DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 275 393 PS 015 953

AUTHOR Engle, Patricia L.
TITLE The Intersecting Needs of Working Mothers and Their Young Children: 1980 to 1985.
PUB DATE 24 Jan 86
NOTE 84p.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Child Caregivers; Child Development; *Childhood Needs; *Child Rearing; *Day Care; Developing Nations; Early Childhood Education; *Employed Women; Literature Reviews; *Mothers; Parent Role; Public Policy; Theories
IDENTIFIERS *Role Satisfaction

ABSTRACT

The first part of this paper describes three models of child development, each of which recommends an appropriate role to mothers for the proper nurturance of children. It is argued that the Child Survival model, which relegates a mother's role to provision of food and physical care, ignores aspects of psychological development. The Freudian/Learning Theory model leads to the conclusion that if children are not under the exclusive care of their mothers, they will not develop properly. The Maturational model implies that children can develop well with a variety of caretakers, providing good quality care is given. Of the three, the Maturational theory is most supported by research findings. Implications of these three models for working mothers and children are discussed. The second part proposes that maternal role satisfaction is an important variable to consider when the intersecting needs of working mothers and their children are examined. Discussion explores ways in which four factors (attitudes toward economic and family roles, conditions of mothers' work, adequacy of child care, and social opinions/support of family and cultural norms) relate to women's role satisfaction and their children's welfare. Particular attention is given to findings concerning child care and labor force participation in developing countries. Policy recommendations are offered, along with an extensive bibliography. (RH)

THE INTERSECTING NEEDS OF WORKING MOTHERS AND THEIR YOUNG CHILDREN: 1980 TO 1985

Patricia L. Engle

Department of Psychology and Human Development
California Polytechnic State University
San Luis Obispo, California

January 24, 1986

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE INTERSECTING NEEDS OF WORKING MOTHERS AND THEIR YOUNG CHILDREN: 1980 TO 1985

Can children's needs be met when their mothers work for cash income in Third World countries? To what extent are the needs of the child's mother met by working for income? In the United States tremendous concern has been raised about the possible damage to children who are not raised by the traditional family of male wage-earner and mother in the home. At the same time, women who are working outside the home for income and for personal fulfillment are perceived to be addressing their own needs which may be different from those of their children. Are they damaging their children? Press and media attention to working mothers continues to be somewhat negative in the U.S. (Etaugh, 1980) despite a growing body of research that suggests that children are not harmed by their mother's employment if they are receiving good quality care (e.g. Scarr, 1984).

As economic development occurs, Third World women appear to be more often involved in the money labor market than they were previously. What are the intersecting needs of working mothers and their children in a variety of cultural contexts? Anthropological and psychological reports of traditional rural societies indicate that the well-being of the family rests in the future economic contribution of the children to the family.

LeVine (1980)'s analysis of parental investment strategies of Kenyan villagers suggested that for parents, the survival of children, and their obedience and filial loyalty were the most important qualities of children to be developed. Parents who could have a large number of surviving children would have a greater likelihood of support in hard times than parents with fewer children. In the framework of this investment strategy, maternal work for earnings which enhanced the chances of child survival would be perceived as beneficial to the child; their needs would be identical. On the other hand, the disquiet in the United States with the increased work role of mothers of young children rests on the theory that an exclusive bond between mother and child is necessary for healthy development, and that for this bond to develop, the mother must be the primary caretaker. Thus if a woman with young children works outside of the home for additional money, or even for her personal satisfaction, her needs are seen to be in conflict with those of her children. A third theory of child development, not as well publicized but well supported by research, suggests that the healthy development of a child depends on a satisfied mother and a supportive environment, with support supplied not only by the mother, but by a variety of child caretakers, including the father. In this case, the needs of mother and child are not seen to be in conflict <u>if</u> the mother is able to choose the role which is most satisfactory for her.

This paper proposes that we need to look at our underlying assumptions about child development, the research literature, and findings from developing countries in order to make policy recommendations concerning ways to integrate womens' needs for development and children's welfare. Whether or not women and children's needs are identical, in conflict, or congruent depends on one's theory of child development as well as other, more standard issues, such as adequacy of child care. It argues that the dichotomy of "working-non-working" may not be the appropriate variable to measure, as Ware (1984) has suggested - not only because most poor women work at unpaid as well as paid work, under vastly differing situations, but also because how the mother evaluates that working or non-working condition may be significant for her children. Thus the paper will have two parts: the first explores three theories of child development, and the implications of each for maternal work for earnings; the second part proposes that maternal role satisfaction is an important, but often overlooked variable that needs to be considered, in addition to quality of child care and income issues, in examining the intersecting needs of working mothers and their children.

Throughout this paper, the focus is on that portion of mothers' work that is undertaken for a cash income, because it is the increase in this type of work that represents a change in women's roles, and income-earning activities will have greater effects on intra-household economic processes than home

production, or unpaid labor. Following generally accepted definitions, "informal work" refers to work that is casual and non-permanent, and is not connected to social security networks; such as street vending, and "formal work" refers to work considered permanent or at least regular by the worker, and is recognized by the government. Formal work, such as factory employment, usually provides some social security benefits.

Changes in Economic Roles of Women who are Mothers

How dramatic are these changes in women's cash-earning activities in the Third World? Accurate statistics are hard to obtain, because women's economic activities are frequently underreported (Youssef and Helter, 1983; Engle, 1983) Whether current rates of income-generation for women represent actual increases in productive activity, or merely changes from home or agricultural production to income-production is not clear. However, there appears to be little doubt that global economic changes and Western industrial development have had an impact on the type of production activities many women are engaged in.

Four well-documented changes in women's work for earnings illustrate the impact of the global economic market on women's income generation. In parts of Africa and the Middle East, the demand for men's labor in mines, oilfields, and factories in areas distant from their rural farms has resulted in massive seasonal out-migration of men, leaving women and children as de-facto heads of households on rural farms (Palmer, 1985). Because

of instability of remittances (money sent) from migrants, many women have been forced into income-earning activities. A second documented change is the movement of women, particularly in Latin America,into the urban areas in search of domestic employment (Bunster and Chaney, 1985), pulled from the rural areas by increased need for cash and shortages of land. These women often move from domestic work into informal street-selling as they have children, a pattern also observed in urban areas in Africa (e.g., Jules-Rosette, 1982). A third change that has received much attention is the development of export processing zones by multinational corporations in Third World countries. (Fujita, 1985; Tiano, 1984). The electronics industry, for example, has set up assembly and testing plants in over 51 Asian, African, and Latin American countries (Wong and Ko, 1984). Although numerically these plants do not hire huge numbers of workers, 85 to 90% of the production workers are women. Initially it was assumed that most of the employees would be young single women, but a substantial proportion are mothers. Two decades ago, none of these plants existed. They have been criticized as employing women at low pay, with no job security, and with few possibilities of advancement- an exploited, docile labor force. Finally, international AID agencies have instituted women's income generating projects in many Third World countries, with varying degrees of success.

THREE MODELS

The three models of child development are outlined in Figure 1: Child survival, Freudian/ Learning theory, and Maturational. Six dimensions are specified for each: the implied theory of child development, the kinds of input from the mother that seem to be needed, benefits to the mother, the role of the primary caretakers, the implications for working mothers, and a critique of the model.

Child Survival

Child development theory. Levine (1980)'s descriptions of parental investment strategies in rural Kenya typify the Child Survival model. He proposes that the more hazardous the environment is perceived to be, the more importance is given to the survival of the child. In societies like tropical Africa, the parental investment strategy or allocation of resources is designed to insure the child's survival and his ability to offer long-term support to his parents. Obedience and compliance are highly regarded. Thus "the role of the parent in his or her own investment strategy is as the provider of a nurturing environment; the actual care and training of children is often delegated to others in the family, particularly older children."(p. 7). "Once the mother is past the risk of giving birth to a child and the task of carrying him through infancy, the greatest part of the parental investment, in terms of attention and special resources, has been made" (p. 7). Levine notes that the

introduction of school and school fees is changing this investment strategy somewhat.

The theory of child development implicit in this approach is that survival and physical care are the most important elements for growth; once the child survives, the environment is not seen as critical for the quality of her development.

Mother's role. The mother's role with this model is to be sure that the child survives, and (in some cultures) to provide the opportunity for schooling. She should provide medical care, proper food and physical caretaking. Whether the mother is bonded to the child, or the child is attached to the mother may not be of concern; the focus of the mother is to ensure that the child continues to be loyal to her. This model was illustrated for me by a mother who migrated to another country, leaving her children with her mother, but sending regular checks home. She felt that she was providing the best for her children, and seemed to have no questions about their continuing love for her. She only regretted not seeing them for a long time.

The model may be appropriate for more cultures than the one in East Africa that Levine was studying. In a preschool intervention project in the highlands of Peru, parents reported valuing the preschool not for its effects on general cognitive development, but on its ability to teach children reading and writing. More acculturated parents discussed the program in terms of the child's psyche (Myers et. al., 1985).

Benefits to the mother. The benefits to the mother are the old-age security provided by her children, as well as the companionship, help, and status they provide her.

Caretaker role. The appropriate caretaker is either the mother or a trusted family member who will provide the physical support necessary. Siblings are the most common choice for many mothers, even if they are only a few years older than their charges. Often the amount of sibling caretaking does not depend on the mother's employment status; much child care is performed by others than the mother after the first crucial year (e.g., Ho, 1979 in the Philippines; Engle, Peterson, and Smidt, 1985 in Guatemala).

Implications for working mothers. The implication for mothers who work for earnings are that the needs of her children and herself are the same; both need sufficient economic resources to survive. If the mother who works outside the home can provide adequate supervision for her children, perhaps by an older sibling, and can provide income to support the family, she would feel that she has fulfilled her motherly role. Both mother and child benefit from the income. Thus for her to work and provide for children may be quite consistent with her beliefs, providing that an adequate system of child care can be found.

Critique. This model errs in its inattention to psychological influences on the physical and psychological development of children. Clearly, influences other than the provision of physical care do exist. A mother's level of education appears,

for example, to have significant associations with children's psychological development regardless of the number of hours a day she spends with her children (LeVine et. al., 1985; Goldberg, 1980; Ware, 1984). Many types of social stimulation have been found to influence psychological outcomes for children in many developing countries(e.g., Myers et. al., 1985).

Freudian/learning theory

Child development theory. The definition of the child as a separate being, needing unique patterns of nuturance and supervision, did not occur in Western industrialized countries until the beginning of the 20th century (Scarr, 1984). Mothers were valued as household managers rather than as child-rearers. There was little interest in the influence of parents on children prior to 1910 (Kagan, 1983). At that point, a definition of the role of the mother as the architect of the child's psyche and emotional life began to appear. Interest in education for women stemmed from the potential benefits it might have for the children she would raise. In a speech, President Theodore Roosevelt told a group of women,

> The good mother, the wise mother- you cannot really be a good mother if you are not a wise mother - is more important to the community than even the ablest man; her career is more worthy of honor and is more useful to the community than the career of any man, no matter how successful he can be... But the woman who, whether from cowardice, from selfishness, from having a false and vacuous ideal shirks her duty as wife and mother, earns the right to our contempt, just as the man who, from any motive, fears to do his duty in battle when the country calls him. (Quoted in Ehrenreich and English, 1979, p. 190)

Not until the 1960's did the focus shift to the woman herself, and her needs for fulfillment. As this new awareness emerged, conflicts between personal fulfillment through activities outside the home, and the ideal of intense mother-child bonds were felt by many American women. Because of our relatively recent romance with the nuclear family model and the value of the exclusive mother-child bond, the issue of conflicting needs of working mothers and children is a particularly American question. It is a problem for us because of deeply held beliefs about the development of the child. For example, the exclusive bond developed between mother and child during the first year of life is thought to be crucial for the ability to trust in later years.

The child development theory underlying this quintessentially American model stems from two trends in American psychology: the behavior training model, first proposed in 1929 by Watson and later developed by learning theorists, and the American version of the Freudian theory. Scarr (1984) has described these models in terms of the characteristics of the child each suggests. The behaviorist child was born essentially a blank slate, and could be programmed to almost any level of achievement with appropriate parent training and habit formation. Failure to train the child appropriately, of course, spelled potential disaster for the child. The Eriksonian child, a socialized version of Freud's conflict-ridden Victorian model, went through a series of crises or stages, at each of which she could

be seriously damaged if proper parenting strategies were not employed. For instance, too early or severe weaning could result in a later desire for oral stimulation. Both of these theories of child development suggest that the developing child is a fragile flower which must be tended with care, expertise, and above all the full-time attention of the mother in order to blossom.

Role of the mother. The appropriate role of the mother for this Freudian/learning theory child is the exclusive caregiver, expert child-rearer, and educator. She should be at home with the child, particularly during his early years, in order to develop crucial attachments.

Benefit to the mother. Her source of satisfaction lies in being a good mother, which takes much time and knowledge on her part. The development of other aspects of herself are not considered, nor is the possibility of economic contributions included.

Role of the caretaker. The family structure necessary in order to support this childrearing pattern is, of course, the traditional nuclear family. Both mother and father should be present in order for the child to develop appropriately. The influence of siblings is not considered particularly critical.

Implications for working mothers. The mother's working outside the home represents a potential danger for the child, since she must be away from the child during a time in which he needs to develop an exclusive bond or attachment with her. She may feel guilt or a sense of loss if she is not able to be at home,

or (worst yet) chooses not to be at home. Whether or not the child is able to continue his attachment to her becomes one of the prime concerns of working mothers. Not surprisingly, little concern about the effects of father's work on children's attachment to him have been raised, although father absence through separation or divorce is seen as a potential danger for children.

Critique. Although this theory has wide popular support in the U.S. (e.g., Etaugh, 1980), the research in this country has failed to find consistent negative effects of maternal work on children; it does not support this model. Nor, in developing countries, has a systematic negative effect of maternal work for earnings on one measure of child welfare, nutritional status, been found (Leslie, 1985). Mothers' needs other than for the mother role are not considered. In this country, what often appears initially to be a strong bond between mother and child becomes, with increasing age, merely bondage. LeVine (1980) suggests that one of the sources of vulnerability to psychological distress among American children may be the intense mother-child interactions of infancy which cannot be sustained in later years. Whereas working mothers in developing countries perceive children of school age as helpers and companions, U.S. working mothers find them sources of stress and demand (Cleary and Mechanic, 1983). The research literature will be examined in depth after the next section.

The Maturational View

Child Development Theory. The third model stems from a different theory of child development. Gesell, writing during the same period as Watson, saw the child as highly resilient, following a natural maturational process that could be charted in great detail. Unless unusually negative experiences occurred for the child, such as abuse or malnutrition, the child would more or less follow her developmental path. Genetic background and the child's biological strengths were seen as determining factors in the child's development. With adequate support, the child will grow and prosper, In fact, an early deficit of particular kinds of support can be to some extent replaced at a later period of development.

The mother's role. The mother's role with the Gesellian child, is to allow her to develop on her own, and to prevent serious negative conditions. The child does not need to be reared in any particular type of family, and can prosper in a variety of family settings if she receives basic support and is free from neglectful or handicapping conditions.

Benefits to the mother. The benefits to the mother following this theory are not specified, but one might assume that the development of her own autonomy and self-confidence would not conflict with her mothering role.

Role of the caretakers. Having a variety of attachment figures, including the father, may actually be a source of support for children. Children with attachments to other caregivers

are less distressed when their mothers are employed, and may adapt to the birth of a sibling more easily (Scarr, 1984; Schafer, 1977; Rutter, 1982). Research suggests that children can be attached to a caretaker (Ragozin, 1980), such as a high-quality caregiver, as well as the mother. Schaffer and Emerson (1964), studying attachment patterns among Scottish infants, saw evidence that infants form attachments to a variety of familiar people at about the same time. The primary attachment was not necessarily to the mother. "There is, we must conclude, nothing to suggest that mothering cannot be shared by several people" (Schaffer, 1977, p. 100).

Implications for working mothers. According to this model of child development, a child will not be damaged psychologically if her mother works outside the home, if adequate alternative child care is available.

Critique. Most of the current research in the U.S. seems to be more in support of this maturational model than the other two. For example, the considerable amount of work in the United States concerning the effects of mother's work for earnings has brought us to a "current consensus that no deleterious (or enhancing) effects on cognitive development can be directly attributed to out-of-home care per se" (Vaughn, Deane, and Waters, 1985, p. 110). Second, babies continue to show attachment (seek the parent for safety and security) to their caregivers regardless of their mother's working status and being enrolled in full-time day

care (e.g., Ragozin, 1980; Clarke-Stewart and Fein, 1983; Easterbrooks and Goldberg, 1985), although there is some question about the effects of day care prior to one year of age (Vaughn, Deane and Waters, 1985).

Other support for the more robust model of development comes from a comparison of the effects of various family forms on children's cognitive and emotional growth. Eiduson et. al. (1982) studied children in 200 traditional and non-traditional families. At the four-year-old assessment, no differences in intelligence, creativity, aggressiveness, security of attachment to parents, activity level, social competence, emotional adjustment,or maturity were found as a function of family type (traditional, single, unmarried, or communal), despite dramatic differences in espoused philosophies. Child rearing behaviors, it must be noted, were not as divergent as were philosphies.

Early environments may not be as critical as we have thought. Longitudinal studies have documented cases of resilient children who had early negative life experiences, but somehow grew into well-adapted adults (e.g., Werner and Smith, 1982). On the other hand, recent attention to longitudinal effects of early interventions, both in the U.S. and in developing countries, has suggested that effects of early interventions on mental functioning or school attendance exist, but are somewhat limited. (Halpern and Myers, 1985; Townsend et. al., 1982). There is a range of acceptable environments beyond which children cannot

grow and prosper, but this range is greater than the Freudian model would lead us to recommend.

IMPLICATIONS FOR WORKING MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

Summary of the three models: Intersecting needs. Clearly these three models of child development lead to very different recommendations for the working mother. In the first, the Child Survival Model, meeting the child's physical and medical needs as well as the mother's is the primary concern. If resources are very scarce, decisions must be made between allocating resources (e.g., food) to a particular child or to the mother. The conflict is not, however, between the development of the mother and of the child; the more resources that can be garnered, the better the welfare of the child. This model is inaccurate in its failure to consider social and psychological influences on development.

According to the second model, the Freudian view, mother's and children's needs may be in conflict if the mother, either for economic reasons or personal preference, is not the primary caretaker. This model has guided much research in the the field of child development for a number of years, and has influenced popular thinking in the U.S. (Scarr, 1984; Etaugh, 1980). It has probably also influenced professionals in agencies concerned with development. Yet as illustrated in the previous section, the research does not appear to be consistent with this model; women's work does not have the predicted negative effects on attachment, cognitive or emotional development of their children in the U.S.

The third model, the Maturational view, holds that healthy development of children can occur in a number of contexts if adequate child care is available; the mother does not have to be the exclusive primary caretaker. In fact, there is evidence that children benefit from having more than one caretaker. The implication for working mothers is that her need to work, whether for economic reasons or personal fulfillment, does not conflict with children's needs for healthy development, if adequate child care is available, and it is this conclusion which is supported by research most consistently.

Findings from U.S. Research. What conclusions emerge from almost 50 years of research on the effects of maternal work on children in the U.S.? In a recent study, Lerner and Galambos (1985) conclude that "maternal employment has few consistent effects on child development" and that there is a need for a "differentiated analysis of maternal employment influences" (p. 1157), one that includes a focus on mediating processes. One variable has consistently emerged as predictive of outcomes for children: maternal role satisfaction. Mothers who are satisfied with their role, whether employed or not, seem to have positive effects on their children, regardless of amount of time mothers spend with children (within a reasonable range). Dissatisfaction with her role is associated with negative effects on children. "For example, in elementary school children and adolescents, research findings show that congruence between the mother's attitude and her employment status is associated with such positive

child outcomes as better personality adjustment and more egalitarian sex role concepts" (Lerner and Galambos, 1985, p. 1157).

Lerner and Galambos (1985) have used path analyses to examine how maternal role satisfaction might mediate between maternal employment and child development. They find that a mother who is satisfied with her role will have more positive interactions with her child, and that positive mother-child interactions will lead to better child outcomes. They suggest that maternal role satisfaction plays a causal role in parent-child interaction patterns. "At least for the present sample, then, a process-of-influence model that links maternal role satisfaction to parent-child interaction to child development finds some support. In addition, mothers who were highly satisfied with their roles, whether they were working or not, displayed higher levels of warmth and acceptance than did dissatisfied mothers." Further, "highly dissatisfied mothers have high levels of rejection and, in turn, more difficult children" (p. 1163).

Further evidence that parents' satisfaction with chosen roles rather than amount of time with children influences patterns of parent/child interactions comes from a recent study by Cowan and Cowan (1985). They found that the more hours per week the mother worked (up to a maximum of 40) the better 42-month old children performed on problem-solving tasks, whereas the more hours the father worked, (up to 60 hours per week) the

more poorly the children performed. Although the sample was quite small, the authors suggested that these patterns could be a reflection of a correlated variable, the level of stress or depression shown by mother or father, rather than number of hours of work per se. Mothers showed less depression when they were working more hours (up to 40), whereas the fathers who were working more(up to 60 hours) were more depressed and stressed.

Further evidence that dissatisfaction can have negative associations with parent/child patterns comes from work of Crosby (1982), who reported that the most depressed group of women were those who wanted to work but were not working. These women felt trapped and lonely, lacking self-confidence and appeared disorganized. Depressed mothers tend to have children who avoid others and shun the attention of other adults (Kellam et. al., 1983).

Not only the mother's emotional state, but also her education may have significant effects on children. Scarr (1983)'s analysis of 125 single-parent and two parent families indicated that "the children's development did not depend on having both parents living in the household. Rather, children with higher intellectual levels, greater emotional stability, and better personal adjustment came from families with smarter mothers who handled their two-to-four year olds in more benign ways. Mothers of well-developed children are more likely to talk

to their children, reason with them, and explain difficulties to

them, rather than hit them." (Scarr, 1984, p. 121).

How do these findings relate to the three models proposed earlier? They are not consistent with the Child Survival model, because the psychological variable of role satisfaction is associated with child development. Nor are they consistent with the Freudian model, which would predict negative effects on children of the mother's employment, despite her satisfaction. They are more congruent with the maturational hypothesis that there are a variety of family types and conditions that lead to healthy development if adequate care is available, and this adequate care could be defined by parents who are not depressed or who are reasonably satisfied with their life choices.

Application to Developing Countries. These results were obtained in the richest country in the world, in a homogeneous cultural setting (where, or course, the Freudian model has considerable sway). The idea that a woman's opinion about her role is important to consider seems perhaps too simple to be useful. What is its relevance to developing countries and conditions of poverty? How can cultural variation be included?

The net effect of maternal work for earnings on children in developing countries has often been conceptualized as the trade-off between increased income for purchases of food and medical care, and reduced time with children. However, this model does not account for differences in the way income is spent, depending on who is responsible for spending it, an issue

currently being discussed as intra-household resource allocation (see Engle, 1985; Dwyer, 1983; Kumar, 1984; Franklin, 1984). Nor does it acknowledge that the mother's time with children is less predictive of child outcomes than is a variable such as her education or that many mothers designate others as major child-tenders from a very early age (e.g., LeVine, 1980), regardless of their work role. Finally, it does not include a consideration of individual differences among mothers which have been found to be associated with children's welfare. For example, a number of investigators have suggested that certain families have children who perform better than might be expected given the circumstances, and the reason for the difference has been attributed to some characteristic of the mother, such as "swiftness", "competence", or "enthusiasm" (Zeitlan, 1984; Scrimshaw and Scrimshaw, 1983). This characterictic may relate to the mother's physical health, but it is also probably related to the woman's attitude toward her family role and her economic roles. A woman who has to work for earnings when she would rather be home might be incapable of providing good management because of stress, whereas another woman who is essentially in favor of her work role might be able to find ways to cope with her dual role. Similarly, woman living in an oppressive family situation might be happier as well as wealthier if she had an independent source of income.

If women become cash-earners from necessity rather than

personal fulfillment, as most researchers of women's work in developing countries conclude, how can such a "soft" concept as role satisfaction become important? First, even if a woman feels that she has to work, she may differ in her opinion as to the effects of that work on herself and her children. If she feels that she is hurting her children by her work, and feels depressed and guilty, she may be less able to provide good mothering than if she felt comfortable with that role.

Second, even though many women work from economic necessity, that does not imply that many of these women would choose to work even if they did not have to. A surprising number in those few studies in which women are questioned about their work role state that they would like to continue to work (e.g., Rosenberg, 1984) or non-workers would like to begin to work (Engle, 1983). However, a not insubstantial proportion of women would like to be relieved of the work burden, particularly if the work is onorous, the pay low, and alternative child care systems are poor. Household workers such as the ones Bunster and Chaney (1985) describe who work 17 hours a day, and must keep their children locked in their small cubicle-like rooms probably would prefer not working if another source of income, such as income from a son, were available. Other household workers who are treated better and who receive some patronage from their employers probably would like to continue to work, although sometimes in a different role. Bunster and Chaney (1985) found, for example, that many of the

domestic servants they interviewed would rather have worked as informal street sellers or factory workers. Probably the former worker would report dissatisfaction with her role, the latter would be satisfied.

How can this concept account for cultural variation? It is precisely here that the value of examining women's expressed satisfaction with their roles can be seen. Cultural attitudes toward women's work outside the home vary enormously, and there are variations even within similar villages as to the acceptability of this behavior. (see Jackson, 1985). As LeVine et. al. (1985) point out, in a rural Mexican village, more educated women were able to marry men with better jobs, and chose to stay home in order to take care of their children, consistent with the Mexican ideal. On the other hand, Gallin (1984) found that in Taiwan, women who had alternative child care through a mother-in-law found that working outside the home had benefits for them, and they chose to continue. We would be guilty of ideological imperialism if we exported to developing countries the idea that all mothers should work for earnings to improve the welfare of their children, as is sometimes suggested. On the other hand, we should not export the Freudian idea that a woman's work outside the home will necessarily damage her child. If we are concerned about the intersecting needs of working mothers and children, is there any reason not to acknowledge that the mother herself can

weigh all of the various factors and decide what is best for her

and for her children?

Previous work has suggested that maternal satisfaction may influence children directly through mother-child interaction patterns (Lerner and Galambos, 1985). It may also be associated with characteristics of the working situation that have independent effects on children, such as the adequacy of child care. Figure 2 shows four factors that might influence the mother's role satisfaction and, either directly or indirectly, child outcomes. It is hypothesized that these factors may both operate directly on food and care resources to affect family-child interactions and child outcomes, and indirectly through maternal role satisfaction and mother-child interactions. These four factors are:

Attitudes toward economic and family roles. If, for instance, a mother believes that she is harming her child by being away from her during a crucial period, she is likely to be more stressed, which may affect her interactions with her children.

Conditions of her work, such as hours per day, physical strain, income, possibilities of friendships or autonomy at the workplace.

Adequacy of child care. A woman who believes that her children are inadequately cared for, or left alone, will probably be much less satisfied with her work role, and her children will do less well.

Opinions and support of family and cultural norms. Whether women's income-earning relates to greater satisfaction depends to a large extent on acceptability of the role in the family and the community. How income-earning affects power relationships within the home, allocation of resources to children, and marital harmony will influence child outcomes.

The ways in which each of these four factors might relate to the woman's needs (her role satisfaction) and her children's needs (their welfare) are discussed in the next sections.

THE MODEL: INCLUDING WOMEN'S NEEDS

Attitudes toward family and economic roles.

Following the maturational model, and including maternal role satisfaction as a predictive variable, we would suspect that mothers who feel that their work was congruent with being good mothers would themselves feel more satisfied, and would have more adequate parent-child interaction patterns. What information do we have about women's attitudes toward work and family roles?

We find considerable evidence for cultural differences in women's beliefs about the appropriate role of a good mother, other than that espoused by the Freudian model. For example, a researcher working with Mexican migrant women observed to me that for these women, supplying and providing food (making their own tortillas) was evidence of their ability to be good mothers. How they took care of their children was not as important to their view of themselves as mothers. Several of these women were working for income, which was valued if it helped the family have good food. These women appear to have views congruent with Model I, the "Child Survival" hypothesis: the mother's role is to provide food and medical care, also described by LeVine (1980).

Attitudes towards work may be changing with time. Rosenberg (1984) examined job satisfaction among 172 female factory workers in Bogota, Colombia. She reported a high degree of satisfaction with work; 73% of her sample were satisfied with their jobs, and

wanted to continue working. Women with children under 12 reported more satisfaction than those with older children or no children. These women seemed to be satisfied because they felt that they were contributing to the family's welfare. When asked for reasons for being satisfied, 18% were happy helping out their families, 50% were happy with the job conditions, and only 2% said that they enjoyed being independent.

In this sample, women's attitudes about work and families were changing as a function of age and education. She found what appeared to be a discrepancy between women's attitudes toward work and family roles and their behavior; "all of them worked outside the home, many with young children. At the same time, however, they did not approve of women with children working" (p. 13). Rosenberg concluded that these results were a function of changes in attitudes with age and education. The younger, better educated women had adopted the "North American emphasis on individual achievement." One woman stated "Women now grow up with more freedom. And they can work even when married" (p. 14). On the other hand, the older, less educated women held more traditional sex-role attitudes.

Other researchers have reported the emergence of contradictory attitudes about work and family roles. Stinnet, Knaub, O'Neal, and Walters (1983) examined the perception of the role of women held by 71 married women in Panama from a variety of communities and socioeconomic levels. Women generally

supported equal pay for equal work, and equal intelligence of men and women, but most felt that their role in the home, as a good wife, was primary, and the role of the worker was secondary. These opinions were held whether or not the woman was working. The authors suggest that working mothers were able to bridge the gap between the ideal and the actual role by considering that they were committed primarily to the family, even in their work roles. Several other studies found that women were satisfied with their work role because they felt that they were contributing to their family's well-being (e.g.,Wong and Ko, 1984, in Singapore). In sum, it appears that for many working mothers, the contribution of income that they are providing is a source of pride and satisfaction, and concerns about possible damage to their children of lack of time with the mother is not considered as long as adequate child care exists. These mothers, then, seem to hold a Maturational or possibly a Child Survival view of development, rather than the Freudian view.

Work conditions

Surprisingly little research was located on the effects of working conditions, such as length of day and physical stress, on women's role satisfaction or on outcomes for children. A number of researchers have suggested that under certain conditions an income-earning role enhances women's self-confidence (and, probably, their satisfaction with their work and family roles). Crandon (1984) examined the impact of 5 Women-in-Development

projects in Latin America on women and families using ongoing process research methods, which are somewhat anecdotal. In all 5 projects, women reported increased self-confidence and self-worth, from leaving the house more, having a more equal division of labor in the household, and from helping their families. Concern about not being with their children was not discussed. The author attributed the esteem-enhancement to the local, national, and even international attention the projects received, the group ownership of the projects, and the women's control of the resources.

Rocha, Edmunds, Olafson, and DeCodes (1983) trained community mothers in Bahia, Brazil, to become child care workers, then assisted them in starting a child care program. They reported great changes in caregivers' self-confidence, as well as in the children's mental development, health, and nutrition, although no data were presented. Jain (1980), in a fascinating study of five women's projects in India, decided that work for earnings itself was not sufficient to develop confidence in women. She concluded that, in addition, women needed the strength that came from association and acceptance from non-family members, such as banks and credit unions, and they needed to own the means of production for their enterprise. For some women who worked long hours for little pay with poor child care, exploitation was their experience, and it did not enhance their self-confidence or power. There is a need for more rigorous investigation of these relationships.

Work conditions for many women are extremely stressful and unrewarding. Bunster and Chaney (1985) described the lives of 50 domestic workers and street sellers in Lima. These women work up to 16 hours a day for little pay 6 or 7 days a week. The free time they have is used for household work in their own homes. The most disliked occupations of the 50 servants interviewed were farm work and street selling. Although domestic work was not the most disliked for them, none wanted either their sons or their daughters to be domestic workers. Although these women would like to have been nurses or dressmakers, their realistic expectations for themselves are factory work, street selling, or sewing at home.

Factory work seems to be an appealing option to many women (e.g., Engle, 1983 in Guatemala). Wong and Ko (1984) in Singapore found that a number of women reported that they located their best friends in their work environment, and would miss them if they were to stop working. However, the pattern of their lives was one of little recreation, high stress, and a double workload of home and work.

Although many women aspire to become employees in the modern sector, only the lowest-level jobs appear to be open to them, primarily because of discriminatory attitudes on the part of employers. Anker and Hein (1985) interviewed employers and employees in six countries (Cyprus, Ghana, India, Mauritius, Nigeria, and Sri Lanka) about hiring women in modern sector

jobs. They found that there was an adequate labor supply of women who were eager to work for earnings, but that the demand for these workers was not present. The reasons for the lack of demand were beliefs of the employers that mothers would be frequently absent, have a high turnover rate, and cost more to provide maternity and nursing benefits to than non-mothers, or men. The validity of these assumptions was limited. A second set of reasons concerned explicit stereotypes about women workers' capabilities. They were generally seen as unable to supervise, and suitable for only certain types of jobs. Jobs appropriate for women were those involving household-like skills, such as assembly-line plants that require minute work of a repetitive nature. Women were valued as a docile workforce willing to work for very low wages. These attitudes indicate that women will be hired at the bottom of the hierarchy of jobs, and stay there.

Work conditions have been found to relate to children's welfare. Soekerman (1985) in Indonesia found that conditions of the mothers's work, such as wage rate, were more predictive of nutritional status for infants than work status. Engle, Pederson, and Smidt (1985) found that in an urban area of Guatemala, children of domestic workers were more poorly nourished than non-workers, whereas children of formal and informal workers were better nourished than non-workers, even controlling for education, income, and marital status. More work in this area needs to be done. Research on the effects of

physical stress and uncertainty on outcomes for mothers and children is also needed.

Child Care Patterns

Bunster and Chaney (1985), describing the lives of 50 Peruvian domestic workers, found that "the child-care problem is, without doubt, the most pressing one facing the interviewees, the one they mention most often" (p. 141).

The implications of the Maturational model for child care patterns suggests that avoidance of neglect and severe negative circumstances are important, that a range of forms of child care could be acceptable, and that a reasonable level of quality is necessary. With these recommendations in mind, let us examine of child care practices of women who work for income.

How much time per day do mothers spend with their children?. One would predict that mothers following Model I assumptions (survival) would tend to restrict their intensive care of a child to the infancy period, whether or not they are working for income outside or inside the home. The few studies which have examined time use patterns suggest that this is the case (Ho, 1979 in the Philippines; e.g. Ware, 1984, in several Asian countries).

A number of investigators have argued that child care is much less time-consuming for the mother in developing countries than it is in the United States, principally because of the availability of low-cost caretakers in the extended family. At the same time, the very long hours of working women with children

have frequently been noted (Fagley, 1976, East Africa; McDowell et. al., 1976, also East Africa; Mota, 1979, Santo Domingo; Bunster & Chaney, 1985).

Two separate questions need to be addressed: how much time are women spending with their children and in other household tasks directly related to their children; and how does their use of time change when they begin to spend more time in income-generating activities? These questions can be addressed through time use studies, in which all of the activities a woman performed the previous day or days, the length of time each took, and the activities of other family members are recorded. Time use studies are perhaps the only way to quantify the time cost of children. However, the data collection involves problems (see Engh & Butz, 1981). The most common methodology is to ask women to recall their activities, but some studies have used observation of activities and time diaries written by the woman. This methodology presents certain problems, principally the validity of the data: can the woman remember what she has done, and does she have a sufficient time sense to estimate the number of hours or minutes each activity required (Birdsall, 1978). Another problem is accounting for joint activities; to what extent are women doing two things at once, and how can these be tabulated? This problem is critical if one is to estimate time expenditures for child care. Much child care time is a concurrent activity (the mother is "keeping an eye out"), which may not require all of the mother's attention, but probably will

lower her efficiency and limit her movements. To date, only one time use study located considered these different levels of time input (Goldberg, 1980), using United States data. Results from this study will be considered later. Most other investigators (non-psychologists) have had to assume that joint activities do not exist (for instance, if a mother reports watching her child, then she is doing nothing else (e.g., Ho, 1979).

When the child is at what age does the mother begin to transfer exclusive care of the child to someone else? There is clearly considerable variation in the age at which mothers begin to share major portions of child caretaking with other family members, decreasing her time investment. But the specific age is hard to pinpoint. Economists have tended to use age-grouped data (e.g., "children under 5") rather than either continuous age measures or developmental criteria which would make much more sense for caretaking patterns, such as whether the child is able to walk. Thus the question of age at which mothers' time in child care begins to decrease is addressed only obliquely. Moreover, these analyses tend to use relatively few subjects in widely dispersed parts of the world, where differing caretaking patterns are likely to occur.

The few studies of women's time used that include information on age of children suggest that a mother's intensive time investment in child care ceases quite early. Ho (1979) reports time investments dropping after the child reaches one

year in a rural Philippines sample of 99 families (416 children). Using the same data set, but grouping by categories 0-2, 3-5, and 6-8, Cabanero (1978) found that mother's child care time dropped almost in half when the child was from 3-5, and dropped again to only one quarter of the initial (0-2) time investment for children from 6 to 8. In addition, children required less time when the family was large, and that boys required more time than girls at all ages. DaVanzo and Lee (1983) report similar patterns in Malaysia, but again with a different age grouping. An infant (less than 2) increased women's child care time by 31 hours a week; a child of 2-5 required only 12 1/2 additional hours a week; and the 6-10 year olds did not increase the mother's child care time significantly (6 hours a week).

These studies are consistent in indicating a rapid drop-off of child care time for the mother, but the arbitrary quality of the age groupings limits the usefulness of the data. Ho (1979) does not specify the basis for her choice of 0-1 year (the youngest age group category encountered), nor do any of the other investigators explain their age groupings. The implications for women's potential labor force participation are not insignificant; if for example, a woman has five living children and her period of intensive investment continues through her child's third year, she will have 10 more potentially, heavily burdened years than will a woman whose intensive investment drops off after the infant is one year old.

In order to clarify the mother's patterns of child care investment, either the actual ages of children need to be recorded, so that the question of intensive time investment in child care can be addressed empirically, or children should be grouped according to developmental stages that are important for caretaking. Mothers could be surveyed initially for local norms. One such category is walking/non-walking, which normally occurs between the ages of 8 months and 15 months. Anthropologists who have examined child care patterns in a large number of cultures (e.g., Barry and Paxson, 1971), have looked specifically at changes in caretaking patterns at the "transition to early childhood," marked by the onset of walking and an increase in automony. Many societies show a decline in maternal exclusiveness of care at that point. Another important developmental change related to caretaking is the point at which language, and therefore instruction, begins to be internalized, so that children's behavior can be governed by rules or guidelines in the absence of immediate supervision. This development normally occurs between the ages of 2 1/2 and 3, although it will vary with the culture. A third critical point is the age of weaning, which will vary by situation and culture.

Most time use studies do not discriminate among different kinds of child care time. Yet a relatively simple solution to the joint activity problem was suggested by Goldberg (1980). She categorized time as direct contact (one-to-one, no other person present), indirect contact (several children present) or

available time when the mother is within hearing distance and on watch, but not attending to the child. The latter two categories of time use may not be noted as child care time, but they are important to note, as they may reduce the efficiency of concurrent activities.

Clearly there are other time costs to the mother of additional children. Data on household work and food preparation by the mother suggest that these are initially higher in the presence of an infant, but that in general the mother's portion may drop with a larger family size (Quizon and Evenson, 1978). Help is available from other family members. However, DaVanzo and Lee (1983) find that the total number of hours in home production increases with family size.

Do income-earning women receive more help from husbands than non-income earners? In 1975 Szalai completed a survey of time use in 12 countries. He concluded, "it is shocking to see what a small share employed men take in housework and household obligations (p. 9). There is little evidence in any of the studies which addressed this question that fathers spend time in child care, whether or not the mother is involved in income-earning activities (Rosenberg, 1984, in Bogota; Danes, Winter and Whiteford, 1985 in rural Honduras; Bunster and Chaney, 1985, Lima; Crandon, 1984, 5 Latin American countries; Gallin, 1982, Taiwan; Wong and Ko, 1984, Singapore). In Guatemala, women who reported working 8 or 9 hours outside the home, in addition to child care

and food preparation, reported less than half an hour a day of help from anyone other than another child, and the amount of help did not differ according to her working status (Engle, Pederson, and Smidt, 1985). Bunster and Chaney (1985) found that help with domestic chores was more likely than help with child care among the Lima street vendors.

This division of labor appears to highly resistent to change. These patterns may change slowly even in a country which actively encourages the father's role in child care, as the U.S. does. Even in this country, fathers are only beginning to provide much additional help if women work for earnings (Ybarra, 1982, Hiller, 1984), and the amount of help may be overestimated by the father (Zaslow, Pederson, Suwalsky, Rabinovich, and Cain (1985).

What other changes in women's time use patterns are seen with increasing labor force participation? Employed women are on the average working, both in market production and home production, more hours per day than men (Kossoudji and Mueller, 1980 in rural Botswana; Nag, White and Peet, 1978 in rural Java and Nepal; Johnson, 1975 in Machiguenga; Szalai, 1975 in 12-country survey; Quizon and Evenson, 1978 in rural Philippines).

As women increase their labor force participation, their leisure (personal use) time decreases (Quizon and Evenson, 1978 in the Philippines; Szalai, 1975 in 12-country survey). Their child care time also decreases (DaVanzo and Lee, 1983), although this effect may be due to increases in family size. Women with

larger families are more likely to work, and to spend fewer hours per day in child care. In the United States, Goldberg (1980) and Zeigler (1983) both found that employed women had less "available" time for children than unemployed women, but that hours of employment had no effect on their "direct" time (one-to-one) spent with their preschool children.

Only when women begin to work in market production for more than six hours a day does their food production begin to decline (Quizon and Evenson, 1978 in the Philippines; Engle, Pederson & Smidt, 1985, in Guatemala).

Probably women's abilities and time management skills affect their time allocation (Franklin, 1984).

From this admittedly spotty data base one can see that time use data, although costly and difficult to collect, provide important information on women's home production as well as market production, and offer insights into how time allocation patterns change as women increase their hours in income-generating labor. Most important, these data document the long hours of work and lack of free time common to both urban and rural low-income women.

What kinds of child care are income-earning mothers using? It is commonly assumed that in the urban setting the extended family is disappearing and, therefore, low-cost alternative care-takers are less available. Yet many have suggested (e.g., Rivera, 1979, and Rosenberg, 1985, both in Bogota, and Gallin,

1984 in Taiwan) that kin networks continue to be adaptive strategies. In fact, there appears to be a new family form emerging in many urban areas, a matrifocal family structure (e.g.,Wong and Ko, 1984 in Singapore; Keller, 1983, in Bolivia). The effects of this family form on child outcomes and maternal role satisfaction is an area needing investigation.

Twelve studies were located which sampled income-earning women's child care arrangements. These studies all happen to be from Latin America. Descriptions of the studies and estimates of the data quality are in Table 1. A comparison across studies is difficult because different categories of caretakers are used in each study, the questions asked of the mothers to identify child care arrangements differ substantially, and the ages of the children differ from study to study. Data from the national Childcare Consumer Study (1975) of 4000 women in the United States and Klein's (1985) analysis of child care patterns of mothers of infants are presented for comparison.

Are there alternative caretakers in the home who perform child care? The studies of working mothers indicated that about half of the children were being taken care of by relatives in the home. In Caracas, 58%, 40% in Trinidad and Tobago, 34% in the Brazilian sample, 38% in Lima (Bunster sample) and, in Bogota (Rivera sample), 37% of the children from 0 to 2, and 10% of the children from 3 to 7 were in the care of a relative in the child's home. Use of relatives in the home is clearly not

sufficient for a number of women. Mothers also used other caretakers in the home (60% in Managua, 28% in Lima (Anderson sample), and in the U.S., 31% for the 0 to 2 age group, and 28% for the 3 to 5 group (1975).

Another strategy is to take the child along, used by 46% of the domestic workers studied by Bunster and Chaney (1985) and 50% of urban formal and informal workers in urbanizing Guatemala (Engle, Pederson and Smidt, 1985). Was this beneficial for mother and for child? Certain kinds of work have been assumed to be more compatible with child care, such as agricultural work, work in the home, work near to the home, and work in markets. However, it seems quite clear that a woman accompanied by one or more small children will be less efficient in her time use than a woman unaccompanied, and conditions for accompanying children may be detrimental. The only investigators who have tried to address that question were DaVanzo and Lee (1983). They compared the number of hours a week women spent in market and non-market activities (shopping and washing) when they were accompanied by small children with time spent when they were alone. They found that women who take children spend less time in market (remunerative) activities and more time in non-market activities than women with similar-aged children who are not accompanying them. It would be important to know whether the women worked faster because the children were present, or whether they simply completed less work.

Compatibility is a difficult term to define. Simply having the child with the mother may not be advantageous to both. Some of the domestic workers that Bunster and Chaney (1985) interviewed were required to care for the family she was working for before her own children. The mother had to neglect and delay feeding her child while caring for the children of her employers. Further study of work and child care compatibility needs to include both child and adult variables. Child variables might include age, sex, and number. For example, toddlers seem to be the most difficult to have with the mother, as they are too old to remain held, and too young to trust (Danes, Winter, and Whiteford, 1985). Adult variables might include type of work, distance from home, perhaps an estimate of the degree of danger in the environment, and the rate or intensity of the mother's work. For many women, paid household work is extremely demanding, and does not leave much time for child care. The assumption that bringing children with the mother is the best solution may reflect adherence to the Freudian/learning theory model.

Danes, Winter, and Whiteford (1985) found a relationship between type of work (formal or informal sector) and age of children in a rural Honduran sample. Informal workers tended to be older, to be in a female-headed household, but to have an infant at home. Formal workers were tended to be younger, but had fewer infants. But, for both groups, "there is little question that

being a member of a extended family makes participation in either of the market sectors more likely" (p. 11).

Rosenberg (1984) found a relationship between household structure and child care strategies for factory workers in Bogota. Women-headed households relied on sibling care, women living in extended households relied on other female relatives, and women living with husbands were able to depend on friends, neighbors, and maids for child care (32%). She concludes that the female-headed households (often the households of widows and older women) were "in a double bind regarding child care options. They were less likely to live in extended households than other respondents, so were less likely to have female relatives available for child care. In addition, these respondent-heads were less likely to live in households which could afford to pay for child care. Consequently, these women were often obliged to leave their children alone while they were at work" (p. 10).

How many children are left alone? Few studies examine this issue separately. In Salvador, Brazil, 4.7% of children aged 0-6 were left alone. In both the Lima and Managua studies, 8% of children aged 0-4 were left alone when the mother had to go out. Rosenberg (1984) reported 16% of children left home when their mothers worked, but the children ranged from 0 to 12. Bunster and Chaney (1985) found that only one of the 50 household workers left her child alone, but the circumstances are those we most fear. "In only one case are infants left on their own (a girl of

two and one-half years, and her little brother aged eight months). A visit to Carmen's house revealed that, apart from the danger, the children are growing up like two small animals. The little girl defecates everywhere, and she cannot really respond to the needs of the infant who simply is left unattended until Carmen's return" (p.143). Most of these studies are remarkably consistent in suggesting that a relatively small number of children are left alone, but that these cases are dangerous for children and probably upsetting for mothers.

Do women use day care services? Responses varied by country. In two of the samples of working women day care was fairly common. In Trinidad and Tobago, 42% of the children were in day care, a large percent attached to the school system. In Rivera's Bogota sample, 25% of the 0-2 year olds, and 61% of the 3-7 year olds were in child care centers. In countries without formal child care systems, few children are enrolled in private care. No more than one or two children were in day care in Brazil or Santo Domingo. None were in day care in Guatemala, and only 4% were cared for by an employee in an urban area (Engle, Pederson, and Smidt, 1985).

Will there be a need for more child care in the future? Some researchers have suggested that the extended family is continuing to exist (Rosenberg, 1984). Whether it will be able to provide child care for the large number of women moving into the work force is dubious, as working women's children may be

more likely to be employed themselves, thereby reducing the available pool of child care providers. The large-scale day care center is not a viable option; however, development of small-scale neighborhood day care groups might be the most effective way of providing a child care system that is as close to the extended family system as possible, and still provides adequate care. If such a system were to operate, the likelihood of serious negative consequences to children, following the Maturational model, would be slim.

Role in the family

Although we normally assume that women welcome increases in decision-making within the home, and more egalitarian roles, this may not always be the case. A woman who is behaving in a non-traditional way may feel dissatisfied with her role, whether income-earning or not. The acceptance of her spouse, and kin networks may also have a large effect on her role satisfaction. If she gains status, power, or respect within her family as a function of her work role, as many investigators have reported, she is likely to be satisfied with a work role. If, on the other hand, her work is greeted with opposition in the home, she may feel quite unhappy if economic circumstances require her to work.

Do women who earn an income have a greater role in decision-making in the home? Resource theory suggests that women with greater access to resources will have more decision-making in the home. In order to test this hypothesis, Lee and Peterson (1983)

examined the association between the extent of women's contributions to agriculture and their decision-making power within the household in 119 societies. For almost all societies, a positive relationship between women's subsistence role, and their intra-household power was found. Achayra and Bennett (1982), in their eight-village study in Nepal, also found that women had more decision-making authority when their economic role was greater. Cosminsky and Scrimshaw (n.d.) compared three cultures in Guatemala, and found that the one in which women had the most autonomy was also the one in which they were wage-earners. A study of Mexican migrants in the U.S. (Ybarra, 1982) indicated that husbands of women who worked were more egalitarian in their sex-role attitudes than husbands of non-workers.

None of these studies indicate that changes in economic roles will cause changes in decision-making power in the home. Other factors have also been found to be associated with decision-making: age, cultural beliefs (Safiolis-Rothschild, 1980) and degree of commercial activity (Due, Mudenda, Miller, and White, in Zambia, 1985). The only study to examine change over time was an analysis of Taiwanese families (Gallin, 1984) which suggested that women gained power in the household compared to their mother-in-laws over a generation, and many cultural factors as well as income-earning could account for these changes. A short-term experimental investigation of this hypothesis is needed.

Do all women want increased decision-making in the home? Although a number of studies already summarized have suggested that economic roles are satisfying to women and result in increased self-esteem, there are suggestions in the literature that women in some cultures value the "myth of male superiority" in which men appear to make most decisions, although women have a substantial role (Stevens, 1973, in Stinnet, et. al., 1983). Bunster and Chaney (1985) reported that some of the domestic workers in their Peruvian sample felt that husbands should make the major decisions about children, even when the men contributed nothing to the upbringing of the children, and rarely saw them.

The advantages of using maternal role satisfaction as a mediating variable is that work for earnings is not advocated as a means of improving the welfare of all women and children. In fact, some women may lose power in the family if they become income-earners. Bould (1982) describes the benefits of the reciprocal economic relationships that sustain many rural agricultural families, and suggests that these break down when spouses undertake separate income-earning activities. Harman (1984) also describes the relativly equal role that women play in a rural Andean society in which women are spiritually associated with the earth. In some reports, women appear not to want increases in decision-making power. For example, Palmer (1985) reported that some wives of out-migrants in sub-Saharan Africa were anxious about their power of spending scarce funds while their husbands were away, and wanted them to return. In Hausa

Nigeria, some wives welcomed seclusion as an increase in their status, even if it reduced their mobility (Jackson, 1985). A general trend for increases in education to be associated with a greater desire for decision-making and egalitarian roles in the home seems reasonable.

Does women's work for earnings result in marital discord?

The few studies which have discussed husband acceptance of their wives' work role have indicated that the more money she earns, the higher the level of acceptance of the husband (Rosenberg, 1984; Crandon, 1984) of her work. One report quoted a husband in Honduras who was unhappy because his wife was not a member of a new cooperative for women that had been formed (Danes, et. al., 1984).

Both Bould's (1982) theory of reciprocal economic responsibilities and a model of "role homophily" proposed by Simpson and England (1981) would suggest that families in which the partners rely on each other's economic contributions would be more stable. There are cases of marital discord associated with women's work for earnings, but women's economic activity does not appear to be the causal factor. For instance, Tucker (1984) observed that Quechua men in the Peruvian highlands whose wives had become petty traders in order to augment their incomes combined alcohol and physical abuse to their wives with greater frequency than prior to the trading activity. Keller (1983) described a female-headed household pattern in Bolivia that

resulted from violence and abuse of husbands to wives in the rural areas. Heavy drinking by men, low incomes, and sexual permissiveness for men resulted in weak husband-wife bonds. In the urban areas, jobs for men were much more limited than opportunities for women to trade in the informal sector. Keller concluded that the women in his sample wanted babies, not husbands. They had found new freedom and independence in the urban area. These few studies would lead one to suspect that it is not the woman's economic activities that lead to marital discord, but the economic pressures on the entire family that lead to family disruption. The effects of the larger economic picture on patterns of intra-family migration and poverty appear to be devastating.

It has recently been argued that women who earn an income may have a greater role in decision-making than a non-income earning woman, and that, because she (as we have seen above) is in charge of child care, she will be more likely to use that income to provide food, medical care, and other needs of children than would the husband. Anecdotal evidence suggests that mothers tend to purchase foods for children more than fathers. Palmer (1985) found that when men who migrated to mines in South Africa returned to their families, they brought goods for the family, and wanted to spend the money on education rather than on food and household necessities.

There are large differences by culture in patterns of allocating money and decision-making, even within the same geographical area. Panter-Brick (1985) and Jackson (1985), for example, have documented cases of women living side by side in a village, but with very different work and childrearing roles as a function of cultural backgrounds. In Singapore, Wong and Ko (1984) found that most income was turned over to the wife, who was responsible for spending it. Some outmigrants described by Palmer (1985) restricted the use of the money they sent to their wives, whereas others left the allocation of the funds up to their wives. However, the role of the mother as the primary provider for food and medical care seems widespread. This hypothesis has, so far, received some support (e.g., Kumar, 1977; Tripp, 1981; Kumar, 1985).

Policy Implications

No one solution will work for all mother-child and family situations. For some women, the move into income-generation may be extremely positive, bringing benefits of greater household power, decision-making, and control over resources. For others, such a move would engender dissatisfaction, stress, and probably less adequate mothering. Similarly, a number of women currently involved in home production, possibly at a low level, would prefer to be involved in income-producing activities, and these women should be encouraged, as they are now, to become involved in income-generating activities. However, those who are not

involved in income-generation should not be encouraged to if they do not wish to; how they should be supported is an issue of public welfare. Some of these women manage to support themselves through elaborate kin networks (e.g., Anderson in Peru, 1983), in which brothers and fathers support a woman. The Carribean has long had this tradition. Programatic decisions could be made in accord with local normative behavior, rather than being an imposition of either the Freudian/learning theory model of child development which disapproves of maternal work for earnings, or the Survival view that economic contributions of the mother are more important than the provision of adequate social and psychological conditions of development. The implications of the maturational model should suggest the importance of building on and further developing natural systems of child care, and eliminating barriers to women's employment fostered by stereotyped views of the woman's roles and capabilities.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Three models of child development were presented, each of which recommends the appropriate role of the mother for the proper nurturance of the child. It was argued that the Survival model, which considers that the mother's role should be in the provision of food and physical care, ignores aspects of psychological development. The Freudian/learning theory model, which has dominating American thinking, leads one to the conclusion that if the child is not under the exclusive care of the mother, she will not develop properly, but research has not supported this model. The third, the Maturational model, implies that children can develop well with a variety of caretakers, providing the care is of good quality, and it is this theory which is most supported by data both from the U.S. and from developing countries. This model would lead one to recommend that needs of both the mother and the child can be met if a woman must work outside the home.

It was hypothesized that outcomes for children would be more highly associated with the mother's satisfaction with her work and family roles than with work status per se, a consistent finding in the U.S. literature. Four factors which were presumed to influence the role satisfaction of mothers were attitudes toward work and family, work conditions, adequacy of child care, and the woman's role in the family. It was suggested that these

factors would influence the mother's satisfaction directly, and outcomes for children both directly, and indirectly through the mother's attitudes.

From the literature, some specific conclusions were made.

Women's definition of good mothering varies considerably by culture. For many women, contributing to the family's income is perceived as good mothering.

Many women report satisfaction with working, even under difficult circumstances. However, the opportunities for higher-paid and supervisory positions may be limited by attitudes of employers in the modern sector.

Conditions of working that lead to enhanced self-esteem for mothers seem to be control over the means of production, and recognition within the community of their work role.

Studies suggest that women do not spend large amounts of time in child-rearing after the first year or two of a child's life, regardless of work status, although this attitude is changing with increased education of mothers.

Child care continues to be a central question for working mothers. There is some suggestion that the extended family is continuing to exist as an adaptive strategy, particularly in urban areas. Matrifocal families are beginning to appear in urban areas as an adaptive strategy.

There appears to be a consistent association between women's economic roles and their decision-making power within the family,

although it is not clear whether the relationship is causal.

Although in certain highly stressed situations, women's economic role is associated with family disruption and even spousal abuse, the economic activity of women is seen as a response to need, rather than a cause of disruption.

Many different patterns of intra-household allocation were observed. There is tentative support for the hypothesis that income in the hands of women is more likely to be allocated to food and medical care for children than income in the hands of other family members, but cultural variations exist.

Female-headed households continue to be foci of concern, for they are likely to be the poorest and have fewest resources for child care.

Paying attention to maternal role satisfaction provides one means for including the needs of women, either to work or to stay at home, in the development of programs for enhancing the well-being of mothers and children.

Figure 1

THREE MODELS OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

	Child Survival	Freudian/Learning	Maturational
Theory of child development.	physical survival important.	child can be programmed, changed enormously.	development unfolds in a robust manner.
How child's needs are met (mother's role)	bearer, provider of food, physical	exclusive mothering	provides supportive environment
How mother's needs are met	Old-age security, companionship, what kids do for her	through watching her child grow	not clear-personal development separate separate from child
Caretaker's role	mother through infancy, then siblings	must be the mother	a variety of caretakers and family forms are acceptable
Implications for working	earning income accepted if adequate child care	quiet if not at home	variety of patterns acceptable if support is provided (maternal role satisfaction)
Critique	ignores social and cultural influences	not supported by research; doesn't take into account mother's needs	supported by research

Figure 2

MATERNAL ROLE SATISFACTION AS AN INTERVENING VARIABLE

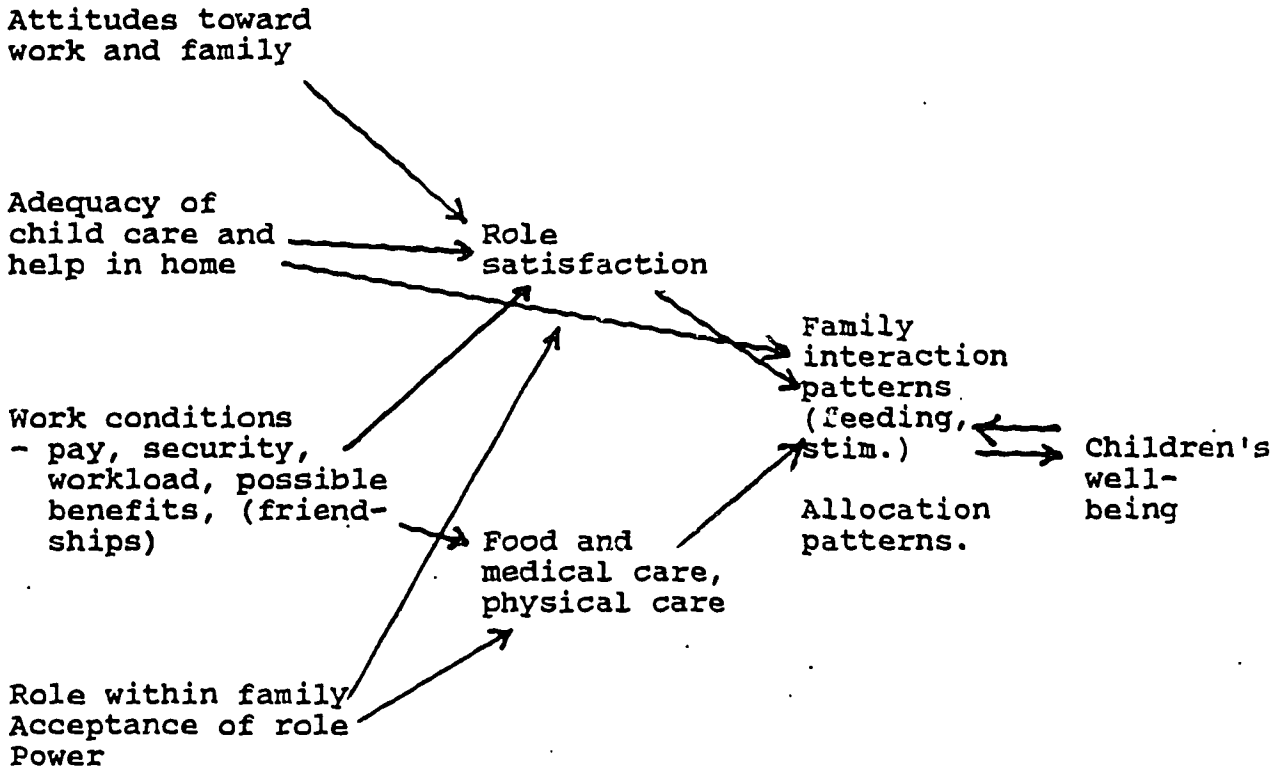

TABLE I: SAMPLE AND SURVEYS OF CHILD CARE METHODS IN LATIN AMERICA

Study	Location	Sample Size	Ages of Children*	Questions Asked of Mother	Quality of Study/Data
UNESCO (1977)	Trinidad and Tobago (urban)	146 children of working mothers	0-2, 4-6	Where do you leave your children when you are at work?	Adequate
Mota (1979)	Dominican (u)+ Republic (rural)	300 mothers (23% working) 40 mothers doing ag. work.	0-6	Who takes care of your children?	Ambiguous questions; no data analysis; no nutritional information; other information is good.
Fundacion del Nino (1979)	Caracas	113 caretakers of children of working mothers	0-7	Interviewed Caretakers only.	Many small inconsistencies in data; questions asked of data not particularly appropriate.
Anderson et.al. (1979)	Lima, Peru (urban) (rural)	74 mothers (28% worked in last 12 months) 43 (all do agricultural work)	0-4	Who takes care of your young children when both parents are unable to do so? (Exact question not stated)	Rural sample did not use specific questions. Descriptions good, analyses hard to understand or inappropriate.
Bittencourt (1979)	Salvador, Brazil (urban)	1057 women (43% work) 148 women with children who work outside home	0-6	When you go to work, with whom do your children younger than 7 stay?	Good tabulations; Statistics weak. Too little information on each mother (e.g., no data on marital status).

Table I, Continued

Study	Location	Sample Size	Ages of Children*	Questions Asked of Mother	Quality of Study/Data
Wolfe (n.d.)	Managua, Nicaragua	755 children (38% with working mothers)	0-4	When you are not home, who watches your children under age 5?	Unpublished data Wolfe shared with me very complete.
Rivera (1979)	Bogota, Colombia	200 mothers, 69% working; 252 children of	0-7	Who has taken care of your children in the preceeding year?	Excellent thorough dissertation; some analyses unclear.
National Child-care Consumer Study (1975)	U.S.A.	4000 women with children under 14, 24% work full time; 19% with children under 6 work full time.	0-2, 3-5	What type of care do you use? (Question not stated in report.)	Very good.
Rosenberg (1984)	Bogota, Columbia	172 working women (108 mothers)	0-12	Not stated.	Adequate.
Danes, et. al. (1985)	Rural Honduras	128 women (41% marked activities)	Not stated.	Not stated.	Data not clearly stated.
Engle, Peterson & Smidt (1985)	Rural & peri-urban Guatemala	322 Urban 926 Rural	Rural: 0-7 Urban: 0-3	Did anyone help with the the child? (child-specific) How often?	Adequate; self-report.

Table I, Continued

Study	Location	Sample Size	Ages of Children*	Questions Asked of Mother	Quality of Study/Data
Bunster & Chaney (1985)	Lima, Peru	50 urban domestic workers and 50 street sellers.	Not stated.	Child care arrangements assessed through "Talking Pictures" methods.	Indepth interviews; small sample, not systematically reported, but high quality information.
Klein (1985)	U.S. (Nation-	Children under 1 year, N≈778	0-1	Not stated.	Adequate; large-scale survey conducted in 1982.

*Ages include all of the year up to the birthday; in other words, 0-7 includes children up to 8th birthday.
+(u) - urban

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Includes Additional References Not Cited)

Achayra, M., & Bennett, L. (1981) The Stakes of Women in Nepal. Katmandu: Center for Economic Development and Administration, Tribhuvan University.

Ahmad, Z. (1984) Rural woman and their work dependence and alternatives for change. International Labor Review. 123: 71-86.

Alvarez, M. L., Wurgaft, F. and Wilder, H. (1982) Non verbal language in mothers with malnourished infants: A pilot study. Social Science Medicine. 16: 1365-1369.

Anderson, J. (1983) Work in Women's Survival Strategies in a Latin American Capital. In Women and Work in the Third World: The Impact of Industrialization and Global Economic Interdependence. ed. N.M. El-Sanabary), Berkeley, California: Conference Proceedings.

Anderson, J.M., Galup, B.F., & Marinez, A. (1979) Child care in urban and rural Peru: A report presented to the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters. Lima, Peru: Overseas Education Fund.

Anker, R. & Hein, C. (1985) Why Third World urban employers usually prefer men. International Labor Review. 124 (1): 73-90.

Ashby, J. A. (1985) Equity and discrimination among children: Schooling decisions in rural Nepal. Comparative Education Review. 29(1): 68-79.

Barlow, K.(1984) The social context of infant feeding in the Murik Lakes of Papua New Guinea. Ecology of Food and Nutrition. 15:61-72.

Barry, H., & Paxson, L.M. (1971) Infancy and early childhood: Cross-cultural codes 2. Ethnology, 10, 466-508.

Beneria, L.(Ed.) (1982) Women and development: The sexual division of labor in rural societies. New York: Praeger.

Berk, S.F. (Ed.) (1980) Women and household labor. Sage Yearbooks in Women's Policy Studies - Volume 5. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Birdsall, N. (1978) Time use data: Policy uses and methods of colletion: Seminar report. New York, New York: The Asia Society.

Birdsall, N. (1985), "Women creating wealth using capital, natural and human resources." Remarks presented at plenary session of Association of Women in Development Conference, April, 1985, Washington, D.C. Mimeo.

Black, N. and Cottrell, A.B. (Eds). (1981) Women and World Change: Equity Issues In Development. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Bould, S. (1982). Women and the family. Theoretical perspectives on development. Michigan State University working paper #13.

Bretherton, I. and Waters, E. (1985) Growing points of attachment theory and research. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 209, 50, 1-2.

Burfisher, M.E. & Horenstein, N.R. (1985) Sex Roles in the Nigerian Tiv Farm Household. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Bunster, X., & Chaney, E.M. (1985) Sellers and servants: Working women in Lima, Peru. New York: Praeger.

Buvinic, M. and Youssef, N.H., with Von Elm, B. (1978) Women-headed households: The ignored factor in development planning. Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development. Mimeo.

Cabenero, T.A. (1978) The "shadow price" of children in Laguna households. Philippine Economic Journal, 36, 17 (1 & 2), 62-87.

Caldwell, J. (1979) Education as a factor in mortality decline. Population Studies 33, 3, 395-413.

Callejas, C. and Gladwin, C.H. (1985) Examination of Factors Limiting the Organization of Rural Women in Honduras. University of Florida. Mimeo.

Carloni, A. S., (1984) "The impact of maternal employment and income on the nutritional status of children in rural areas of developing countries: What is known, what is not known, and where the gaps are." Paper prepared for the U.N. Administrative Committee on Coordination - Subcommittee on Nutrition. Mimeo.

Carloni, A. S. (1981) Sex disparities in the distribution of food within rural households. Food and Nutrition. 7(1):3-12.

Chaney, E. M. (1985) "Women's components in integrated rural development projects." Paper prepared for 45th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Bogota, Columbia.

Chaney, E. M. (1984) Nutritional well-being and rural development: Establishing the connections. A proposal submitted to the Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute, Kingston, Jamaica.

Chaney, E.M. (1983) Scenarios of Hunger in the Carribean: Migration, Decline of Smallholder Agriculture, and the Feminization of Farming. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #18.

Cho, U. & Koo (1983) Capital Accumulation, Women's Work, and Informal Economies in Korea. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #21.

Clark-Stewart, K.A., & Fein, G. (1983). Early childhood programs. En M. M. Haith & J.J. Campos (Eds.), PH.H. Mussen (Series ed.), Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 2. Infancy and developmental psychobiology. (pp. 917-999) NY:Wiley.

Cleary, P.D. and Mechanic, D. (1983) Sex differences in psychological distress among married people. Journal of Health and Social Behavior. 24:111-121.

Cominsky, S., and Scrimshaw, M., (n.d.) Sex roles and subsistence: A comparative analysis of three Central American communities. (Reference to be included.)

Cowan, R.S. (1983) More work for mother: The ironies of household technology from the open hearth to the microwave. New York: Basic Books.

Cowan, C. P. and Cowan, P.A. (1985) Parents' work patterns, marital and parent-child relationships, and early child development. Paper presented at Meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development. Toronto, Canada, April 1985. Mimeo.

Crandon, L. (1984) Women, enterprise, and development: The Pathfinder Fund's Women in Development - Projects, evaluation, and documentation (WID/PED) Program. Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts: The Pathfinder Fund.

Crosby, F. (1982) Relative deprivation and working women. New York: Oxford.

Crouter, A. C., And Huston, T.L. (1985) Social-psychological and contextual antecedents of fathering in dual-earner families. Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research on Child Development, Toronto, Ontario, April, 1985, Mimeo.

Danes, S.M., Winter, M., & Whiteford, M.B. (1985) Informal and formal market participation of rural Honduran women. Michigan State University Working Paper #32.

Da Vanzo, I. & Lee, L.L.P. (1978) The compatibility of child care with labor force participation and non-market activities: Prelimiary evidence from Malaysian time budget data. Paper presented at conference on Women in Poverty, Belmont Conference Center, Washington, D.C.

Da Vanzo, I. & Lee, L.L.P. (1983) In M. Buvinic, M. Lycetk, & W.P. McGreevey, Women and Poverty. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Davidson, M. (1978) Female work status and fertility in Latin America. Social and Economic Studies. 27:481-506.

Dewey, K. G., Metallinos, E.S., Strode, M. A., All, E.M., Ruiz-Fitch, Y., Holguin, M., Kraus, I.A., and McNicholas, L.J. (1984) Combining nutrition research and nutrition education - Dietary change among Mexican-American families. Journal of Nutritional Education. 16(1): no pg. #'s.

de Almeida-Filho, N. (n.d.) The psychosocial costs of development: Labor, migration, and stress in Bahia, Brazil. Latin American Research Review.

Deere, C.D. (1985) Rural Women and State Policy: The Latin American Agrarian Reform Experience. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #81.

Dixon, R.B. (1982) Women in agriculture: Counting the labor force in developing countries. Population and Development Review. 8(3):539-566.

Dixon, R. B. (1979) Jobs for women in rural industry and services. Washington, D.C.: U.S.Agency for International Development - Office of Women in Development.

Due, Mudena, Miller & White (1985) Michigan State University working paper.

Dwyer, D.H. (1983) Women and income in the Third World: Implications for policy. International Programs Working Papers, Population Council, New York.

Easterbrooks, M.A. and Goldberg, W.A. (1985) Effects of early maternal employment on toddlers, mothers, and fathers. Developmental Psychology. 21(5):774-783.

Edmunds, M. and Helzner, J.F. (1982) Peru-Mujer: Women Organizing for Development. Pathfinder Series #9. Chestnut Hill, Maryland: The Pathfinder Fund.

Ehrenreich, B. & English, D. (1979) For her own good: 150 years of the experts' advice to women. New York: Doubleday/ Anchor Press.

Eiduson, B.T., Kornfein, M., Zimmerman, I.L., & Weisner, T.S. (1982) Comparative socialization practices in traditional and alternative families. In Lamb, M. (ed.) Nontraditional families: Parenting and child development, 315-46. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Engle, P.L., Yarbrough, C., Klein, R.E., Irwin, M., Martorell, R., & Townsend, J. (1978) Sex differences in growth and mental development in rural Guatemala. Paper presented at the conference on Women in Poverty, Belmont Conference Center, Washington, D.C.

Engle, P.L. (1980) The intersecting needs of women and children: A report to the Ford Foundation, August.

Engle, P.L. (1981) The effects of maternal employment on children's welfare. Paper presented at International Center for Research on Women Roundtable, December 15.

Engle, P.L. (1983) Discrepancy between Guatemalan women's desires to work and actual employment. In N.M. Sanabary (ed.), Women and Work in the Third World. Berkeley, CA: Center for the Study, Education, and Advancement of Women, (also a paper presentation).

Engle, P.L. (1983) The effects of maternal employment on children's welfare in rural Guatemala. In D. Wagner (ed.), Child Development and International Development: Research-Policy Interfaces. New Directions for Child Development, Vol. 20. San Francisco, (also a paper presentation).

Engle, P.L. (1984) Effects of mothers' work for earnings on daughters' school attendance. Presented at American Anthropological Association meeting, Denver, CO.

Engle, P.L. (1984) Intra-household Allocation of Resources: Perspectives from Psychology. Presented at conference on Intra-household Allocation of Resources, Gloucester, MA, October.

Engle, P.L., & Levin, R.J. (1984) Sex differences in the effects of malnutrition on mental development: a review and some hypotheses. In B. Schurch and J. Brozek (eds.), Malnutrition and behavior: a critical assessment of key issues. Lausanne, Switzerland: Nestle Foundation, 396-410.

Engle, P.L. (1985) Maternal work for earnings and nuritional status. Paper presented at International Congress of Nutrition, Brighton, England.

Engle, P.L., Pederson, M., and Smidt, R.K. (1985) The effects of maternal employment on child nutritional status and school participation in rural and urbanizing Guatemala. Final Report, USAID.

Etaugh (1980) Effects of nonmaternal care on children: Research evidence and popular views. American Psychology, 35, 309-319.

Everett, J., and Savara, M. (n.d.) Institional credit for female petty commodity producers in India: A critical evaluation. Colorado: University of Colorado at Denver. Mimeo.

Fagley, R.M. (1976) Easing the burden of women: The 16-hour workday. Assignment Children, 36, Oct. - Dec.

Feinstein, K.W. (ed) (1979) Working Women and Families. Sage Yearbook in Women's Policy Studies - Volume 4. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications.

Feldman, R. (1983) Women's groups and women's subordination: An analysis of policies towards rural women in Kenya. Review of African Political Economy. (27-28):67-85.

Figueredo, M. (1983) The socioeconomic role of women heads of family in a Brazilian fishing village. Feminist Issues. 3:83-103.

Franklin, D.L. and Harrell, M.W. (n.d.) Resource allocation by low income rural households: The poor also choose. Report prepared for the United States Agency for International Development, Bureau for Policy Planning and Coordination. Washington, D.C.: USAID publication.

Franlin, D.L. (1984) Policy analyses for foods and nutrition: Do moms matter? Paper presented at AID conference on intra-household allocation of resources, Gloucester, Mass., October.

Fujita, K. (1985) Theoretical Problems in Analyzing Women Workers in the Global Factory: The Case of the Electronics Industry. Paper presented at the Association for Women in Development Conference, April, 1985, Washington, D.C. Mimeo.

Gallin, R.S., Whittier, P., and Graham, M.A. (1985) Research and Policy: An Analysis of the Working Papers on Women in International Development. Paper presented at the Association for Women in Development Conference, April, 1985, Washington, D.C. Mimeo.

Gallin, R.S. (1984) Rural Industrialization and Chinese Women: A Case Study From Taiwan. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #47.

Gallin, R.S. (1982) The Impact of Development on Women's Work and Status: A Case Study from Taiwan. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #09.

Goldberg, R.J. (1980) Maternal time use and preschool performance. Child Development.

Gonzalez, R.M. and Fernandez, R.A. (1979) U.S. imperialism and migration: The effects on Mexican women and families. The Review of Radical Political Economics. 11(4): 112-123.

Griffin, C.C., Popkin, B.M., and Spicer, D.s. (1984) Infant formula promotion and infant-feeding practices, Bicol Region, Philippines. American Journal of Public Health. 74(9): 992-997.

Halpern, R. & meyers, R. (1985) Effects of early childhood intervention on primary school progress ar. performance in the developing countries. Paper prepared for PPC/ USAID, Hgh/Scope.

Harman, I.M. (1984) Women and Cooperative Labor in the Southern Bolivian Andes. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #65.

Hebert, M. (1984) Yemeni Women - Still at Home. Cultural Survival Quarterly. 8(2):41-42.

Hill, M.A. (1983) Female labor force participation in developing and developed countries - consideration of the informal sector. Review of Economics and Statistics. 65:459-468.

Hiller, D.V. (1984) Power dependence and division of family work. Sex Roles. 10(11-12):1003-1019.

Hirayama, K.K. (1982) Evaluating effects of the employment of Vietnamese refugee wives on their family roles and mental health. California Sociologist. 5(1):96-110.

Ho, T. (1979) Time costs of child-rearing in rural Philippines. Population and Development Review. 5, 4, 643-662.

Honig, A.S. and Gardner, C. (1985) Overwhelmed Mothers of Toddlers in Immigrant Families: Stress Factors. Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, April, 1985, Toronto, Canada. Mimeo.

Huffman, S.L. (1985) Women's activities and impacts on childhood nutrition. Paper prepared for Clearing House on Infant Feeding and Maternal Nutrition. Washington, D.C.: American Public Health Association. Mimeo.

ICRW (1984) Women's Work and Child Welfare in the Third World: A Proposed Three-Year Program. International Center for Research on Women, Washington, D.C. Mimeo.

Isely, R.B. (1984) Rural development strategies and their health and nutrition-mediated effects on fertility: A review of the literature. Social Science Medicine 18(7):581-587.

Jackson, C. (1985) The Kano River Irrigation Project. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Jain, D. (1980) Women's Quest for Power. Delhi: Vikas.

Johnson, A. (1975) Time allocation in a Machiguenga community. Ethnology, 14, 301-310.

Jones, C. (1983) The mobilization of women's labor for cash crop production: A game theoretic approach. American Journal of Agricultural Economics. 65(5):1049-1053.

Jules-Rosette, B. (1982) Women's Work in the Informal Sector: A Zambian Case Study. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #03.

Kagan, J. (1983) Classifications of the child. In Mussen, P. (ed.) Handbook of child psychology, 1:527-60, New York: Wiley.

Kellam, S.G., Brown, C.H., Rubin, B.R., & Ensminger, M.E. (1983) Paths leading to teenage psychiatric symptoms and substance use: Developmental epidemiological studies in Woodlawn. In Guzz, S.N., Earl, F.J., & Barrett, J.W. (eds.) Childhood psychopathology and development. New York: Raven Press.

Keller (1983) The maternal kin unit in Bolivian urban adaptation. International Journal of Women's Studies. 6, 336, 351.

Keren, D. J. (1985) Creating a new rural labor force: From social welfare to productivity - Women in Mexican agro-industry. paper prepared for presentation at the Association for Women in Development Conference, Washington, D.C., April 25-27, 1985. Mimeo.

Klein, R.P. (1985) Caregiving arrangements by employed women with children under 1 year of age. Developmental Psychology. 21(3): 403-406.

Koussoudji, S. & Mueller, E. (1980) The economic and demographic status of female-headed households in rural Botswana. Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Kossoudji, S. and Mueller, E. (eds.) (1983) The economic and demographic status of female-headed households in rural Botswana. Economic Development and Cultural Change. 31:831-860.

Kumar, S.K. (1977) Composition of economic constraints in child nutrition: Impact of maternal incomes and employment in low-income households. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

Kumar, S. (1984) Differential control over consumption and spending as a function of productive roles. Paper presented at conference on Intra household allocation of Resources, Gloucester, Mass.

Kumar, S. (1985) Paper presented at International Nutrition Conference, Brighton, England.

Lee, G.R. and Petersen, L.R. (1983) Conjugal power and spousal resources in patriarchal cultures. Journal of Comparative Family Studies. 14(1):23-38.

Lerner, J.V. & Galambos, N.L. (1985) Maternal role satisfaction, mother-child interaction, and child temperament: A process model. Developmental Psychology, 21, 6, 1157-1164.

Leslie, J. (1985) Women's work and child nutrition in the Third World. Paper presented at a Policy Conference, International Center for Research on Women, Washington, DC, November 13.

Le Vine, R.A., Richman, A., Le Vine, S., and Correa, C.S. (1985) Reproductive correlates of maternal schooling in Mexico. Paper prepared for Rockefeller Foundation Workshop on Women's Status and Fertility. Mimeo.

Le Vine, R.A. (1980) A cross-cultural perspective on parenting. In M. Fantini & R. Cardenas (eds.), Parenting in a multicultural society. New York: Longman.

McDowell, J. & Hazard, V. (1976) Village technology and women's work in Eastern Africa. Assignment Children, 36, 53-65.

Main, M. and George, C. (1985) Responses of abused and disadvantaged toddlers to distress in agemates: A study in the day care setting. Developmental Psychology. 21(3):407-412.

Mendez-Dominguez, A. (1983) Family and household structures in Guatemalan society. Journal of Comparative Family Studies. 14(2):229-255.

Messer, E. and Bloch, M.N. (1983) Women's and children's activity profiles in Senegal and Mexico: A comparison of time allocation and time allocation methods. Michigan State University: Women in International Development, Working paper #42.

Millard, A.V. and Graham, M.A. (1984) Weaning Decisions by Rural Mexican Women. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #73.

Myers, R. et al (1985) Preschool education as a catalyst for community development. Report to the U.S. Agency for International Development, Lima, Peru.

Nag, M. White, B.N.F., & Peet, P.C. (1978) An anthropological approach to the study of economic value of children in Java and Nepal. Current Anthropology, 19, 2.

Naisho, J. (1982) Health care for women in the Sudan. World Health Forum (Geneva). 3(2):164-165.

Nardi, B.A. (1984) Infant feeding and women's work in Western Samoa: A hypothesis, some evidence, and suggestions for future research. Ecology of Food and Nutrition. 14:277-286.

Nash, J. and Safa, H.I. (1980) Sex and Class in Latin America: Women's Perspectives on Politics, Economics and the Family in the Third World. Massachusetts: J.F. Bergin Publishers.

O'Dell, M.E. (1982) The domestic context of production and reproduction in a Guatemalan community. Human Ecology. 10(1):47-71.

Olson, E.A. (1983) Situational and attitudinal factors in fertility limitation. Medical Anthropology. 7(4):61-67.

Overholt, C., Anderson, M.B., Cloud, K., and Austin, J.E. (Eds.) (1985) Gender Roles in Development Projects. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Overseas Education Fund (1979) Child care needs of low income mothers in less developed countries: A summary report of research in six countries in Asia and Latin America. Washington, D.C.: League of Women Voters.

Palmer, I. (1985) The Impact of Male Out-Migration on Women in Farming. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Panter-Breck, C. (1985) Women's work and child-bearing experience: Two ethnic groups of Salme, Nepal. Oxford University: Department of Biological Anthropology. Mimeo.

Peters, P. (1983) Gender, developmental cycles, and historical process: A critique of recent research on women in Botswana. Journal of Southern African Studies. 10(1):101-122.

Piwoz, E. G. and Viteri, F.E. (1984) Understanding health and nutrition behavior through the study of household decision-making and intra-household resource distribution. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Health Organization, Mimeo.

Quizon, E.K. & Evenson, R.E. (1978) Time allocation and home production in rural Philippine households. Paper presented at the conference on Women in Poverty, Belmont Conference Center, Washington, D.C.

Ragozin, A.S. (1980) Attachment behavior of day-care children: Naturalistic and laboratory observations. Child Development, 51, 409-415.

Rapoport, R., Rapaport, R.N., and Strelitz, Z., with Kew, S. (1980) Fathers, Mothers, and Society: Perspectives on Parenting. New York: Vintage Books.

Rivera, C.M. (1979) Labor force participation and day care utilization by low income mothers in Bogota', Columbia. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University.

Rocha, M.R., Edmunds, M., Olafson, F., and de Codes, J. (1983) Community Child Care in Urban Brazil. Pathpapers Series #10. Chestnut Hill, Mass.: The Pathfinder Fund.

Rodman, H., Pratto, D.J. and Nelson-Smith, R. (1985) Child care arrangements and children's functioning: A comparison of self-care and adult-care children. Developmental Psychology. 21(3):413-418.

Rosenberg, T.J. (1984) Employment and family formation among working-class women in Bogota, Colombia. Journal of Comparative Family Studies. 14(3):333-345.

Ruffman-Christiansen, L. (1985) "Wealth re-examined: Toward a feminist analysis of women's development projects in Canada and in the Third World." Paper prepared for presentation at the Association of Women in Development Conference, Washington, D.C., April 25-27. Mimeo.

Rutter, M. (1982) Social-emotional consequences of day care for preschool children. In Zigler, E.F. & Gordon, E.W. (eds.) Day care: Scientific and social policy issues, 3-32. Boston: Auburn House.

Safiolis-Rothschild, C. (1980) The role of the family in development. Finance and Development, Dec., 44-47.

Scarr, S. (1984) Mother Care/Other Care. New York: Basic Books.

Schaffer, H.R. (1977) Mothering. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Schaffer, H.R. & Emerson, P. (1964) The development of social attachments in infancy Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Whole No. 94.

Scrimshaw, M.W. & Scrimshaw, S.C.M. (1980), Paper presented at APHA, November.

Seidman, A. (1985) The Impact of Aid on Women's Projects: A Pilot Participatory Research Project. Paper presented at meeting of the Association of Women in Development, April, 1985, Washington, D.C. Mimeo.

Seymour, S. (1983) Household structure and status and expressions of affect in India. Ethos. 11(4):263-277.

Simpson, I.H. and England, P. (1981) Conjugal work roles and marital solidarity. Journal of Family Issues. 2(2):180-204.

Soekirman (1985) Women's work and its effect on infants' nutritional status in central Java, Indonesia. Paper presented at colloquium on adequacy of breastfeeding and maternal nutrition status. 13th International Congress of Nutrition, Brighton, England. Mimeo.

Spring, A. (1985) "The women in agricultural development project in Malawa: Making gender-free development work." Paper prepared for presentation at Association for Women in Development Conference, Washington, D.C., April 25-27, 1985. Mimeo.

Spiro, H. (1985) The Mora Farm Settlement in Nigeria. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Staudt, K. (1985) Agricultural Policy Implementation: A Case Study from Western Kenya. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Stevens, E.P. (1973) The prospects for a women's liberation movement in Latin America. Journal of Marriage & the Family, 35, 313-321.

Quinnet, N., Knaub, P.K., O'Neal, S., and Walters, J. (1983) Perceptions of Panamanian women concerning the roles of women. Journal of Comparative Family Studies. 14(2):273-282.

Strassmann, W.P. (1985) Home-Based Restaurants, Snack Bars and Retail Stores: Their Contribution to Income and Employment in Lima, Peru. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #86.

Szalai, A. (1975) The situation of women in the light of contemporary time-budget research. IWY Conference paper, /CONF/66/BP/6.

Teller, C. H. and Butz, W.P. (1983) Circular migration, development conditions, and young child malnutrition in Guatemala." Paper presented at the session on Internal Migrations and Development Interrelationships in Third World Areas" at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, April 14-16, 1983. Pittsburgh, PA. Mimeo.

Tiano, S. (1984) Maquiladoras, Women's Work, and Unemployment in Northern Mexico. Michigan State University: Women in International Development working paper #43.

Tinker, I. (n.d.) New technologies for food chain activities: The imperative of equity for women. Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development. Mimeo.

Townsend, J.W., Klein, R.E., Irwin, M.E., Owens, W., Yarbrough, C. & Engle, P.L. (1982) Nutrition and preschool mental development. In Wagner and Stevenson

Tripp, R.B. (1981) Farmers and traders: Some economic determinants of nutritional status in Northern Ghana. Journal of Tropical Pediatrics and Environmental Child Health. 27, 15-22.

Tucker, G.M. (1985) Women's Decision-Making and Couples' Knowledge and Use of Contraception in a Peruvian Pueblo. UCLA doctoral proposal. Mimeo.

United Nations Children's Fund and World Health Organization (1983) Women's economic activities: Their role in the improvement of nutrition and health. New York: UNICEF-Who Joint Nutrition Support Program. Mimeo.

Vaughn, B.E., Deane, K.E. & Walters, K. (1985) The impact of out-of-home care on child-mother attachment quality: Another look at some enduring questions. Monographs of The Society for Research in Child Development, 209, 50, 1-2.

Ware, H. (1984) Effects of maternal education, women's roles, and child care on child mortality. Population and Development Review. Supplement to V. 10: Child Survival: Strategies for Research. W.H. Mosley and L.C. Chen, eds. 191-214.

Warren, L.W. and McEachren, L. (1985) Derived identity and depressive symptamology in women differing in marital and employment status. Psychology of Women Quarterly. 9(1):133-144.

Werner, E.E. & Smith, R.S. (1982) Vulnerable but invincible: A longitudinal study of resilient children and youth. NY: McGraw Hill.

Whiting, B.B. (1984) Woman's role in social change: Education and the Kikuyu of Kenya. Cultural Survival Quarterly. 8(2):43-45.

Wiest, R.E. (1983) Male migration, machismo, and conjugal roles: Implications for fertility control in a Mexican municipio. Journal of Comparative Family Studies. 14(2):167-181.

Wong, A.K. & Ko, Y. (1984) Women's work and family life: The case of electronics workers in Singapore. Michigan State Univ. working paper.

Wright, J.E. (1985) Rural Women's Continuing Participation in Income Generating Activities in the Philippines. Paper presented at Women in Development Annual Meeting, April, 1985, Washington, D.C. Mimeo.

Ybarra, L. (1982) When wives work: The impact on the Chicano family. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 44(1):169-178.

Yetley, E.A., Yetley, M.J., and Aguirre, B. (1981) Family role structure and food-related roles in Mexican-American families. Supplement to Journal of Nutrition Education 3(1).

Youssef, N. & Buvinic, C. (1983) Establishing the economic condition of women-headed households in the Third World: A new approach. Women and Poverty. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Zambrana, R.E. (Ed.) (1982) Work, Family and Health: Latina Women in Transition. Hispania Research Center Monograph Series #7. New York: Hispanic Research Center.

Zambrana, R.E. and Hurst, M. (1982) Work and health among Puerto-Rican women. Mimeo.

Zaslow, M., Pedersen, F., Suwalsky, J., Rabinovich, B., and Cain, R. (1985) Fathering During the Infancy Period: The Implications of the Mother's Employment Role. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, April, 1985, Toronto, Canada. Mimeo.

Zeitlan, M., Mansour, M., and Boghani, M. (1985) State of the art paper on positive deviance in nutrition. Paper prepared for UNICEF under the auspices of the WHO/UNICEF Joint Nutrition Support Programme. Collaboration of Robert A. Levine, Ph.D. Mimeo.

Ziegler, M.E. (1983) Assessing parents' and children's time together. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Detroit, Michigan.