DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 321 159 CG 021 559

AUTHOR Knoblach, Robin; Chambliss, Catherine
TITLE Teenagers Whose Moms Worked: Did It Make a Difference?
PUB DATE 89
NOTE 27p.; Paper presented at the Annual Eastern Symposium on Building Family Strengths (3rd, University Park, PA, March 23-25, 1987).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; *Employed Parents; Grade 8; Junior High Schools; Labor Force; Locus of Control; *Mothers; *Parent Child Relationship; Personal Autonomy; Sex Differences; Sex Role; Trend Analysis

ABSTRACT

One of the fastest growing social and economic trends in the latter half of this century has been the entry of women into the labor force, especially women with children. How a mother's working outside the home affects her children is far from clear. This study examined the relationship between maternal employment status and sex-role concept, autonomy, and locus of control in early adolescence. Level of maternal education and type of maternal occupation were examined as two components of socioeconomic status which may have some bearing on adolescent outcomes. The effect of maternal employment was studied in terms of the child's age when the mother first entered the work force. Subjects (N=81) were eighth grade students grouped in four social studies classes according to academic level. A questionnaire measured sex-role orientation, autonomy, locus of control, and demographic factors. Results failed to reveal many clear patterns of effects from maternal employment variables. Correlations between maternal and child variables differed for boys and girls. Mothers who enjoyed their jobs were more likely to have daughters who held less stereotyped sex-role attitudes. High level of maternal education was positively correlated with daughter's autonomy scores, but not son's. For boys, internality was associated with higher academic level. For girls, an association was revealed between high level of maternal education and internality. (ABL)

Teenagers Whose Moms Worked:

Did It Make A Difference?

Effects of Maternal Employment on Sex-role Concepts, Autonomy, and Locus of Control in Adolescents

Robin Knoblach

Catherine Chambliss, Ph.D.

Ursinus College
Collegeville, PA 19426
1989

One of the fastest growing social and economic trends during the latter half of this century has been the entry of women into the labor force, especially women with children. Between 1960 and 1985, the number of married women with children under eighteen increased 225%, from 5.7 to 12.8 million. During this same time period, there was a 256% increase in the number or working mothers with children under the age of six. (Guidubaldi et al., 1986) In response to this trend has grown a controversial body of psychological research investigating the effects of maternal employment on children. After almost thirty years of intensive study by a multitude of researchers, very few clear patterns of effects have been observed. In general, differences between children of working and nonworking mothers on most measures of adjustment, intelligence, and academic achievement are small, and the direction of these differences is often not consistent from one study to another. One of the more consistent research findings is a broader sex-role concept among children of working mothers; however, the mechanisms by which maternal employment may affect the development of such attitudes are not entirely known. In addition, many studies, especially early ones, are beset by serious methodological difficulties, in particular, the confounding of maternal employment with such variables as marital status, employment status (part-time versus full-time), and social class. Instead of discerning direct effects of maternal employment on children, most research findings have strongly suggested that any observed effects are mediated by a large number of child, parent, familial and social variables. Current research represents a growing emphasis on the complex interrelationships between maternal employment and these other mediating variables.

Exactly how a mother's working outside the home affects her child is far from clear. Most early studies proceeded with the hypothesis that maternal employment produces social, psychological, and cognitive detriments for the child. Hoffman (1963) studied maternal employment, mother's enjoyment of work, and psychosocial adjustment of children. She proposed two possible patterns of mother-child interaction related to the mother's employment: mothers who enjoyed their jobs would feel guilty, and would therefore overcompensate by overprotecting the child; while mothers who disliked their jobs would be more likely to withdraw from and neglect the child, since they would have no reason to feel guilty about working. Both patterns might be expected to compromise the child's well being. Hoffman hypothesized that children in the first group would show nonhostile, nonassertive, withdrawn, and passive interactions with others, while children in the latter group would demonstrate assertive, aggressive, and hostile behaviors. Results generally supported the hypothesis. Mothers who had a positive attitude toward their employment showed less severity and hostility and more sympathy in disciplining their children, and their children had less responsibility for household tasks than both children of nonworking mothers and mothers who disliked work. Women in the latter group were less hostile and severe in their discipline than were nonworking mothers, but were less sympathetic than mothers who liked work and

demonstrated an overall pattern of withdrawal from and reduced involvement with their children. In accordance with the hypothesis, children whose mothers enjoyed their work were less assertive and aggressive and more withdrawn than children whose mothers did not enjoy work. Hoffman also reports lower intellectual performance among all children of working mothers. She describes her results as revealing two different syndromes of maladjustment in children of working mothers. However, Hoffman failed to consider the adequacy of child care arrangements, a factor which could certainly influence the mother's attitude toward her employment as well as the child's level of adjustment. She also does not control for social class, which could be the variable that actually differentiates between children of working and nonworking mothers. It is highly likely, especially during the sixties, that maternal employment often signals financial distress.

In his study of maternal employment and the adjustment of adolescents, Nye (1963) came to conclusions contradicting Hoffman's results. When controlling for social class, he found no significant differences between children of employed and nonemployed mothers on measures of anxiety, academic achievement, and delinquency. There were also no significant differences between the two groups in terms of their affectional attitudes towards their mothers. Nye concludes that the common conception of the maladjusted child of the working mother is not supported by his results.

In a somewhat more recent review of the literature on maternal employment, Hoffman (1974) proposes a multidimensional view of the effects of maternal employment. She asserts that the mother's level of satisfaction with her role may be more instrumental than the role itself. Children whose mothers work for self-oriented rather than financial reasons show higher levels of self-esteem and a higher regard for their parents. Several studies cited in Hoffman's review have also found that highly educated nonemployed mothers are more dissatisfied than mothers in full-time professional occupations. Adequacy of substitute care arrangements also seems to affect the mother's satisfaction with her role and make her less prone to role strain. Hoffman concludes that, generally, the employed mother who obtains gratification from her work, has adequate child care arrangements, and does not feel guilty does just as well as, and sometimes better than, the nonemployed mother.

Etaugh (1974) reached similar conclusions in her review of the maternal employment literature. Like Hoffman, she views the mother's satisfaction with her role as an instrumental variable in children's adjustment and achievement levels, especially for school-age children. The relationship between maternal employment and school achievement seems to differ according to sex, with boys with employed mothers faring worse than boys with nonemployed mothers. There appears to be little or no difference between girls with nonemployed and employed mothers. Maternal employment also seems to be associated with upward mobility strivings for both boys and girls and with higher and more atypical career aspirations for girls.

In her review Etaugh also asserts that the effects of

maternal employment differ widely in both quality and magnitude depending on the developmental stage of the child. During early childhood, it seems that the quality, rather than the quantity, of mother-child interaction is crucial, and employed mothers have been shown to be just as effective in this area as nonemployed mothers. Adequate day care is also important for the young children of employed women. For school-age children, the mother's satisfaction with her role is important to achievement and adjustment levels, rather than employment status by itself. Few effects have been observed among adolescents, suggesting that whether or not the mother works outside of the home is not as important to the adolescent's adjustment as other variables may be.

Research by Gold and Andre (1978a and b), dealing with both school-age and adolescent children, reveals several interesting findings. In their study, comparing ten-year-old children with employed and nonemployed mothers, Gold and Andre (1978) found significant interactions between maternal employment status, social class, and sex in terms of children's levels of adjustment and achievement. Overall, boys performed worse than girls on measures of school achievement and personality adjustment. This effect was most pronounced for all working class boys, and middle-class sons of employed mothers. Parental ratings of the behavior of working-class sons of employed mothers were the most disfavorable in comparision to all other groups. Maternal employment status did not, on the other hand, differentiate among females in terms of either adjustment or academic achievement.

The maternal employment status x social class interaction was also evident in the analysis of the results dealing with parental attitudes. Except in the working class, employed mothers were generally more satisfied than nonemployed mothers. Husbands of employed mother were also more satisfied than husbands whose wives did not work. Nonemployed mothers in the middle class were the most discontent.

Gold and Andre also found several significant correlations between parent and child measures. For example, length of maternal employment was negatively related to adjustment scores. Quantity of father-child interaction was correlated positively with achievement scores among children of employed mothers; yet the opposite was true for children whose mothers did not work outside the home. This suggests that the father-child relationship is an important variable modifying the effects of maternal employment, although the nature of this relationship is not clear. Gold and Andre conclude that the working-class sons of employed mothers fare worst; they are described more negatively by their fathers, demonstrate lower levels of academic achievement, and dislike school. It is possible that these detriments are associated with qualities of the father-son relationship.

Gold and Andre (1978) replicated this study with adolescents, although the effects of maternal employment on these older children were less pronounced. Overall, adolescents of employed mothers appeared to be better adjusted than those whose mothers did not work, reporting a greater sense of

personal worth, personal freedom, a greater feeling of belonging, and better family and interpersonal relations. Gold and Andre interpret this as being due to greater independence training in families where the mother works outside the home, a circumstance which may be well in tune with the adolescent's strivings for independence. The relationship between maternal employment and poorer adjustment for boys was not found, and Gold and Andre conclude that maternal employment is not as salient a factor in adolescent development as it is in earlier stages.

One of the few consistent findings in the maternal employment literature is broader sex role concepts among children of employed mothers, both school-age and adolescent. In both of the above studies, Gold and Andre (1978a and 1978b) found that children whose mothers worked outside the home differentiated less between the sexes. This effect was moderated by social class and sex, with working-class boys having the least egalitarian attitudes. Hoffman (1974) states that maternal employment status is especially relevant to females' sex role concepts; daughters of employed mothers are less likely to devalue female work, more likely to aspire to nontraditional careers, and are motivated to model their mothers more strongly than are daughters of nonemployed women. Douvan (1963) also found an association between conformity to traditional sexual stereotypes and maternal employment status. She speculates that girls whose mothers' employment is motivated by a desire for self-fulfillment are more strongly motivated to model their mothers, and, thus, incorporate a less traditional concept of gender into their identities.

Almquist and Angrist (1970) found some support for this theory in their study on career salience and occupational choice in college women. Almquist and Angrist note that most researchers studying the characteristics which distinguish career-oriented women from other employed women use the deviance hypothesis to explain nonconventional occupational choices. According to this theory, women who choose occupations normally dominated by males have a masculine self-image, are less interested in child-care and domestic activities, and tend to maintain impersonal relationships with others. Almquist and Angrist, on the other hand, formulate an enrichment hypothesis, which proposes that career-oriented women are more likely to identify with professors and people in a particular occupation rather than with peers and family members. High career salience may also be the result of more experience in the work world, especially in nonconventional occupations. According to this perspective, it is this enrichment of experience that contributes to career salience and atypical occupational choices, rather than maladjustment and a masculine self-image. Almquist and Angrist studied college women for a period of four years and found relatively more support for the enrichment hypothesis. Women whose mothers had worked were more likely to be high in career salience. In addition, women who chose atypical occupations were twice as likely to have employed mothers than were women who made more conventional choices. High career salience and atypical choice were also associated

with more job experience, and greater influence by teachers and people in the chosen occupation. There was no consistent evidence pointing to fewer and less intimate relationships among career-oriented women. Almquist and Angrist conclude that future study of career-oriented women should emphasize the influence of role models rather than negative personality development.

The results of several other studies point to a broader sex-role concept in children of employed mothers. Marantz and Mansfield (1977) found that at the ages of both five and eleven, girls whose mothers worked outside the home had more flexible sex-role perceptions and were more likely to describe women as competent and competitive. However, the traditionality of the mother's job was more highly associated with sex-role concept than maternal employment status itself. Similarly, Jones and McBride (1980) found that when first- and second-grade children are asked to decide who does a number of activities, children of nonemployed mothers are more likely to give sex-stereotyped responses, while children whose mothers are employed are more likely to give sex-neutral responses.

One weakness of the sex-role literature involves the relative inattention to the effects of maternal employment on the sex-role attitudes of sons. As Powell and Steelman (1982) point out, the attitudes of men are important, since negative male attitudes could impede women's entry into the labor force. Furthermore, negative male attitudes toward employed women could prevent accomodation of the working world to the special needs of the employed mother. In addition, husbands with critical attitudes toward their spouse's employment might be less accomodating and supportive at home. Using NORC data gathered nationwide from adults over the age of eighteen, Powell and Steelman investigated the effects of maternal education level and employment on attitudes toward employed women/mothers. In addition, the researchers distinguished between subjects whose mothers worked during their preschool years and those whose mothers ever worked outside the home. Overall, females were more tolerant of employed women than were males. For both sexes, mother's level of education was strongly related to sex-role attitudes, with high education being predictive of less stereotyped attitudes. Employment during the preschool years was significant in determining sex-role attitudes for males only. On the basis of these results, Powell and Steelman suggest that attitudes toward the opposite sex are shaped in part by interactions with the opposite-sex parent, especially during early childhood. They predict that the increasing number of mothers who are entering the work force while their children are quite young will promote more egalitarian male attitudes in the future. However, the fact that maternal traits accounted for only 22% of the variance in their results implies that there are other significant factors at work as well.

The bulk of the findings concerning sex-role orientation and maternal employment strongly suggests that having an employed mother somehow facilitates the development of a broader sex-role concept. Many aspects of this relationship remain to be clarified. For instance, the role of the father's attitude

and participation in domestic tasks has gotten very little research attention. This variable could be especially relevant for boys. The differential impact of maternal employment on the sex-role concepts of boys and girls also needs to be more closely examined. Another variable of virtually unexplored importance to sex-role concept could be the mother's enjoyment of her job. It can be argued that an employed mother who enjoys her job would present a stronger, more positive nontraditional role model to her children.

In addition to acting as nontraditional role models for their children, the employed mother and her husband may also create a home atmosphere which encourages, and even demands, independence, both directly and indirectly. Several researchers have suggested greater independence training for adolescents with employed mothers (Douvan, 1963; Hoffman, 1963; Hoffman, 1974; Linney and Vernberg, 1983; Propper, 1972) Since the development of autonomy is a major issue during adolescence, it would be valuable to examine the ways in which maternal employment status may influence emerging independence.

Murphey et al. (1962) studied the adjustment patterns of adolescents during and following the transition from high school to college, in order to determine what factors characterize healthy parent-child separation and the development of independence. Defining autonomy as the ability to make separate, responsible choices, they found that students who were highly independent possessed a growing sense of equality with parents, the freedom to make choices, and responsibility for their decisions. These independent students also maintained close affectional ties with their parents. Murphey et al. also found certain parent characteristics to be related to high autonomy in adolescents, namely, a strong inner direction in life activities, high valuation of independence, and the ability to communicate values and standards. Parents whose children did not show a level of autonomy adaptive for the college transition tended to be somewhat overly child-centered and to have a low sense of separateness from the child. While these results were obtained using a small, mostly upper-class sample, this study does suggest that the development of independence is influenced by parental characteristics, and it is possible that some of these characteristics may differentiate between mothers who work outside of the home and those who choose not to.

There is very little evidence directly linking maternal employment and greater independence. In their study of independence in kindergarten children, Siegal et al. (1963) found little difference between degree of independent behavior exhibited in a classroom setting by subjects with employed and nonemployed mothers. Most other authors discussing greater independence training in homes of employed mothers infer this indirectly from research results which show that children whose mothers work outside the home have more household responsibilities. For example, Douvan (1963) found that girls whose mothers worked full-time engaged in more serious, adult-like, rather than leisure, activities, such as working at part-time jobs, and doing household chores. These girls also began dating at a younger age and with greater frequency, and

report spending less time with their families. Douvan concludes from her results that daughters of women employed full-time demonstrate precocious autonomy and unresolved dependency. On the other hand, girls whose mothers worked part-time were more involved in leisure activities and reported greater involvement in family activities and closer parent-child involvement. These differences were most marked among working-class subjects, and Douvan reasons that economic factors may be at work. She theorizes that women who work only part-time are more likely to be motivated by a desire for self-realization than by financial necessity, while women working full-time may not be doing so by choice.

In a later study, Propper (1972) compared the number and kinds of activities engaged in by adolescents with employed and nonemployed mothers and found that, contrary to her hypothesis, maternal employment was not associated with fewer leisure activities and organizational memberships for adolescents. In terms of household responsibility, maternal employment status was significant only for males; boys with employed mothers did more domestic chores. Overall, however, Propper concludes that maternal employment status does not significantly affect the nature and quantity of adolescents' activities.

The current study represents an attempt to examine the relationship between maternal employment status and sex-role concept, autonomy, and locus of control in early adolescence. Overall, it is hypothesized that children whose mothers are employed will show broader, less stereotyped perceptions, be more autonomous, and have a more internal locus of control. The possible influence of several mediating factors on these variables will also be investigated. Mothers who enjoy their work are expected to shape the development of a more egalitarian sex-role concept. Level of maternal education and type of maternal occupation will also be examined as two components of socioeconomic status which may have some bearing on adolescent outcomes. Maternal employment will also be studied in terms of the child's age when the mother first entered the work force in an attempt to clarify the differential impact of maternal employment at various developmental stages. It is hoped that by simultaneously studying several variables related to maternal employment, a more comprehensive view of the relationships between maternal employment and child outcomes can be obtained.

METHODS

Subjects: Eighty-one eighth grade students, forty-one female and forty male, completed the questionnaire in their social studies classes. The majority of subjects were Caucasian, of middle- to upper-class socioeconomic background, and were attending a suburban junior high school in eastern Pennsylvania. The four social studies classes were chosen in such a way as to stratify the sample according to academic level. The lowest academic level (general) represented in the sample was a class of seventeen students who demonstrated significantly below average levels of achievement and intellectual ability in social studies. The next level (low academic) was a class of

twenty-two students at an average to slightly below average level of achievement and ability in social studies. The third level class (high academic) contained twenty-six students of a somewhat above average level of ability, while the fourth class was composed of sixteen gifted students who were enrolled in a gifted resource program which encompassed a variety of school subjects. Generally speaking, students' placements in social studies are consistent with their placements in other classes.

Dependent Measures: Three dependent variables comprised the main focus of the study: sex-role orientation, autonomy, and locus of control. The sex-role orientation measure administered (Appendix 1) was adapted from a Likert-type scale developed by Brogan and Kutner (1974) which was validated using a sample of college students. Seven of the original thirty-six items were omitted because they were judged to be irrelevant or incomprehensible to eighth graders. The remaining twenty-nine items were rephrased to approximate a seventh to eighth grade reading level. Each item makes a statement about the nature of sex roles in educational, family, and vocational contexts; the subject is required to indicate on a six-point scale the degree to which he agrees with the statement. The Adolescent Autonomy Scale (AAS) (Appendix 2) was specifically created for use in this investigation. It assesses the degree to which subjects make their own decisions, or are permitted by their parents to make decisions, about guidelines for their behavior (i.e., curfews, money management, dating, etc.). The scale also measures the degree of responsibility delegated by the parent and subsequently assumed by the adolescent. The AAS is composed of nineteen forced-choice items; scores range from zero to nineteen (high scores indicate high levels of autonomy). Each item is composed of two statements describing experiences relevant to eighth-graders, one of which reflects high independence. The subject is asked to choose the statement which best describes circumstances in her/his own life. The Nowicki-Strickland Scale For Children was used to measure locus of control (Appendix 3). With the secoring procedure used, high scores reflected an external locus.

The questionnaire also included a demographic data sheet (Appendix 4) assessing parents' marital status, level of maternal education, maternal employment status, hours worked per week (mother), type of maternal occupation, mother's enjoyment of job, and the subject's age when his/her mother first began to work.

Procedure: Parental permission forms were mailed to the students' homes several weeks prior to administration of the questionnaire. Students whose parents or guardians prohibited the students' participation were omitted, as were students who were absent from class on the day of the survey's administration. One student who refused to complete a questionnaire was also omitted. All questionnaires were completed on the same day during social studies classes. Students were encouraged to ask questions about anything they did not understand, and there was no time limit. There was

ample time during the class period for all students to finish.

RESULTS

Only a minority (8.6%) of the students had mothers who were nonemployed. Roughly half (46%) had started working outside the home after their child reached public school age, 19% returned to work when their child was three to five years, and 27% resumed employment prior to their child's third birthday. The small number of nonemployed mothers made multivariate statistical procedures using maternal employment as a factor unproductive. For this reason, simple comparisons between children of employed and nonemployed mothers are not available.

Sex Role Orientation

A 2 x 2 x 4 ANOVA examining the effects of marital status, sex, and academic level showed overall significance. ($F = 8.21$, $p<.001$) More specifically, a 2 x 4 ANOVA revealed significant effects for sex ($F = 53.44$, $p<.0001$) and academic level ($F = 12.61$, $p<.0001$). Girls were more flexible in their sex-role perceptions than were boys, and high academic levels were associated with less sexist attitudes.

When the data was sorted according to sex, marital status, and employment status, a few interesting correlations surfaced. Mother's enjoyment of her job was associated with more flexible sex-role perceptions for daughters in intact families ($r = .50$, $p<.03$). For boys in intact families in which the mother currently works, young age at the beginning of the mother's employment is predictive of more egalitarian sex-role attitudes ($r = .38$, $p<.05$). Also in families in which the mother is working (intact and divorced), type of maternal job is correlated with sex role scores ($r = .27$, $p<.04$), with professional jobs associated with lower, less stereotyped scores.

Autonomy

A regression analysis looking at the effects of hours worked per week, type of maternal occupation, and mother's level of education on boys' autonomy scores was significant ($F = 2.14$, $p = .05$). Hours worked per week showed highly significant effects ($F = 5.21$, $p<.01$); effects for type of job were less powerful ($F = 3.79$, $p<.05$). Boys whose mothers worked full-time were most likely to score high on the autonomy scale, and professional maternal occupation was also associated with higher scores. Mother's level of education did not contribute a significant independent effect.

For girls, the only significant relationship was a positive correlation between mother's level of education and autonomy scores, with high education levels being predictive of higher autonomy scores. ($r = .33$, $p<.05$)

Locus of Control

A 2 x 2 x 3 ANOVA examining the effects of marital status, sex, and academic level revealed significant effects for academic level ($F = 3.70$, $p<.02$) and a significant interaction

between marital status and sex ($F = 5.74$, $p<.02$). Students in higher level classes were more likely to have an internal locus of control. Girls in divorced families were most internal, while boys in divorced families were most external.

For girls alone, correlational data showed a negative correlation between mother's level of education and scores on the locus of control scale ($r = -.32$, $p<.05$), indicating an association between high maternal education and internality for daughters.

Maternal Variables

There were a variety of significant correlations among maternal variables for subjects whose mothers worked. The data for boys whose mothers were employed showed significant correlations between academic level and scores on both the sex-role orientation and the locus of control scores. ($r = -.55$, $p<.001$ and $r = -.34$, $p<.05$, respectively). Among boys, high academic placement was associated with less sex-role stereotyping and greater internality. Marital status was significantly associated with the age of the child at the mother's first employment; divorced or separated women were more likely to have begun working later ($r = -.26$, $p<.04$). Marital status was also related to the number of hours worked per week, with divorced mothers working more hours ($r = .34$, $p<.01$).

Mothers who began working early in their children's lives were also likely to work more hours per week ($r = -.30$, $p<.02$). Similarly, mothers who enjoyed their jobs also worked more hours per week ($r = .25$, $p<.05$).

Other correlations emerge when subjects are separated according to sex and maternal employment status. For girls, mother's enjoyment of job is associated with lower scores on the sex-role orientation scale ($r = .43$, $p<.03$). Type of maternal job is also related to child's age at which mother went to work; daughters whose mothers went to work when they were young were more likely to have professional jobs ($r = -.39$, $p<.04$). Professional mothers of female subjects also worked more hours per week ($r = .40$, $p<.04$). The relationship between hours worked per week and child's age when mother began working was not significant for girls.

Somewhat different correlations emerged in the data for subjects whose mothers did not work. Mother's level of education was differentially associated with locus of control scores for boys and girls. For girls, high level of maternal education was associated with internality ($r = -.58$, $p<.05$), while the opposite was true for boys, although this latter correlation ($r = .92$, $p = .08$) did not reach significance. Small sample size could be responsible for this paradoxical finding.

DISCUSSION

Overall, the results failed to reveal many clear patterns of effects from maternal employment variables. The validity of the multivariate analyses was limited due to insufficient number of subjects in some cells, especially in samples of subjects from divorced families. Only nineteen subjects in the sample

were from divorced families, which makes investigation of interactions among variables difficult.

Correlational data revealed several interesting trends, especially in terms of sex differences. Correlations between maternal and child variables differed for boys and girls, especially on the sex-role orientation scale. Professional employment was associated with lower sex-role scores for both sexes. However, while lower scores (indicating less "sexist" attitudes) for boys were associated with young age at the beginning of mother's employment, this relationship was not observed among girls. This finding is consistent with research by Powell and Steelman (1982) which revealed that maternal employment during the child's preschool years seemed to be more predictive of boy's sex-role perception than of girls. It seems that maternal employment may have a greater impact on sons' sex-role perceptions during the younger years, when children are somewhat more impressionable and more dependent on their parents for information about their world. Why this seems more crucial for boys than for girls needs future elucidation. It may be that identification with the opposite-sex parent is more specific to early years, while identification with same-sex parent is a more extended process.

For girls, mother's enjoyment of job was a significant predictor of sex-role scores; women who enjoyed their jobs were more likely to have daughters who held less stereotyped attitudes regarding sex roles. A plausible explanation for this is that women who enjoy their work present more positive role models, with whom their daughters more readily identify. Another possible explanation is that women who are more liberal in their sex-role attitudes are more active in seeking outside employment which is self-fulfilling. In this case, it is likely that the transmission of sex-role values from mother to child is not as directly related to enjoyment of job per se. However, the role-model hypothesis is a compelling one which deserves further investigation.

Sex differences also emerge in relationships between maternal variables and scores on the autonomy scale. High level of maternal education is positively correlated with daughters' autonomy scores, but not with males' scores. There is a suggestion that full-time and professional employment are predictive of greater autonomy for boys. In their study of the relationship between parental occupational skills and attitudes and children's school behaviors, Piotrkowski and Katz (1982) suggest that parents reinforce in their children values and skill acquisition which is reinforced in their jobs. The above findings suggest that this could be an area for further exploration.

Findings regarding relationships between locus of control scores and other variables reveal several sex differences in terms of the variables which are related to maternal employment. For male subjects, internality was associated with higher academic level. LOC data for girls, on the other hand reveal an association between high level of maternal education and internality. It would seem, both from these results and the findings regarding sex-role orientation, that mother's level of

education is a more influential variable for daughters than for sons. Two related possibilities could account for this; one, that daughters are more strongly motivated to incorporate their mothers' achievement motivation and self-directed orientation (assuming that educational level reflects achievement motivation) than are sons. A second interpretation is that mothers are more intensive in instilling their own values in their daughters than in sons.

Correlations among maternal variables suggest some interesting hypotheses about the nature of employed mothers' work experiences which are worthwhile areas for further investigation. Women who work full-time are more likely to have begun working earlier in their children's lives, and they enjoy their jobs more. This could indicate either a greater commitment to work and career, or a greater financial need. Similarly, the fact that women who work more hours per week enjoy their jobs more could also indicate both greater career commitment or a defensive need to justify the excessive investment of time and energy in occupational pursuits. Both possibilities could have implications for children of working women. Highly career-committed women who are content with their work may be more psychologically available to their children than a woman preoccupied with ambivalence and conflict about career ambitions and achievements. In addition, women who are satisfied with their vocational decisions will probably transmit a more consistently positive attitude towards female employment and work in general. This is supported by the finding that enjoyment of job and flexibility of daughters' sex-role perceptions are positively correlated.

In general, the sample size in this study was often insufficient for drawing many conclusions about observed effects, especially interaction effects, for the large number of variables examined. While it is valuable and even necessary to examine the simultaneous effects of several variables related to maternal employment, a larger-scale study would be more effective in assessing the interrelationships among multiple variables. However, the current study is one of the few which have examined the influence of several maternal employment variables, and it is hoped that future studies will continue the trend towards a more comprehensive examination of employment status and child outcomes. This study is also one of the few which have considered the longer term effects of maternal employment history, by investigating adolescents.

APPENDIX 1
SEX-ROLE ORIENTATION SCALE

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements according to the following scale.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = pretty much disagree
3 = disagree a little more than agree
4 = agree a little more than disagree
5 = pretty much agree
6 = strongly agree

1. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have a career herself. ____

2. The idea of girls playing on Little League baseball teams is silly. ____

3. It is more important for a woman to stay slender and dress nicely than it is for a man. ____

4. The old saying that a woman's place is in the home is still true and should stay that way. ____

5. A girl should not compete too much with boys and should keep quiet and not tell a boy when he is wrong. ____

6. A woman who sees a lot of people as part of her job (for example, a teacher or salesperson) should not work when she is pregnant. ____

7. The husband should be the one to make big decisions in the family, such as buying a car or a house. ____

8. In groups that have both males and females in them, it is better if the males are the leaders. ____

9. Married women with young children should not have jobs unless the family needs money. ____

10. If a man and a women both apply for the same job, the man should probably get it because he probably has a family to support. ____

11. Marriage is a partnership and the wife and the husband should share the responsibility of supporting the family. ____

12. A woman should not take a promotion if her family would have to move and her husband would have to find another job. ____

13. A married woman who would rather have a career than have

children should not feel guilty. ____

14. It is better for a man to be the boss at a place where both men and women work. ____

15. A husband should not feel bad if his wife makes more money than he does. ____

16. When a male student and a female student are both smart enough to get the same scholarship, the male should get it because he will probably have a better career. ____

17. It is just as bad for a man to use dirty language as it is for a woman. ____

18. It is okay for both boys and girls to play with dolls. ____

19. The best jobs for women are feminine jobs, such as nursing, teaching, working in a library. ____

20. Girls should not be afraid to compete in any kinds of sports. ____

21. Women should be able to get jobs that men usually have, such as doctor, scientist, or construction worker. ____

22. It is okay if a woman does not want to change her last name after she gets married. ____

23. A wife should run the household and the husband should support the family, even if the wife has a job. ____

24. It is okay for a woman to be a priest, a minister, or a rabbi. ____

25. There is no reason why a woman should not be president of the United States. ____

26. It is not a good idea for a husband to stay home and take care of the children while his wife works. ____

27. The only reason that girls need to learn about careers is that they might not get married or they might get divorced. ____

28. There is no reason why a man should give his seat to a woman who is standing on a crowded bus. ____

29. Men should be able to take jobs that women normally have, such as a nurse, telephone operator, or hairdresser. ____

APPENDIX 2
ADOLESCENT AUTONOMY SCALE

Please circle the letter before the statement in each pair which best applies to you.

1. A. I have a job which supplies most of my spending money.
   B. My parents give me an allowance which supplies most of my spending money.

2. A. My parents give me a certain amount of money for buying clothes, allowing me to decide what to buy.
   B. My parents decide what clothing to buy for me.

3. A. My parents tell me when I should come home at night after social events, outings with friends, etc.
   B. I'm allowed to decide when to come home after social events and outings with friends.

4. A. My parents and I often disagree about what time I should come in at night.
   B. My parents and I usually agree on the time that I should come in at night.

5. A. I usually come in at night at or before the time set by my parents.
   B. I am often late coming home at night.

6. A. My parents have forbidden me to hang around with certain kids or groups of kids.
   B. I am allowed to choose my own friends, even if my parents don't always approve of them.

7. A. I am allowed to go out with members of the opposite sex.
   B. I am not allowed to go out with members of th opposite sex.

8. A. My parents insist on meeting all of the girls/guys that I date before I can go out with them.
   B. I am allowed to decide whether to introduce my girlfriends/boyfriends to my parents.

9. A. I am not allowed to have members of the opposite sex in my home without an adult present.
   B. I am permitted to invite members of the opposite sex to my home when there are no adults present.

10. A. I decide when and how long to study.
    B. My parents require me to do a certain amount of homework every night.

11. A. My parents check my homework.
    B. My parents leave it up to me to finish my homework.

12. A. I choose my own bedtime most of the time.
    B. My parents usually tell me when to go to bed.

13. A. I usally take care of myself while my parents are at work.
    B. An older teenager, relative or other adult supervises while my parents are at work.

14. A. I tend to behave according to the rules set down by my parents even when my parents are not home.
    B. I often disregard my parents' rules when my parents aren't home.

15. A. My parents leave me in charge of younger brothers and sisters when they go out.
    B. My parents hire an adult or older teenage to supervise when they go out.

16. A. I am permitted to go to the mall without an adult.
    B. My parents make sure that an adult goes with me when I go shopping.

17. A. I sometimes use buses or trains to get from place to place without an adult. (not including school)
    B. I never ride buses or trains when I go places without an adult.

18. A. I sometimes go places by myself (shopping, parties, other social events)
    B. I try never to go anywhere alone.

19. A. I cook for myself and/or my family.
    B. I don't do any cooking at home.

20. A. I don't do laundry at home.
    B. I do laundry for myself and/or my family.

APPENDIX 3
NOWICKI-STRICKLAND LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE FOR CHILDREN

Please answer each question by circling yes or no.

1. Do you believe that most problems will solve themselves if you just don't fool with them?

YES NO

2. Do you believe that you can stop yourself from getting a cold?

YES NO

3. Are some people just born lucky?

YES NO

4. Are you often blamed for things that just aren't your fault?

YES NO

5. Do you feel that most of the time it doesn't pay to try hard because things never turn out right anyway?

YES NO

6. Do you feel that if things start out well in the morning that it's going to be a good day no matter what you do?

YES NO

7. Do you believe that wishing can make good things happen?

YES NO

8. Most of the time do you find it hard to change a friend's mind?

YES NO

9. Do you believe that most people are just born good at sports?

YES NO

10. Do you feel that when you do something wrong there's very little you can do to make it right?

YES NO

11. Do you feel that one of the best ways to handle a problem is just not to think about it?

YES NO

12. Do you feel that you have a lot of choice in deciding who your friends are?

YES NO

13. If you find a four leaf clover do you believe that it might bring you good luck?

YES NO

14. Have you ever had a good luck charm?

YES NO

15. Do you think that people can get their own way if they just keep trying?

YES NO

16. Have you felt that when somebody wants to be your enemy there's little you can do to change matters?

YES NO

17. Have you felt that when people were mean to you it was usually for no reason at all?

YES NO

18. Do you feel that when good things happen they happen because of hard work?

YES NO

19. Are you the kind of person who believes that planning ahead makes things turn out better?

YES NO

20. Do you think it's better to be smart than to be lucky?

YES NO

APPENDIX 4
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please answer the following questions as accurately as possible.

1. Sex M F

2. Are your parents divorced or separated? _____

3. List your brothers and sisters according to age and sex.
   example: female age 10
   male age 6

4. Is your mother presently employed? _____ Has she been working for at least one year? _____ If answer to either question is no, skip to number 8.

5. About how many hours does your mother work each week?
   ____less than 15 hours/wk.
   ____15 - 25 hours/wk.
   ____26 - 39 hours/wk.
   ____40 or more hours/wk.

6. On a scale of one to five rate how much you believe your mother enjoys her job. _____

   1 = very much
   2 = pretty much
   3 = about average
   4 = not very much
   5 = not at all

7. Check the category which best describes your mother's job.
   ____ professional, for example, doctor, lawyer
   ____ white-collar worker - sales, management, nursing, teaching, etc.
   ____ blue-collar worker - construction worker, truck driver, cashier, waitress, etc.

8. How old were you when your mother first began to work? _____
   ____birth - 2 1/2 yrs.
   ____3 - 5 yrs.
   ____5 - 7 yrs.
   ____7 - 11 yrs.

___12 yrs or older
___My mother has never worked during my life.

9. Check the highest level of education completed by your mother.

___ grade school
___ high school
___ some college
___ college graduation
___ professional degree (Ph.D., master's degree, etc.)

10. What are your present career goals?

_____

REFERENCES

Almquist, E.M., & Angrist, S.S. (1970). Career salience and atypicality of occupational choice among college women. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 31, 242-249.

Ashby, M.S., & Wittmaier, B.C. (1978). Attitude change in children after exposure to stories about women in traditional or nontraditional occupations. Journal of Educational Psychology, 70, 945-949.

Bernard, J. (1981) The good-provider role: its rise and fall. American Psychologist, 36, 1-12.

Bloom-Feshbach, S., Bloom-Feshbach, J., & Heller, K.A. (1982). Work, family and children's perceptions of the world. In S.B. Kamerman & C.D. Hayes (Eds.), Families That Work: Children in a Changing World. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press. 268-307.

Brogan, D., & Kutner, N.G. (1974). Measureing sex-role orientation: a normative approach. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 36, 31-40.

D'Amico, R.J., Haurin, R.J., & Mott, F.L. (1983). The effects of mothers' employment on adolescent and early adult outcomes of young men and women. In C.D. Hayes & S.B. Kamerman (Eds.), Children of Working Parents. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press. 130-219.

Ditkoff, G.S. (1979). Stereotypes of adolescents toward the working woman. Adolescence, 14, 277-281.

Douvan, E. (1963). Employment and the adolescent. In F.I. Nye &

L.W. Hoffman (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America. Chicago: Rand-McNally and Co. 142-164.

Etaugh, C. (1974). Effects of maternal employment on children: a review of recent research. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 20, 71-98.

Gold, D., & Andres, D. (1978). Comparisions of adolescent children with employed and nonemployed mothers. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 24, 243-254.

Gold, D., & Andres, D. (1978). Developmental comparisions between ten-year-old children with employed and nonemployed mothers. Child Development, 49, 75-84.

Gold, D., Andres, D., & Glorieux, J. (1979). The development of Francophone nursery-school children with employed and nonemployed mothers. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 11, 169-173.

Good, T.L., & Brophy, J.E. (1972). Behavioral expression of teacher attitudes. Journal of Educational Psychology, 63, 617-624.

Guidubaldi, J., Natasi, B.K., Cleminshaw, H.K., & Perry, J.D. (1986). Maternal employment and child adjustment. Paper presented at the 94th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C., August.

Heyns, B. (1982). The influence of parents' work on children's school achievement. In S.B. Kamerman & C.D. Hayes (Eds.), Families That Work: Children in a Changing World. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press. 229-268.

Hoffman, L.W. (1963) Mother's enjoyment of work and effects on the child. In F.I. Nye & L.W. Hoffman (Eds.), The Employed

Mother in America. Chicago: Rand-McNally and Co. 67-81.

Hoffman, L.W. (1974). Effects of maternal employment on the child- a review of the research. Developmental Psychology, 10, 204-228.

Hoffman, L.W. (1979). Maternal employment:1979. American Psychologist, 34, 859-865.

Hood, J.C. (1983). Becoming a Two-Job Family. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Howard, S., & Garton, K. (1975). Wanted: a feminist perspective in teacher education courses. Journal of Teacher Education, 26, 301-304.

Johnson, C.L., & Johnson, F. (1977). Attitudes toward parenting in dual-career families. American Journal of Psychiatry, 134, 391-394.

Jones, L.M., & McBride, J.L. (1980). Sex-role stereotyping in children as a function of maternal employment. Journal of Social Psychology, 111, 219-233.

Linney, J.A., & Vernberg, E. (1983). Changing patterns of parental employment and the family-school relationship. In C.D. Hayes & S.B. Kamerman (Eds.), Children of Working Parents. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press. 73-99.

Marantz, S.A., & Mansfield, R. (1977). Maternal employment and the development of sex-role stereotyping in five- to eleven-year-old girls. Child Development, 48, 668-673.

McGune, S.D., & Matthews, M. (1975). Eliminating sexism: teacher education and change. Journal of Teacher Education, 26, 294-300.

Messaris, P., & Hornik, R.C. (1983). Work status, television

exposure, and educational outcomes. In C.D. Hayes & S.B. Kamerman (Eds.), Children of Working Parents. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press. 44-72.

Murphey, E.B., Silber, E., Coelho, G.V., Hamburg, D.A., & Greenberg, I. (1963). Development of autonomy and parent-child interaction in late adolescence. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 33, 643-649.

Nelson, D.D. (1971). A study of personality adjustment among adolescent children with working and nonworking mothers. Journal of Educational Researc', 64, 328-330.

Nye, F.I. (1963). The adjustment of adolescent children. In F.I. Nye and L.W. Hoffman (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America. Chicago: Rand-McNally and Co. 67-81.

Petro, C.S., & Putnam, B.A. (1979). Sex-role stereotypes: issues of attitudinal changes. Sex Roles, 5, 29-39.

Piotrkowski, C.S., & Katz, M.H. (1982). Indirect socialization of children: the effects of mothers' jobs on academic bahaviors. Child Development, 53, 1520-1529.

Powell, B., & Steelman, L.C. (1982). Testing an undertested comparision: maternal effects on sons' and daughters' attitudes toward women in the labor force. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 44, 469-475.

Propper, A.M. (1972). The relationship of maternal employment to adolescent roles, activities, and parental relationships. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 34, 417-421.

Query, J.M., & Kuruvilla, T.C. (1975). Male and female adolescent achievement and maternal employment. Adolescence, 39, 353-355.

Reitman, S.W. (1975). Institutional sexism, the contemporary teaching crisis and teacher education. Journal of Teacher Education, 26, 305-309.

Saario, T.N., Jacklin, C.N., & Tittle, C.K. (1973). Sex-role stereotyping in public schools. Harvard Educational Review, 43, 386-415.

Staines, G.L., Pleck, J.H., Shepard, L.J., & O'Connor, P. (1978). Wives' employment status and marital adjustment: yet another look. In J.B. Bryson & R. Bryson (Eds.), Dual-Career Couples. New York: Human Sciences Press. 90-120.

Tetenbaum, T.J., Lighter, J., & Travis, M. (1981). Educators' attitudes toward working mothers. Journal of Educational Psychology, 73, 369-375.