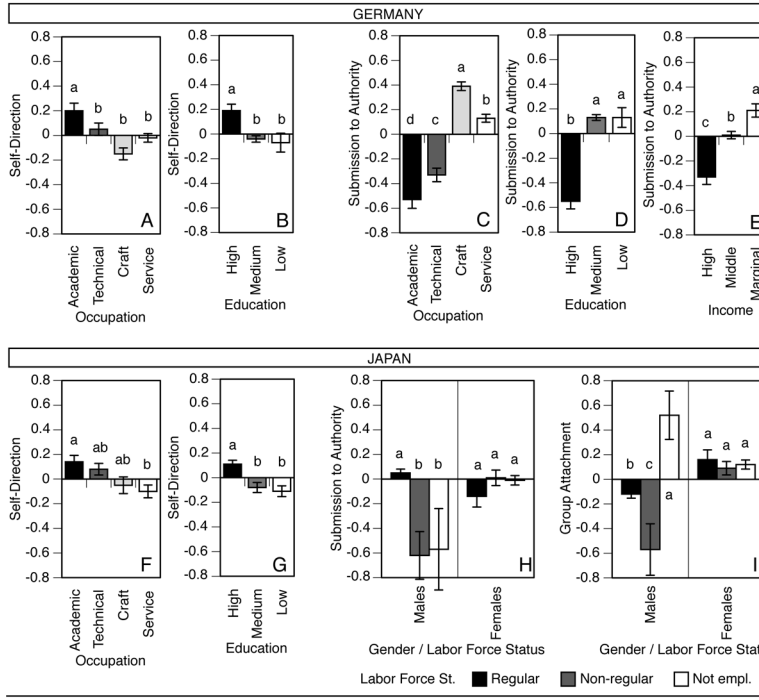
Parental values

In both countries, the ANOVAs on the parental valuation of self-direction yielded small significant main effects of occupational position and education, while there was no significant interaction of either of the variables with gender. Specifically, the findings show that the highest occupational and educational groups emphasize self-direction in children slightly more in both countries (see Figures 1A, 1B, 1F, 1G). In contrast, the results reveal stark cross-national differences on the effects on submission to authority. In line with previous research and expectations (Hennig 1999; Olbrich 2011), I found moderate and significant main effects of occupational, educational, and income position on submission to authority in Germany, indicating that higher class position is associated with lower valuation of submission to authority independently of gender (see Figures 1C to 1E and Appendix 3). Meanwhile, no significant effect of labor force status was found.

[6] If the respective graph refers to a social class indicator only – such as figure 1A – it means that in the respective two-way ANOVA – here on occupational position and gender on the parental valuation of self-direction – a significant overall effect of the class indicator was found, but neither a significant overall effect of gender nor an interaction effect. Accordingly, the social class effect is to be interpreted as independent of gender. If the respective graph, however, – such as figure 1H – refers to a social class indicator and differentiates males and females, it means that there was a significant interaction effect in the respective ANOVA, that class status affects mothers and fathers significantly differently in the respective value / aspect of self-conception.

For Japan, in stark contrast, none of the classical social class indicators [firm size, occupational position, educational attainment, and income] yielded significance in the ANOVAs on submission to authority and group attachment. However, there was a significant interaction effect between labor force status and gender on both of these value dimensions. Specifically, non-regularly and not employed fathers consented to submission to authority to a significantly lower degree than all other comparison groups (see Figure 1H). Additionally, while mothers' and not employed fathers' valuation of group attachment lay slightly above country average, employed fathers – particularly the non-regularly employed – placed lower emphasis on group attachment (see Figure 1I). Mothers, respectively, did not differ in the valuation of either group attachment or submission to authority according to labor force status.

Figure 1: Parental values as a function of significant indices of social class and gender (mean factor scores): Germany and Japan



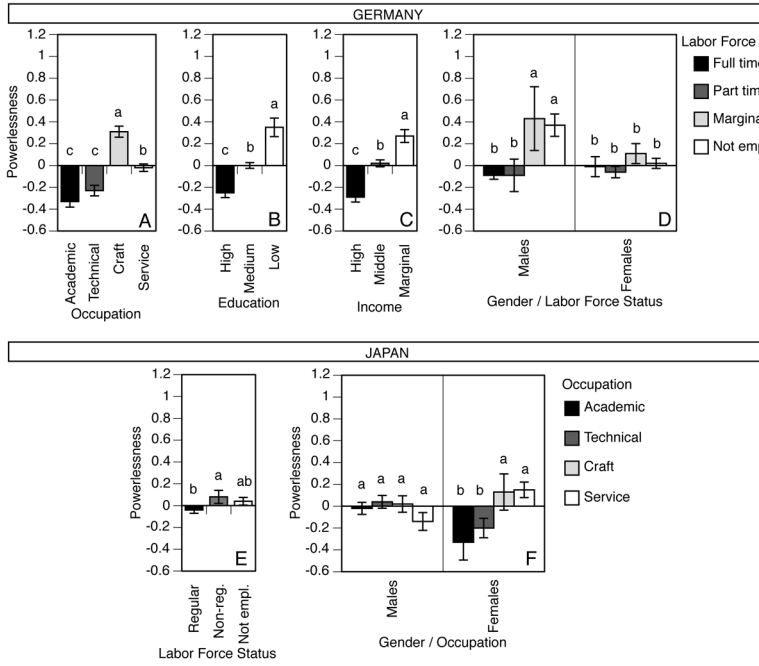
Note. Error Bars representing 1 Standard Error. Levels not connected by same letter are significantly different (alpha = .05; post-hoc analysis using Tukey's HSD test for figure A to G & specific contrasts for figure H, I). Occupational groups are abbreviated here and in the following figures as "Academic" [Managers/ Academic Professionals], Technical [Technicians and Associate Professionals], Craft [Craft Workers], Service [Clerical/ Service Workers].

Self-conception

For locus of control (*subjective powerlessness* versus *subjective autonomy*), cross-national differences prevail as well. As expected, for Germany, the ANOVAs on locus of control also yielded significant main effects of occupational position, educational attainment, and income, indicating that higher class position, independent of gender, is associated with higher subjective autonomy (see Figures 2A, 2B, and 2C). Moreover, the ANOVA on the effect of gender and labor force status yielded significance for the predicted interaction, revealing that marginally and not employed fathers felt subjectively significantly more powerless than all other comparison groups, whereas mothers do not significantly differ in locus of control depending on labor force status (see Figure 2D).

In comparison, social class and locus of control are much less systematically linked in Japan. The ANOVAs yielded only a small significant

Figure 2: Locus of control (subjective powerlessness vs. subjective autonomy) as a function of significant indices of social class and gender (mean factor scores): Germany and Japan



Note. Error Bars representing 1 Standard Error. Levels not connected by same letter are significantly different (alpha = .05; post-hoc analysis using Tukey's HSD test for figure A, B, C, E & specific contrasts for figure D, F).

main effect of labor force status and a small significant crossover interaction between gender and occupational position. Specifically, the findings indicate that the non-regularly employed feel significantly more powerless than the regularly employed (see Figure 2E) and that the rather small group of mothers working as managers/academic professionals or technicians/associate professionals (see Appendix 2) feels significantly more autonomous than female craft and clerical/service workers, whereas fathers do not significantly differ in locus of control by occupational position (see Figure 2F).

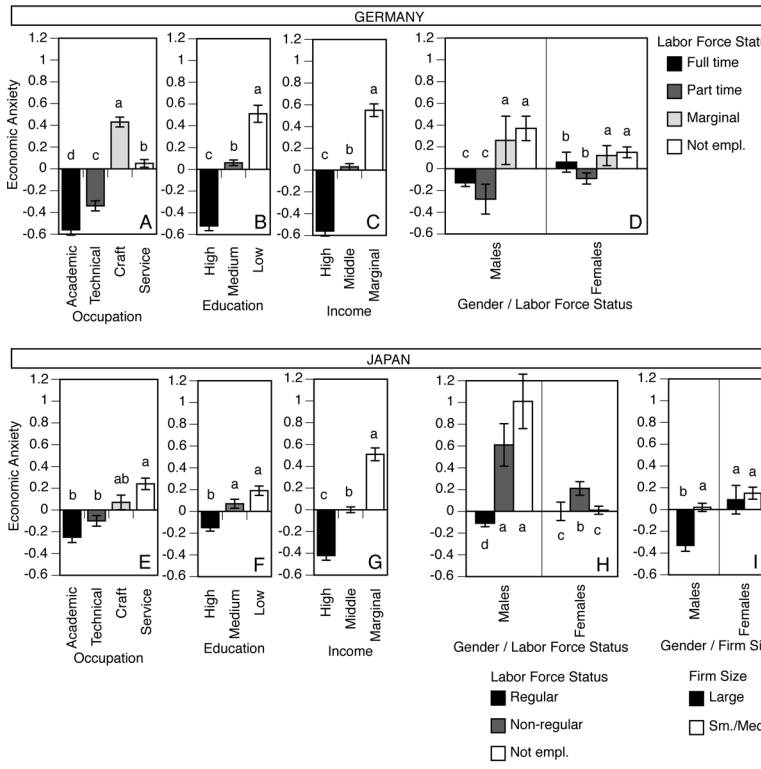
For economic anxiety, the findings are more similar in cross-national comparison. In both countries, the ANOVAs yielded significant main effects of occupational position, educational attainment, and income, indicating that higher social class position is associated with lower economic anxiety, regardless of gender. Household income yielded the largest effect in both countries. However, whereas occupational position and education were also moderately associated with economic anxiety for Germany, their effect was very small for Japan (see Figures 3A, 3B, 3C, 3E, 3F, 3G, and Appendix 4). Moreover, the predicted interaction of gender and labor force status yielded significance in both countries. For Germany, the interaction indicates that not employed and marginally employed mothers have slightly stronger economic anxieties in comparison to full-time and part-time employed mothers, whereas the group of not employed and marginally employed fathers has substantially higher economic anxieties than their full-time and part-time employed counterparts (see Figure 3D).

Similarly, in the case of Japan, the findings suggest for mothers that those non-regularly employed have slightly more economic anxieties than the comparison groups, whereas for fathers, both the non-regularly employed and the not employed have substantially higher economic anxieties than the regularly employed (see Figure 3H). Whereas the deviations are comparable in size for mothers in cross-national comparison, non-regularly and not employed fathers deviate much stronger in Japan, as expected (see Figures 3D and 3H). For Japan, additionally, the ANOVA on the effects of gender and firm size yielded a significant interaction, indicating that male workers in large companies have lower economic anxieties in comparison to all three other groups, whereas company size does not affect mothers' economic anxiety (see Figure 3I).

For Germany, across the different aspects of parental values and self-conception, it stands out that – besides economic anxiety, which is best predicted by household income – occupational status systematically yielded the largest effects (see also Appendices 3 and 4). Interestingly, whereas occupational position is, as predicted, vertically linked to values and self-conception on the one hand, it is also horizontally linked on the

other hand. Specifically, craft workers have higher economic anxieties (see Figure 3E) than clerical/service workers, just as they feel subjectively more powerless (see Figure 3A), and more strongly value submission to authority in their children (see Figure 1C).

Figure 3: Economic anxiety as a function of significant indices of social class and gender (mean factor scores): Germany and Japan



Note. Error Bars representing 1 Standard Error. Levels not connected by same letter are significantly different (alpha = .05; post-hoc analysis using Tukey's HSD test for figure A, B, C, E, F, G, I & specific contrasts for figure D, H).

Discussion

The structural transition from industrial to knowledge-based economies has been aligned with seemingly paradoxical normative shifts: The existing literature has identified both increasing attachments to individual self-direction and increasing possibilities for subjective autonomy, but

also rising economic anxieties and subjective powerlessness. However, little is known about how these aspects differ across and within contemporary knowledge societies, specifically in non-Western regions. Germany and Japan are two countries that have gone through striking structural parallels in the last decades: Both countries have witnessed a stark educational expansion but simultaneously labor insecurity has risen. Class divides have deepened over this process, but class status has also diffused as economic risks have increasingly also hit the well-educated. Moreover, women have most strongly benefited from the new educational chances, but are – once they become mothers – still confronted with higher structural constraints. While insofar similar, Germany and Japan remain rooted in very different long-standing cultural and institutional contexts that might have tracked social change differently. Against this backdrop, I addressed two research questions in this chapter with respect to how self-direction, autonomy, and anxiety manifest in parents' lives in comparative perspective: How do parental values and parents' self-conception differ in contemporary Germany and Japan (research question 1)? Further: How is social class associated with parental values and parents' self-conception within these contexts, and are there gender differences in how class status is linked with parental values and parents' self-conception (research question 2)?

Research question 1

The results show that parental values and parents' self-conception are shaped by striking communalities in structurally similar contemporary Germany and Japan. Yet clear differences simultaneously mirror the two countries' distinct cultural and institutional pathways: In line with expectations, parents in both countries highly valuate self-direction in their children and are least attached to submission to authority as expressed in obedience, school performance, and gender norms. This resonates with previous research that has indicated a long-term shift along with modernization towards emphasizing individual autonomy in children (Alwin 1990; Hays 1996). However, the expectation that Japanese parents might place higher emphasis on conformity due to the higher prevalence of institutional and cultural prescriptions could not be explicitly confirmed; rather, beyond these communalities, cultural contradictions seem to shape both countries in unique ways: In Germany's more individualistic context, high labor market competition seems to manifest itself in a comparatively higher prevalence of subjective powerlessness with respect to individual achievement, and a higher emphasis on school grades and obedience in children. In Japan's more group-based context, the notion of

individual self-realization collides with the notion of group attachment: Japanese parents strongly emphasize empathy and behavioral conformity but strictly reject institutionally prevailing behavioral prescriptions such as gender norms and obedience. This confirms previous research emphasizing the conflict between the new image of the self-realizing individual and traditional understandings of group-belonging in contemporary Japan (Matsuo 2003; Sugimoto 2003; Suzuki et al. 2010). This cultural contraction might also somehow be related with the finding that Japanese parents have a lower sense of subjective autonomy than German parents. In line with expectations, Japanese parents' level of economic anxiety is moreover substantially higher, which mirrors Japan's stronger labor market dualization and its more porous public welfare system.

Research question 2

Despite the diffusion of class status, the results for German parents indicate that objective living conditions still coherently correspond with subjective orientations. In line with expectations and previous research (Bertram 1978; Hennig 1999), in Germany's occupation-based stratification system higher individual class position is associated with lower economic anxiety, higher possibilities for subjective autonomy, and lower attachments to submission to authority in childrearing. However, there are also horizontal differences with respect to occupational groups, as reflected in craft workers' stronger attachment to submission to authority as well as their higher economic anxiety and stronger sense of subjective powerlessness in comparison to service workers. As previous research shows that low pay and precarious employment more strongly cumulate in the lower service sector (Hassel 2010; Mayer-Ahuja 2003), this finding might suggest that the craft sector is associated with more alienating job conditions that overshadow the supposedly positive effect of the better material conditions on self-direction. Whereas all major differences in values and self-conception in the German context are class-related and independent of gender, remaining gender norms are nevertheless displayed in the results: Marginally and not employed fathers, for example, indicated higher economic anxieties and a stronger sense of subjective powerlessness, whereas mothers hardly differed in self-conception according to labor force status. This confirms the expectation that although mothers face stronger structural contradictions between work and family, they might be better able to deal with these contradictions, as they are normatively free to identify with both realms, work and family. For fathers, in contrast, work models that differ from the full-time breadwinner norm are not (yet) really established.

Conversely, for Japan, the results show that objective living conditions do not coherently correspond with subjective orientations. Here, values and self-conception primarily differ for objectively or normatively excluded groups. In comparison to the German context, lower household income is associated with higher economic anxieties. Yet parents' commitments to self-direction and conformity in childrearing as well as their subjective autonomy and material security hardly differ by individual class status in terms of educational attainment or firm size. Value deviances are most visible for non-regular and not employed men who are *objectively excluded* in the context of Japan's company-based employment and welfare system, as well as *normatively excluded* in light of the pressure to fulfill the breadwinner role in the family. This group, for example, does not only have higher economic anxieties but also more strongly rejects submission to authority. For non-regular employees, this may reflect that they are expected to devote themselves to the company just like regular employees, but are simultaneously excluded from almost all monetary and social privileges. Another example of value deviations of those normatively excluded is that those few women who manage to combine motherhood with a highly qualified career indicated comparatively higher subjective autonomy. As discussed previously, Japanese mothers face strong labor market marginalization relatively independent of education; thus, a possible explanation is that mothers who individually break this cycle derive a strengthened self-conception. The above-average well-being of this minority group is also identified by Brinton (2017).

Overall, these differences indicate that societies that base opportunities on the principle of social stratification tend to produce coherence between objective living conditions and subjective experience. In the German case, this is reflected in the outlined occupation-based employment system, which channels both mothers' and fathers' life chances according to education and occupational qualification, and the corresponding version of the welfare state, which strongly reproduces market inequality. The case of Japan, in contrast, suggests that societies that base opportunities and belonging rather on the principle of inclusion and exclusion do not tend to produce coherence between objective conditions and subjective experience. At the level of material participation, this principle is best reflected by the outlined company-based employment system that strongly separates non-regular employees from regular employees and channels practically all mothers to the margins of the labor market, as well as in the corresponding version of the company-based welfare system. At the normative level, this principle is reflected in retaining more group-based institutional prescriptions, which facilitate individual belonging but simultaneously strictly guide and control individual behav-

ior across status levels. Despite the diffusion of class status in the transition to the knowledge economy, the current chapter thus provides evidence that in stratification-based systems, Melvin Kohn's social class model on values is still applicable. In inclusion-exclusion-based systems, however, this model seems less applicable – and previous research has questioned whether it has ever suited such contexts (Kikkawa 2016).

Limitations and Outlook

Future research should more comprehensively explore the mechanisms that align objective conditions and subjective experience in different cultural and institutional contexts. Based on limited case numbers in our data I could not analyze, for example, how education, occupation/firm size, and income interact in shaping parental values and parents' self-conception. Moreover, in order to more fully understand how social class, social change, and cultural differences interact in shaping values and beliefs, one would need to consider data across several time points – which does not yet exist for Germany and Japan with respect to the questions considered in this chapter. It would also be interesting to compare parents' attachments to and opportunities for self-direction with other social groups such as young, childless adults. Finally, our data is cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. From there, two methodological limitations derive: First, I was able to test statistical associations but no causal effects. Accordingly, some results such as non-regular employees' comparatively strong rejection of submission to authority may reflect selection effects rather than causal effects. Second, cross-sectional data obscures the dynamics that shape individual values and self-conception over time. Future research could address how education and labor market participation interact with family trajectories in different contexts in shaping possibilities for subjective autonomy over the life course.

Despite these limitations, the current in-depth comparison reveals distinct patterns of how social inequality relates to self-direction, autonomy, and anxiety in parents' lives in different contexts. In Germany, parental values and parents' self-conception systematically differ by social class. Parents with lower class status are less attached to emphasizing self-direction in their children, see lower opportunities in their own lives for subjective autonomy, and suffer from higher economic anxieties. Previous research has identified class-specific socialization values as an important mechanism in the reproduction of social inequality (Kohn et al. 1990; Lareau 2003), and the question which kind of social policies and interventions most effectively mitigate this mechanism remains important. More-

over, for Germany, these findings reinforce scholars who argue that autonomy and material security strongly depend on class status in contemporary knowledge societies, and thus claim new social policies that aim at redistributing not only financial resources but also social recognition (Castel and Dörre 2009).

For Japan, class-specific differences do not stand out. Here, it is rather striking that some of the prevailing structures strongly clash with parents' values and beliefs. Whereas Japanese parents with young children strictly reject, for example, gender-specific socialization values, they find themselves in a highly gender segregated labor market. This reinforces ongoing feminist claims in Japan to ultimately promote gender inequality and the compatibility of work and family (Dalton 2017). Moreover, it stands out that young parents in Japan suffer from comparatively high economic anxieties, and that these fears are relatively independent of their objective exposure to risks. This result confirms previous research arguing that the spread of non-regular employment has stimulated diffuse generalized anxieties across the Japanese population (Suzuki et al. 2010). The question how Japan's undermined welfare system can be reformed such that it becomes again able to universally cover basic material needs thus seems politically pressing.

Autonomy and material security are fundamental promises of advanced capitalist societies (Castel 2011). In contemporary Germany, the realization of these promises clearly depends on social class position. In Japan, in contrast, a generational perspective seems more promising to understand current major structural and cultural contradictions, as the dominating institutions still strongly lag behind the radical social changes of the last decades. In order to substantiate policy recommendations for how to improve subjective autonomy and material security in the two countries, future research should address, in a comparative fashion, how autonomy and subjective material security relate to well-being across different domains of life.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Simplification of the ISCO-88 classification for the measurement of occupational position

Original ISCO-88	Required Skill Level	ISCO-88 Simplification
1 Managers 2 Academic Professionals	- University Graduation (Level 4)	1 Managers/ Academic Professionals
3 Technicians and Associate Professionals	Professional Training of 3 to 4 Years (Level 3)	2 Technicians/ Accociate Professionals
4 Clerical Support Workers 5 Service and Sales Workers 6 Skilled Agricultural Workers	Vocational Training / Professional Experience (Level 2)	4 Clerical/ Service Workers
7 Craft and Related Trades Workers 8 Plant and Machine Operaters	Vocational Training / Professonal Experience (Level 2)	3 Craft Workers
9 Elementary Occupations	Primary Education (Level 1)	not extractable

Sources: Stegmann (2005): 121-127.

Appendix 2: Distribution of all considered social class indicators by gender and country of analysis

	Germany					
	Fathers		Mothers		All	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Professional Position						
Managers/ acad. professionals	188	19.2	91	9.4	279	14.4
Technicians/ associate prof.	193	19.8	199	20.6	392	20.2
Craft workers	318	32.5	148	15.4	466	24.0
Clerical/ service workers	278	28.5	526	54.6	804	41.4
All	977	100.0	964	100.0	1941	100.0
Educational Attainment						
Low	58	5.9	109	10.5	167	8.2
Medium	704	71.3	767	73.9	1471	72.6
High	226	22.9	162	15.6	388	19.2
All	988	100.0	1038	100.0	2026	100.0
Income						
Marginal income	135	16.3	176	20.3	311	18.3
Middle income	495	59.7	554	63.8	1049	61.8
High income	199	24.0	139	16.0	338	19.9
All	829	100.0	869	100.0	1698	100.0
Labor Force Status						
Full time	837	83.6	116	11.1	953	46.7
Part time	45	4.5	361	34.7	406	19.9
Marginal	16	1.6	121	11.6	137	6.7
Not employed	103	10.3	443	42.6	546	26.7
All	1001	100.0	1041	100.0	2042	100.0

	Japan					
	Fathers		Mothers		All	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Professional Position						
Managers/ acad. professionals	319	32.4	35	8.8	354	25.6
Technicians/ associate prof.	326	33.1	116	29.0	442	31.9
Craft workers	182	18.5	42	10.5	224	16.2
Clerical/ service workers	158	16.0	207	51.8	365	26.4
All	985	100.0	400	100.0	1385	100.0
Firm Size						
Small (<1000 employees)	679	68.3	334	81.9	1013	72.3
Large (>=1000 employees)	315	31.7	74	18.1	389	27.8
All	994	100.0	408	100.0	1402	100.0
Educational Attainment						
Low	192	18.7	349	32.0	541	25.5
Medium	166	16.1	438	40.2	604	28.5
High	671	65.2	304	27.9	975	46.0
All	1029	100.0	1091	100.0	2120	100.0
Income						
Marginal income	98	9.6	213	20.0	311	14.9
Middle income	636	62.5	693	65.2	1329	63.9
High income	284	27.9	157	14.8	441	21.2
All	1018	100.0	1063	100.0	2081	100.0
Labor Force Status						
Regularly employed	982	95.4	137	12.4	1119	52.5
Non-regularly employed	32	3.1	288	26.2	320	15.0
Not employed	15	1.5	676	61.4	691	32.4
All	1029	100.0	1101	100.0	2130	100.0

Appendix 3: Summary of all significant effects on parental values in the conducted two-way ANOVAs

Ctry	Dependent Variable	Factors (Independent Variables)	Significant Effect	*F*	df_1	df_2	*p*	ω^2
Germany	1) Self-Direction							
		Occupation x Gender	Occupation.....	8.80	3	1868	0.000	0.012
		Education x Gender	Education.....	9.96	2	1952	0.000	0.009
	2) Submission to Authority							
		Occupation x Gender	Occupation.....	74.43	3	1868	0.000	0.104
		Education x Gender	Education.....	76.14	2	1952	0.000	0.071
		Income x Gender	Income.....	25.42	2	1648	0.000	0.029
Japan	1) Group Attachment							
		Labor Force x Gender	Labor Force...	6.74	2	2107	0.001	0.005
			Interaction.....	5.60	2	2107	0.004	0.004
	2) Submission to Authority							
		Labor Force x Gender	Gender.....	9.30	1	2107	0.002	0.004
			Labor Force...	4.09	2	2107	0.017	0.003
			Interaction.....	10.25	2	2107	0.000	0.009
	3) Self-Direction							
		Occupation x Gender	Occupation.....	3.53	3	1369	0.014	0.005
		Education x Gender	Education.....	10.55	2	2096	0.000	0.009

Note. Reading example 1: "In Germany, in the ANOVA of occupational position and gender on self-direction, there was a significant main effect of occupational position (all other effects were non-significant)." Reading example 2: "In Japan, in the ANOVA of labor force status and gender on submission to authority, all three effects (both main effects as well as the interaction effect) were significant."

Appendix 4: Summary of all significant effects on self-conception in the conducted two-way ANOVAs

Ctry	Dependent Variable	Factors (Independent Variables)	Significant Effect	*F*	df_1	df_2	*p*	ω^2
Germany	1) Locus of Control							
		Occupation x Gender	Occupation.....	32.57	3	1768	0.000	0.048
		Education x Gender	Education.....	22.10	2	1946	0.000	0.021
		Income x Gender	Income.....	26.80	2	1640	0.000	0.030
		Labor Force x Gender	Labor Force...	5.51	3	1960	0.001	0.007
			Interaction.....	3.15	3	1960	0.024	0.003
	2) Economic Anxiety							
		Occupation x Gender	Occupation.....	72.84	3	1868	0.000	0.102
		Education x Gender	Education.....	73.64	2	1946	0.000	0.069
		Income x Gender	Income.....	106.93	2	1640	0.000	0.114
		Labor Force x Gender	Labor Force...	9.26	3	1960	0.000	0.012
			Interaction.....	3.08	3	1960	0.026	0.003
Japan	1) Locus of Control							
		Occupation x Gender	Interaction.....	5.10	3	1369	0.002	0.009
		Labor Force x Gender	Labor Force...	3.26	2	2112	0.039	0.002
	2) Economic Anxiety							
		Occupation x Gender	Occupation.....	8.61	3	1369	0.000	0.016
		Education x Gender	Education.....	17.61	2	2102	0.000	0.015
		Income x Gender	Income.....	81.04	2	2963	0.000	0.071
		Labor Force x Gender	Gender.....	15.13	1	2112	0.000	0.007
			Labor Force...	16.27	2	2112	0.000	0.014
			Interaction.....	9.83	2	2112	0.000	0.008
		Company Size x Gender	Gender.....	14.48	1	1390	0.000	0.009
			Comp. Size....	7.77	1	1390	0.005	0.005
			Interaction.....	4.14	1	1390	0.042	0.002

Appendix 5: Descriptives (means and standard deviations) of all ANOVAs on the effects of social class and gender on parental values: Germany

	Self-Direction						Submission to Authority					
	Fathers		Mothers		All		Fathers		Mothers		All	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Occupational Position												
Managers/ acad. professionals	0.08	1.04	0.47	0.85	0.20	1.00	-0.44	1.14	-0.74	1.17	-0.53	1.16
Technicians/ associate prof.	-0.02	0.98	0.13	0.98	0.05	0.98	-0.19	1.07	-0.47	1.04	-0.33	1.06
Craft workers	-0.18	1.04	-0.08	1.01	-0.15	1.03	0.39	0.73	0.39	0.78	0.39	0.75
Clerical/ service workers	-0.10	0.89	0.02	1.02	-0.02	0.98	0.22	0.81	0.08	0.93	0.13	0.90
All	-0.07	0.99	0.06	1.01	-0.01	1.00	0.07	0.97	-0.06	1.02	0.01	0.99
Educational Attainment												
Low	-0.22	1.02	0.01	0.95	-0.07	0.98	0.08	1.06	0.17	1.01	0.13	1.03
Medium	-0.10	0.96	0.02	1.01	-0.04	0.99	0.22	0.83	0.04	0.93	0.13	0.89
High	0.10	1.03	0.32	0.95	0.19	1.00	-0.46	1.18	-0.66	1.18	-0.55	1.18
All	-0.06	0.98	0.06	1.00	0.00	0.99	0.06	0.97	-0.06	1.01	0.00	1.00
Income												
Marginal income	-0.18	0.94	0.04	0.99	-0.06	0.97	0.20	0.87	0.22	0.99	0.21	0.94
Middle income	-0.08	1.00	0.06	1.01	0.00	1.00	0.11	0.91	-0.08	0.99	0.01	0.96
High income	-0.03	1.06	0.16	0.94	0.05	1.01	-0.30	1.13	-0.37	1.04	-0.33	1.09
All	-0.08	1.00	0.07	0.99	0.00	1.00	0.02	0.98	-0.07	1.01	-0.02	1.00
Labor Force Status												
Full time	-0.06	1.00	0.02	1.06	-0.05	1.00	0.09	0.96	0.04	1.07	0.09	0.97
Part time	-0.03	0.96	0.03	0.98	0.02	0.98	-0.18	1.01	-0.08	1.02	-0.09	1.02
Marginal	-0.15	0.91	0.09	0.95	0.06	0.94	-0.16	1.31	-0.17	1.04	-0.17	1.07
Not employed	-0.16	0.99	0.09	1.02	0.04	1.01	-0.03	1.03	-0.02	0.99	-0.02	0.99
All	-0.07	0.99	0.06	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.06	0.97	-0.05	1.01	0.01	1.00

Appendix 6: Descriptives (means and standard deviations) of all ANOVAs on the effects of social class and gender on parental values: Japan

	Group Attachment						Submission to Authority						Self-Direction					
	Fathers		Mothers		All		Fathers		Mothers		All		Fathers		Mothers		All	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Occupational Position																		
Managers/ acad. professionals	-0.19	1.06	-0.09	1.02	-0.18	1.05	0.00	0.94	-0.29	1.19	-0.03	0.97	0.13	0.99	0.25	0.86	0.14	0.98
Technicians/ associate prof.	-0.06	0.95	0.18	0.83	0.01	0.92	0.05	1.00	-0.03	1.01	0.03	1.00	0.07	1.00	0.11	0.95	0.08	0.99
Craft workers	-0.14	1.14	0.09	0.85	-0.10	1.09	-0.02	1.06	-0.02	0.94	-0.02	1.04	-0.11	1.02	0.24	0.91	-0.05	1.01
Clerical/ service workers	-0.22	1.02	0.11	1.00	-0.03	1.02	0.10	0.90	0.01	1.02	0.05	0.97	-0.08	0.95	-0.11	1.02	-0.10	0.99
All	-0.14	1.03	0.11	0.94	-0.07	1.01	0.03	0.98	-0.03	1.02	0.01	0.99	0.03	1.00	0.02	0.98	0.03	0.99
Firm Size																		
Small (<1000 employees)	-0.10	1.04	0.14	0.89	-0.02	0.99	0.04	0.97	-0.02	1.01	0.02	0.99	-0.01	1.00	0.03	0.96	0.01	0.99
Large (>=1000 employees)	-0.22	1.03	0.01	1.08	-0.18	1.04	0.01	0.99	-0.10	1.10	-0.01	1.01	0.11	0.99	0.05	1.13	0.10	1.02
All	-0.14	1.04	0.12	0.92	-0.06	1.01	0.03	0.98	-0.03	1.03	0.01	0.99	0.03	1.00	0.03	0.99	0.03	1.00
Educational Attainment																		
Low	-0.05	1.04	0.12	0.93	0.06	0.97	-0.02	0.94	0.08	1.06	0.05	1.02	-0.15	1.03	-0.09	1.01	-0.11	1.01
Medium	-0.22	1.12	0.14	0.95	0.04	1.01	0.05	1.06	-0.04	0.98	-0.02	1.00	-0.04	0.91	-0.10	1.02	-0.08	0.99
High	-0.11	1.01	0.08	0.95	-0.05	1.00	0.01	0.98	-0.09	0.99	-0.02	0.98	0.10	1.00	0.14	0.96	0.11	0.98
All	-0.12	1.04	0.12	0.94	0.00	1.00	0.01	0.98	-0.02	1.01	0.00	1.00	0.03	0.99	-0.03	1.00	0.00	1.00
Income																		
Marginal income	-0.16	1.08	0.02	1.00	-0.04	1.03	-0.09	1.11	-0.15	1.02	-0.13	1.05	-0.01	1.01	0.03	0.95	0.01	0.97
Middle income	-0.15	1.08	0.17	0.92	0.02	1.01	-0.02	0.99	0.03	0.98	0.01	0.98	-0.01	0.98	-0.06	1.01	-0.04	0.99
High income	-0.06	0.96	0.02	0.98	-0.04	0.97	0.13	0.94	0.00	1.07	0.08	0.99	0.14	1.01	0.01	1.08	0.10	1.04
All	-0.13	1.05	0.12	0.95	0.00	1.00	0.01	0.99	-0.01	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.03	1.00	-0.03	1.01	0.00	1.00
Labor Force Status																		
Regularly employed	-0.12	1.04	0.16	0.92	-0.08	1.03	0.05	0.97	-0.14	1.02	0.02	0.98	0.03	0.99	0.07	0.96	0.03	0.99
Non-regularly employed	-0.57	1.18	0.09	0.92	0.02	0.97	-0.62	1.10	0.01	1.06	-0.05	1.08	0.17	0.98	0.02	0.99	0.03	0.99
Not employed	0.52	0.76	0.12	0.96	0.13	0.95	-0.57	1.28	-0.01	0.99	-0.02	1.00	-0.01	1.01	-0.07	1.02	-0.07	1.02
All	-0.12	1.04	0.12	0.94	0.00	1.00	0.02	0.99	-0.02	1.01	0.00	1.00	0.03	0.99	-0.03	1.01	0.00	1.00

Appendix 7: Descriptives (means and standard deviations) of all ANOVAs on the effects of social stratification and gender on self-conception: Germany

	External Locus of Control						Economic Anxiety					
	Fathers		Mothers		All		Fathers		Mothers		All	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Occupational Position												
Managers/ acad. professionals	-0.30	0.85	-0.39	0.83	-0.33	0.84	-0.59	0.82	-0.49	0.76	-0.56	0.80
Technicians/ associate prof.	-0.25	0.98	-0.20	0.90	-0.23	0.94	-0.41	0.87	-0.27	0.94	-0.34	0.91
Craft workers	0.25	1.07	0.43	1.07	0.31	1.07	0.40	0.96	0.52	0.99	0.43	0.97
Clerical/ service workers	-0.04	0.99	0.00	0.93	-0.02	0.95	-0.06	0.97	0.11	0.99	0.05	0.98
All	-0.04	1.01	-0.01	0.96	-0.02	0.99	-0.08	0.99	0.04	1.00	-0.02	1.00
Educational Attainment												
Low	0.49	1.02	0.28	1.07	0.35	1.06	0.50	0.97	0.52	0.98	0.51	0.97
Medium	-0.01	1.05	0.01	0.96	0.00	1.00	0.02	0.98	0.09	0.98	0.06	0.98
High	-0.24	0.85	-0.25	0.85	-0.25	0.85	-0.55	0.87	-0.47	0.82	-0.52	0.85
All	-0.03	1.02	-0.01	0.96	-0.02	0.99	-0.08	0.99	0.05	0.99	-0.02	0.99
Income												
Marginal income	0.39	1.07	0.17	0.95	0.27	1.01	0.50	0.99	0.58	1.01	0.55	1.00
Middle income	0.01	1.02	0.03	0.99	0.02	1.01	0.00	0.95	0.06	0.95	0.03	0.95
High income	-0.32	0.82	-0.26	0.82	-0.29	0.82	-0.58	0.85	-0.54	0.84	-0.56	0.84
All	-0.01	1.01	0.01	0.96	0.00	0.99	-0.06	0.99	0.07	1.00	0.00	1.00
Labor Force Status												
Full time	-0.09	1.00	-0.01	0.97	-0.08	1.00	-0.13	0.97	0.06	0.97	-0.11	0.97
Part time	-0.09	1.00	-0.06	0.97	-0.07	0.97	-0.28	0.92	-0.09	0.96	-0.12	0.96
Marginal	0.43	1.17	0.11	0.99	0.15	1.01	0.26	0.89	0.12	0.99	0.14	0.98
Not employed	0.37	1.02	0.02	0.96	0.09	0.98	0.37	1.12	0.15	1.02	0.19	1.04
All	-0.03	1.01	0.00	0.97	-0.02	0.99	-0.08	0.99	0.05	1.00	-0.01	1.00

Appendix 8: Descriptives (means and standard deviations) of all ANOVAs on the effects of social class and gender on self-conception: Japan

	External Locus of Control						Economic Anxiety					
	Fathers		Mothers		All		Fathers		Mothers		All	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Occupational Position												
Managers/ acad. professionals	-0.02	0.98	-0.33	0.96	-0.05	0.99	-0.26	0.95	-0.17	0.80	-0.25	0.93
Technicians/ associate prof.	0.04	1.06	-0.20	0.95	-0.02	1.04	-0.13	0.99	0.00	1.05	-0.10	1.01
Craft workers	0.02	1.02	0.13	1.08	0.04	1.03	0.09	1.01	0.01	0.96	0.07	1.00
Clerical/ service workers	-0.14	1.02	0.15	1.02	0.03	1.03	0.17	0.95	0.30	1.05	0.24	1.01
All	-0.01	1.02	0.01	1.02	-0.01	1.02	-0.09	0.99	0.14	1.03	-0.02	1.00
Firm Size												
Small (<1000 employees)	-0.07	1.02	0.02	1.04	-0.04	1.02	0.02	0.98	0.15	1.01	0.06	0.99
Large (>=1000 employees)	0.11	1.02	-0.04	0.99	0.08	1.02	-0.33	0.95	0.09	1.13	-0.25	1.00
All	-0.01	1.02	0.01	1.03	0.00	1.02	-0.09	0.99	0.14	1.03	-0.03	1.00
Educational Attainment												
Low	-0.02	1.06	0.14	0.99	0.08	1.02	0.17	1.01	0.20	1.00	0.19	1.00
Medium	-0.05	1.03	-0.03	0.90	-0.03	0.94	0.05	0.98	0.07	1.02	0.07	1.01
High	-0.01	1.05	-0.05	0.97	-0.02	1.03	-0.16	0.99	-0.12	0.94	-0.15	0.97
All	-0.02	1.05	0.02	0.95	0.00	1.00	-0.07	1.00	0.06	1.00	0.00	1.00
Income												
Marginal income	0.06	1.07	0.00	1.02	0.02	1.04	0.48	1.04	0.53	1.03	0.51	1.03
Middle income	0.01	1.05	0.04	0.93	0.03	0.99	-0.02	0.96	0.02	0.95	0.00	0.95
High income	-0.07	1.02	-0.06	1.00	-0.06	1.01	-0.36	0.99	-0.54	0.73	-0.42	0.91
All	-0.01	1.04	0.02	0.96	0.01	1.00	-0.07	1.00	0.04	0.99	-0.01	1.00
Labor Force Status												
Regularly employed	-0.02	1.03	-0.18	0.96	-0.04	1.02	-0.11	0.98	0.00	0.99	-0.09	0.98
Non-regularly employed	0.13	1.13	0.08	1.06	0.08	1.07	0.61	1.10	0.21	1.05	0.25	1.06
Not employed	0.28	1.64	0.03	0.90	0.04	0.92	1.01	0.97	0.01	0.97	0.03	0.98
All	-0.01	1.05	0.02	0.96	0.00	1.00	-0.07	1.00	0.06	1.00	0.00	1.00