

THE IMPACT OF MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT ON FAMILY MEMBERS' PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MATERNAL ROLE

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The effects of maternal employment on family members' perceptions of the mother, sex-role concepts of the children, and attitudes towards working women were studied using the survey and the case study method. One hundred male and female adults and 110 children participated in the survey. Four intact families were interviewed and observed for an extended period of time and had their family lives included as case studies. The results of the study showed that employed women had the most favorable attitudes towards working women, followed by the unemployed women, and by the men regardless of whether their wives were employed or not employed. Children of employed mothers were also more egalitarian in their sex-role concepts than children of unemployed mothers. The former group perceived their mothers as more affectionate than the children of unemployed mothers. The case studies showed that maternal employment did not affect mother-child variables of nurturance and protectiveness, discipline, and independence training. This was explained in terms of the greater effect of cultural factors and the fact that children are the priority of both groups of mothers.

The United Nations declaration of 1975 to 1985 as the Decade of Women and 1975 as the International Year for Women resulted in the growing realization of the plight of women and their role in society. Women's conferences were held and participated in by women all over the world. Workshop-seminars and researches on women were conducted, and the International Women's Day has consistently been celebrated on March 8. Towards the close of the Decade of Women there were around 300 women's groups in the country, and a large number of these groups are not simply civic in nature and do not merely happen to be composed of women. These groups are mobilizing themselves to improve living conditions of women, to help women earn a living, and, most of all, raise the consciousness of women regarding the economic and political situation of the century.

The chief objective of the present study is to assess the effect of maternal employment on pre-school children. There have been studies regarding maternal employment, but these have not dealt with its effects on the family and

have neglected to consider certain mediating variables. Observations show that it is not only maternal employment that affects family life, but other factors that may result from employment, such as role satisfactions of wife, paternal perception, and attitudes towards the working mother. In this study, the relationship among these variables and maternal employment were explored.

Occupational status of the mother is an important variable because maternal occupation may affect the quality of family life, as well as the social and psychological development of the child.

Another objective is to determine how children perceive their parents. Children's perception of parents is an important intervening variable between family situation and the child's behavior. In studying this variable, it will help us clarify the link between some intrafamilial variables and child behavior.

Conceptual Framework

The effects of maternal employment on children cannot be simply stated as constructive or detrimental because they are clearly related to the characteristics and attitudes of the other family members and the special social

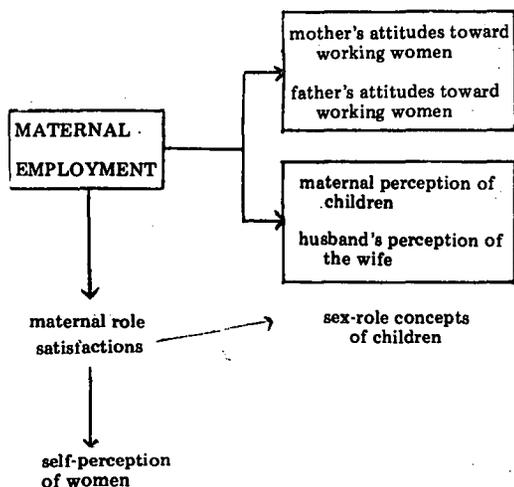
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home situation involved (Hetherington & Parke, 1975). The question of whether children benefit or suffer if mothers work will remain unanswered, unless maternal employment is studied in relation to other psychological variables in the family.

In studying maternal employment, there is a need to look into the whole family since the family is in itself a complete social system. Members of the family stimulate one another. Also, each member of the family has expectations of the other members that affect their behaviors toward each other.

The following conceptual model (shown in Figure 1)

Figure 1 The effect of maternal employment on attitudes, perceptions, and sex-role concepts.



presents the possible relationship between maternal employment and some selected variables. It assumes that maternal employment has both direct and indirect consequences, which affect all the members of the family, especially the mother since she is the person directly involved. For instance, some of the direct effects on the mother are increased work load, hence, less time for home and children. Other less direct effects that may follow are increased power in decision making, increased sense of well-being, and competence that accrues from working, and increased or decreased marital satisfaction of wife (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). These effects on the mother radiate to different aspects of family life, such as

the quality of mother and child interaction provisions for substitute child care, all of which may lead to varying perceptions of husbands and children about the mother.

The assumption that self-perception may be so affected is based on Bem's self-perception theory (1972). According to this theory, we actually have a better understanding of ourselves than have others, because we have access to our thoughts, motives, and attitudes. We look at our behavior and from this we draw inferences about ourselves. Since maternal employment brings about new modes of behavior and adjustment, women's self-perception may stand modification.

Studies in the United States have shown that maternal employment is one factor that influences sex-role stereotyping (Baruch, 1972; Brofman, 1981; Marantz & Mansfield, 1977). In a recent study among Filipino adolescents (Liawag, 1984), it was found that among high and low socio-economic groups, the more favorable the mothers' attitudes towards her employment, the more egalitarian the child was. In other words, there is a greater tendency for the child to view women as competent for jobs that are traditionally male dominated. This is possible, since one notable consequence of maternal employment is the addition of the "working-women role" among women, which inevitably results in children's exposure to at least another role model. As a result, the children learn to be more egalitarian in their views of male and female roles. This occurs largely through the process of role modeling where learning can take place through observation. The children will have more egalitarian views, especially if the mother's behavior is observed as being reinforced, or more concretely, if she is perceived by her children as satisfied in that role.

Husbands are not exempt from the effects of maternal employment. Their attitudes and perceptions of their wives may vary insofar as the effects of employment are perceived as beneficial or detrimental to family life. Thus, husbands' satisfactions and attitudes towards the wife's work is also important in under-

standing the phenomenon.

Hypotheses

1. Attitudes towards working women of both husbands and wives will be affected by maternal employment:

- a) Women will have more favorable attitudes than men.
- b) Employed women will have more favorable attitudes than unemployed women.
- c) Husbands of employed women will have more favorable attitudes than husbands of unemployed women.

2. Maternal employment is related to husbands' perception of their wives and to the wives' self-perception:

- a) Husbands with unemployed wives will perceive their wives differently from husbands with employed wives.
- b) There will be differences in the self-perception scores of employed and unemployed mothers in traits traditionally considered masculine traits, such as independence, achievement, aggression, leadership, and intelligence.
- c) The effect of maternal employment on women's self-perception will be mediated by the degree of role satisfaction of the women. There will be differences in self-perception insofar as there are differences in role satisfaction.

3. Maternal employment is related to children's perceptions of their mothers.

4. Children of employed mothers will be less traditional in their sex-role concepts.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

A total of 100 adult respondents and 110 children participated in the first phase of the study. The criteria for selecting the adult respondents were occupational status and the presence of children below six years. A more detailed description of the sample follows:

One group of participants consisted of 50 women equally divided into employed and unemployed mothers. An employed mother held a full-time job outside the home for an average of six hours a day. An unemployed mother did not have a regular job outside the home, neither did she have any occupation that could be pursued while physically staying

at home (e.g., sari-sari store owner, dressmaker). The mean age of the unemployed mothers was 30.4 years, while that of the employed mothers was 31.4 years.

A second group of participants included 50 men, equally divided according to whether their wives were employed or unemployed. The mean age of men with employed wives was 34 years, while the mean age of men with unemployed wives was 33 years. The median educational attainment of men with unemployed wives was slightly higher, 12 years compared to the 10 years of men with employed wives. The majority of the respondents in this study occupied low-paying jobs.

The last group of participants comprised 53 male and female children of employed mothers and 57 male and female children of unemployed mothers. The age range of the children was from 3 to 5½ years, with 4.5 being the mean age. All children were Tagalog speaking.

The study has two phases: the first phase used objective measures and the second phase used the case study approach.

Measures

Scale to measure attitudes towards working women. This is a Likert-type scale, consisting of 20 items. Originally, this scale was constructed in English with a split-half reliability of .8875 (Ventura, et.al., 1979). This scale was translated to Pilipino by a native speaker and then, back translated to English by another native speaker. The back-translated version and the original English version were shown to another psychologist for judgment in translation equivalence. It was established that the back-translated version did not depart in content and in style from the original English version.

The bilingual attitude-scale was refined by doing an item analysis. The item-total correlation for each statement was obtained, as well as the internal consistency of the scale, resulting in a coefficient of $r=.9249$. A split-half reliability was also computed to be able to compare this with the reliability coefficient

of .8875 obtained by Ventura, et. al (1979). The resulting split-half reliability coefficient was .8919 for the bilingual form, which is very close to the .8875 for the English form of the attitude scale. The final form of the attitude scale consisted of 18 items.

Self-perception scale. The present self-perception scale was adapted from the checklist of Licuanan and Gonzalez (1973). The instrument is a list of 43 adjectives, 32 of which are positive and 11 negative. These adjectives were derived by asking groups of married women to name the traits that were descriptive of themselves, as well as traits that they would like to possess. This scale yielded eight orthogonal factors derived by the test constructors from analyses of data collected on pretest samples of 300 men and women from both rural and urban areas.

The self-perception scale was also subjected to an internal consistency analysis. The internal consistency of the scale was obtained resulting in a coefficient of .7105. Of the initial pool of 43 adjectives, only 36 were retained for the final whole scale which had an internal reliability coefficient of .8962.

Children's Perception of Mother

Two instruments to measure maternal perception were developed: a picture instrument and a questionnaire.

Picture instrument. Two pictures (one showing a woman cooking and the other working at a desk) were prepared to represent household work and a job outside the house. Children were requested to choose which of these pictures was more representational of their mothers. They were also asked what the bases of their choices were. Finally, the children were asked to tell a story about their mothers.

Questionnaire. The second maternal perception instrument was a questionnaire composed of 12 statements. From informal conversations with 3-6 year old children, information regarding what parents do with their children was obtained. It was observed that they seldom talked about their parents in terms of traits or attributes but rather in terms of

their behavior. Ten verbs and adjectives which are commonly used and understood by children were identified, e.g., *salbahe*, *mabait*, *nagagalit* (good, bad, angry). These words were then presented to another 10 children to check if they understood the meanings of the words. They were then asked to indicate whether the word described mothers, fathers or children.

The final children's questionnaire consisted of 12 statements. The child's task was to select one of the three alternatives for each statement, ranging from *palagi*, *paminsan-minsan*, to *hindi kahit kailan* (always, sometimes, never). These alternatives were presented pictorially for each statement to help the child conceptualize the scale. Three boxes of increasing sizes were shown, the biggest box representing *palagi*, the middle box, *paminsan-minsan*, and the smallest box, *hindi kahit kailan*. Each alternative was explained to the child through examples familiar to him.

After the task, the child was asked, "Ano pa ang masasabi mo tungkol sa iyong Nanay?" (What else can you say about your mother?), for possible additional information.

Checklist to assess sex-role concepts of children. Children's sex-role concepts were assessed through a checklist consisting of 15 occupations and 11 activities. Children simply indicated of each occupation/activity, whether it was for males (*panlalaki*) or for females (*pambabae*). In cases where they responded "both", they were asked to choose only one alternative.

Other variables. Women's home and job satisfaction are important mediating factors that may modify the relationship of maternal employment and attitudes, as well as the men's perceptions of their wives. In short, informal interviews of the respondents were conducted. Questions regarding role satisfactions, employment history, and child care were asked.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Attitude Toward Working Women

The median attitude-score of employed

and unemployed women was obtained, as well as the median attitude-scores of men with employed and unemployed wives. The results of the median test revealed that there were significant differences in attitude scores between men and women ($X^2 = 4.05, p < .05$) and between employed and unemployed women ($X^2 = 3.93, p < .05$). However, no significant difference was obtained for men with employed and unemployed wives. As expected, among the four groups of respondents, employed women had the highest median attitude-score towards employment of women.

The results of this study showed that compared to men, women were more favorable towards the ideal of full time employment for women. This confirmed the results of previous studies of women with higher educational status (Castillo & Guerrero, 1969; Ventura, et. al., 1979). It is possible that women who were employed find working outside the home more attractive, because they had proven to themselves that being employed and managing a home could be combined, in spite of some occasional difficulties. Employment might have also given them a feeling of usefulness, in the sense that they contributed to the family coffers.

On the other hand, no difference in attitudes was found between men with employed or unemployed wives, perhaps because the effect of employment status of the wife was obscured by the ability of the wife to carry out her duties and responsibilities to her husband and children. For instance, women, even if they were employed, were expected by their husbands to give priority to their roles as wives and mothers, i.e., they saw to it that household management was in order and the needs of the family were attended to.

Women's Self-perception

The median self-perception scores for employed and unemployed women did not differ significantly in any of the factors. The self-perception scores of the two groups of women were almost equal in all factors, which implied that self-perception was not related to occu-

pational status.

Thus, the hypothesis that employed women obtain higher scores, particularly for those that are traditionally considered masculine traits, was not confirmed. The nature of the occupation of the women who participated in the study could partly explain the nonsignificant difference. In this study, the majority of women respondents were involved in service oriented jobs (e.g., teachers, secretaries, beauticians). As a result their occupational roles were not really different from their roles at home, i.e. providing services to others. Self-theory says that the self-concept of a person is largely determined by the reactions of other people and the consequences of the roles he/she plays. Because unemployed and employed women might have similar experiences and roles, their self-perception were not different from each other. If there was any difference, it was negligible.

Related to the observation that most women are in occupations which have a service component, it appears that work roles are an extension of family roles. Women's jobs are characterized by the same tasks and responsibilities that wives and mothers have (Nieva & Gutek, 1981). This fact strengthens the hypothesis that the home and the roles of mother and wife determine, to a large extent, the self-image of women. Also, almost all women usually find more fulfillment in their mother-and-wife roles, rather than in their occupational role.

The nonsignificant difference may be also explained by the nature of the self-perception scale. The self-perception scale was constructed by asking a number of women to describe themselves. Could it be that most of the respondents paid more attention to the stereotypes of women, e.g., religious, patient, faithful, and humble? The acceptance of these sex-role stereotypes resulted in similar self-perceptions regardless of their occupational status.

It is also possible that since the instrument was a 4-point rating scale, there was probably little room for discrimination among responses, i.e., a low

ceiling effect existed, making the scale insensitive to little differences brought about by employment.

Men's Perception of Their Wives

The same instrument was used to evaluate the husbands' perception of their wives. The scale was administered to men whose wives were employed and those whose wives were unemployed.

A series of median tests revealed that like the women's self-perception scores, men's perceptions of their wives were unrelated to the occupational status of the women. The median scores of each group did not show any large numerical differences across all factors.

One factor that determines person perception is prior expectancy (Middlebrook, 1980). Unless a person has strong evidence to the contrary, he/she tends to think that people possess the characteristics or attitudes he/she expects them to have. Most men believe that women are generally affiliative, nurturant, and sensitive, and as a result behave in certain ways (i.e., caring for children, housekeeping). They then assume that women do possess all these characteristics. Hence, what they reported might have actually been their expectations, which were interpreted as perceptions.

The nonsignificant finding regarding the perceptions of men about women can also be understood if we look at it in terms of attribution theory. Two other factors may play a role in attribution: hedonic relevance and personalism (Jones & Davis, 1965). Hedonic relevance refers to the importance of a person's behavior to another person. If husbands feel strongly about the traditional homemaker role of women, then they are much quicker to assume traditional qualities in their wives than will persons who believe otherwise.

Personalism refers to the actual effects of someone's behavior upon another person. Since women put more importance on their roles as mothers and wives, the behavior of wives, whether they work or not is the same. Hence, they have the same effects on their husbands and consequently, husbands' per-

ceptions will be the same.

Maternal Perception of Children

To assess maternal perception among children of employed and unemployed mothers, a checklist was administered. It consisted of 10 statements about possible behaviors of mothers towards their children and descriptions usually attributed to mothers. Of the 10, only the statement, "*Minamahal ako ng aking Nanay*" (My mother loves me) reached significance ($X^2 (2) = 6.119, p < .05$). The distribution of scores for this item is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Frequency of responses of children of employed and unemployed mothers on item 10 of the Maternal Perception Checklist

| Response Categories | Employed Mothers | Unemployed Mothers |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Never | 20 (40%) | 23 (43%) |
| Sometimes | 3 (6%) | 11 (21%) |
| Always | 27 (54%) | 19 (36%) |

$X^2 = 7.212 (df (2), p < .05)$

The chi-square test showed that children's perceptions of their mothers regarding affection is related to mothers' employment. Table 1 shows that over half of the children of employed mothers claimed they were always loved by their mothers, and only slightly over one-third of children of unemployed mothers felt the same way. Also, there was only 6% in the category of *sometimes* for employed mothers in contrast to the 21% for unemployed mothers in the same category. However, when the responses to the category of *never* was analyzed, the percentages for the two groups were not far from each other, 40% versus 43% for employed and unemployed mothers respectively.

The children were also asked to describe or tell something about their mothers at the end of the checklist. The data obtained were either positive or negative descriptions (e.g., *mabait, ma-*

sarap magluto) and behavioral descriptions, most of which were also positive (e.g., *nagluluto ang aking Nanay, laging umaalis ang Nanay ko*), or a combination of these two. When the responses were classified according to the above categories, the results showed that the percentage (42%) of children describing their mothers positively were the same for both groups. The percentage of negative descriptions were not also very discrepant from each other, 8% and 11% for employed and unemployed mothers respectively.

The above considerations imply that any findings regarding perceptions of children of employed mothers as being more affectionate should be evaluated with extreme caution because of the possibility of social desirability.

Since a significant difference was obtained for only one item, the effect of maternal employment on children's perception of their mothers might be limited only to the area of nurturance.

Sex-role Concepts

The hypothesis that children of employed mothers are more egalitarian in their sex-role concepts was partially supported. The children indicated whether the activity was feminine or masculine in terms of appropriateness. The percentage of children showing an activity as female/male were analyzed in relation to the occupational status of the mother. Of the activities in the checklist, only sweeping, repair work, driving, cleaning, and cutting grass were found to differ significantly from each other. Children of unemployed mothers considered cleaning, and cutting grass as more feminine or *pambabae*, but children of employed mothers said sweeping, repair work, and driving were more appropriate for females. Tables 2 and 3 show the proportion of female choices of male and female children for several activities and occupations, respectively. Inspection of Table 3 reveals that the children, in general, viewed certain occupations as masculine, e.g., farmer, carpenter, *kargador*, driver, soldier, firemen, policemen, and janitor, while others were seen as feminine, e.g., *labandera*, *mananahi*, secretary, and tea-

cher. Three occupations (doctor, lawyer, and vendor) were considered appropriate for both males

TABLE 2

Percentages of male and female children who considered the following as female-appropriate activities

| Activity | Male Children | Female Children | Z value |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Sweeping | 89.00 | 88.00 | |
| Planting | 48.21 | 46.15 | |
| Washing clothes | 94.44 | 88.46 | |
| Cooking | 61.48 | 86.27 | |
| Repair Work | 28.30 | 28.00 | |
| Office Work | 49.20 | 80.36 | 3.53** |
| Praying | 76.92 | 77.58 | |
| Driving | 27.12 | 44.90 | 1.93* |
| Sewing | 83.64 | 82.00 | |
| Cleaning | 63.33 | 74.00 | |
| Cutting grass | 44.44 | 62.00 | 1.79* |

* $p < .05$, one tailed test

** $p < .01$, one tailed test

TABLE 3

Percentages of male and female children who considered the following as female-appropriate occupations

| Occupation | Male Children | Female Children | Z value |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Farmer | 12.50 | 22.22 | 1.348 |
| Carpenter | 12.72 | 14.81 | |
| Kargador | 14.54 | 11.11 | |
| Driver | 14.29 | 11.32 | |
| Soldier | 14.55 | 14.81 | |
| Firemen | 14.54 | 14.54 | |
| Vendor | 44.64 | 30.91 | 1.49 |

| Activity | Male Children | Female Children | Z value |
|-----------|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| Labandera | 89.09 | 92.59 | |
| Mananahi | 91.23 | 81.03 | 1.28 |
| Secretary | 85.75 | 90.57 | |
| Teacher | 87.50 | 80.00 | |
| Doctor | 49.12 | 49.12 | |
| Lawyer | 40.35 | 34.48 | |
| Policemen | 22.41 | 21.15 | |
| Janitor | 30.90 | 32.00 | |

and females as witnessed by the fact that the percentages obtained were neither very high (80% and above), nor very low (30% and below).

Although the children of employed and unemployed mothers generally agreed on the masculinity and femininity of several occupations, they differed significantly in the items "carpenter," "firemen," "doctor," and "lawyer." Children of employed mothers showed less sex-role stereotypes, since a greater number of these children said that these occupations were also appropriate for females. They consistently scored higher than the children of unemployed mothers in these traditionally male occupations.

The hypothesis that children of employed mothers are less traditional than children of unemployed mothers was partially supported in this instance. Analysis of the data revealed significant differences for three occupations, namely, carpenter, soldier, and policemen — all male dominated occupations (Table 4). More female preferences for these occupations were obtained from children of employed mothers. However, when it came to the traditionally female occupations, no significant differences were obtained, showing that the children were more likely to accept the possibility of women doing men's jobs, but not vice-versa. They felt that women can be soldiers or policewomen but men may not be secretaries or *labanderas* (laundry woman). This perhaps reflects society's

current tolerance, sometimes even admiration, for women who do men's jobs, but ridicule of men who take on household work.

TABLE 4

Percentages of children of employed and unemployed mothers who considered the following as female-appropriate occupations

| Occupation | Children of employed mothers | Children of unemployed mothers | Z value |
|------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| Farmer | 15.09 | 19.30 | |
| Carpenter | 21.15 | 7.14 | 2.10** |
| Kargador | 17.31 | 8.77 | 1.33 |
| Driver | 15.38 | 17.54 | |
| Soldier | 21.15 | 8.77 | 1.84* |
| Firemen | 13.21 | 15.79 | |
| Vendor | 43.39 | 32.76 | 1.16 |
| Labandera | 90.38 | 91.23 | |
| Mananahi | 83.33 | 88.52 | |
| Secretary | 84.62 | 91.23 | 1.86* |
| Teacher | 84.44 | 82.76 | |
| Doctor | 58.18 | 40.68 | |
| Lawyer | 44.23 | 37.73 | |
| Policemen | 28.38 | 15.79 | 1.52 |
| Janitor | 34.00 | 29.00 | |

* $p \leq .05$, one-tailed test

It appears, therefore, that since children are highly stereotyped during this developmental stage, maternal employment alone may not be sufficient to completely modify sex-role concepts. However, it is possible that the effect may be seen later during adolescence, especially among girls.

Phase 2: Case Studies

The focus of the case studies was on mother-child interaction and child care, which is one area that is affected by ma-

ternal employment. Unemployed mothers remained full-time mothers because they felt that their children would be neglected if they sought employment. Employed mothers admitted that this was the main difficulty that arose in connection with their employment. They reported that they had to work double time to fulfill the demands of both work and home. Although employed mothers reported difficulties associated with working, to some extent they felt satisfied. They were happy that they were able to help their husbands earn a living and contribute to the family income. However, they also reported only moderate satisfaction in the time they spent with their families and with the things/activities that they did with the other members of the family in contrast to the unemployed mothers, who said they were very satisfied in this respect.

The employed mothers in this study were not exempted from housework. The presence of a household helper eased their household chores but generally, they still took care of their children whenever they were at home, planned the menu, did the marketing, and cooked.

The most common form of coping with this dual responsibility was to lengthen one's working hours. What employed mothers did was to start the day's work earlier to make up for the time spent outside the home. If there were elder children in the family, some of the household chores were assigned to them.

Following is a comparison between employed and unemployed mothers on the following variables: child care, affection and nurturance, discipline and restrictiveness, and autonomy and independence training.

Child Care. Both employed and unemployed mothers in the study agreed that child care was their major responsibility. This includes keeping the children clean and healthy by giving baths and dressing them up, food preparation and meal supervision.

Affection and nurturance. All mothers were very protective of their children

and their safety was a major concern. Unless adult supervision was present, their children were not allowed to go out into the streets. They strongly expressed their fears that harm may come to their children if they were allowed to go out and saw to it that this was communicated to their children. They were also helpful in situations wherein a certain level of performance was expected of them. With structured tasks, all mothers helped their children. No definite trends could be established for the variable affection and hence it was not possible to draw inferences. The indicators of affection, (i.e., caressing, kissing, lapholding) were observed in all families but the frequency of observation was quite low.

Autonomy and independence training. Because only four families participated in the case study phase, it is difficult to draw inferences regarding independence training of children of employed and unemployed mothers. It appears that independence training correlates with other family variables such as presence of older siblings, birth order of the child, and presence of other adults in the family. In families where there were only two children, the mothers showed more persistence in teaching their children independence. Mothers who had older daughters were not too keen in teaching the younger children independence.

Discipline, punitiveness, and restrictiveness. All mothers claimed they used rewards and punishments to discipline their children. In general, punishments (e.g., spanking and scolding) were administered if the offenses were severe, such as telling lies, using foul language, or if the children were stubborn and had been duly warned that their noncompliance would result in punishment. Usually threats or reprimands were made known before resorting to punishment. Rewards were given for "good" behavior such as getting high grades, not messing the house, and sharing with other siblings.

The mothers had a tendency to be lenient in the area of watching television. None of them were selective about the kind of television programs their

children watched although two of the mothers regulated TV watching in terms of viewing time.

The case studies showed that employed mothers were either lenient or strict while the unemployed mothers were in-between.

Aspiration for children. Both employed and unemployed mothers in the study placed great importance on the accomplishments and competence of their children. In the structured tasks, all mothers wanted their children to obtain high scores on the "tests" and when allowed to assist their children, they did help them. The results also show that there were no major differences between employed and unemployed mothers when it came to aspirations for children. Both types of mothers wished that their children could have a college education. This is consistent with the findings of previous studies (Licuanan, 1979; Porio, Lynch & Hollensteiner, 1978) that Filipino families value education highly.

CONCLUSIONS

As a whole, the results show that the conceptual framework presented was inadequate. It is not enough to just consider role satisfaction of mothers as intervening factor to explain the relationship between maternal employment and the dependent variables. Consequently, a revised conceptual framework is suggested to account for the results. The revised one shown in Figure 2, has two main sets of intervening factors — mother (personal) and family (situational) variables. The mother variables — reasons for working, perceptions of their work (homemaking, job, career), and role satisfactions are suggested as a result of the finding that most women work primarily for economic reasons and the nonsignificant relationship between role satisfaction and employment.

In the literature (Hollahan & Gilbert, 1979), a career is differentiated from a job in terms of the motivation and satisfactions derived from work, and the amount of time spent on it.

The results of the case studies suggest another set of factors that may mitigate the effect of maternal employment. These are family variables, such as quality of substitute care for children, quality of mother-child interaction, and the wife's efficiency in home management. These events are direct consequences of maternal employment, which may have effects on the husband and children. The perception of husband and children about the mother may be favorable depending on the abovementioned factors. It may be favorable if she is able to manage the household efficiently, does not neglect child care, and adequate substitute care is provided. Specifically, husbands' attitude toward working women and perception of their wives may be favorable depending on the wife's ability to manage the house and take care of the children.

The first set of variables also mitigates the self-perception of women and their attitudes toward working women. It is hypothesized that career women have the most favorable attitudes, while the job-holders and the homemakers do not differ significantly in self-perception.

The other set of factors that mitigate the effect of maternal employment are family variables such as the quality of mother-child interaction, quality of substitute care for children, and the wife's efficiency in home management. These are based on the results of the case studies wherein mothers emphasize their apprehension's about their children who are left alone. Also, these events are brought about when the mother takes on a full-time occupation which has repercussions on the children and the husband. The perceptions of husbands and children about the mothers may either be favorable or unfavorable depending on the above-mentioned factors. Husbands' attitudes toward working women to a large extent depend on the wife's ability to run the household smoothly.

RECOMMENDATIONS

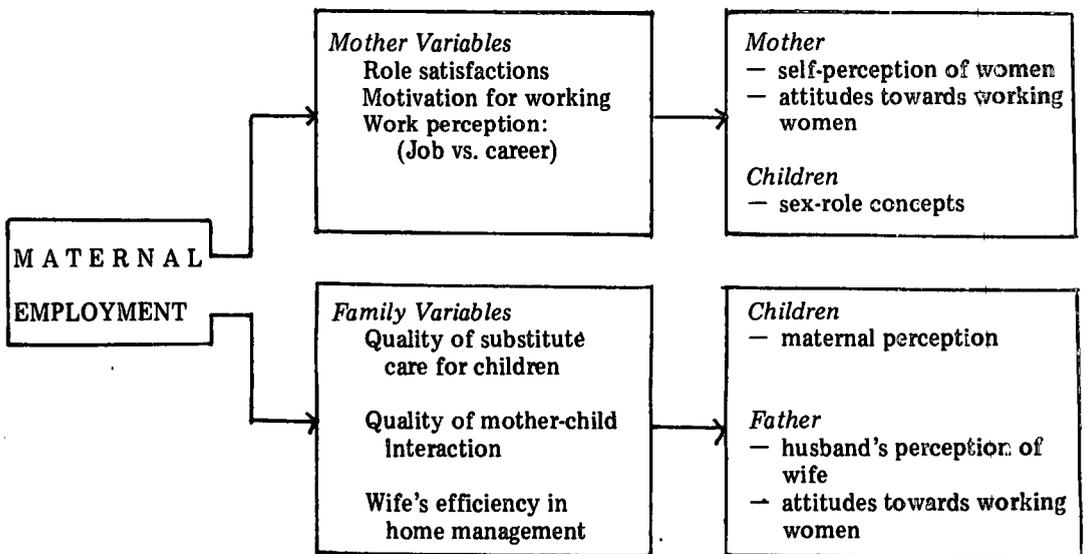
The results of the study suggest that a more refined operational definition of

maternal employment be used in future studies. As shown in the results, no differences exist between employed and unemployed women in the populations so defined or specified, in almost all of the dependent variables. Instead of the gross classification of employed and unemployed, as levels of maternal employment, the more important variable is women's perception of their employment. A woman who views her work as

a career may have different attitudes from someone who equates work with a job. More time and involvement is devoted to a career than to a job and, as a result, different degrees of satisfaction may also be felt.

Hence, aside from considering only the categories, employed and not employed, it may be worthwhile to investigate other occupational — related variables such as type of occupation, job characteristics and the demands of the

Figure 2: Conceptual model showing the effect of maternal employment on the family.



work, and job position instead. Said variables should be either strictly controlled or deliberately varied, if possible, to identify specific conditions to understand fully the phenomenon of maternal employment.

It is recommended that the scope of research in maternal employment and its effects on children be expanded by including other intra-familial variables, such as father's attitudes towards the mother's work, aside from mother's role satisfaction.

In this study, father's attitudes towards working women and children's maternal perception were measured as effects of maternal employment, but the design of the present study did not allow for evaluating how these variables mediated

between employment and women's self-perception and sex-role concepts of children.

Another recommendation is the improvement and refinement of some of the instruments used in the study, namely the self-perception scale, the maternal perception, and the sex-role concepts checklist. The self-perception scale consisted only of four scale steps (never, sometimes, often, always) and could have decreased the discriminability of the scale, resulting in a ceiling effect. The instruments to measure maternal perception and sex-role concepts had only content validity. In future studies, definitely, these instruments should be improved by studying the psychometric properties of these scales. And finally,

for an adequate model to arise, the dependent measure must be obtained more quantitatively in order that a suitable multiple regression analysis can be done. If this suggestion is not feasible, the variables must be defined into two mutually exclusive levels or categories and the observation then must just be taken as counts, so that a logistic multiple regression involving scores of chi-squares can be made. Should this be possible, a clearer theory can be constructed regarding the phenomenon.

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