The Effects of Maternal Employment on the Scholastic Performance of Children

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THE EFFECTS OF MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT ON
THE SCHOLASTIC PERFORMANCE OF CHILDREN

by

Sandra Jean Zins

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
in
Marriage and Family Relations

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Sandra Jean Zins
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ABSTRACT

The Effects of Maternal Employment on the Scholastic Performance of Children

by

Sandra J. Zins, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1969

Major Professor: Dr. C. Jay Skidmore
Department: Marriage and Family Relations

The effects of maternal employment, as contrasted with maternal non-employment, on the scholastic performance of children were studied using a sample of 80 Mount Ogden Junior High seventh grade students and their mothers. The 80 mothers concerned met the criterion for employment by having worked a forty-hour week outside the home the first six years their child attended school or the criteria of nonemployment by having never engaged in paid employment outside the home for the first six years of their child's schooling.

Of nine areas tested between the two groups no significant difference was found concerning grade point average, reading achievement scores, absenteeisms, I. Q., conduct scores, education of the mother, and the number of hours that the mother and child spent together on a school day. A significant difference at the .01 level was found when comparing the number of children in the family of employed mothers (3.3 children) to the families of non-employed mothers (4.5 children). A high positive correlation was found between the mother's attitude toward her work or nonwork status and the child's scholastic achievement. It was noted that the study of attitude, in itself, was not sufficient. Attitudes must be pursued in terms of their
manifestation in the home, whether they be positively or negatively expressed, and it must be determined whether or not a child in grades one to six can perceive and interpret these manifestations realistically.
Social concern for the children of mothers employed outside the home has had a long history. It began with the industrial revolution in England and Europe when the invention of machines outmoded home industries and forced not only men but their wives and children into factories and mills. In our own country the problem of the working mother and her children came later as industrial activity slowly permeated the American culture in the second half of the nineteenth century. The old proverb of "Woman's place is in the home" was being changed to, "Woman's place is in the home 'and' factory, office and classroom." The first Day Nursery was opened in New York City in 1854. It was not until 1910 and 1925, however, that studies were made by economists and social workers and used to press for social reforms.

With the advent of the Second World War the concern for the children of working mothers gained momentum.

Strenuous efforts were made to recruit large numbers of additional women from the middle of 1943 until nearly the end of the war. Between April, 1943, and April, 1945, the female labor force grew by 1.5 million. Compared to the early years of the war, this was a modest increase, but most single women were already at work by 1943. The remaining significant source of supply consisted in married women, the overwhelming majority of whom had household responsibilities. (National Manpower Council, 1957, p. 155)

The war emergency called for action, not for research, and ameliorative measures were put into full swing by social workers and educators. Since the end of the war increasing numbers of women have been entering the labor force, so much so that, "employment of women appears to have become part of our way of life and the technological advances which have promoted their employment appear to be a permanent part of our cultural development."
This situation stimulated many articles in magazines and newspapers and, eventually, longitudinal studies on the effects of maternal employment on children.

The knowledge that in peacetime a large and increasing minority of mothers were employed brought a mixed but predominantly negative reaction from professional and lay people. Major social changes normally evoke more negative than positive emotions, as people confuse the familiar with the superior. In this case even social scientists, for the most part, took a negative view. Psychiatric comments were generally negative. Even many sociologists, although committed to the idea that social change should (and must) accompany technological change, tended to lump increased employment of women along with other trends, such as higher divorce rates, more crime and delinquency, and increased alcoholism and schizophrenia among women. Many interested laymen, always alert for a simple explanation for the numerous and complex social problems of our times, speculated that the employment of the mother was the principle cause of current social problems. In the absence of empirical data, the armchair philosophers had a heyday.

Increasing and not unnoticed, working mothers have been criticized, envied, condemned, and praised. The fact is opinions about them are rarely casual. More often they are definite—even violent. (Burke and Inselberg, 1966, p. 3)

A well-known sociologist in 1948 enumerated several items which he considered obvious cost to children of their mothers working outside the home. These briefly are: (a) mothers were unduly tired, impatient, and irritable; (b) children are lonely when mothers are tired and busy; (c) children run riot without supervision; and, (d) mothers cannot teach children socially approved behavior. These conclusions were presented without factual documentation. (Bossard, 1948, p. 381)
These opinions, whether proven or not, definitely affected women who had contemplated paid employment. Fundamental in the behavior pattern of most people is the desire to conform, to be one of the group, adapting one's action to what society expects. There were individual exceptions—those relatively few who by determined repudiation of prevailing opinion charted a course of their own, risking the censure and derision of the group. It forced women, bent on a career, to first determine their own willingness to defy society's attitudes. Some achieved notable success, despite the stumbling blocks and the scorn.

Heated opposition to employment of women with young children also reflected a reaction against the earlier practice of institutionalizing the destitute, especially the placing of children of widows in orphanages. It was out of pity for widows with young children that charitable workers began, early in the 20th century, to press for mothers aid—subsistence payments that would enable widows to keep their children at home rather than have to place them in an institution and take jobs to support themselves. The conviction that women should not try to be both breadwinners and homemakers was a guiding principle of the public assistance sections of the Social Security Act of 1935. The act authorized federal aid to states for regular payments for support of dependent children, a term which in effect embraces children who live either in a family with no employable adults or in a family in which the only employable adult is the mother.

Concern continued to grow as inadequacies became even more evident.

As late as 1965 there were licensed day care centers in the United States to accommodate only about 250,000 of the 12 million children under the age of 14 whose mothers were employed. One million children under 14 (8 per cent) were expected to care for themselves. These are the latchkey children for whom no adult takes responsibility after school hours. Comparison with a 1958
survey indicated that the number of latchkey children had doubled in the seven year period. (Shaffer, 1965, p. 484)

Such information told only "what" did exist, not "why". Was this to be attributed to the broad category of maternal employment? Although the topic invited investigation, research generally did not take account of the variations in the nature of maternal employment and the complex interpersonal relations in the family. It is apparent that maternal employment is not a single condition or variable of mothering. Yarrow (1961) reminds us that it is not like social class or developmental stage or sex, each of which is composed of a relatively predictable set of interdependent attributes. Psychologically speaking, maternal employment is composed of many different factors from case to case. It may variously be a contributor to self-esteem, a focus of critical inner conflict, a personal competitive weapon, a means of economic survival or the attainment of social goals, an escape, or an involvement received supportively or antagonistically by the significant people in her life.

There is no stereotyped American family. Good families take many forms, but have in common a flexibility of structure and role and a solidarity of purpose that allows choices. The professional woman can enrich the intellectual and emotional life of her family as her personal development continues in harmony with its needs. (Mueller, 1964, p. 123)

All these meanings and many more are represented in maternal employment and, unless research takes note of these, the results seem foredoomed to be inconclusive.
Statement of Thesis Problem

This study is limited to one aspect of maternal employment, namely, the effect of the employment of mothers upon the scholastic achievement of their children. It seeks to present a picture of the scholastic years, from grades one to six, of selected groups of seventh grade children whose mothers were employed full time as compared to mothers who were never employed outside the home.

The increase in the gainful employment of women during the past few years has aroused new interest in the old questions connected with the social desirability of women's work and the social policy that should be pursued with regard to it. (Wright, 1922, p. 12)

This statement is quoted, not from a comment about the present situation—although it sounds like man made today—but from a study published by the Children's Bureau in 1922. The oldness of new problems is sometimes startling—but their age does not keep them from developing new aspects and renewed vitality.

Two generations ago the phrase "working mother" meant to most people an uneducated, unskilled widow or divorcee, forced to earn a few dollars in order to buy groceries for her children. Today's working mother is very different. Recently in a survey of families it was found that 90 per cent of the working mothers of school-age children had homes in which there was also an adult male—an employed male in almost every instance.

Interest, too, was aroused not only in the women's individual well-being but in the welfare of society because their lives are so intricately linked with the existence of the family and its continual growth and development, physically and mentally.
Innumerable studies on this topic brought the necessary information to the fore so that the problem itself changed. It is no longer a question of what women are physically and mentally capable of doing, for experience has settled the long controversy about feminine abilities and has proved that women are fit for a much wider range of activities than merely those compatible with the commonly accepted idea of the "weaker sex". The emphasis has not shifted from the discussion of: "What CAN women do?" to one of "What SHOULD women do?" Implicit in this question is an interest in the well-being of their family because it can be hypothesized that any changes which maternal employment brings about in family structure and the functioning of its members will affect in some way the behavior and development of the child.

A working mother's children and family life are affected by her absence while she works. They are affected by the accommodations which she makes to compensate for the fact of her absence from the home, including arrangements for child care while she is away, as well as by the physical and psychological effects of her handling two jobs. They are affected, also, by the fact that she is augmenting the family income, and the family income is, in fact, increased. To say that her working makes a difference, however, does not reveal the nature, degree, or consequences of the differences.
Definition of Employment

The criteria which designates full-time employment or non-employment is the length of time the mother has worked, the degree of continuity or discontinuity of the mother's work history, as well as the number of hours the mother worked per week. To be designated as full-time, the mother will have worked a forty-hour week from the time the child entered first grade and continued until the child was through the sixth grade. The non-employed mother is defined as one who has not worked during the time the child was in grades one to six. Consequently, the part-time employed mother is the one who has worked at some time throughout the child's first six years in school. The part-time employed mother was not included in this study.
Hypotheses

The mother's occupation was studied in terms of its relation to the student. For example, assessment was made of the amount of time the mother was free to be with the child, to supervise or assist the child with homework. Of equal importance was the added amount of home chores that were required of a child which is taken from study time or school activities, or which actually causes school absenteeism.

If this added work load of maternal employment outside the home causes time-tension within the household, is the child affected and does this effect manifest itself in the classroom?

These were the major questions concerning the correlation of maternal employment and academic performance and thus they form the hypotheses to be tested in this study:

1. Children of employed mothers have a lower grade point average than the children of nonemployed mothers.

2. Absenteeism is higher among children of employed mothers than nonemployed mothers.

3. The attitude of the mother toward her employment or nonemployment is unrelated to the child's academic performance.
What are the effects of maternal employment on children?

Unfortunately, when this question is posed in this way no really scientific answer can be given, for the question is posed much too simply. It is only slightly more meaningful than the question: What are the effects on children of the nonemployment of mothers? (Yarrow, 1961, p. 223)

It is then appropriate to raise the question: What do we know about the social and psychological effects on children and families of the mother's employment outside the home?

Too often this question has been asked as if any effects discovered are bound to be crucial and unfavorable. Time has taught us to ask instead: Are they major or minor; are they favorable, unfavorable, mixed, or neutral? Research also tends more and more to recognize that the effects will differ among different kinds of mothers, children, and families; and that different kinds may refer to age, income, individual temperament, social setting, and a number of other variables.

The research evidence available so far supports a number of generalizations. Most of them must be made tentatively, because the evidence suffers from two drawbacks: the complexity of the subject and the defects of the research. The complexity of the subject is proverbial. Cause and effect are always difficult to establish.

Studies of how maternal employment affects achievement in school, and all its implications, are few and inconclusive. It is difficult to surmise why studies on this particular facet are negligible. Certainly there is no lack of subjects now, in the past, or in the future. The director of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor has pointed out that:
No change with respect to women's employment is more striking than the increase in labor force participation on the part of mothers of youngsters under 18 years of age. Between 1940 and 1964, the number of working mothers increased about sixfold. In 1940, 1.5 million mothers with children under 18, or about 9 per cent of such women, were in the labor force. Today's 9.5 million represent almost two-fifths of all working women and slightly over one-third of all mothers in our population. A mother of children under 18 is now four times more likely to work than before the war. (Shaffer, 1965, p. 483)

All signs point to a continuing increase in the years ahead. Department of Labor studies indicate that women will account for nearly one-half of the additions to the labor force between 1964 and 1970. This will mean a 17 per cent increase in the number of working women in the country, compared with an expected 9 per cent increase in the number of working men. Perhaps Nye (1957) was correct when he said, "The working mother has emerged so rapidly that our attitudes have not kept pace with her."

While empirical studies have not suffered from a lack of subjects, it has long suffered from a paucity of adequate controls. In the past a lack of controls led to the long standing belief that maternal employment was strongly associated with delinquency and broken homes, and yet when important variables were controlled, the relationship disappeared, suggesting it had been a spurious one.

Yet, in spite of the more extensive use of controls, new studies on maternal employment have often produced more confusion than clarification. Maternal employment has been associated with less delinquency, more delinquency, withdrawal behavior, dominance behavior, and nothing at all.

Countless examples of the existing contradictions can be found in research. An article may propose as the reason for a feeling of withdrawal and dependency in a child to be that the working mother feels guilty about working outside the home and responds with a pattern of "smother love" or
overprotection, for a working mother is said to be relatively high on positive affect toward the child, to use a mild discipline, and to tend to avoid inconveniencing the child with household tasks; the child is seen as non-assertive and ineffective. Or the working mother, on the other hand, seems less involved with the child altogether and obtains the child's help with tasks; the child is assertive and hostile. Some, such as Nye (1952) would expect working mothers to be less frustrated and more capable of warm interaction. Others would say that the energy output required by trying to fill two jobs would make the mother more irritable with their children. No one denies that the demands of her dual job are strenuous, especially when her children are young. A moment of observation would force one to conclude that if a woman is to be a good wife and continue at the same time with her outside work, she probably needs more than an average combination of brains, physical stamina, money, willingness to work, and good luck.

The wage-earning mother of a family who tries to fulfill the home duties for her children has a large number of chores outside her working hours. In solving the housekeeping problem the working mother has a number of alternatives. (1) She may try to do all the work herself outside her working hours; (2) she may ask the children to help although she would bear the general responsibility for the work; (3) she may be so fortunate as to have others on whom she may call for assistance; (4) she may send a portion of her work outside the home to be done; or, (5) she may leave to the children the responsibility of doing a large part of it while she is still at work. From the point of view of the welfare of the children, all these methods except that of having others in the family help with the work, are open to serious objections. If the mother does all the work herself, she reduces the amount of time that she can give to the care of the children, and she is more likely
to become irritable and tired from overwork so that she will be unable to
give them proper care. Sending work out of the house is undoubtedly very
desirable if the family income is adequate, but where the income is already
inadequate, the expense of sending the work out means a reduction in the
amount that can be spent on necessities such as food and clothing which may
have been her initial reason for working. If the children are of suitable
age and the work given them to do is appropriate to their years, there is,
of course, no objection to their helping with the housework. On the other
hand, there is serious danger in giving the young children too much work and
responsibility. Cotton (1965) observes that some mothers pay for the job-
connecting anxieties by never expecting anything of their children. Others
react in just the opposite fashion by making excessive demands on their
young. Research tried to find what alternative the mother did take and what
were its effects. The dilemma was more easily studied than solved.

An inquiry made in Chicago as early as the winter of 1918 and 1919 in-
cluded 843 families with 2,006 children under fourteen years of age. The
primary interest of this study sponsored by the Department of Labor was
limited to the one aspect of the effect of the employment of mothers upon the
welfare of their children. It sought to present a picture of the daily lives
of a selected group of children whose mothers were gainfully employed, in the
hope that the facts thus brought out would help in answering the question as
to how far the gainful employment of mothers of young children affects ad-
versely the interests of the children, their health, school attendance,
standards of conduct, their chances of the normal life to which every child
is entitled. The researcher presented the conditions as they were found,
without attempting to say how far they were due to the fact that the mothers
worked.
How far the bad housing conditions found resulted from an inadequate family income, and how far they were due to an unwise apportionment of the income, was a matter that could be determined only by careful analysis of individual expenditures, the data for which were not available. The important fact remained, however, that for many of the children whose mothers had taken gainful employment, the loss of their mother's time and attention was not compensated for by suitable physical surroundings in the way of sanitary housing conditions and adequate accommodations.

Figures showed that seventeen per cent of the children of working mothers had lost twenty per cent or more of the time they could have been in school, whereas only seven per cent of the children in the other group had lost so large a proportion of their school year. These figures seemed to indicate a very real difference between the school attendance of children of working mothers and that of children not selected on this basis.

More light could have been thrown on the relations of the mother's work to the irregular school attendance of the child by a detailed statement of the causes of these absences. An attempt had been made to get from the school the reason for each absence, but this information could be obtained in so few cases that a detailed statement was impossible.

The study could not support the often held belief that a large proportion, possibly an unduly large proportion, of delinquent behavior had come from homes in which the mother was gainfully employed. The connection with the mother's work is not always clear, and it is generally impossible to say that this was the sole or even the determining factor in the situation. A study undertaken by Rouman (1956) in Los Angeles County, California during the 1954-55 school year upheld these findings. The four-hundred cases of his sample were divided into four categories, two of which were
full-time employed mothers, and homes where the mother was not employed and the adult male was present. He concluded that of the children referred for school guidance services, working mothers contributed to only one-fourth of the total number of cases in need of psychological help. He concluded that there are many children whose mothers work who do not present problems in school.

The study by the Department of Labor concluded that the industrial employment of mothers of young children has many undesirable features (1922). Chief among these may be mentioned the mother's absence from home and the fatigue and ill health consequent to overwork which inevitably occur when a woman shoulders two jobs. The connection of these factors with the interest of the children was assumed all too obvious and called for measures which would reduce the necessity for mothers working outside the home. The conclusion appeared heavily biased for the findings presented throughout the research article did not present data which would permit such a conclusion.

The principle object of a second inquiry undertaken by the Department of Labor at the request of the Child Health Society of Philadelphia was again to ascertain the relationships between the employment of mothers and the welfare of their children (1931). The field survey consisted of a house-to-house canvass of 20,366 families. The final analysis consisted of 12,227 families in which the mother was living at home and had one or more children under sixteen years of age living with her. It was found that the employment of mothers is affected by various factors, among the most important of which are race, nationality, and age and number of children. The study produced no other significant findings.
Over a quarter of a century passed before further studies were centered on the effects on children as a result of maternal employment. In 1963 Hoffman undertook a thorough study and one which appeared unbiased. He left speculation and what "might be" to the past and did a study which included 176 white, intact families with at least one child in the third through sixth grades of three elementary schools in Detroit. The study was to see if the employment of mothers in any way left notable effects upon their children. It was hypothesized that: (1) the children of working mothers will be more disturbed in general than the children of nonworking mothers; (2) there is no relationship between maternal employment and measures of school adjustment and social relations of the children; and, (3) through a lack of supervision of study hours or actual help with homework, resulting from the employment of the mother, the children of employed mothers should not perform as well in school as the children of nonemployed mothers. In the study there were 88 working-mothers families and 88 nonworking-mothers families matched on occupation of father, sex of child, the ordinal position, including the important status of being the only child. The first hypothesis was tested by comparing the matched pairs on the use of nonadaptive responses to frustrations, intellectual performance, and sociometric ratings by classmates. Both groups of working-mothers children showed lower intellectual performance and were somewhat less liked by the other children in the class.

The lower intellectual performance of children whose mothers worked was an unexpected finding. Being low on performance may stem from a function of low ability or low motivation. If it is true that the working mothers who like work are guilty about their employment and consequently overprotect their children, then the intellectual ability of their children
may be impaired. Mothers who solve their children's problems for them may hamper their intellectual development by depriving them of valuable problem-solving experience. Thus, these children would be expected to be low on ability as well as performance. The low performance on the dislike-work children, on the other hand, might be part of the rebellious pattern that seems to characterize this group, though we would not necessarily expect low ability. The availability of scores on the Primary Learning Aptitude Test for third graders, and the Detroit Alpha Intelligence Test for fourth, fifth, and sixth graders, bore out expectations. Only the children whose mothers were positive about their work obtained lower scores on these tests than their non-working counterparts, and this difference was significant. The others showed no such difference.

A partial correlation analysis removed virtually all of the major support which was found for the second hypothesis. Therefore, the second null hypothesis was also accepted: that there was no relationship between maternal employment and measures of school adjustment and social relations of the children.

The third hypothesis could not be rejected because the analysis of data showed that the employment of town mothers may lower the performance and aspirations of their children but that the employment of rural mothers may raise their academic performance and aspirations.

Hoffman only touched lightly the facet of maternal employment that was to become Yarrow's focal point, the working and nonworking mothers who preferred and those who otherwise did not prefer their present work or nonwork status. The subjects of this study were 50 employed and 50 non-employed mothers. A tight control of variables and careful matching showed findings which revealed that the classification of mothers by whether or not they were employed was almost unrelated to child-rearing patterns. But
data supported the hypothesis that mother's fulfillment or frustrations in nonmother roles are related to child rearing. A discontented mother, working or not working, cannot create a healthy atmosphere for the children, but it is the dissatisfied with not-working mother (one who wants to work but, out of a feeling of "duty" does not work) who shows the greatest problems in child rearing. They were aware of more difficulties in the area of control, less emotional satisfaction in relationships with their children, and less confidence in their functioning as mothers. Working mothers who prefer to work and those who do not wish to work show few group differences in child-rearing practices, probably because the working mothers who prefer not to work are nonetheless achieving certain valued family goals by means of their employment.

The emphasis put on the facet of maternal attitude by Yarrow (1961) invited many investigations. Some dealt with the family as a whole, others with the mother, but all focused on the effects of attitude. It was hypothesized that there exists a direct relationship between parental warmth, affection and acceptance, and academic achievement. One of the strongest cases in favor of parental attitudes as determinants of academic achievement came from Gilmore (1967) who maintained that underachievers were immature in their relationship with their parents and susceptible to frequent depression and anxiety. They also lacked insight of themselves. On the other hand, the high achiever had a high energy output. He did not have dependency problems at home and at the same time harbored no hostile feelings toward the home. He notes:

From an observation of these two extreme groups on the academic continuum, it is apparent that these different behavior characteristics are not attributable to differences in I. Q. test scores, but in light of our theory related to the family environments of both groups. In other words, the individuals of both groups have attempted to adjust to various
degrees of empathy within their respective families. (Gilmore, 1967, p. 48)

He cited three studies with underachievers and behavior problem school age children where attempts were made to modify their behavior. One study dealt with student counseling, the other two approached the problem solely through parent counseling of the underachievers. He states:

If we can improve academic achievement by treating parents we must be dealing with some of the causes of behavior. If the child's academic achievement is to be changed, it is necessary to examine the family structure to learn the style of living within the family which may be contributing to this dysfunctioning. (Gilmore, 1967, p. 50)

The purpose of a study by Frankel (1964) was to compare working and nonworking mothers of intellectually gifted boys showing high and low academic achievement. The experimental group of boys were of equivalent high intellectual ability but of contrasting scholastic achievement. Each pair consisted of a high achiever and a low achiever. Data were obtained from school records, personal interviews and questionnaire responses.

The most important finding in the study was the greater number of working mothers employed in non-professional jobs among the low achievers as compared to the high achievers. Although economic necessity is one of the most compelling reasons for maternal employment, it is by no means the only one. Since there were no measurable differences between the two groups in the socio-economic status and in the number of disrupted homes, it may be assumed that factors other than these account for the greatest number of working mothers among the low achievers. Perhaps the answer is in the psychological conditions and interpersonal relationships in the family. Support for this assumption was based on the experiences of the investigator as guidance counselor in interviewing working mothers of low achievers. As a group they appeared to be more aggressive and hostile and less in-
volved with their sons, than the working mothers of high achievers. They seemed to reject their role as homemaker and in general were dissatisfied with their position in the family. A comparative study of the personality characteristics of working mothers of high and low academic achievers might prove very illuminating.

There was no evidence that maternal employment per se contributed either positively or negatively to the academic achievement of the boys. On the other hand, the fact that the working mothers of the high achievers were college graduated in professional positions as teachers may be responsible for the academic standard and achievement of this group. Also the longer employment of these women may have become more acceptable to the children especially since the teaching profession tends to minimize the separation for the family.

The influence of parental factors was also substantiated by Weigard (1957) in a study of the influence of child-rearing practices on academic achievement. He found that flexibility in adapting to a task and its subsequent nurturance by parental attitudes was most helpful in academic achievement.

DeSena (1957) found it to appear that the high achiever was a child who had a rigidly defined place within the home which he was expected to keep with docile acceptance.

Although there was abundant literature to support the hypothesis of a direct relationship between parental warmth, affection and acceptance and academic achievement, there was also a sizable amount of research literature opposing it. One such study was done by Drews and Teahan (1957) The authors were trying to determine the attitudes of mothers of high achievers and low achievers of both gifted and average intelligence on the basis of
permissiveness, protectiveness and domination. The instrument selected was an adaptation of Shoven's 30-item scale adapted from the Parent Attitude Research Instrument Scale. The subjects were 34 achievers and 34 non-achievers from a junior high school population. Both groups came from the same socio-economic level. The author found that the mothers of high achievers were more authoritarian and restrictive than the mothers of achievers. Parents of high achievers of high intelligence tended to be more punitive in their treatment of children.

A study by Van Slyke and Leton (1965) studies the same question from a slightly different angle. The purpose of their study was to compare the child's perception of family relations to their school adjustment which was defined as educational or social adjustment. The subjects were 18 fourth graders. They ranged from normal to high intelligence and came from families of upper middle to lower upper social class. A trend of systematic relationship was found between school adjustment and the child's perception of family relationship. However, when a comparison was run among the pupils who ranked highest in school adjustment with those who ranked lowest on the same scale, there was no evidence of significant mean differences, nor were the scores for perception of family relationships in the predicted direction.

The apparent contradictions in the results of these studies do not necessarily argue against a relationship between parental attitude and academic achievement. They do, however, cast some doubt on a significant one-to-one relationship between the two variables.

Some researchers are convinced, however, that work and family are not in principle two irreconcilable alternatives; and it is not beyond the means and ingenuity of our society, if indeed society wished, to devise techniques which would reduce the dilemma. If women with a job and family feel torn
between them, as they very often do, their dilemma would not appear to be one of conflicting rights—their own rights as adult individuals versus those of their children—but rather one of conflicting loyalties. They have willingly accepted their two responsibilities as workers and mothers. Their problem is how to harmonize the two.

Joyce Cary (in Applebaum, 1952), in his essay "The Revolution of Women," speaks of this willingness to accept responsibility when he said:

You don't find any women who would change places with her Grandmother. For the fact seems to be that people do not seek peace or happiness in life, but fulfillment, and to get fulfillment they are ready for any kind of hardship.

(Applebaum, 1952, p. 1)

Society, in a sense, has aided women in seeking this fulfillment. Women's housework has been greatly lightened though no one has succeeded in measuring just how much. Food and clothing are purchased ready to consume, or almost ready; education and religious instructions of children are carried on largely outside the home; housework with modern appliances and interior finishes is easier; and children are fewer and rarely need attention for sickness. Many women have adjusted to these changes, of course, by joining the ranks of the gainfully employed; that is, they have transferred much of their work to the store, office and factory, on an either full-time or part-time basis.

Nye's study (1952) with emphasis on part-time employment began with the value judgment that: if working full-time outside of the home is incompatible with family harmony and happiness, then a part-time job would mitigate against best parent-adolescent relations, also. He computed statistics of full-time employed, part-time employed, and non-employed mothers. The original supposition that working outside the home is correlated with poor adolescent adjustment was found to be incorrect. He found that on the
average part-time employment showed better adolescent-parent adjustment than either families where the mother works full-time or not at all. The author did not speculate as to the "why" of these findings but parenthetically attributed it to the superior adjustment of the part-time employed mother. The source of evidence for such a statement was not made known.

In later studies by Nye (1957, 1959) he found that adolescent children of working mothers did better in respect to school performance than the children of nonworking mothers. Here that obstreperous variable, socio-economic status, raises doubt about the results. In this sample (2,350 high school students, in three communities) the working mothers were on the whole better educated than the others, and it is well established that the children of well-educated parents tend to do better at school than the children of parents with less education.

White offered an explanation for superior scholastic achievement of children of working mothers. He says:

The mother is in large part responsible for shaping the home life and security of her children. I contend that without personal identity and satisfaction she cannot make a happy life for her family. It will be upon them she vents her frustrations. Volunteer work, art classes, or community activities may prove weak alternatives. One of the most satisfying experiences in the world is to produce a child and watch and help him grow. But a mother cannot enrich her child's life if she herself is not allowed to grow. The woman who maintains her own outside interest in addition to her interest in the household can bring back to her family new experiences, insights, and enthusiasms. Mothers who surround their children with constant all-pervading companionship may be stifling them. (White, 1964, p. 126)

Only one study dealt with the element of time as affected by employment. Though the comparative study by Roy in 1958 was between rural-urban differentials, he tested three important hypotheses. The researcher assumed there were several logical effects on sons and daughters that were
related to the employment of the mother. First, the employment of the mother would increase the amount of work the son and daughter would do at home. A list of household chores was provided and each boy and girl was asked to check, "What chores do you do at home? Regularly--occasionally." There was a consistent trend manifesting that children of employed mothers did a little more housework. Secondly, the consequence of the increased work at home would be a tendency to cut down on participation in school activities. Though the second hypothesis is one that logically follows the first, it was found that the children of employed mothers seemed to have as much social life as children of nonemployed mothers. Thirdly, it was presumed that due to lack of supervision of study hours or actual help with homework resulting from the employment of the mother, the children of employed mothers should not perform as well in school as the children of nonemployed mothers. Low academic performance may also be the function of more household chores. The hypothesis could not be rejected from the analysis of the data presented. The results suggested that the employment of town mothers may lower the performance and aspirations of their children but that the employment of rural mothers may raise their academic performance and aspirations. Roy admitted that more research would be needed to substantiate the findings.

From the diversified findings the possibility exists that:

An employed mother is in a unique position to satisfy both the psychologist who says that children have too much done for them and the sociologist who says that working mothers have not time in which to teach their children how to become satisfactory members of a home group. (LaFollette, 1934, p. 63)
Philosophers have surmised, behaviorists have predicted, and researchers have speculated as to the effects of maternal employment on children. Statistics tell only part of a story; it is still the individual who counts, who gives depth and dimension to the figures. When statistics become staggering, it seems wise to come down to cases, cases where we find out what children have to say. Is theirs, too, a negative response to mother's employment? A limited amount of literature is available on the child's attitude toward maternal employment, for most presumed the child disliked the fact their mother was employed and engaged in aberrant behavior in order to compensate for the loss.

Though it cannot be considered scientific, the article by Scofield can most certainly be considered enlightening. The frank and honest answers of children whose mothers were employed ran along the theme of: "It may mean more chores, but it also means more independence." (Scofield, 1967, p. 362)

The working mother has less time to dedicate to housekeeping, which means the family has to do more household chores. She will not be able to offer those little things she may have in the past. After the initial shock that life is not quite as comfortable when mother is not always available, most children discover that mother's having a job offers myriad compensations. One child states: "It's fun to come home when nobody's there and mess around and do what you want to do till five o'clock." Another states: "It taught me to cook, for after the fourth weekly TV dinner, I rebelled, from then on I asked Mother to show me one new dish a week." One youngster summed it up when she said:
Having a working mother does mean more work for you, but it's the kind of work that can bring out the best in a person. It's a wonderful opportunity to show that you're able to handle responsibility, that you're able to use judgment, that you're able to be on your own. There's the pride, too, that a family feels when a mother goes to work. Somehow, the fact that she can be all things to all people--mother, wife, and someone the outside world values too--makes you proud of her accomplishment and proud that she is yours. (Scofield, 1967, p. 367)

These statements by children are in contrast to a survey done by Bossard (1948) from which he states that the children of the employed mother are lonely and feel neglected. He asserts that children hated to come home to an empty house. Of course children of non-employed mothers also come home to empty houses and feel lonely and neglected. However, the "empty house" would seem more characteristic of families in which the mother is employed.

It is true that the response to Scofield's study does not represent all children of working mothers. A poll taken by Mathews (1934) concluded that "only forty per cent of the workers' children showed approval toward mother's out-of-home employment. At the same time eighty-nine per cent approved of her staying at home most of the time." (Mathews, 1934, p. 134)

How will the attitude they have toward their mother working or not working affect children when they play the role of parent? Late in 1953, Payne conducted a study of 901 persons in grades eight and twelve. The sample included both rural and urban youngsters plus a wide range of occupations and levels of living. The 416 boys in the sample were asked, "Do you expect your future wife to work after you are married?" Over three-fourths gave a negative answer. Of 485 girls asked, 91.9 per cent said they expected to work after they were married.

At this point one is faced with the questions which are largely un-answerable in Payne's study: (1) Will the expectations of the boys or
girls be more nearly fulfilled in the years to come? (2) Why are the boys and girls so different in their expectations?

One could speculate that boys are hanging on to traditional concepts of the strong, all-sufficient, bread-winner husband, while the girls' acceptance of working as part of the marital role is, in this respect, acceptance of the fact, in its contemporary form, that the woman must help with the family enterprise wherever possible.

Almost the opposite female reaction was reported in a current study of senior women students at the State College of Washington. Only 15 per cent said they wanted to go back to work after their youngest child was in school. This seems unrealistic in the light of present information which suggests that at least 50 per cent of them will do just that.

What happens to the attitude of "not working"? Perhaps it is that most educated young women still define their future in terms of marriage OR career. They feel that they must plan to devote themselves primarily to making happy, healthy homes for their future husbands and children. Yet they also feel a strong obligation to find individual identity based upon their own interest, knowledge, and ability to contribute to the world around them. During the last year of college, they are faced with the necessity of deciding between continuing their training and practicing a profession or becoming wives and mothers. Ninety-nine per cent of them succumb to the pressures around them and eagerly embrace marriage and settle down to housewifely routines.

Their eagerness gradually turns to resignation and disillusionment. "Is this all?" "Why must my abilities and training go to waste?" Women who have asked themselves, "...who they are besides their children's mother," have come face to face with the modern woman's dilemma (Rossi, 1964, p. 624).
Who can doubt that larger and larger numbers of married women will continue to move into the labor market. Why do they do this? Says one forty-year-old college graduate:

"There are three phases. First you just enjoy everything, children, the social life, golf, travel. Then you do community work, funds, causes, elections, hospitals, music. Third you're bored with it and your husband is bored with it; he's on the way up and you're just dangling. What you want is a real job, responsibility, service, a point of view--" she shrugged-- "your own money, your own conversation, your own self." (Mueller, 1964, p. 122)

Married or unmarried, a woman college graduate is more likely to be in the labor force than a woman with one to three years of college. Any college woman is more likely to be in the labor force than a noncollege woman. In 1960, among women college graduates in their early thirties, the proportion in the labor force was 88 per cent unmarried, 62 per cent married without children, and 21 per cent married with children under six. Corresponding proportions on women with one to three years of college were 81 per cent, 49 per cent, and 19 per cent, and for noncollege women, they were 66 per cent, 46 per cent, and 18 per cent.

One reason for the return of the college women to the labor force in her middle years may be the increasing cost of college education for her own children. Whatever the reasons, the trend is clear and has important implications.

Schreiner (1911) notes that our convictions as to the plenitude of her powers for the adequate performance of lofty labors in this new field, springs not at all from a categorical enumeration of the attainments or performances of individual women or groups of women in the past or present; it has another source:

There was a bird's egg once, picked up by chance upon the ground, and those who found it bore it home and placed it under a barnyard fowl. And in time the chick bred out, and those who
had found it chained it by the leg to a log, lest it should stray and be lost. And one by one they gathered round it, and speculated as to what the bird might be. One said, "It is surely a waterfowl, a duck, or it may be a goose; if we took it to the water it would swim and gabble." But another said, "It has no webs to its feet; it is a barn-yard fowl, should you let it loose it will scratch and cackle with the others." But a third speculated, "Look now at its curved beak; no doubt it is a parrot and can crack nuts!" But a fourth said, "No, but look at its wings, perhaps it is a bird of great flight." But several cried, "Nonsense! No one has ever seen it fly! Why should it fly? CAN YOU SUPPOSE THAT A THING CAN DO A THING WHICH NO ONE HAS EVER SEEN IT DO?" And the bird, with its leg chained close to the log, preened its wings. So they sat about it, speculating, and discussing it; and one said this, and another that. And all the while as they talked the bird sat motionless, with its gaze fixed on the clear, blue sky above it. And one said, "Suppose we let the creature loose to see what it will do!"—and the bird shivered. But the others cried, "It is too valuable; it might get lost. If it were to fly it might fall down and break its neck." And the bird, with its foot chained to the log, sat looking upward into the clear sky; the sky, in which it had never been—for the bird, the BIRD knew what it could do—because it was an eaglet. (Schreiner, 1911, p. 233)

In 1911 this is where the story ended, but now, in 1969 it may very well continue...

Speculation soon waned with interest, and the bird remained chained, only to become unnoticed. Day by day the bird wore away at the chains that held it, knowing its potential should it ever escape its bonds. Those who had once valued it, now were distracted with other happenings and the bird was left to its work. The day arrived when free of the log, it exercised its wings for a moment and then took to the sky that had always beckoned it. Suddenly those who had wondered, and speculated, stood in fear and then amazement. The first few moments of flight brought shouts from the crowd, "The bird will never make it; it will fall and destroy itself; it can't possibly remain in the air; it can't!...but it could and everyone who watched it with openness of mind found himself watching with silent pride. Breaking through the stillness of the crowd you could hear someone murmur, "Yes, it can do something that no one has ever seen it do—it can do it, and it can do it well." (Schreiner, 1911, p. 280)
Summary of Literature

The objective of early studies by the Department of Labor (1922, 1931) were to present findings that might encourage the mother and housewife out of the factories and back to the home. They reported neglected home conditions and a general lack of child-care. Though some of the findings may have been valid, their conclusions were not always so, reflecting the bias of the times.

Later research by Hoffman (1964) studied notable effects on children and, while finding no effects on social relations and a contradiction in academic performance, unconsciously discovered the lower intellectual performance of children whose mothers worked. The reason for this finding was left to speculation and not pursued in the study.

Yarrow (1961, 1962) opened a new avenue in order to approach the subject of maternal employment—that of the effects of the mother's attitude toward working as reflected in her child-rearing practices. Though she did not carry the study of attitude into the field of scholastic achievement, it remained an open invitation.

Roy (1961) studied the factor of time as it affects scholastic achievement. It was hypothesized that more home chores would result in less time for home work thus causing lower grades. He was unable to support his proposed hypothesis for balancing differences in urban and rural settings negated each other.

Nye's main pursuit (1957, 1959) was the study of delinquency due to maternal employment. These findings were often inconclusive. Only one
study he undertook was focused on school performance, but a lack of controls made the study questionable.

Analysis of these major studies, and of minor studies referred to in the section of related literature, indicates that studies of maternal employment as it is related to grades achieved, conduct, and absenteeism, are either negligible or nonexistent. The reason for the proposed research on the topic of maternal employment and how it is related to scholastic achievement is intended to serve as one small step toward the closing of this gap.
CHAPTER III

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

The description of procedure used in this study includes a discussion about the setting for the study, the development and administration of the questionnaire, the composition of the sample, and analyses of the data.

Setting for the Study

This study was made at Mount Ogden Junior High School in Ogden, Utah. This school is representative of middle class students, the majority of whose parents are professionally employed. The school was selected because of its uniformity in socio-economic status as confirmed by school administrators. Other factors influencing the selectivity of this population include the fact that the seventh grade enrollment was large enough to supply the entire sample, and that all were urban dwellers. These factors brought about a degree of uniformity in the subjects.

Development of the Questionnaire

The task undertaken in developing the questionnaire consisted of formulating the questions in such a manner that past as well as future behavior could be ascertained. By reviewing the literature and critically analyzing the proposed study, questions were drawn up to meet the intended objectives.

Two areas were adopted in an attempt to make a distinction between "the existing factual material" and questions that would give an indication of "attitudes toward that existing condition". On the employment survey for mothers (see Appendix, page 70 ) the factual information is covered by Sections I, II, and III. Those questions determining attitude comprise Section IV.
In order to discover if there existed a positive correlation between the mother's attitude toward her work and her child's scholastic achievement, questions 1-14 on the student's questionnaire (see Appendix, page 67) and questions 1-14 on the mother's survey were similar. Questions were stated in such a manner that both the employed and nonemployed mother as well as the students of these respective mothers would find them applicable.

On the mother's form, at the right of each descriptive statement, was provided a series of five cells representing a five-point scale of potential responses to each statement. By the use of this Likert scale, the respondent was able to indicate her reaction to each statement in one of the following categories: "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Undecided," "Disagree," or "Strongly Disagree." Using this type of inventory it was possible to assign each statement a numerical weight, thus indicating orientation toward traditional, liberal, or undecided views of the mother's role. Items indicating liberal concepts were weighted with high numerical scores; low ratings were indicative of traditional conceptions. The weights ranged from one to five for each statement. Undecided responses were assigned intermediate scores of three.

The student's questionnaire was simplified in order to be administered to seventh graders. Each descriptive statement was followed by a series of three cells. By placing a check in the appropriate cell the respondent was able to indicate his reaction to each statement in one of the following categories: "Agree," "Sometimes," or "Disagree."

The questionnaire was administered to the students in their classroom setting. Preliminary questioning by the researcher determined those students whose mothers had worked a 40-hour week for the first six years they attended school, or had never worked while they were in grades one to six. Students
who were unsure of their mother's work history were given the questionnaire and added or dropped from the study after the mother's questionnaire stated her work record. Since more than the needed number of students met the criteria for this study, random drawing eliminated all excess questionnaires.

During the administration of the student's questionnaire, emphasis was placed on the fact that there were no right or wrong answers, but that their own attitudes should be expressed. The questionnaire, which contained objective as well as subjective questions, took about fifteen minutes per classroom to administer. Eight classrooms were included.

Upon completion of the student's questionnaire, a cover letter plus a questionnaire for the mother was sent to the home. A stamped, self-addressed envelope was included for convenience as well as identification since the mother was not to sign her name to the questionnaire. It was hoped that anonymity would be an added incentive for honest responses. The coded envelope enabled the researcher to run a correlation between the mother's attitude as indicated on the mother's questionnaire and the scholastic achievement of the subject's child.

Information was obtained from the student's cumulative records containing data on the students first six years of school. The average grades for each year of school in reading, mathematics, social studies and English were taken from the records. From these four scores the student's grade point average was determined. Reading achievement scores were taken since this appeared to be one test all students had taken the same year. These scores were the result of the administration of the California Achievement Test. Conduct grades, days absent, and I. Q. scores were recorded as well as whether or not a student had repeated any grade. In cases where special personal notations had been made on the cumulative record that appeared to
be of importance to the study, these too were taken. This mainly consisted of the number of children in the family and whether or not the parents had been divorced.

Composition of the Sample

The final sample of 80 students and their mothers was divided into two groups. One group consisted of 40 students and their mothers who had been employed during the first six years their child attended school. The second group consisted of those 40 students and their mothers who had not been employed outside the home while their child was in grades one to six. Since more qualifying questionnaires were returned than were used in the study, the extra questionnaires were eliminated in a random manner. Table 1 shows the number of questionnaires submitted to and returned by the mothers of both groups.

Table 1. Questionnaires submitted and returned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number submitted</th>
<th>Number returned</th>
<th>Number not returned</th>
<th>Percent returned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed mothers</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>71.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>73.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analyses of the Data

Comparisons between employed mothers and nonemployed mothers were made in nine different areas. The t-test was the statistical tool used to test for significance in the areas of I. Q., absenteeism, reading scores, conduct scores, grade point average, education of the mothers, and the amount of
time that the mother and child spend together on a school day. Chi-square was used to compare the number of children in the family of employed mothers as compared to the families of nonemployed mothers. Pearson Product Moment (r) was used to determine if there was a positive correlation between the mother's attitude toward her work or nonwork status and the child's scholastic achievement. A mean score was derived in all nine cases so it could be referred to as an average. When applicable, the mode was also determined.
CHAPTER IV
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Findings Regarding the Hypotheses

The two groups of students that composed the sample were found to be closely matched in sex as shown in Table 1 and I. Q. as shown in Table 2. All except three children found in the employed sample came from intact homes and had not failed any of the first six grades. Among the three that were an exception to this, two children came from divorced families, one of them having failed fifth grade, and the third child came from an intact family but had failed the second grade.

Table 2. Sex of students from employed and nonemployed sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number in sample</th>
<th>Number of males</th>
<th>Number of females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No significant difference
Table 3. I. Q. of students from employed and nonemployed sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number in sample</th>
<th>Total of I. Q. scores</th>
<th>Mean of I. Q.</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4,386</td>
<td>109.53</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4,503</td>
<td>112.75</td>
<td>115*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Scores significant only at the .10 level

It is from these closely matched groups that the hypotheses were tested.

The first hypothesis which stated that the children of employed mothers have a lower grade point average than the children of nonemployed mothers had to be rejected for not only was there a lack of significant difference, but, as can be seen by the figures on Table 4, the means of the two groups were identical.

Table 4. Grade point averages of students from employed and nonemployed sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>Total of grade point averages</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75.24</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75.37</td>
<td>1.88*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No significant difference

The reading scores also substantiated this equality in the scholastic ability of the two groups. No significant difference was found between the reading scores which are presented in Table 5.
Table 5. Reading achievement scores of students from employed and non-employed sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>Total of reading scores</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,970</td>
<td>74.3*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No significant difference

The California Achievement Test had been administered to all students with a score of 50, representing the national average. As can be seen from Table 5, both groups exceeded the national average, as well as the fact that both groups scored closely enough to each other that there was no significant difference between groups.

This equality of academic achievement goes beyond individual capabilities or comparability of the sample. Notice must be taken of the student's attitude and aspirations concerning school. The responses to the questions presented in Table 6, which were intended to determine the student's attitude toward his performance, reflected the realization that the vast majority admitted their achievement, or lack of it, was dependent upon their own initiative.
Table 6. Questions determining aspirations and attitude toward achievement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question number</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Group responding</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I believe that my grades depend on me and no one else in the family.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>I plan to go on to college when I finish school.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I feel that when a mother works it causes the child to get lower grades in school.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>I think that whether your mother works or not your grades would be the same.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .05 level

Question 16 shows an interesting difference in responses. As was noted in Table 4, in actuality there exists no difference between the groups in grade point average. It is interesting to note here that perception and reality differ. Question 24 also shows this difference in response, although in this case it was not significant.

Reasons for achievement were also asked for Questions 27 and 28 which asked what they thought caused a student to get good or bad grades. Every student, in both groups, checked (a) of both questions which stated they study hard or they do not study hard (see Appendix, page 69). No other reason was checked with such consistency.
The second hypothesis stated that absenteeism would be higher among children of employed mothers than nonemployed mothers. No data gathered in this study could substantiate that statement. Statistical analysis showed no significant difference between the two groups as presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Absenteeism among students of employed and nonemployed mothers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>Total days absent</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1,202</td>
<td>30.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>33.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On questions 12, 15, and 19, presented in Table 8, the students reacted to how they felt they ranked with other students in absenteeism and the reasons why they were absent. The responses to questions 12 and 19 were found to be very similar; but in question 15, one found the difference in response to be significant at the .01 level.
Table 8. Student responses to questions concerning absenteeism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question number</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Group responding</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>I have had to miss school at some time to babysit or help with housework.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>I feel that when a mother works it causes the child to miss more school.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>I seem to miss more school than other children.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Difference is significant at .01 level

As previously noted on Table 6 the nonemployed group has an opinion concerning the employed group that could not be substantiated by data. Of the two from the nonemployed group that marked "Agree" on Question 12, one student made a notation on the questionnaire saying she had to babysit when her mother went to the hospital as she was from a family of ten. It should be noted that only four marked "Agree" to Question 12, and these are evenly divided between the two groups.

Table 9 shows that the mother’s response to this same Question 12 was in agreement with the answers of the students. No one group was missing more school than the other because of babysitting or assisting with household duties.
Table 9. Mothers' response to question on absenteeism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question number</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Group responding</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The reason for the absence of my child at least once was to help with housework or to babysit.</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonemployed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No significant difference

At the bottom of the questionnaire students were free to react to the question, "Should mothers who have children in grades 1-6 work outside the home?" One student remarked, "I don't think she should because the children might not go to school." This student, of a working mother, reiterated an often made remark which no data in this study could confirm.

Besides the fact that there appeared to be no difference in school attendance, information from each student's record, presented in Table 10, showed that once he reached school his conduct there was comparable to that of any other student's regardless of their mother's employment record.

Table 10. Conduct scores between students of employed and nonemployed sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>Total of conduct scores</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>76.46</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>77.12</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>2.00*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No significant difference
The third hypothesis stated that the attitude of the mother toward her employment or nonemployment was unrelated to the child's academic performance. This hypothesis had to be rejected when a Pearson Product Moment Correlation between the mother's attitude, which was given a numerical weight, and her child's grade point average revealed a high positive correlation. The results of both the employed and nonemployed group, as seen in Table 11, proved significant at the .01 level. Since no significant difference existed between the students on grade point average and on reading test results, it can be concluded that the mothers of both groups manifested a positive attitude toward her position of employment or nonemployment.

Table 11. Correlation between mother's attitude and her child's G. P. A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of pairs</th>
<th>r.</th>
<th>Significance level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.480</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonemployed</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.510</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference that does exist in the correlation scores was influenced by the fact that four employed mothers admitted that they were employed but wished they were unemployed as compared with one nonemployed mother that was undecided as to whether or not she was happy in her nonemployed position. Singling out the questionnaires of these employed mothers and their children one would expect to find a negative reflection of this dissatisfaction on the child's scholastic achievement. The scholastic achievement of the four cases of the employed group are listed in Table 12.
Table 12. Scholastic records of those students whose mothers were dissatisfied with being employed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>I. Q.</th>
<th>Reading achievement scores</th>
<th>Conduct</th>
<th>Grade point averages</th>
<th>Absenteeism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case 1</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 2</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 3</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 4</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for employed group</td>
<td>109.53</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>30.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Child of divorced mother

The mother of one of these students footnoted her questionnaire saying she was divorced and had no choice but to work.

The scholastic achievement of the student whose nonworking mother responded "Undecided" is shown in Table 13,

Table 13. Scholastic record of the students whose mother was questioning her position of nonemployment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student of nonemployed mother</th>
<th>I. Q.</th>
<th>Reading achievement scores</th>
<th>Conduct</th>
<th>Grade point average</th>
<th>Absenteeism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case 1</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for nonemployed group</td>
<td>112.75</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>33.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be noted from both these groups that the scores often exceed the average found in this study and do not account for the low scores found in
the sample. No data in this study provide an adequate explanation of this finding.

Findings Regarding the Education of the Mother

Perhaps the similarity of these two groups on so many criteria can more clearly be explained by the finding that the educational level of the mothers of these two groups was nearly identical, as shown in Table 14. The range for the nonemployed mothers was from the tenth grade to that of a college graduate with a mean of 13, which is the completion of the freshman year in college, and the modal years of education being that of a high school graduate. For the employed group education ranged from eighth grade to six years of college education with a like mean of 13 and the modal years of education also being 12 (see Appendix, page 73).

Table 14, Education of the mother

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of mothers</th>
<th>Total years of education</th>
<th>Mean years of education</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>13.18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>13.28</td>
<td>12*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*No significant difference

Although the degree of this educational influence cannot be measured, one cannot discount this influence as having a bearing on the child's scholastic achievement.
Findings Regarding the Motives for Working

The employed mothers were given an opportunity to check the reasons they chose employment. Table 15 places these reasons in the order of the most common to the least common.

Table 15. Reasons for choosing employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of mothers who chose this reason</th>
<th>Reasons for employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The money provided some of the extras we wanted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I liked the social contacts I got through my work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>It was an outlet for energy and self-expression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>We needed the money to make ends meet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The work gave me a great feeling of independence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>My salary was the only source of family income.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common reason, that of providing extras, received positive approbation from the students themselves. It appeared that this criteria, more than any other, made working an acceptable thing in the minds of the students (see Appendix, page 71). One child stated:

I think that if it is necessary for the mother to work then it would be okay. But I think that unless they have a maid or someone to do the house work for them they shouldn't have a job. I also think that if the family needs the money and the mother works, I think she is showing her family how much she loves them. But she should spend at least four or five hours with her family.

It is interesting to note that the word "necessary" as used by this student does not refer to "making ends meet" but rather to having the extras that two salaries provide. A great many students referred to these "necessary
Findings Regarding the Number of Children per Family

There was a significant difference between the two groups concerning the number of children per family. The nonemployed mothers had 4.53 children as compared to the 3.30 of the employed mothers. This difference was significant at the .01 level after having applied the chi-square test. The mode for the nonemployed families was four, for the employed families three, as seen on Table 16.

Table 16. Number of children in employed and nonemployed families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
<th>Total number of children</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed families</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonemployed families</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This, in part, may explain why the group of nonemployed mothers chose not to add employment to their workload. But only in part, for there exists among some of the nonworking mothers a very negative attitude toward employment of mothers. Such remarks as, "Personally, I have seen too many bad effects from the working mother." Or,

I'm very strongly against mothers working particularly with young children. Several neighbors and friends work and I observe conditions that are very bad for the children.

These mothers, unfortunately, did not enumerate what they perceived as bad effects (see Appendix, page 74).

On the question of good and bad effects of employment upon the children, interesting differences were found on the mother's questionnaire.
16 and 17, found in Table 18, were an attempt to measure such attitudes.

Table 17. Mother's response to the good and bad effects of employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of question</th>
<th>Number of responses by employed mothers</th>
<th>Number of responses by nonemployed mothers</th>
<th>Good and bad effects of maternal employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>a. They have learned to do little things for themselves that mothers usually do too long.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. They have become socially advanced (meet strangers easily, etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. They have accepted the fact that each person has some work to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d. They have become real pals--sharing in the planning and doing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e. The need for cooperation has brought the family closer together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>f. They have learned to think of others as well as of themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a. They are out on the streets after school hours--no one to look after them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. Children are building bad habits in regard to personal cleanliness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. Children are developing undesirable character traits--rudeness, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d. Children do not do good work in school because of a lack of home attention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e. They do not obey those with whom they are left during the day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f. They are developing poor eating habits.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that on Question 17, twenty-three employed mothers did not respond to that question. This can be interpreted as they do not believe any of the bad effects take place, or they are unwilling to admit to the possible consequences of their work status. In contrast, there were only four nonemployed mothers that did not respond to that question, suggesting that they perceive these consequences or would expect them to exist. Concerning Question 16, only one employed mother did not respond as compared to nine nonemployed mothers. It is difficult to assess whether or not the comments of both groups were the results of actual perception rather than what they would expect to find should a mother work.

The large difference in responses poses this all-important question, a question that only further research can answer.

**Findings Regarding the Hours Spent with Children**

One idea throughout the study was voiced by the majority of students. One such typical remark was,

I don't think it matters if mothers work or not as long as they have time to be interested in their children and what they do.

Similar sentiments voiced by both the children of employed and nonemployed mothers pointed out the great need these children have to know that their mothers are there to listen to them if they need them. An amazing likeness, presented in Table 18, was found in the number of hours that the mothers and students of both groups reported that they spent with their mother. There was no significant difference found among or between the groups; however, there does exist a greater discrepancy between the hours reported by the nonemployed mothers and their children as compared to the employed mothers and their children. This may be due to the fact that it is more difficult for a mother who is home all day to determine how many hours she spends
with her child in contrast to the employed mother who is more conscious of the
time she spends with her child due to the guilt she feels because she has been
away from the home for a portion of the day.

Table 18. Hours mother and child spend together on a typical school day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number in each group</th>
<th>Total number of hours</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>173.5</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>4.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>181.5</td>
<td>4.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amount of time spent with the children appeared to meet the time avail-
ability of the mother and the needs of the child whether or not the mother
was employed.

**Findings Regarding the Student's Future Work Intentions**

After the students had reflected throughout the questionnaire on the
effects of employment or nonemployment on their own scholastic life, they
were asked to project into their future as to what they would do as wives,
or permit as husbands, concerning employment. The results are shown in
Table 19.
Table 19. The student's future work intentions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employed mothers</th>
<th>Nonemployed mothers</th>
<th>Future intentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, one notes the child's strong desire to have a mother in whom he may confide, but it does not mean that she needs to be home all of the time.

Findings Regarding Those Who Responded and Those Who Did Not Respond to the Questionnaire

The reader's mind may have posed this question, "If those who did not respond to the questionnaires had done so, would the findings of this study have been altered?" Mean differences were found between the employed and nonemployed that responded to the questionnaire as well as the employed and nonemployed that did not respond to the questionnaire. The mean comparisons in Table 20 concern six areas.
Table 20. Comparison of those who responded and those who did not respond

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Mean of I. Q. scores</th>
<th>Mean of achievement scores</th>
<th>Mean of conduct scores</th>
<th>Mean of absenteeism</th>
<th>Mean of number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers that responded</td>
<td>109.53</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>30.25</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers that responded</td>
<td>112.75</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>33.55</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of employed mothers that did not respond</td>
<td>110.75</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>31.37</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of nonemployed mothers that did not respond</td>
<td>107.14</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems appropriate to conclude that the non-respondents would not appreciably change the findings of this study.

**Conclusions**

It was hypothesized that: (1) The children of employed mothers would have a lower grade point average than the children of nonemployed mothers, (2) absenteeism would be higher among children of employed mothers as compared to nonemployed mothers, and (3) the attitude of the mother toward her employment or nonemployment was unrelated to the student's academic performance.

The first hypothesis was rejected when results showed identical means for the two groups on their grade point average. Nonsignificant findings on reading achievement scores added strength to this finding of apparent equality.
The second hypothesis was unfounded as statistical analysis produced no significant difference in absenteeism. Of added interest was the conduct scores of both groups which showed no substantial difference.

In the third hypothesis the opposite was found to be true. There existed a high positive correlation between the mother's attitude toward her employed or nonemployed position and her child's scholastic achievement. This finding, significant at the .01 level, placed the emphasis not on the work or nonwork role itself, but the key appeared to be the mother's attitude toward that role, the subsequent reflection upon the family environment, and its perception by the child. If the mother was perceived as happy with her role, her child in turn appeared to put his stamp of approval upon it, whether that role was one of employment or nonemployment. This approval was reflected in the child's scholastic ability in terms of meeting requirements or working at an acceptable level of scholastic achievement.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study of the effects of maternal employment on the scholastic achievement of children was undertaken to obtain information regarding the similarities and differences of the two groups of students, one group consisting of students whose mothers were employed and the other group of students whose mothers were not employed outside the home while they were in grades one to six. The hypotheses examined were: (a) Children of employed mothers have a lower grade point average than the children of nonemployed mothers, (b) absenteeism is higher among children of employed mothers than nonemployed mothers, and (c) the attitude of the mother toward her employment or non-employment is unrelated to the child's academic performance.

The criteria for the selection of subjects were: (a) The students were to be from the seventh grade with a cumulative record complete from grades one to six, (b) the student's mother to qualify as employed must have worked a forty-hour week from the time the child entered first grade and continued until the child was through the sixth grade, and (c) the student's mother to qualify as nonemployed was one who had not worked outside the home at any time while her child was in grades one through six. The part-time employed mother was not included in this study.

The data were collected by questionnaire from both the students and their mothers. Questionnaires were given to the students in their classroom setting. From the information supplied by the students, 120 mothers qualified as employed or nonemployed and questionnaires were sent to each of them. From this population 87 questionnaires or 72.5 percent responded. Random
selection eliminated excess questionnaires leaving a final sample of 40 employed mothers and 40 nonemployed mothers and their children. Those who did not respond to the questionnaires were presented for comparison.

The two groups closely matched in age and sex were compared in nine areas. In seven of these areas no significant difference was found. These included grade point average, reading achievement scores, absenteeism, I. Q., conduct scores, education of the mother, and the number of hours that the mother and child spent together on a school day. The area in which a significant difference was found at the .01 level was the number of children in the families of employed mothers as compared to the families of nonemployed mothers. Non-employed families were larger having 4.5 children while employed families had 3.3 children. A ninth area that was statistically analyzed by means of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation was the mother's attitude and her child's grade point average. A high positive correlation, at the .01 level, was found.

The hypothesis that there would be a lower grade point average between the children of employed mothers had to be rejected. The means of both groups on grade point average, which was determined by using the average of each year of school in reading, mathematics, social studies, and English, were found to be identical. Another area in which equality was found was that of reading achievement scores derived from the results of the California Achievement Test administered to all students at the end of their sixth year of school.

No data found concerning absenteeism could substantiate the hypothesis that absenteeism would be higher among the children of employed mothers. Belief that this hypothesis was true was referred to by the mothers and students of both groups. The records of the students left this a mere belief, for no significant difference was found between the groups.
Several factors were held tenable concerning the third hypothesis stating the attitude of the mother toward her employment or nonemployment is unrelated to the child's academic performance. The hypothesis was rejected when a high positive correlation was found between the mother's attitude toward her employed or nonemployed status. This finding significant at the .01 level was questioned when the records of those students whose mothers admitted dissatisfaction with employment or nonemployment were singled out. Their records showed average or above average achievement. One can only speculate as to the reason for these findings. Perhaps these students compensated for that which was lacking in the home by outside activities, alluded to by a notation on the questionnaire of a non-working mother. She stated,

One thing I found being a scout leader is that children of working mothers demand more attention from the leader than the other children.

Or, due to their average or above average I. Q., these students can deal successfully with the situation. A third alternative, an explanation that would appear to be more feasible, is that although the mother was dissatisfied with her status of employment or nonemployment, it was not manifested in the home or, if manifested, it was not perceived by her grade school child. Only further studies, concentrating on manifestation of a negative attitude by the mother toward her position and its perception by children in grades one through six, can provide an explanation for this finding.

Additional findings placed emphasis on the time mothers spent with their children and the amount of time children desired with their mothers on a school day. The children of both groups perceived their needs met, for they requested about four hours (4.49) with their mothers, and the mothers of both groups reported that they spent nearly this amount of time (4.44) with their children. Students remarked that this time requirement could be met before
and after school and the mother would then be free, during the time they were in school, to work. One student reflected this opinion when he said,

"It doesn't make any difference to me if mother works as long as I can still see her about 3 or 4 hours a day. That gives me a chance to tell her all the things I want to talk about."

Descriptive findings in this study closely paralleled those of past studies on some aspects of maternal employment and scholastic achievement while other findings had not been previously dealt with. Hoffman (1964) found no relationship between maternal employment and school behavior but his unexpected finding of lower intellectual performance of employed-mothers children found no support in this study. Yarrow (1962) focused on attitude and correctly hypothesized that there existed a direct relationship between maternal attitude toward employment and academic achievement. However, the study presumed manifestation and perception of this attitude in terms of affection and warmth displayed, or withheld. It is the manifestation of a negative attitude and its perception that is not assumed in this study, but rather is presented as a facet for further research. Frankel (1964) found there was no evidence that maternal employment per se contributed either positively or negatively to the academic achievement of his sample. This finding was substantiated by this study when the means of the grade point average of both groups were found to be identical.

The main conclusions which can be drawn from the present study are that the two groups of students were comparable in scholastic achievement, but that this achievement was influenced by the mother's attitude toward her employed or nonemployed position. Though it could not be statistically analyzed, there appeared a need on behalf of the students to have their mother available about four hours a day in order that they could share the
days' happenings. This need appeared to be met, which may partially account for the acceptance of maternal employment by the students whose mothers worked a forty-hour week. Findings concerning attitude of the mother and the student's grade point average lead to the assumption that the majority of mothers in this study were satisfied with their position of employment and nonemployment. For those who admitted dissatisfaction with their position, it must be assumed that this dissatisfaction was not manifested in the home or was not perceived by the students. More research in this area concerning attitude, specifically manifestation of this attitude, is needed before the question of influence of employment or nonemployment on the scholastic achievement of children can be answered.

Suggestions for Further Study

From the findings in this study the following suggestions for further study were derived:

1. This study focused on the child and his mother, but the attitude of the husband toward his wife's employment or nonemployment most certainly affects the home atmosphere. A study including the father would add to a relatively unexplored facet of maternal employment.

2. A similar study to the one completed could be meaningfully carried out with a random sample with carefully controlled variables which would concentrate solely on the attitude of the mother, how it is manifested in the home, and the ability of the child to perceive that attitude.

3. It would also be interesting to carry out a similar study with high school students since their ability to perceive existing conditions is much keener and more realistic than grade school children.
4. Another study that could be carried out over a period of time, for example one school year, would include a chosen sample at different grade levels with an almost diary-like log kept on the reasons why the child missed school, why he went without breakfast, and other like activities on school children. If information is to be gathered from the mother, it is strongly suggested that this be done in the form of an interview since the researcher would be able to perceive many attitudes that would not be captured by means of a questionnaire.
LITERATURE CITED


APPENDIX
Dear Mrs. __________:

Your help is needed in order to complete a study being made for a Master's Thesis at Utah State University concerning the topic of maternal employment and its relationship to school achievement.

The time it takes you to complete the questionnaire is of greatest importance to me, for without YOUR enlightening answers this study cannot be completed.

All information will be confidential and I ask you NOT to put your name on the questionnaire so that you may feel free to answer it as you feel it should be answered.

For your convenience, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided. I await the return of your questionnaire. Thank you!

Sincerely,

Sandra Zins
U. S. U. Graduate Student

Dr. C. Jay Skidmore, Professor
Marriage and Family Relations
Utah State University
EMPLOYMENT SURVEY

SECTION I

Check correct answers

Were you ever employed for pay outside the home while your child (now in the seventh grade) was in grades one to six? Yes__________ No__________

If you were employed for pay outside the home, did you work a full 40-hour week at that job? Yes__________ No__________

If you did not have a full-time job, did you work off and on at jobs during that time? Yes__________ No__________

What kind of work did you do?______________________________________________

How much time are you able to spend each school day with your seventh grade child: ________ 1-2 hours; ________ 3-4 hours; ________ 5-6 hours.

SECTION II

Make a circle around the last grade you attended in school:
Grades: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 High School: 9 10 11 12 College: 1 2 3 4 5 6

SECTION III

If you answered "YES" to the first question in Section I, please check the correct answers to the following:

I worked outside the home during the past six years because:
We needed the money to make ends meet.
I liked the social contacts I got through my work.
It was an outlet for energy and self-expression.
The work gave me a great feeling of independence.
The money provided some of the extras we wanted.
My salary was the only source of family income.

SECTION IV

Check the column that best represents your opinion of each statement.
KEY: SA=strongly agree; A=agree; U=undecided; D=disagree; SD=strongly disagree

(answer only ONE of the questions 1-4)
1. As a mother I am employed and happy to be employed. SA A U D SD
2. As a mother I am employed but wish I was unemployed. SA A U D SD
3. As a mother I am unemployed and happy to be so. SA A U D SD
4. As a mother I am unemployed but wish I was employed. SA A U D SD

(Answer ALL of the following questions)
5. The fact that I had children of school age made me consider employment an impossibility. SA A U D SD
6. Due to a greater need to schedule time carefully, an employed mother injects "time-tension" into family routine. SA A U D SD
7. Due to employment of the mother the number of school activities which the child may attend are limited.

8. Employment or unemployment does not determine whether or not the child’s study hours are supervised.

9. A lack of time has made it impossible for me to help my children with their homework.

10. I believe my children’s grades depend upon their effort and the teacher’s manner of grading and not whether or not the mother is employed or unemployed.

11. In spite of my busy day, I still have time to be genuinely interested in what goes on in school.

12. The reason for the absence of my child from school at least once was to help with housework or to babysit.

13. Children of unemployed mothers have just as many "home chores" as those children of employed mothers.

14. I want my children to go on to college when they finish high school.

15. There are NO grounds for the belief that the lowering of a child’s grades, or poor attendance, are the necessary results of the employment of mothers.

16. The following are often stated as GOOD effects upon children as a result of having an employed mother. Check those with which you agree:

____ a. They have learned to do little things for themselves that mothers usually do for children too long.
____ b. They have become socially advanced (meet strangers easily, etc.).
____ c. They have accepted the fact that each person has some work to do.
____ d. They have become real pals-sharing in the planning and doing.
____ e. The need for cooperation has brought the family closer together.
____ f. They have learned to think of others as well as of themselves.

17. The following are often stated as BAD effects. Check those with which you agree:

____ a. They are out on the streets after school hours--no one to look after them.
____ b. Children are building bad habits in regard to personal cleanliness.
____ c. Children are developing undesirable character traits--rudeness, etc.
____ d. Children do not do good work in school because of a lack of home attention.
____ e. They do not obey those with whom they are left during the day.
____ f. They are developing poor eating habits.

Please take the final step by returning this questionnaire. THANK YOU!
STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

SEX:  
F  M  
(circle one)

Student's Name  

Mrs.  
Mother's Name  

Street  
City  
State  
Zip  

Check here if your mother NEVER worked while you attended the first six years of school.

Check here if your mother WORKED the first six years you attended school.

Check here if your mother worked OFF and ON during the first six years you attended school.

Place an X on the line that describes, most accurately, the amount of time you spend with your mother on school days:

_________ 1-2 hours  
_________ 3-4 hours  
_________ 5-6 hours  

GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING YOUR ATTITUDE AND EXPERIENCE

Your attitude and experience will aid you in answering the following statements. There are no RIGHT or WRONG answers so answer them honestly, as you believe they should be answered.

PLEASE ANSWER EVERY QUESTION. Place an X under the column: AGREE, DISAGREE, or SOMETIMES, depending on how you feel about the question.

(Answer only ONE of the questions 1-4)

1. I am glad my mother has a job outside the home.

2. I wish my mother would get a job outside the home.

3. I am glad my mother does not have a job.

4. I wish my mother would quit her job.

(Answer ALL of the following questions)

5. I believe that mothers who have children in grade school should not be employed.

6. At home, everyone always seems to be in a "hurry" because there is not enough time to get everything done.
7. I am not allowed to go to many school activities because there is too much work to do around home.

8. Mother supervises my study time at home (she makes sure I am really studying and not doing something else).

9. Mother helps me with my homework when I ask her to.

10. I believe that my grades depend on me and no one else in the family.

11. My mother does not have time to sit and listen to all the things I would like to tell her about school.

12. I have had to miss school at some time to babysit or help with housework.

13. Children of unemployed mothers have just as many "home chores" as those children of employed mothers.

14. I plan to go on to college when I finish high school.

15. I feel that when a mother works it causes the child to miss more school.

16. I feel that when a mother works it causes the child to get lower grades in school.

17. I have so many "home chores" to do that I do not have enough time to do my homework.

18. I get myself ready for school and make my own breakfast because mother is either at work or still asleep.

19. I seem to miss more school than other children.

20. My mother is not at home when I get there after school.

21. I like that my mother is away from home working, or wish she was, so I could do more things that I want to do after school.
22. My mother encourages me to do well in school and that makes me study harder.

23. As far as I can see my mother is happy with her job, or she is happy just being at home and not having a job.

24. I think that whether your mother works or not your grades would be the same.

GIRLS check the ONE you would choose:

25. ___a. I am never going to work outside the home when I have children of school age.
   ___b. I plan to work outside the home even if I have children of school age.
   ___c. I plan to work, but only if the children have left for school before I leave for work and if I am home before they are.

BOYS check the ONE you would choose:

26. ___a. I will never let my wife work outside the home when we have children of school age.
   ___b. My wife can work if she wants to even if we have children of school age.
   ___c. My wife can work only if she leaves after the children have left for school and returns home before they do.

27. Check ALL the reasons you think cause a student to get GOOD grades:
   ___a. studies hard
   ___b. mother is home to see them off to school
   ___c. mother really cares what happens in school and is interested in the grades you get
   ___d. mother makes sure they get their homework done
   ___e. mother attends a lot of school activities
   ___f. mother is home when they get there after school and she makes sure they do not waste their time
   g. State any other reason you can think of__________________________

28. Check ALL the reasons you think cause a student to have POOR grades:
   ___a. does not study hard enough
   ___b. mother is not home to fix a good breakfast
   ___c. mother does not supervise their study
   ___d. mother is not there when they get home from school
   ___e. mother is too tired to attend P.T.A. meetings or meetings with the teacher
   ___f. mother does not have time to listen to what happens in school
   g. State any other reason you can think of__________________________

The back of this page has been reserved for your comments on the topic: SHOULD MOTHERS WHO HAVE CHILDREN IN GRADES 1-6 WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME?
INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM STUDENT'S RECORD

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Grades</th>
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Student's Name

Student's I.Q. [ ] Did the student repeat any grade: [ ] Yes [ ] No

Average Grades
Education of the Mothers

Graded: 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18,  

|          | EMPLOYED |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|          | 1        | 1         | 2         | 14        | 8         | 5         | 2         | 5         | 1         | 1         | =40       |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| NONEMPLOYED | 1       | 3         | 14        | 6         | 6         | 2         | 8         |           |           |           | =40       |           |           |           |           |           |           |

12=high school graduate

16=college graduate
Notations added to the questionnaires by mothers who never worked a forty-hour week outside the home follows.

Case 1. It all depends whether the mother must work or if she is just keeping up with the Jones' or is in need of occupying her time, or perhaps escaping something.

Case 2. Although my answers take a rather liberal view on the problem of working mothers, I personally feel that a mother that doesn't have to work to support the family or who simply can't stand to stay home and work for her own mental health, is not being fair to her children because there are many effects on the child of working mothers not mentioned on the questionnaire.

Case 3. One thing I found being a scout leader, children of working mothers demand more attention from the leader than do other children.

Case 4. Not believing in working mothers, I am possibly not the right person to answer this questionnaire.

Case 5. Personally I have seen too many bad effects from the working mother.

Case 6. I'm very strongly against mothers working particularly with young children. Several neighbors and friends work and I observe conditions that are very bad for the children.

Case 7. I strongly favor staying home and taking care of my children.

Notations added to the questionnaires by mothers who worked a forty-hour week outside the home follows.

Case 1. Some mothers stay home and still don't do things for their children or know where they are or what they are doing. If they get the proper training and you get time to listen to them they are better for it. When finances made the difference I had both older ones. It is hard on them when they can't have clothes like the rest, especially girls.

Case 2. Time-tension is not put upon the family of a working mother. She budgets her time and accomplished more in a given time than the non-working mother so she can enjoy her family and children in the hours set aside for them. My daughter is proud that her mother works, that she has a good home, and has hopes of becoming a nurse. She is an outgoing, delightful daughter and is an average student.
Remarks by seventh grade children whose mothers never worked on the topic:

Should Mothers Who Have Children in Grades 1-6 Work Outside the Home?

Case 1. No. The children will do better if their mother is home to love and care for her children. The child can also think better if the house is clean and bright. It will not be clean if the mother works.

Case 2. I think if she is home when they leave and they get home it is okay to work. If she doesn't care about you it doesn't make a lot of difference. You probably won't do well in school and won't care if she doesn't care either.

Case 3. I think it is good for a mother to work outside because when she gets the housework done she doesn't have anything else to do.

Case 4. I don't agree or disagree because people have the right to do what they want and the kids shouldn't say "no" to what they want to do.

Case 5. No, because the children are happier if their mother is home in the morning to see you off for school and when you get home if she is there to greet you, you feel better and happier.

Case 6. No, because I think the child should come home and meet their mother and tell them what happened at school. And, the mother should have time to listen.

Case 7. No. If the children are in junior high school I say it is okay. But, when they are in the elementary grades it can be a let-down to the students. It can even be like this to junior high and high school students that are sensitive.

Case 8. Yes, I think if she wants to work outside the home and if she feels it is best for her and the rest of the family then its okay.

Case 9. It all depends on the child if he is insecure or if he's not. If he is insecure the mother should not work.

Case 10. No. I think they should stay with their children always. It's okay before they have any children but after that I don't think its right.

Case 11. Mothers should be able to work if you and the family are in great need of extra money. But if they are not in great need of money they should not work.

Case 12. No, because her children should get attention.
Case 13. No, I don't think so because she would be too involved in her work to worry about her family or be interested in her child's schoolwork.

Case 14. Not my own mother because she works too hard as it is and I'd like her to take it easy.

Case 15. No! She has her own work to do in the home. Women who work outside the home are not good housekeepers. And when they get home they are tired and are not interested in their children.

Case 16. Yes, I think mothers should be able to get jobs because it lets her do something, and also it lets you see if you can be trustworthy.

Case 17. I think they could if they took an interest in what their child was doing, and if all their time isn't taken up by their job.

Case 18. No, I think mothers should be at home because kids depend on their mother to help them. So if the Dad and Mother both work who could help them?

Case 19. I don't think mothers should work. If they do when the child gets home she's too busy with housework to listen to her child, or she puts all the chores on her child so her children or she don't have anytime for anything else.

Case 20. Only if she's home when the kids are home and it doesn't interfere with her house, mother, and wife duties.

Case 21. No. I don't think they should because if someone got hurt or sick she wouldn't be there to soothe them.

Case 22. I think the mother's first responsibility is her family. Her children will have a harder time if she works.

Case 23. No, their children do things their parents do not know about.

Case 24. No, because smaller children like to be with their mother and if they aren't it could cause disturbances and the child won't get his homework done.

Case 25. Not unless they are in need of money, because if they need money to support their family I think it is up to the mother to think enough of their family to buy them proper things for their daily needs.

Case 26. If necessary, children should have a mother to talk to about school and problems.
Case 27. I think they should because then the family may have more money for pleasure.

Case 28. I think mothers who have children in grades 1-6 should work outside the home if necessary. If mothers care about their children and spend most of their extra time that is enough.

Case 29. I feel that if it makes my mother happy to work I would rather have her work.

Case 30. No, because children that young can't make decisions and they can't handle emergencies. Someone could come along and pick them up or something like that. I think the children would look for something to do—sometimes trouble—because of loneliness.

Case 31. Yes, I feel it is a great idea so we can have more experience in taking care of the house and because we can have more money around to do more fun family projects.

Case 32. No, because they do not have much time to spend with the children, and also the children would not be able to do much and would have to do almost all the housework, and the mother would have to do the harder housework and the kids would not get much time out for themselves. Also, if she has a hard day at work she would probably take it out on the kids and then the whole house would be angry with the other members of the family.

Case 33. No. It doesn't keep the children and the mother together as good.

Case 34. I think it is good for a mother to have a job outside the home because it helps her children to think and depend on themselves. It teaches them responsibility. It helps the children to take care of themselves as they grow up, and later on in life.
Remarks by seventh grade children whose mothers worked a forty-hour week on the topic: Should Mothers Who Have Children in Grades 1-6 Work Outside the Home?

Case 1. Yes, because then she won't be home as often. I don't think my mother gets out enough during the day or evenings.

Case 2. I don't think they should because the children like to see her and if she works late or leaves early they don't get to see her much.

Case 3. Yes, as long as the mother spends time with her children at night and on weekends.

Case 4. My mother has worked since my little sister has been in the first grade. I think it is good for mothers to work because sometimes they get bored staying home.

Case 5. I don't think it matters if she works or not as long as she has time to be interested in her children and what they do.

Case 6. I wish my mom would come home and not work any more so I can have more time with her and she can get me after school so I don't get in trouble.

Case 7. I don't think she should because the children might not go to school.

Case 8. Yes, because maybe you have a neighbor to go to. I know my mother trusts me. When I got home when she used to work I just got something to eat, then changed my clothes, called her and told her I was home and then did my homework and turned on T.V.

Case 9. Yes. The mother is not gone that long and when she isn't I think that most children in elementary school know how to take care of themselves without their mothers looking after them.

Case 10. No, I don't think so because when they get home from work they are usually tired and lazy and don't want to listen too much.

Case 11. Well, they could but they should be there when you get home from school so you won't feel lonely or feel as if your mother is ignoring you.

Case 12. Yes, because my mom says you can work better on a full stomach so my mom fixes me a good breakfast every day, but she works.
Case 13. If a family needs the money, the wife definitely should work outside the home on some job that doesn't require them to be away from the children all during the morning and night.

Case 14. I think that the mother should not work unless the family needs the money or she likes to work.

Case 15. If the mothers want to work and it will help the family and not hurt it, I think its good.

Case 16. If they want to and don't forget about their children.

Case 17. Yes, because if they have more than two children they would need the extra money and if they want to buy a little something more, they can't.

Case 18. I think that if mothers work they should make sure that they spend time with their children and help them with their problems.

Case 19. Yes, I think they should if they want to. It seems like it lets them be away from the children for a while. My mother is real happy with her job so I think they should work if they want to.

Case 20. I think it is alright if the hours do not affect the children.

Case 21. No, because it makes the children get bad grades in school and the mother worries and the children wonder whether she will come home or not.

Case 22. Mother might be too involved in their work to pay attention to the child, but sometimes they have to work.

Case 23. No, because kids need help with problems because if they get mad at a friend they get keyed up and school goes down the drain, but if you can discuss it with your mom it usually is worked out.

Case 24. I think they can if they want to and if they have the time to fix decent meals.

Case 25. Maybe, but they shouldn't be too tired to listen to you. It would be a little nicer if she would stay home.

Case 26. It depends on if the father has a good job.

Case 27. I think mothers who have children in grades 1-6 should work outside the home if necessary. If mothers care about their children and spend their extra time with them that is enough. A working mother works hard during the day and when she comes home
she continues to work. An employed mother works so her children can have nicer clothes, home, etc., and as long as a working mother is happy and brings up her children right she is truely showing her love and should go on working outside the home.

Case 28. I don't think mothers should work because the mother usually doesn't have time for the kids if she works. She'll be tired, and sometimes grumpy. I've seen this and soon the kids get out of hand, disagreeable, etc.

Case 29. Yes, because if all the children are in school there is nothing for the mother to do all day.

Case 30. I think they should be able to work if they want as long as they spend a little time, three or four hours, for fun and enjoyment with the kids. I think the most important thing is that the job shouldn't make them grouchy and irritable all the time and make them yell at the kids. Also that they shouldn't neglect the household duties or pile them all on the kids.

Case 31. No, because the small kids need help if they are small and should be watched over, and the big kids don't always have time to watch them. Then too, it really leaves more responsibility on older kids and they start to hate things and sometimes their parents.

Case 32. When my mother went to work I started to scream and wouldn't eat.

Case 33. No, unless she does not have a husband then she should work. The children are too young and they need attention. They might do something bad that could hurt them. Or they might end up with a mental problem and its hard to get a good sitter that you can know and depend on.

Case 34. I think mothers should not work because children don't get the proper bringing up and the house is usually a mess.

Case 35. Yes, because their children can learn to be together with their brothers and sister or to be alone. With both parents their is more money for luxuries and with bills there is some money left over for things like a better education.

Case 36. No, because I think it is too much responsibility for children to take on. They miss her too much and get lonesome for her. But sometimes I don't mind if she's at work because this is good training for me and there will be extra money to buy more things.
VITA
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