

**INTERPERSONAL AND WORK ATTITUDE FACTORS  
ASSOCIATED WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT AND CHILDREN'S SCHOOL PERFORMANCE**

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A Research Paper  
Presented to  
the Graduate and Research Council of  
Austin Peay State University

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
Belinda Faith Batie  
May, 1990

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express sincere appreciation and highest regard to Dr. Susan Kupisch, Associate Professor of Psychology, Dr. Corinne Hay Mabry, Assistant Professor of Psychology, and Dr. Jean G. Lewis, Associate Professor of Psychology, Austin Peay State University, for their guidance and support in working towards this degree.

Additionally, the author wishes to express gratitude to Dr. Susan Kupisch for her time and guidance in writing this paper.

To the Graduate and Research Council:

I am submitting herewith a Research Paper written by Belinda Faith Batie entitled "Interpersonal and Work Attitude Factors Associated with the Relationship Between Maternal Employment and Children's School Performance." I have examined the final copy of this paper for form and content, and I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree Masters of Arts, with a major in Psychology.

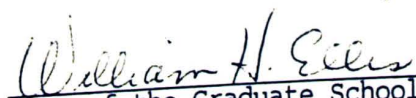
  
Major Professor

We have read this  
Research Paper and  
recommend its  
acceptance.

  
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and Research Council:

  
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### Figure

1. Percentages of divorced and married women with pre-school and school-age children in the labor force between 1960 and 1988.

## Chapter 1

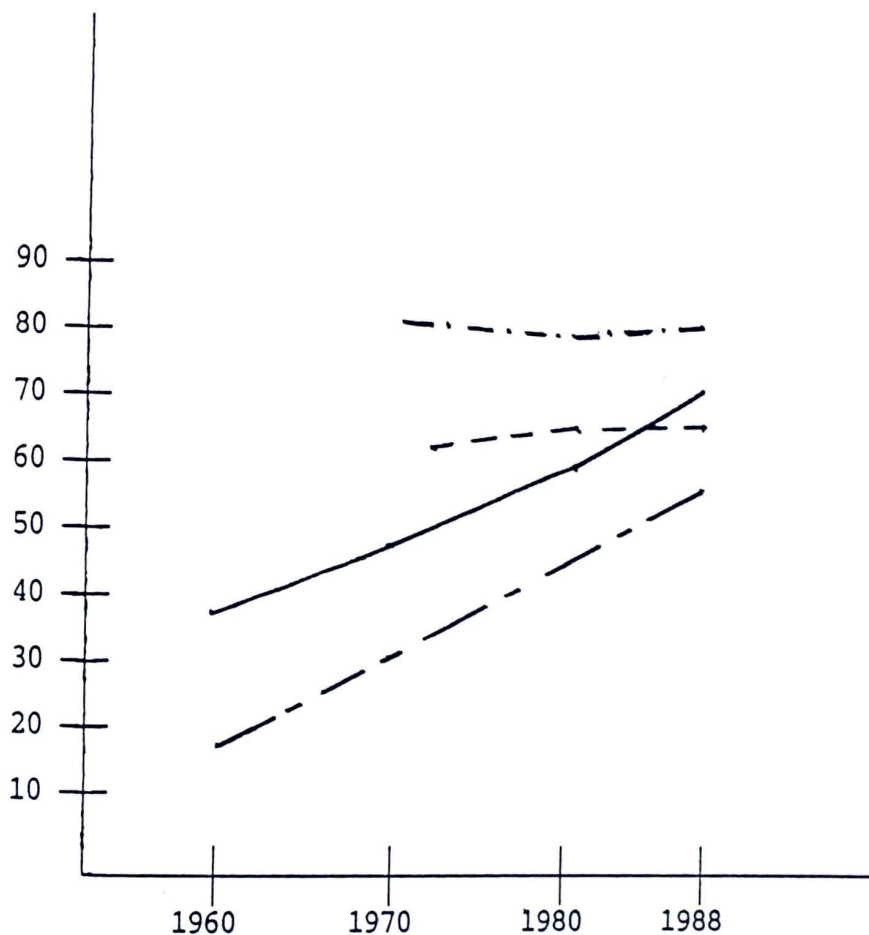
### INTRODUCTION

One of the most sweeping social changes affecting the United States over the past 30 years has been the increase in the number of mothers entering the work force. Although once viewed as atypical, today employment of women is considered the norm. The census data for 1986 revealed that seventy-three percent of mothers with school age children worked; eighty-four percent of divorced mothers in this category were employed. The most rapid gains in employment rates, however, have been in the number of mothers of pre-school age children living with husbands; nineteen percent of these women worked in 1960 and fifty-seven percent in 1988. Although the employment rate of divorced mothers with pre-schoolers has always been higher than for mothers living with husbands, those rates also continue to grow, (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1989). The result is that overall more mothers work than do not work. The percentages of divorced and married women with pre-school and school-age children in the labor force between 1960 and 1988 are shown in Figure 1.

The increase of mothers into the work force has been the result of a number of factors. Technological advances have eased the burden of household duties and child care, as well as permitting smaller family size through improved contraceptive methods. The growing number of single-parent households and escalating cost of living have made it an

Figure 1

percentages of divorced and married women with pre-school and school-age children in the labor force between 1960 and 1988.



Married with school-age children —————  
 Married with pre-school children - - - - -  
 Divorced with school-age children - . - . - . - . - .  
 Divorced with pre-school children - - - - -

Note. From Statistical Abstracts of the United States, by U.S. Department of Commerce, 1989, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census.

economic necessity for many mothers to work. Concomitantly, women's educational levels have improved dramatically since the Sixties, providing both the motivation and the ability to obtain more satisfying employment (Hoffman, 1980).

Social changes, however, have failed to keep pace with the rate of increase in maternal employment. Even in households where the husband is present, household activities are not equal. The mother remains in the role of primary caretaker and home manager (Hoffman, 1980). In single-parent households, the mother's task is compounded by the lack of the father's presence. Furthermore, few jobs are designed with children's school schedules in mind, so the need for additional arrangements must be met. All these factors can lead to additional stress on the mother; meeting two very demanding roles can negate the positive effects of increased role satisfaction.

Therefore, since women will continue to work and remain the primary care givers, an examination of the effects of this phenomenon upon their children is important. Specifically, an area of interest is the effect of maternal employment on children's school performance.

A review of the literature indicates that there are few definite conclusions to be drawn concerning the question of whether maternal employment has a positive or negative effect on a child's school performance. Many intervening variables can be rationalized when studies are reviewed.

Nevertheless, two variables have been shown to have a definitive effect on school performance and should be controlled in any research

endeavor. First, it has been documented that children's academic performance is strongly related to the socioeconomic status (SES) of parents (Baker & Stevenson, 1986). For example, one study found that high SES children in the United States are 2.5 times more likely to enter college, 6 times more likely to complete college, and 9 times more likely to receive some graduate or professional training (Sewell & Hauser, 1976).

A second variable which has been found to have an effect on children's school performance is the gender of the child. One study indicated that daughters of employed mothers perform better than daughters of unemployed mothers on various academic indices (Gold and Andres, 1978). The data for sons are less clear. Research suggests that sons of middle-class, employed mothers demonstrate lower academic performance than sons of nonworking mothers. For lower SES groups, on the other hand, there is a modest amount of evidence that the effects of maternal employment are beneficial (Hoffman, 1980). The evidence on sons reveals how both gender and socioeconomic status interact in their effects upon school performance.

Failure to analyze the data separately for such variables as gender and SES may be misleading. There may be a positive relationship in one sub-group and a negative relationship in the other, which, if combined, appears to be no relationship at all. The interaction of these and other variables are difficult to interpret.

Much of the research has taken a simplistic view of this complicated phenomenon, attempting to determine a relationship between

maternal employment and an outcome measure such as IQ or achievement scores without examining other factors. Many of the reviewers have concluded that maternal employment does not have a strong or consistent effect on children's development, while others have emphasized the possible advantage of maternal employment on children's cognitive performance (Berndt, 1983).

There are numerous other variables which could impact upon the relationship of maternal employment and child's school performance. In a review of the literature in 1980, Hoffman pointed out the importance of exploring factors affecting both maternal employment and children's school performance. He suggested that these intervening variables be examined separately to detect differences within sub-groups. Specifically, he addressed the presence of the father, his role in child care, and his attitude toward his wife's employment. Hoffman further indicated that data should be examined separately for number of children in the family, as well as the child's ordinal position in the family since these factors are known to affect school performance. Educational levels of the parents, childcare arrangements, maternal attitude toward employment, and various stress factors were indicated as variables which could impact on the relationship between maternal employment and child's school performance, as well.

In an earlier review of the literature, Hoffman addressed the need to examine the status of the mother's occupation. The professional mother is hypothesized to have a very different influence on her

children than the mother who works in a less prestigious and less intellectually demanding job (Hoffman, 1974).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore all the possible intervening variables that could impact upon the outcome measure. The focus of this paper is to examine the relationship between maternal employment and child's school performance by exploring a number of interpersonal and work attitude factors; mother's occupational status and educational level, mother's attitude toward her employment, father's attitude toward his wife's employment and his role in child care, and presence of the father in the home will be explored. To lend understanding to the complex relationship between maternal employment and child's school performance, this paper will attempt to evaluate the interpersonal and work attitude factors to determine which are the most critical.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Mother's Occupational Status and Educational Level

Most of the early research on maternal employment has based SES status on the salary and occupation of the father. Only in recent years has educational level and occupational status of the mother been examined. A review of the literature on the effects of these factors on children's school performance yield a number of interesting findings.

In a 1982 series of studies, Laosa attempted to determine whether parental schooling, maternal employment, and parental occupational status each impact in a unique way upon the parent-child relationship. Laosa hypothesized that schooling would have enduring behavioral effects on an individual and, consequently, would determine how the person would behave as a parent and interact with her children. This behavior is expected to impact upon the child's cognitive development, learning strategies, and personality characteristics (Laosa, 1982). Chicano families were chosen to study because of the wide variability in school attainment level of Chicano adults. The studies highlighted how differing maternal educational levels both within the Chicano culture and between the Chicano and non-Hispanic culture impact upon the teaching behaviors of mothers.

The first study consisted of 43 intact Chicano families. The results of the study indicated that at least among Chicano families,

the mother's educational level had a definitive impact on their teaching strategies. Inquiry and praise were both positively correlated with mother's educational level. On the other hand, modeling or demonstration was inversely correlated with mother's educational level. In other words, the more highly educated mothers used verbal teaching strategies rather than demonstration. Use of English in the home was also found to be highly correlated with mother's educational level. The more educated mothers' increased use of English in the home as well as her increased verbalization in teaching behavior were suggested as positive influences toward her child's academic success.

The second study compared the same Chicano families with a group of 40 non-Hispanic white families from a wide diversity of educational backgrounds, but having completed more average years of schooling than the Chicano families. The results again revealed educational differences in mother's teaching strategies. The Chicano mothers used modeling, visual cue, directives, and negative physical control more frequently than did the non-Hispanic white mothers. As in the previous experiment, the more educated mothers used more verbalizations in their teaching strategies and spent more time reading to their children.

Mother's occupational status and maternal employment were found to have negligible effects on the behaviors measured. Laosa hypothesized the lack of relationship between occupational status and children's school performance to be the result of the lower occupational status

attainment per given level of school attainment in Chicanos as compared to whites (Laosa, 1982).

Reid and Robinson (1985) examined a group of 30 black men and 34 black women who had attained terminal degrees for commonalities. They found that the majority of the subjects had educated mothers who were employed during their childhood. The subjects were found to have strong motives toward achievement, self-fulfillment, and independence as measured by several personality scales. Parental education level was higher for the female subjects than for the male subjects.

Baker and Stevenson (1986) compared mothers of varying educational levels and the strategies they used in managing their children's school performance. The sample consisted of 41 mothers of 8th graders from the only middle school in a community with a diversified economic base. Results indicated that mothers with at least a college education know more about their child's school performance, have more contact with teachers, and are more likely to be actively involved in their child's academic achievement. Further, mothers with at least a college education are more likely to choose college-preparatory classes for their child regardless of their child's academic performance. This difference in parenting styles of managing their children's education was hypothesized to be one component in the differences in academic performance between high and low SES students (Baker & Stevenson, 1986).

In a 1988 study Foon examined the effects of maternal employment and occupational status on adolescents' locus of control orientation

and preference for school subjects. The sample consisted of 1,675 10th grade Australian school children, 896 males and 779 females. Results indicated that maternal employment affects the traditional stereotypes concerning appropriate subject preferences in school for males and females. Sons of employed mothers were shown to have significantly lower preference for science, a traditionally male dominated subject, than sons of unemployed mothers. On the other hand, daughters of employed mothers were found to have significantly higher preference for math, a traditionally male dominated subject, than daughters of unemployed mothers. Additionally, daughters of employed mothers attached greater importance to academic achievement than daughters of unemployed mothers.

The most important finding concerning mother's occupational status was that for males, higher occupational status of the mother was associated with internal locus-of-control orientation, and low occupational status was associated with external locus-of-control orientation. Further, high occupational status of mothers was found to be negatively correlated with son's preference for typically male dominated subjects. Apparently, sons of high occupational status mothers are socialized to believe that it is acceptable to go against established norms, as well as to value their own resources in the achievement process.

The previously mentioned studies lend support to the salience of educational level of the mother in mediating the effects of maternal employment on children's school performance. The case is less clear for the importance of occupational status.

### Mother's Attitude Toward Her Employment

A number of recent studies have focused on the impact the mother's attitude toward employment and her job satisfaction can exert on her children's school performance. Women differ in their attitudes concerning the needs of young children and whether women should work while their children are young. Several studies have examined the congruence of working/not working with attitude about appropriateness.

Farel (1980) hypothesized that mothers whose attitude toward work and work status are congruent have children who are more competent and demonstrate better adjustment to school than children of mothers whose attitudes and work status are incongruent. The sample consisted of 212 mothers of kindergarten children, 107 employed mothers and 105 non-working mothers, which included 77 mothers working less than half-time. An instrument measuring attitudes toward maternal employment was devised measuring motivation to work, attitudes about the needs of young children, and sex-role stereotyping.

Results demonstrated significance only for the children of non-working mothers. Children whose mothers did not work, but felt that working would be good for their child, scored the lowest of the four groups on the outcome measures. Children of non-working mothers who felt that working would be detrimental to their child scored the highest of all 4 groups.

Farel suggested a number of possible explanations why no significant differences were found in the working mother groups. First,

although the mother's attitudes and work status are incongruent, it is less detrimental to the child of the working mother because the child is less exposed to this conflict due to time spent away from the mother. Another possible explanation is that the employed mother in conflict may be working to achieve valued family goals, such as to meet basic needs or to spend on education or leisure. Therefore, she may be better able to rationalize her state of conflict and, in turn, convey this to her child. A third conjecture focuses upon the difference in the two groups of incongruent mothers. The mother who is at home, but feels it would be better for her child if she worked, is making a negative judgement about herself in the mothering role which may be more difficult to deal with than the reverse situation (Farel, 1980).

Colangelo, Rosenthal and Dettmann (1984), on the other hand, found contradictory results in a study that examined the impact of maternal employment and maternal job satisfaction on children's school performance. The sample included 179 mother/child relationships; the children were 7th, 8th and 9th grade students, 94 females and 85 males. The results indicated that maternal employment was not related to either maternal job satisfaction or to children's school performance. Further, maternal job satisfaction was not related to children's school performance. One possible explanation suggested for the lack of relationship between maternal job satisfaction and children's school performance concerns the concept of "job satisfaction." It is hypothesized that it may be too broad and interdependent a term to be measured as a homogenous concept.

In a 1983 study by Alexson, the relationship between maternal employment patterns and adolescent's cognitive functioning was explored. The study examined 857 Danish mothers' work patterns and their relationship to their adolescents' academic achievement. Results failed to show a direct effect of maternal employment per se on child outcomes. However, mother's contentment, mother's work fulfillment, and mother's employment stability were found to be significantly related to child outcomes.

Brofman (1980) investigated the relationship of maternal employment and several related variables to academic performance and achievement need of daughters. The sample consisted of 102 sixth, seventh, and eighth grade girls from intact, middle, and upper class families; only girls whose mothers had been working for at least one year were used in the study. The most significant finding was that maternal attitude toward her employment status was the most important predictor of both daughter's need to achieve and her academic performance.

Similar results were found in another study investigating the mother-daughter relationship. Zwycewicz (1984) attempted to determine whether a mother's behavior and attitudes about work and school were related to her daughter's educational and occupational achievements. Data were taken from a subgroup of 144 white mother-daughter pairs from a longitudinal survey. Results indicated that mother's attitude toward women working, her prediction of her daughter's academic

success, and her daughter's perceived encouragement from mother to continue education past high school were related to her daughter's educational and occupational achievement.

The research reviewed tends to show support for the mediating effect of mother's attitude toward work in the relationship being examined, particularly for daughters.

#### Father's Attitude Toward Wife's Employment and His Role in Child Care

There has been little research on the father's attitude toward maternal employment and his role in child care. However, the results of the existing studies suggest the importance of this factor upon the relationship between maternal employment and children's school performance.

Gold and Andres (1978) found differential relationships between father involvement and son's academic performance depending on the socioeconomic class being studied. The sample consisted of 223 10-year olds, 109 females, 114 males, divided into groups according to sex, socioeconomic status, and working status of the mother. It was hypothesized that a close father-son relationship would be positively correlated with the son's cognitive development. The results indicated that greater paternal involvement was associated with better academic performance by sons, but only for sons of employed mothers. The negative effect of father participation in homes of nonemployed mothers is hypothesized by Hoffman (1980) to be related to the reason the father becomes involved in child care. In homes of employed

mothers he becomes involved to relieve his wife; in homes of non-employed mothers he may become involved because the child is having academic difficulty (Gold and Andres, 1978). This is an important finding in light of the previously mentioned possible negative effect maternal employment has been shown to have on middle-class sons' school performance (Hoffman, 1980).

In a previously mentioned study by Alexson (1983), problems with work due to father's attitude were found to be negatively associated with adolescent outcomes. Similar findings in a 1980 study by Brofman revealed a positive relationship between paternal attitude toward women working and achieving and daughter's academic performance and achievement need.

Lamb (1986) suggested that increased paternal involvement can have positive effects on children's development if the involvement is a matter of choice and is in keeping with the attitudes and values of the family. Although he believes that more options should be made available to fathers, he does not view increased paternal involvement as a "universally desirable goal." According to Lamb, research indicates that children with nurturant, highly involved fathers tend to have an internal locus of control, which is linked to higher achievement motivation, as well as performing more competently in academic areas (Radin, 1982).

The limited research in this area tends to support the premise that father's attitude and involvement could have an impact on the relationship between maternal employment and child's school performance.

The proportion of children living in single-parent families increased from 11.9 percent to 19.7 percent between 1970 and 1980. The increase among blacks was even greater; during the same time period the proportion of black children living in single-parent homes increased from 31.5 percent to 45.8 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989). This situation is compounded by the fact that half the children living in single-parent homes are at or below the poverty level (Heyns, 1982). Most of the literature in this area failed to distinguish between natural fathers and step fathers.

In Shinn's 1978 review of the literature detrimental effects of father absence upon children's cognitive performance as measured by standardized IQ tests, achievement tests, and school performance were examined. The evidence indicated that high levels of anxiety, financial hardship, and low levels of parent-child interactions are important determinants in the poor performance observed in children in single-parent families. Shinn was critical of the representativeness of samples in most American research on single-parent families which have included only lower middle and working class families. He further criticized much of the research for failing to differentiate between types of father absence, age of child at onset, and duration of absence.

Shinn examined a limited number of studies that explored the possibility of compensation by the mothers, either through father

surrogates or by her interactions, for detrimental effects of father absence. Results indicated that the middle-class mother with a small family is more likely to compensate for the absence of the father than the mother of a large family with limited resources.

Milne, et al. (1986) examined the effects of maternal employment and one-parent family living on children's reading and math achievement test scores. Two nationally representative data bases, one for elementary students and one for high school students, were utilized in the study. After excluding from the sample students with no mother in the home, students who were neither black nor white, and students with missing data, the number of elementary students in the study was 12,429; 2,720 high school students were examined.

The results indicated that black and white students in both elementary school and high school from two-parent families scored higher on the outcome measures than students in one-parent families. However, the negative effects on achievement of living in a one-parent family were almost entirely mediated by other variables, particularly family income.

The authors found the effects of maternal employment to be primarily negative, except for black elementary school students from one parent families. Factors found to be of some importance in mediating the effects of maternal employment on children's school performance were more time spent reading and doing homework and less time spent watching T.V. by children of unemployed mothers. Further,

the negative effect of maternal employment was found to be somewhat reduced in smaller families (Milne, et al, 1986). Milne et al. suggested a cumulative negative effect of maternal employment over time. In other words, the longer the mother has been in the work force, the more detrimental it is to her child.

Heyns and Catsambis (1986) in a study specifically aimed at questioning the Milne et al. results on cumulative negative effects of maternal employment, found a number of methodological flaws in the study. According to the authors, the cumulative negative effect rests entirely on a small number of mothers who reported working full-time during their child's pre-school years, thus inflating the results. The authors were critical of the crude method by which Milne et al. operationalize mother's work experience. Part-time employment included continuous labor force participation, intermittent full-time employment, and episodic or unstable employment. The actual number of hours worked, the flexibility of work schedules, and whether or not the mother entered or left the work force at particular periods were not known.

In addition, Heyns and Catsambis reported that the cumulative labor force participation of mothers is not uniformly damaging. Results indicated that erratic job histories and intermittent employment are more detrimental. The authors concluded by saying, "The cumulative negative effect of mother's employment hypothesized by Milne et al. seems to be a figment of a psychologist's nightmare" (Heyns and Catsambis, 1986).

Hetherington et al. (1981) in a comprehensive and lengthy review of the literature cited a number of themes concerning the relationship between intellectual functioning and living in a one-parent household. The small deficit in intellectual functioning of three to four points on IQ tests can typically be accounted for by differences in socioeconomic status. Differences on achievement tests were typically less than one year.

The authors reported that the most consistent and overwhelming differences were in teacher-reported grades and grade-point averages. Reasons for this disparity were hypothesized to be an interaction between a number of factors. First of all, children from one-parent families tend to be more disruptive, have less efficient work habits, and are absent, truant, and tardy more often than children in two-parent families, thus negatively affecting the quality of their classroom work. Further, the reported lack of conformity is perceived by teachers as less competency; and, consequently, their evaluations reflect their perceived biases. A third factor negatively affecting school performance is that the conditions of family life surrounding separation and divorce negatively affect children's school performance. Another possible complication is that the increased time spent on household responsibilities and part-time jobs to supplement family income may take needed time away from school work (Hetherington et al., 1981).

A second theme emerging from the literature concerned the similarity of attributes at home and at school which are associated with more satisfactory adjustment of children from divorced families.

In both settings a responsive, nurturant atmosphere combined with an organized, predictable environment having clearly defined and consistently enforced standards, roles, and responsibilities, were associated with low rates of behavior disorders, effective cognitive functioning, and more adaptive behavior in children. The authors concluded from the research that schools can play an important role in attenuating the negative effects on children associated with divorce and separation (Hetherington et al., 1981).

A third recurring theme in the literature is that the intellectual functioning and social development of boys is more adversely affected by living in a one-parent home than of girls from similar family patterns. This phenomenon was hypothesized by the authors to be an interplay of several factors, namely: boys may be more directly exposed to family disharmony, males are socialized to believe that they should not need emotional support and that they should control their feelings, and the separation from the father may represent a more important loss for boys, both as a role model and for disciplinary reasons (Hetherington, et al., 1981).

Heyns (1982) in a review of the literature suggested the need for longitudinal studies of special groups through small-scale in-depth interviews. The author suggested that studying families changing over time, particularly in times of stress would be helpful in conceptualizing the impact of maternal employment on all areas of family life, including children's school performance. According to Heyns, studies should highlight single-parent families, since the

mother's role of combining work and family life is consolidated within one person. Valuable information concerning the impact of supportive community networks, as well as the process of family dissolution and reformation, would contribute to our understanding of the problems and challenges of combining work and family life.

The findings from the research in this area emphasize not only the importance of the presence of the father, but also yield a number of instructional findings related to the cognitive and emotional growth of the growing number of children in one-parent families.

Discussion

Educational level of the mother stands out as the most salient factor in its impact on the relationship between maternal employment and children's school performance. The research indicates with certainty that maternal educational level has a marked effect on children's school performance. Each study examined maternal educational level from a different perspective, yielding a number of interesting findings. The importance of mother's educational level in affecting parenting styles, in influencing children to achieve higher degrees, and in managing children's school performance were demonstrated.

From the evidence presented, maternal educational level should be added to the factors of gender and SES as a component to be controlled in any future studies. Because of the clear link established between mother's educational level and children's school performance, continuing education of mothers is suggested as an area prevention measures should address.

The research on occupational status was much less convincing. The only important finding was that higher occupational status of mothers was related to internal locus-of-control in sons. Due to the limited number of studies addressing this issue, as well as the inability to generalize from the Laosa study (1982), this area needs further

investigation. Future research should encompass more representative cross-sections of the population to allow for generalization.

Most of the research indicated that mother's job satisfaction and attitude tend to exert an effect on her children's school performance. The failure of the Colangelo, et al. (1984) study to find a relationship may be due in part to the fact that questionnaires of job satisfaction were used, but no measure of mother's attitudes concerning the needs of young children and mother's roles in caregiving were employed.

Farel's finding of lower academic performance in children of mothers who believed they should be working, but were not, is particularly important as practical information to mothers who fall into this category (Farel, 1980). The self-sacrificing attitudes of mothers in this group may be a negative factor in their children's development. The research suggests that working mothers who are content with their jobs and their roles tend to exert a positive influence on their children, particularly daughters. It appears to be more important for the non-working mother's work pattern to be in congruence with her attitudes and beliefs than it is for the working mother.

Although there is some indication of the importance of paternal involvement upon children's academic performance, the research in this area is limited and flawed. In reference to the negative effects found by Gold and Andres (1978) in sons of nonemployed mothers, future research needs to address both causes for father involvement and son's

academic standing before and after father involvement. Longitudinal research in this area is necessary in order to determine changes in children's academic performance brought about by increased paternal involvement. Distinguishing between natural fathers and stepfathers in future research is suggested to determine possible differences in paternal involvement between the groups.

This distinction between natural fathers and stepfathers should be controlled in future research on the effects of father absence in mediating the relationship between maternal employment and children's school performance as well. New studies in this area should attempt to compare differing types of father absence such as by death, divorce, or separation due to over-seas jobs, as well as differing ages of children at onset of separation, and duration of absence.

Of all the factors examined in this endeavor, the presence of the father seems to be the most important area for future research. The growing number of children involved in separation and divorce coupled with research indicating lower school performance in this group indicate the necessity in searching for answers. The discrepancy found between children's performance from one-parent and two-parent homes has been accounted for by lower income, increased anxiety, and lower levels of parent-child interaction which can be considered by-products of father absence. This finding appears to have implications for social change, such as more strictly enforced child support payments and increased community support for divorced mothers.

Hetherington (1981) highlighted the lower academic achievement rather than lower intellectual capacity of children from divorced

homes. Future research should address this discrepancy from the perspective of school environment, as well as home environment, since evidence suggests that children have similar needs in both situations. Children develop more fully cognitively and emotionally in a nurturant, structured environment in which rules, responsibilities, and expectations are clearly defined. Valuable information could be gained from a study of children from divorced families dividing the children randomly into three groups: 1) the control group which would receive no intervention, 2) a group in which the single-parent was trained in providing such an environment, and 3) a group in which the single-parent and the child's teacher were trained to provide this type of environment.

The finding by Hetherington et al. (1981) that boys are more adversely affected by divorce than girls is an issue in need of further study. An exploratory study could compare boys after receiving varying types of interventions such as father surrogates, behavior management programs, and individual insight therapy to a control group.

Many of the studies on father absence due to divorce, death, or separation have been conducted over a short time period, providing information only about transitional adjustment. Longitudinal research would be instructive in the area of presence of father to determine whether cognitive effects preceded or followed father absence. Valuable information concerning changes over time in the support systems available to children, family functioning in relation to school and community, and effects of divorce at different stages of children's development could be uncovered through longitudinal studies.

Summary

This paper highlights the need for longitudinal research in a number of areas relating to maternal employment and children's school performance. This method appears to have the capacity for answering many unanswered questions about how families have changed due to maternal employment and the effect these changes have had upon children's cognitive development.

From the research reviewed, mother's educational level stands out as the factor exerting the most pronounced effect on children's school performance. The area suggested for the most emphasis for future research is presence of father and issues related to children from single-parent homes. Mother's attitude toward work, mother's occupational status, and paternal involvement are areas of interest which have demonstrated some effect on the relationship being explored, but are in need of further study.

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