Work, Remuneration, and Negotiation for Pay in Early Adolescence: Exploring Early Causes of Gender Pay Inequity

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*Work and negotiation experiences were examined among early adolescents (12–15 years) through a survey (*N = *157) and follow-up interview (*N = *89) conducted in two Canadian cities. Key findings, based on a mixed-method research approach, were (a) gifts were the primary income source; (b) females completed more chores than males, and younger adolescents received payment for chores more than older adolescents; (c) discussion of negotiation rarely occurred between participants and parents or peers; (d) neither age nor gender impacted absence of negotiation; (e) those who had negotiated for more money reported satisfaction; (f) gender differences in negotiation strategies were present; and (g) age differences in beliefs about negotiator qualities were found. Consistencies and changes from extant literature were discussed.*

Keywords: adolescence, early work experience, gender pay inequity, negotiation skills

Foundational knowledge, skills, and behaviors regarding economic issues begin in the home, and this early learning context subsequently influences adult behaviors (Alhabeeb, 1999; Clarke, Heaton, Israelsen, & Eggett, 2005; Friedline, Elliott, & Nam, 2011; Jorgensen & Savla, 2010). Through explicit instruction, modeling, and implicit messages, parents influence the future economic practices of their children, which subsequently impacts future financial success and responsibility (Danes & Haberman, 2007; Garrison & Gutter, 2010). Skills, such as negotiation skills related to wage determination, would also be expected to appear and develop in the home prior to actual working age, especially given the tremendous impact that negotiation has for financial success and career advancement (Mazei et al., 2015). However, within the extant literature, there is little exploration of early negotiation skills, especially in the context of wage determination. This study examines the current status of work, remuneration for work, and negotiating experience prior to being employed in the adult workforce outside of the home. Specifically, this study explores potential developmental changes in these areas from the end of childhood to just before legal working age (12–15 years of age). Given that gender differences in pay equity and negotiation in adult populations are two of the most persistent and prevalent ongoing issues impacting financial and career success in society today (Desmarais & Curtis, 1999; Keaveny & Inderrieden, 2000; Kolb, 2009; Mazei et al., 2015), gender differences were also examined in this early adolescent population.

Early adolescence is an important developmental period marked by expansion in social connections, social responsibilities, and experiences that extend beyond the home and often beyond the direct supervision of parents (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2007). As children navigate the divide from childhood to adolescence and then from adolescence into adulthood, they experience increasing opportunities for independence. Work and disposable income are two mechanisms through which pre- and young adolescents can begin to explore their growing autonomy. Work experience in childhood and early adolescence is typically achieved through completion of household chores and odd jobs (Furnham, 1999; Kerr & Cheadle, 1997). Opportunities for more formal work experience expand by

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mid to late adolescence. Although little is known regarding gender differences in household chores during early adolescence, there is significant evidence that adult women expect to do and actually do more household chores than their male counterparts (Askari, Liss, Erchull, Staebell, & Axelson, 2010; Doucet, 1995). In addition, gender differences in odd jobs obtained by girls and boys suggest that jobs performed by preadolescent girls typically occur within the home (e.g., babysitting), whereas boys work outside the home (e.g., delivering newspapers and manual labor; Hirschman & Voloshin, 2007; Mortimer, Finch, Owens, & Shanahan, 1990). This study extends our understanding regarding work experience in early adolescence by assessing chores and other work experiences as a function of gender and period of adolescence.

Previous Research

Gender Differences in Adolescent Income

Developmental research suggests that the vast majority of children (approximately 90%) have access to disposable income by the age of 11 years with a common source being monetary gifts for special occasions (Furnham, 1999; Lintonen, Wilska, Koivusilta, & Konu, 2007). Availability of disposable income varies as a function of family constellation and location such that children in single-parent families typically have less than those in two-parent families, and children in rural areas have less than those in urban areas (Lintonen et al., 2007). Gender differences in disposable income have also been reported with 14-year-old females reporting less disposable income than their male peers (Lintonen et al., 2007). An increase in planning and management of monetary resources, most likely indicating a shift in the child's meta-cognition, appears at the age of 12 years when children begin to exhibit more complex saving behaviors, such as the purposeful use of a banking institution to limit impulsive spending (Otto, 2013). Given the emergence of developmental changes in opportunities and behaviors related to income, it is important to examine differences that occur across adolescence especially during the preadolescent to early adolescent phases. In addition, the emergence of gender-based differences in income necessitates consideration of gender as well as age.

Parallel adult literature regarding pay equity suggests that gender differences in earned income are not only pervasive across the lifespan but also have persisted for a significant period of time. For example, recent Canadian statistics indicate that, on average, men earn $3.89 more per hour than women (Statistics Canada, 2013). Therefore, over the course of just 1 year, a woman will make an average of approximately $7,000 less than a male counterpart. An earlier report from Canadian university students found that male students averaged $1.13 per hour more than females (Desmarais & Curtis, 1997). These Canadian findings are mirrored throughout the world with adult working women averaging less income than adult men (Hausmann, 2014). For example, income for an average woman in the United States in 1989 was approximately 51% of a same-aged male's income (United States Census Bureau, 1990). More recently, and when matched for occupation, a gap is still present with American women earning 80% of men's income (United States Census Bureau, 2014). Similar disparities are noted in Europe, with women in countries comprising the European Union (EU), earning an average of 16% less an hour than men (EU, 2014). Research has pointed to several contributing factors that perpetuate the gender pay gap (Kolb, 2009) including social comparison (Babcock, Laschever, Gelfand, & Small, 2003; Callahan-Levy & Messe, 1979; Keaveny & Inderrieden, 2000), expectations based on previous salary (Desmarais & Curtis, 1997), and stereotype threat (Kray, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2002). However, a recent meta-analysis identifies negotiation skills as a key predictor of differences in financial gains between men and women (Mazei et al., 2015).

Gender Differences in Negotiation

Gender differences are among the most enduring issues in negotiation research. Overall, it has been demonstrated that men are able to negotiate for significantly greater financial gains during negotiations than females (Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Mazei et al., 2015). Several explanations for why gender impacts upon negotiation have been explored. First, women are less likely to initiate negotiations than men (Eriksson & Sandberg, 2012). In addition, when women engage in salary negotiations, they typically demand and accept less than men (Kolb, 2009). During negotiations, women also engage in different negotiation strategies than men. Some differences in negotiation strategies are tied to gender role expectations. For example, competitiveness, assertiveness, and profit-oriented behaviors that are congruent with male expectations may be judged as inappropriate in female negotiators (Mazei et al., 2015). Furthermore, even when placed in a position of power, women still tend to use negotiation techniques which favor communality instead

of dominance (Nelson, Bronstein, Shacham, & Ben-Ari, 2015). Interestingly, differences among men and women can be moderated. For example, when women negotiated in more role-congruent contexts (e.g., negotiating on another's behalf) their negotiation outcomes improved (Mazei et al., 2015). Women's outcomes also improved when provided with an informed goal (Bowles, Babcock, & McGinn, 2005) or when attempting to prove wrong the stereotype that women are poor negotiators (Curhan & Overbeck, 2008; Kray, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2001; Kray, Reb, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2004).

Gender differences in negotiation performance and outcome are also evident within younger populations. For example, 5-year-old boys employ strategic tactics that maximize their personal outcome, whereas girls do not. Instead, girls seem to favor an even 50/50 split between them and their partner, even when their partner would not know how the reward was divided (Murnighan & Saxon, 1998). Thus, even at this young age, girls appear to mirror adult women in using negotiation tactics that produce communality rather than dominance. However, what is less well known is how these negotiation skills (involving trading/use of toys or small amounts of money) that develop in childhood translate to negotiation within an employer/employee context.

Early learning experiences are an important consideration. Consistent with increased understanding about banking, savings, and other financial matters, it would be expected that parental guidance or instruction regarding negotiation might also be important for adolescents. For example, Furnham and Cleare (1988) examined knowledge about how wages were determined in adolescents aged 11–16 years. Even older girls in their sample were unclear regarding how wages were determined and how to discuss exchanging work for money, whereas same-aged boys did not report this limitation. This early study may not be reflective of current generations of adolescents. Understanding current contributions of parents and others to the development of negotiation knowledge and skills is clearly warranted. Early parental intervention might encourage more thoughtful and advantageous negotiation later in life. Given that early adolescence provides an introduction to informal work environments which potentially provides them with opportunities to initiate, learn, and practice negotiation, it is important to examine sources of knowledge and experiences with negotiation during this developmental period.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

This study explores work experience, remuneration, and negotiation with younger adolescent populations. Given the limited, and in some cases, dated existing research, this study provides an updated and fuller understanding of these key issues in youth today.

Based on the adult literature and previous adolescent literature, hypotheses related to gender and age differences were proposed. Specifically, it was hypothesized that boys would report responsibilities for fewer chores and receive more money than girls. Also, it was hypothesized that older adolescents would complete more chores, receive more money, and use negotiation tactics more readily than their younger peers.

In addition to these hypotheses, this study explored research questions related to negotiation. In an effort to gain a more in-depth understanding of early adolescents' conceptions about negotiation in general, this study explored younger adolescents' attitudes and beliefs about negotiation and negotiators. Finally, potential gender and age differences related to negotiation tactics were examined.

Method

Participants

In total, 157 participants volunteered for this study. Participants were recruited from elementary (Grades 7 and 8) and high school (Grades 9 and 10) classrooms in two midsized Canadian cities. All children in each target grade were provided with consent forms. Only those who returned signed consent forms were recruited. Ages of participants ranged from 12–15 years with 81 females ($M_{age} = 13.68$, $SD = 1.12$) and 76 males ($M_{age} = 13.57$, $SD = 1.06$). Most participants identified themselves as White (87.9%) with smaller proportions self-identifying as Asian (6.4%), Black (0.6%), or other (5.1%, which included Aboriginal, unspecified "Canadian," and "Caribbean"). Most participants (70.1%) came from two-parent homes, 24.8% resided in single-parent homes, 3.8% lived with a parent and someone who was not a family member, and 1.3% chose "other" to describe their living arrangement. Of those who resided in a single-parent household, 51.2% resided with their mother, 46.2% rotated between each parent, and 2.6% lived with their father.

Of the 157 participants who completed the survey, 89 took part in the interview (44 females, 45 males). Interview

participants ranged in age from 12 to 15 years. Parental consent and participant assent were required for participation in the survey and interview portions of the study. Participants were treated in accordance with American Psychological Association/Canadian Psychological Association ethical expectations.

Materials

Materials included one survey and a structured interview.

Survey. The survey contained seven subsections. The first subsection assessed demographic information (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity, and home environment). The remaining six subsections assessed previous work experience, sources of remuneration, subjective values regarding a past negotiation experience (Subjective Value Inventory [SVI]; Curhan, Elfenbein, & Xu, 2006), beliefs about negotiator skill (Implicit Negotiation Belief Scale; Kray & Haselhuhn, 2007), exposure to discussion about negotiation, and personal attempts to negotiate as well as comfort and outcomes of negotiating.

Previous Work Experience. Given that the age of the current sample fell below legal age for full-time work, assessments of previous work experience included chores required within the home as well as occasional work paid for by someone outside the home. Participants responded to one open-ended question where they listed all chores for which they were responsible (i.e., "What household chores are you responsible for? [Please list all]").

Sources of Remuneration. Seven questions sampled sources from which participants could acquire money (i.e., birthday, special occasion, allowance, part-time job, pocket money, odd jobs, and simply asking for money). Participants used a 5-point scale (1 = *never* and 5 = *always*) to indicate the frequency of each item as a source of income for them. Participants were also asked one question to indicate (yes/no) if they received payment for their chores (i.e., "Are you paid for doing any of the chores you listed?"). Finally, participants identified whether they earned income from someone other than a parent through one question (yes/no).

Subjective Values Regarding A Past Negotiation Experience. A condensed version of the SVI (Curhan et al., 2006) assessed perceptions regarding a past negotiation attempt at home or at work. Two subscales were included: one measuring participant's subjective evaluation of the instrumental outcomes of the negotiation and the other assessing feelings about the process of the negotiation itself. Participants answered eight questions using a 7-point Likert scale. High scores reflected more positive perceptions of the negotiation attempt. Reliability for this condensed version was high (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$).

Beliefs About Negotiator Skill. The Implicit Negotiation Beliefs Scale (Kray & Haselhuhn, 2007) evaluated participant understanding of effective qualities of negotiators as innate or acquired. This 7-item measure employed a 7-point Likert scale. Low scores reflected beliefs that negotiation skills can be acquired. Reported reliability was high (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$; Kray & Haselhuhn, 2007).

Discussion About Negotiation and Personal Attempts to Negotiate. Four questions were asked to determine personal experience regarding wage negotiation. Two questions asked participants to identify the frequency with which they discussed wage increases with parents and others (e.g., "How often do your parents talk to you about negotiating for a wage increase?"). A third question asked how frequently they attempted to obtain wage increases, and the final question queried the relative success of their requests for wage increases. Each question employed a 5-point scale (1 = *never* and 5 = *always*).

Comfort and Outcomes of Negotiating. Three questions explored the frequency of successful negotiation for an increase in wage. Participants who identified at least one successful attempt using a scale with four alternatives (i.e., 0, 1, 2–4, or 4+) were prompted to answer the two remaining questions. The first question targeted the relative success of the negotiation(s) using a 5-point scale ranging from *a lot less than what I had asked for* to *a lot more than I had asked for* (i.e., "If you have successfully negotiated for a wage increase, how much more money did you get?"). The second question targeted level of comfort in asking for the raise using a 5-point scale (1 = *very uncomfortable* and 5 = *very comfortable*).

Interview. Interviews allowed for more in-depth exploration of topics including negotiation in the home (e.g., with parents regarding allowance and/or nonmonetary rewards) and how their current wage had been set (for employment outside of chore responsibilities). In addition, participants had an opportunity to demonstrate wage expectation and

wage negotiation through one hypothetical example. Specifically, participants were given the following scenario: "Let's pretend a neighbor came to you to ask you if you would babysit their two children (who were 5 and 6 years old). Tell me about what you would expect to get paid and how you would go about asking for that." Questions were open-ended and presented in a static order. Prompts were provided to encourage participants to elaborate if required. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for subsequent coding.

A thematic analysis of these interviews was conducted using an open-coding method (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Two raters jointly created a list of themes and subthemes based on two randomly selected interviews. Raters then independently coded four additional randomly selected interviews. The raters then met and refined themes and subthemes following discussion. This iterative process of scoring interviews independently followed by discussion was used to code an additional 16 interviews. Disagreements were resolved by discussion. Inter-rater reliability for the 20 independently scored interviews was high (91%). The remaining data (i.e., 67 interviews) were coded by one of the two raters.

Procedure

All participants completed the survey first, either online or hard copy, and a subsample of students at each age completed the interview. Surveys were completed individually or in groups during the regular school day, with a smaller group arranging to complete the task in a university lab setting. Participants were oriented to the survey task with a general outline that the survey would ask them about work, money, and negotiation. Participants were told to answer the questions to the best of their ability based on their own experience. Survey length varied across participants; maximum length was approximately 30 minutes.

Interviews were conducted either immediately following survey completion or shortly thereafter depending on school schedules and other obligations. Before each interview, a verbal review was provided to remind the participants that the intent of the study was to learn more about negotiation (i.e., "Basically, in this interview I will be asking you more questions about work, money you might earn and your experiences with negotiation so that we can get a fuller picture of your experiences with each."). Participants were encouraged to ask for elaboration or clarification if any interview question was ambiguous or difficult to understand. Interviews were audio recorded and lasted 10–15 minutes.

Results

Two sources of data, the survey and interview sessions, were analyzed. The survey assessed work experience, remuneration sources, negotiation experiences, and beliefs about negotiation and negotiators. Qualitative methodologies were used to examine the interview data. Resulting themes were then analyzed quantitatively to assess potential age and gender differences. For both the survey and interview analyses, age data were aggregated into two categories—younger (12- and 13-year-olds) and older (14- and 15-year-olds) adolescents to allow for assessment of developmental differences.

Work Experience

To understand work experience, participants' experience with chores and other nonchore work were examined. In total, 91.72% of the participants identified having responsibility for at least one chore. The total number of chores for each participant was tabulated. Overall, participants were responsible for approximately four chores ($M = 4.37$, $SD = 2.30$ chores). A 2 (gender) $\times$ 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine potential gender and age differences in the number of chores completed. Only the significant main effect of gender emerged, $F(1, 157) = 8.52$, $p = .004$, such that females ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 2.27$) reported having more chores than males ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 2.22$). There was no significant main effect for age or the interaction.

Sources of Remuneration

Payment for completing chores was also assessed. Overall, most participants (53.5%) were not paid for chores. Only 37.58% of the participants reported being paid. A crosstabs Pearson chi-square was conducted to determine possible age and gender differences regarding payment for completing chores. Age was significant, $\chi^2 = 5.506$, $p = .019$, with younger adolescents reporting being paid more so than older adolescents (54.2% and 45.8%, respectively). There were no significant differences as a function of gender, $\chi^2 = 2.2$, $p = .138$.

Participants were also asked whether or not they had earned income from someone other than a parent. Visual inspection of percentages suggested that older participants (61.7%) were more likely than younger participants (38.3%) to

TABLE 1. Descriptive Summary of Responses Regarding Sources of Remuneration

Sources of Remuneration	*M*	*SD*
Pocket money from parents	3.01	1.05
Money for part-time job(s)	2.41	1.41
Money for doing odd jobs around the house	2.82	1.26
Money for birthday	4.38	1.02
Money for special holidays	3.87	1.30
An allowance	2.24	1.49
Asking parents or guardian for money	2.93	1.29

have been paid for work by someone other than a parent. However, the Pearson chi-square analyses for age was non-significant, $\chi^2_{age} = 3.398$, $p = .065$. There were no significant gender differences.

Seven questions sampled sources from which participants could acquire money (Table 1). Overall, the most frequently endorsed source for receiving money was through monetary gifts, specifically for birthdays ($M = 4.38$) followed by other special occasions ($M = 3.87$; see Table 1 for a summary of means). A 2 (gender) × 2 (age) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) assessed potential differences as a function of age and gender. No significant main effects or interaction were found.

Remuneration Through Negotiation

Potential for increases in remuneration through knowledge of, or success with, negotiation for wage increases was examined through the four questions assessing how often participants discussed negotiation with their parents, how often they spoke to their peers about wage increases, how often they negotiated for increased remuneration, and how often they were granted a wage increase post-negotiation. Visual examination of the individual items indicated that few participants had heard about or engaged in discussion involving wage increases, with all but one mean falling below 2 on the scale reflecting the category "rarely" (see Table 2 for summary of means). A 2 (gender) × 2 (age) MANOVA was conducted for the four questions. No significant main effects or interaction were found.

Negotiation Practices and Past Attempts

The Implicit Negotiation Beliefs scale (Kray & Haselhuhn, 2007) was used to assess beliefs about the nature of negotiator qualities (i.e., innate vs. learned). The overall mean score fell at the midpoint of the scale ($M = 24.98$, $SD = 4.80$; maximum = 49) suggesting that participants were uncertain regarding whether negotiation skill can be learned or whether it is an innate fixed capability. A 2 (gender) × 2 (age) ANOVA yielded a significant main effect for age, $F(1, 142) = 4.90$, $p = .028$. Younger adolescents ($M = 26.02$, $SD = 4.58$) scores reflected greater uncertainty regarding whether qualities of negotiators are innate or a skill that can be learned, whereas older adolescents ($M = 24.23$, $SD = 4.85$) more readily endorsed the belief that qualities of negotiators are malleable and can be learned. No other main effect or interaction was significant.

The condensed Subjective Value Inventory (Curhan et al., 2006) examined participants' experiences with a successful negotiation for more money, either at home or at work.

TABLE 2. Descriptive Summary of Responses Regarding Wage Increases as a Function of Gender and Age

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*
How often parents talk about wage increases			
Younger males	1.96	1.22	26
Older males	1.74	1.04	35
Younger females	2.03	1.00	32
Older females	1.61	0.80	41
How often peers/others talk about wage increases			
Younger males	1.62	0.98	26
Older males	1.66	0.94	35
Younger females	1.59	0.67	32
Older females	1.68	1.01	41
How often participant asks for a wage increase			
Younger males	1.65	1.09	26
Older males	1.66	0.97	35
Younger females	1.69	1.06	32
Older females	1.76	1.09	41
How often allowance is increased after asking for an increase			
Younger males	1.69	1.01	26
Older males	1.63	0.97	35
Younger females	1.75	1.11	32
Older females	1.68	0.99	41

Overall, 126 of 157 participants completed this scale. Overall, mean scores fell above the midpoint of the scale suggesting that participants who had successfully negotiated for more money endorsed satisfaction with the outcomes and process of the negotiation ($M = 41.10$, $SD = 8.69$; maximum = 56). A 2 (gender) × 2 (age) ANOVA examined possible age and gender differences in perception of the negotiation process. No main effects or interaction were supported.

The three questions on the past negotiation experience measure assessed the outcome of past negotiation attempts. Overall, participants reported few negotiation attempts (0–1). Those who had made the attempt ($n = 95$) generally reported neutral comfort ($M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.13$) and getting close to what they had asked for ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 0.96$; a score of 3 corresponded with the response "got what I asked for"; see Table 3 for summary of means).

A 2 (gender) × 2 (age) MANOVA was conducted to assess age and gender differences for how successful participants were at negotiation as well as how comfortable they were with the process. No main effects or interaction were found.

TABLE 3. Descriptive Summary of Responses Regarding Successful Negotiation Outcomes

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*n*
How often have you successfully negotiated a wage increase?			
Younger males	2.14	1.246	22
Older males	2.00	1.155	22
Younger females	2.00	1.140	21
Older females	2.47	1.008	30
How much did you receive after you negotiated?			
Younger males	2.50	1.012	22
Older males	2.36	0.953	22
Younger females	2.57	1.028	21
Older females	2.70	0.915	30
How comfortable do you feel asking for more money?			
Younger males	2.91	1.065	22
Older males	3.18	1.220	22
Younger females	2.86	1.153	21
Older females	2.97	1.129	30

Interview: Hypothetical Negotiation Scenario

The primary goal of the interview was to assess participants' responses to the hypothetical work situation. After themes were identified qualitatively, they were analyzed quantitatively to assess potential age and gender differences in their prevalence.

Overall, two themes and six subthemes were identified. The first theme involved consideration of the need for payment; this was captured through two subthemes. First, the vast majority of participants (86.2%) approached the situation as one in which being paid would be an expectation (e.g., "I would at least expect $20 . . . for the night."), whereas only 12.6% suggested that this would be a situation where they would not expect to be paid or would volunteer for the task (e.g., "Whatever they just gave me, I'm not big on asking people for much. I'm basically the type of guy who will say I'll do whatever you want, it doesn't really have to be paid, but if you want to I'm fine with that too."). The second theme involved consideration of how appropriate payment could be determined. Four subthemes captured the possible alternatives. Most participants (37.9%) endorsed the wage or payment to be set by the employer (e.g., "Well I usually get paid $5 an hour, but I'd go and the parents would give me whatever they deem appropriate."). Overall, females were more likely than males to endorse this viewpoint ($\chi^2 = 3.877$, $p < .05$; 60.61%). Approximately, equal proportions of students (24.1%) endorsed the next two subthemes where the participant alone would set the wage (e.g., "So I guess I'd just tell them that I expect to get paid that much.") or where the participant would set the wage and the employer would negotiate with the participant until a fair wage was met (e.g., "I'd just say 'you have two kids, so it's kind of harder that way, and I don't think $15 is very expensive.' And try to talk [with] the person to get around that."). The final and least frequently endorsed subtheme (8%) involved the employer setting the wage first and then the participant negotiating for a wage they deemed fairer (e.g., "I'd ask, 'How much would you think would be enough per hour?' and if they said '$10,' then I'd say around '$12?'").

Discussion

This study examined the current status of work and negotiating experience in younger and older female and male adolescents. Given that work and negotiation experience, as well as gender, are key predictors of equity in adult

work environments (Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Lintonen et al., 2007; Lund, Tamnes, Moestue, Buss, & Vollrath, 2007), understanding early foundations in a current sample of adolescents is important. Specifically, this study examined whether similar to adult populations, adolescent males would use negotiation strategies more readily than female peers to maximize their personal gain (Gerhart & Rynes, 1991; Murnighan & Saxon, 1998). This comparison was examined as a function of age across early adolescence to examine whether strategies differed as adolescents approached legal working age. Finally, negotiation and wage expectation were explored to determine their development and expression within the adolescent population. Overall, outcomes provided partial support for expectations regarding gender-based differences in work, remuneration, and negotiation experiences. Some age-based differences were found suggesting that this period of development serves as an important learning opportunity as adolescents approach adult work expectations.

Work and Remuneration

Given participants' age, it was expected that employment and work opportunities would be limited to chores within the home and occasional work outside the home. Indeed, more than 90% of the participants completed chores within the home. Interestingly, the number of chores completed did not increase as a function of age as was demonstrated in other early developmental comparisons (Gager, Cooney, & Call, 1999). In part, this may be a function of the smaller age range in the present sample. Alternatively, the lack of increases in chores with age may reflect the limited time young adolescents have available to devote to chores given the busy and organized lives of families today (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001).

Females reported responsibility for more chores than males, which is consistent with a longstanding body of research indicating that adult women expect and complete more household chores than males and that female children are assigned more chores than males (Askari et al., 2010; Doucet, 1995). Although the gender pay gap continues to persist in today's society, progress has been made in narrowing the gap in numerous countries across the world (Hausmann, 2014). This progress has been attributed, in part, to factors such as increased education and opportunities for females (Black & Spitz-Oener, 2010). However, disparities between genders remain. That gender differences persist even among this young and recent sample is potentially important in understanding the expectations and behaviors of adult women and men. Early experiences, expectations, and gender socialization regarding additional household chore demands may contribute to the perpetuation of gendered expectations evident in adulthood regarding household and family chores as well as remuneration for work (Askari et al., 2010).

Chores for more than half of the participants were an expected, unpaid obligation. Only about a third of participants received monetary compensation for completing chores. Interestingly, the younger group reported receiving income for completing chores more so than their older peers. In part, this may be because of parents preparing older adolescents for future adult roles where chores will simply be routine responsibilities. In addition, it may reflect awareness of other sources of remuneration available to older adolescents. Specifically, older adolescents may be more likely to earn income from sources outside of the home (e.g., through babysitting or lawn work). Perhaps, parents offset the lack of available resources in younger adolescents who may also be less likely to receive opportunities for occasional work from neighbors or extended family members outside of the family home (Otto, 2013).

The most frequently identified source of income among this adolescent sample was gifts given for special occasions. This was followed by less consistent but still notable sources such as odd jobs, pocket money, or allowances. These sources of remuneration are consistent with previous research identifying pocket money and gifts as important sources for younger children and allowance and informal work for adolescents (Furnham, 1999; Lintonen et al., 2007; Otto, 2013). More important, the sources of income clearly indicate reliance on family as a primary provider of financial support. Typically, it is presumed that income provided by family allows for adolescents to have discretionary funds assuming that all other needs (housing, food, etc.) are covered by parents. However, adolescents may perceive the need for considerable discretionary funds to accommodate increasing educational, recreational, and social demands. Although this study provides a current summary of sources of income for adolescents, it would be interesting to augment this with a detailed examination of adolescents' perceptions regarding sufficiency of support. Specifically, it would be relevant to note whether and for whom (especially between girls and boys) these traditional

sources were perceived to meet the individuals' needs. This could enhance understanding of the impact of these various sources of income for adolescents and their desire to seek out additional paid work opportunities which may, in turn, allow for negotiation opportunities. The extent to which satisfaction with remuneration impacts on an adolescent's desire to seek work opportunities, develop negotiation skills, or engage in negotiation are important future directions.

Examining Age and Gender Differences in Negotiation

Opportunities for learning about negotiation were limited because neither parents nor peers served as a notable source of information for the adolescents in this study. Overall, discussions about negotiating were negligible (most responses fell between *rarely* and *never*). This lack of discussion between children and their parents about a key financial issue is a noteworthy omission. A significant body of research identifies parental input as a major contributor to effective financial socialization (Alhabeeb, 1999; Clarke et al., 2005; Danes & Haberman, 2007; Friedline et al., 2011; Garrison & Gutter, 2010; Gudmunson, Ray, & Xiao, 2016; Jorgensen & Savla, 2010; Serido & Deenanath, 2016). Both explicit (step-by-step practice) and implicit (observation) financial teaching actions of parents can directly impact the financial attitudes and financial behavior of their children (Jorgensen & Savla, 2010). Despite evidence that parental involvement fosters financial skill development, some parents fail to provide instruction in financial domains because they perceive that this area of instruction is not a parental responsibility (Lyons & Hunt, 2003). Such beliefs could be detrimental to the development of critical skills. Given the importance of negotiation skill for achieving equity and financial gain throughout future employment, instruction in negotiation should be one component of financial socialization that is provided to adolescents. Mechanisms promoting awareness of the important role parents serve in early financial socialization are needed to support early skill development within the home.

In this study, consistent with findings in adult populations (Gerhart & Rynes, 1991), no gender differences emerged in terms of the frequency of negotiation attempts; however, there were gender differences found regarding the use of negotiation tactics. In the hypothetical scenario, strategies for wage determination supported a reluctance to negotiate with employers when employers initially set a wage. Most participants indicated that the expectation would be for the employer to set the wage (40.24%), and most adolescents would not negotiate after this wage was set. If the adolescent set the wage, an equal proportion had the expectation of no further negotiation as those who expected negotiation from the employer. Females were more likely than males to expect their employer to determine their wage in the hypothetical scenario. These findings identify potential shortcomings regarding how adolescents may approach determination of future wages as they transition into salaried work. Specifically, within the young adult population (those attending postsecondary education), research has shown that not only do women expect lower starting salaries than men but that they also expect lower peak salaries (Schweitzer, Lyons, Kuron, & Ng, 2014) and longer times between promotions (Schweitzer, Ng, Lyons, & Kuron, 2011). Early differences in negotiation strategies, as noted in the present findings, combined with lower expectations may increase the potential for the gender wage gap to be perpetuated.

Impressions regarding what it takes to be a negotiator differed as a function of age. Younger adolescents' reflected greater uncertainty regarding whether negotiator qualities are innate rather than a skill that can be learned. Among the older adolescent group, scores reflected a shift in perception toward understanding negotiation as a learned skill. An interesting finding is that, even though the older participants saw negotiation skills as a more learned skill, mean scores reflected the midrange suggesting that this group believed that there may be some innate qualities or skills necessary for successful negotiation. Such beliefs may hinder self-efficacy regarding their role in the negotiation process as well as the development and use of negotiation skills. For example, if adolescents believe that a significant component of negotiating skill is innate and not learned, they may be less motivated to seek out or acquire new negotiation skills or to attempt other methods of negotiation even if these other methods may be more effective.

Despite the relatively limited knowledge and experience regarding negotiation among this sample, participants' experiences with negotiation were generally positive. When asked to assess a previous negotiation attempt, they indicated that their outcome was close to their desired goal and that the experience was neutral to somewhat positive. Early, positive experiences such as these should reinforce future attempts. However, not all participants had experienced an opportunity to negotiate and, as noted earlier, participants expressed negligible discussion of negotiation with peers

and parents. Experience plays an important role in moderating gender differences in negotiation outcomes (Mazei et al., 2015). Thus, further instruction and opportunities to practice, observe, and refine negotiation strategies appear to be necessary to promote effective negotiation.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present sample reflected a relatively homogeneous group comprised mainly of White adolescents living with both a mother and a father. As such, the current findings may need to be expanded to be generalizable to other groups and to more fully understand the questions explored here. For example, it may be the case that differences in age and gender were less salient in this group compared to other family contexts, especially single-parent families, where disposable income may be less available (Lintonen et al., 2007). Interestingly, the lack of knowledge about negotiation is especially noteworthy given the predominance of two-parent families in this study. It could be argued that access to two parents might provide additional sources of information and modeling for skills in this area. Further investigation of how family contexts impact on work experience, remuneration, and negotiation is warranted.

Future research might also benefit from longitudinal studies that follow preadolescents through to late adolescence after acquiring and maintaining work outside of the home. Mapping developmental changes in knowledge, skills and experience would permit clearer understanding of what is needed and when to offer interventions for maximal effect. This study provides a foundation for understanding current issues, raises interesting questions, and offers observations that could impact current practice as well as future research.

Implications and Conclusion

A review of the effectiveness of current youth financial education programs operating within the United States suggests that early preemptive interventions should be implemented to allow youth time to learn and practice relevant skills prior to the age where larger numbers of students choose to dropout (McCormick, 2009). Garrison and Gutter (2010) identified the importance of financial socialization opportunities provided in the home. Potential instructional opportunities could be instituted in the home through observation of parents negotiating with others (such as contract workers) or through actual experience with children having an opportunity to negotiate for allowance increases or chore allocation. Alternative interventions outside the home might include training programs. For example, ElShenawy (2010) found that intensive training in negotiation (3 weeks of training or more) increased negotiation performance in adults. Successful programs such as these could be used to develop training programs for adolescents. Interventions targeted at families and educational programming may be necessary to promote negotiation skills as a part of financial skill training. In addition, adopting a multigenerational approach to training may optimize instruction by providing parents and their children with the skills and support they need to succeed and a context for children and parents to share skills and strategies (Garrison & Gutter, 2010). Promoting such knowledge gains and skill development is a necessary and achievable goal that requires intervention within the home and beyond.

Young adolescents, even prior to legal working age, are presented with work, remuneration, and negotiation opportunities that have the potential to shape beliefs, expectations, and behaviors in the future workplace. Two key goals directed this research. Specifically, this study sought to explore the adolescent conceptualization of negotiation as well as whether long-standing gender-based expectations still persist among today's youth. Findings confirmed some early gender and developmental differences in expectations that could subsequently be translated into the adult work environment. Specifically, this study replicated previous literature by demonstrating that monetary gifts served as the primary source of income. As expected, with respect to gender, adolescent females completed more chores than males. A key extension of the this literature was the finding that there was a relative absence of discussion about negotiation among adolescents and their parents or their peers, and that neither age nor gender impacted this absence of negotiation for wage increases. In addition, we identified some differences in negotiation strategies and age differences regarding beliefs about negotiator qualities. Together, these outcomes support the existence of ongoing contributors to inequity and suggest that explicit instruction, discussion, and practice within the home and beyond may be necessary to foster change and promote development of effective negotiation skills.

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