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An analysis of the effects of social class, mother's working status, mother's occupation and mother's education on the educational and occupational inspirations of female grade ten students in an Ontario community.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CLASS, MOTHER'S WORKING  
STATUS, MOTHER'S OCCUPATION AND MOTHER'S EDUCATION ON THE  
EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF FEMALE  
GRADE TEN STUDENTS IN AN ONTARIO COMMUNITY

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A thesis  
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the effects of social class, (as determined by father's occupation) mother's working status, mother's occupation and mother's education on the occupational and educational aspirations of 112 grade ten girls in five high schools in Windsor, Ontario. Questionnaires were administered to the students in an attempt to measure the effect of each of the variables on the students' aspirations. The chi-square test of significance was used to determine any relationships between the variables.

It was found that social class, the students' stream in high school and the mothers' educational level all had significant effects on the students' educational and occupational aspirations. No significant relationship was found between the aspirations of daughters of non-working and working mothers. However, daughters of working mothers whose mothers had attained a post-secondary education had higher educational aspirations than daughters of non-working mothers who had a post-secondary education. This relationship held only for those working mothers who had some post-secondary training. All of the daughters had higher aspirations than their mothers; however, their occupational choices were limited to "traditional women's careers". It appears that the working mother may serve as a positive role model for her daughter.

in that she may encourage her daughter to plan a career. However, the students appear to be blocked from entering the "traditional men's career fields". It has been suggested that high school streaming may be one of the factors which appear to be limiting the girls' occupational choices.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	iv
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	vii
CHAPTER	
I      INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Statement of the Problem . . . . .	1
The Working Mother In Canada . . . . .	3
Social Characteristics of Working Mothers . . . . .	6
Footnotes . . . . .	11
II     REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE . . . . .	13
Introduction . . . . .	13
Maternal Employment and Intra-familial Relationships . . . . .	14
Maternal Employment and Personality Development of Children . . . . .	15
Delinquency and Maternal Employment . . . . .	18
Mother's Attitude Toward Employment . . . . .	19
Part-time and Full-time Employment . . . . .	21
Maternal Employment and Academic Achievement . . . . .	23
Social Class and Education . . . . .	26
Occupational Aspirations of High School Students . . . . .	28
Maternal Employment and Parental Role Models . . . . .	31
Footnotes . . . . .	40
III    THEORY . . . . .	41
Hypothesis I . . . . .	41
Hypothesis II . . . . .	43
Hypothesis III . . . . .	44
Hypothesis IV . . . . .	44
Hypothesis V . . . . .	44
Hypothesis VI . . . . .	45
Hypothesis VII . . . . .	46
Summary of Hypotheses . . . . .	46



CHAPTER	Page
IV      METHODOLOGY . . . . .	47
Sample . . . . .	47
Field Procedures . . . . .	49
The Questionnaire . . . . .	50
Operational Definitions of Variables.	50
Characteristics of the Students . .	52
Footnotes . . . . .	56
V      ANALYSIS OF THE DATA. . . . .	60
Introduction . . . . .	60
Hypothesis I . . . . .	61
Hypothesis II . . . . .	67
Hypothesis III . . . . .	75
Hypothesis IV . . . . .	80
Hypothesis V . . . . .	81
Hypothesis VI . . . . .	83
Hypothesis VII . . . . .	86
VI     DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS. . . .	92
APPENDICES	
I      QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUCTIONS. . . . .	103
II     QUESTIONNAIRE . . . . .	105
III    OCCUPATIONAL INDEX . . . . .	107
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	109
VITA AUCTORIS . . . . .	115

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Students' Educational Aspirations According to Social Class . . . .	62
2	Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Social Class . . . .	62
3	Students' Stream in High School According to Social Class . . . . .	63
4	Students' Educational Aspirations According to Social Class Within Stream in High School . . . . .	65
5	Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Social Class Within Stream in High School. . . . .	66
6	Students' Educational Aspirations According to Mothers' Working Status. . . . .	69
7	Students' Educational Aspirations According to Mothers' Education and Working Status	70
8	Social Class According to the Working Status of Mothers within Mothers' Educational Level. . . . .	73
9	Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Mothers' Working Status. . . . .	75
10	Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Mothers' Working Status within Social Class . . . . .	78
11	Students' Educational Aspirations According to their Mothers' Occupational Level.	81
12	Students' Occupational Aspirations According to their Mothers' Occupational Level.	82
13	Students' Educational Aspirations According to their Mothers' Educational Level..	83

Table		Page
14	Students' Stream in High School According to their Mothers' Education.	84
15	Students' Educational Aspirations According to their Mothers' Education Within Stream . . . . .	85
16	Students' Occupational Aspirations Accord- ing to their Mothers Education . . . . .	87
17	Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Mothers' Education Within Stream in High School . . . . .	88

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the effects of maternal employment on the educational and occupational aspirations of female grade ten students. Other variables of social class, mothers' educational level and mothers' occupational level will also be studied to determine their effects on the educational and occupational aspirations of the students. The variables of religion and family size will be examined briefly.

Interest in this subject was generated by the lack of empirical data on the effects of maternal employment on adolescents. Some research has been done on the effects of maternal employment on pre-school and elementary school children. However, studies of adolescents have been limited to examining possible differences in the academic achievement and intelligence of children of employed and non-employed mothers; the results of these studies have been inconclusive. Occupational aspirations have been found to be related to social class, intelligence and academic achievement; however virtually no research has been done on the possible relation of maternal employment to these variables.

With the increasing liberalization of women, the question arises as to whether or not the working mother serves as a model of the liberated<sup>1</sup> woman for her daughter. Is the daughter of a working mother more likely to view her future role as a working wife and mother rather than accepting the traditional role of mother and housewife? Is the daughter of a working mother more likely to have higher occupational aspirations<sup>2</sup> than the daughter of a non-working mother? Is the daughter of a working mother more likely to plan to continue her education after high school than the daughter of a non-working mother?

This study is limited in scope to grade ten students from five high schools in Windsor. There is some question concerning the implications of a study based on a limited sample. The research was conceived as an exploratory study to determine the feasibility of an in-depth study of maternal employment and its effects on adolescents. Although there is evidence from government statistics that the characteristics of maternal employment are similar throughout Canada and the United States, the specific results of this study cannot be considered as representative of other areas until further research is carried out on this subject.

### The Working Mother in Canada

The shortage of manpower and the industrial expansion World War I took unprecedented numbers of women in Canada out of the kitchen and nursery and into the 'man's world' of remunerative work. The Crash and the Great Depression drove men, up to twenty-six per cent of the male work force, out onto the streets, showing them unable to provide for their families. In this way the justification for masculine dominance of the family based on economic support was broken, since in many families the wives were able to obtain employment while the men could not. World War II brought about an even greater need for women workers than World War I had. Women were employed in the factory, on the farm and in the armed forces. The emancipating effect of these experiences was comparably great. This effect has been prolonged in attenuated form to the present day. There was a nostalgic demand to return to 'normalcy' following the termination of the war-- which often meant, among other things, returning women to the home-- but this was soon changed by the Cold War, the Berlin Crisis, the Korean War, etc. These influences were weaker in Canada than in the United States, as a result of Canada being less involved in these wars and as a result of the traditional views of the role of women held by the millions of immigrants who entered Canada after World War II.

However, this was counteracted by the very heavy impact of American mass media on this country. (Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1967, pp. 1-2)

Ninety per cent of the Canadian population lives within one hundred miles of the United States border. The infiltration of American books, magazines, television and radio is a well recognized phenomenon among Canadians. Canada is extremely susceptible to movements in the United States, and the liberalization of women is no exception. The census data on the status of working women in the two countries is strikingly similar. Consequently, it is possible to discuss maternal employment in Canada from the viewpoint of American sociologists.<sup>3</sup>

After World War II, neither the general public nor the social scientists were prepared for the reports that began to appear indicating that more than a third of the mothers of school-age children were employed. They were aware of the large numbers of mothers working during World War II, but they considered this to be a temporary trend and that after the men returned from overseas, the women would return to the kitchen and nursery. They believed that the roles of worker and mother were incompatible and that there would be few, if any, jobs left for mothers. The knowledge that in peacetime a large and increasing number of mothers were employed brought mixed, but predominantly negative reactions from professional and lay people. Social scientists

denounced this new trend, attempting to link maternal employment with higher divorce rates, more crime and delinquency, increased alcoholism, and mental disorders in women. Others contended that the employment of mothers had a serious detrimental effect on children. (Hoffman and Nye, 1963, pp.6-11)

However, working mothers can no longer be ignored, if not for any other reason, because of their large and increasing numbers. In 1970, one out of every five mothers in Canada were working for pay or profit.<sup>4</sup> They numbered 540,000, comprising over one-quarter of the female labour force. (Women's Bureau, 1970) This is a marked increase over 1961, when there were 400,000 working mothers from families with both husband and wife present. (Women's Bureau, 1965) Even more important, there were over one million children under fourteen years of age in Canada who had working mothers in 1970,<sup>5</sup> or eighteen per cent of the children in Canada. In Ontario, twenty-two per cent of the children under fourteen years of age have employed mothers. (Women's Bureau, 1970)

A greater proportion of mothers with all children in school are working (28%) than mothers with pre-school children (17%).<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in 1970, the female labour force numbered 2,690,000, an increase of 62.3% over the past decade. Married women comprised 56.7% of the labour force in 1970 as compared to 45% in 1960. In fact, 32% of all married women were in the labour force in 1970 compared to



19.2% in 1960. (Women's Bureau, 1971)

This study is concerned with sixteen year old girls whose mothers would probably be between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-four years. Women between these ages made up 36% of the female labour force in 1970. (Women's Bureau, 1970)

#### Social Characteristics of Working Mothers

With longer life expectancy, earlier marriages and family planning, there is an increased period of time during which a woman may be employed without leaving her children. (Hoffman and Nye, 1963, p.5) In 1940 the median age at marriage of women in Canada was 23.2 years. In 1962, it had dropped to 21.1 years. (Women's Bureau, 1965, p. 18) With the general pattern being marriage at 21 years of age, birth of the first child after two years, with one or two more children at two year intervals, the average woman is no older than thirty-three years of age when her last child enters school. She has thirty more years during which time she may work outside the home.

With industrialization, there was a shift from family-centred production to factory-centred production. Later, there occurred a further shift from production-centred industry to the distribution and service industry. Women tended to move from family-centred tasks to factories, offices and schools. Technological advances added time-saving devices

to housework, leaving the mother more time to spend on other activities and created more opportunities for employment. Occupations grew which required skill rather than mere physical strength and mothers moved into the labour force. (Hoffman and Nye, 1963, p.4) Women comprised 71% of all persons in clerical occupations and 60% of all persons in service occupations. (Women's Bureau, 1971)

The employed mother prior to World War II had several children and was forced into an unskilled, physically tiring, low-paying job by economic necessity. Often her work was the only means of income in the family. Employed mothers came from the lowest socio-economic strata. The stereotype has persisted, but, in reality, the situation has changed. Now, the majority of working mothers have husbands who work and are able to support the family. (Hoffman and Nye, 1963, p. 10) In Canada in 1970 the combined family income of working mothers whose husbands were working averaged at \$7,032. (Women's Bureau, 1970)

Women give money as their major reason for working. Income satisfaction and perceived financial need are important variables in a woman's decision to work. In those families in which both the husband and wife are working, the wife may be working in order to send their children to university, to pay debts, or to buy luxury items such as a second car or a mink coat. (Hoffman and Nye, 1963, pp. 11-12)

It is more economical to go to work than to try and save money by producing all of the family's needs at home-- canning, making clothes, etc.-- since goods are often produced at less cost in mass production than at home. A woman may even feel guilty about not working. The Protestant Ethic is still present in our society and the mother of adolescents who spends her afternoons sunning herself in the backyard is often the subject of scorn. The question may now be, "Why isn't she working?" rather than, "Why is she working?" Women may feel that housework does not fill the day and her time should be spent on more gainful employment.

Many women find little satisfaction or sense of achievement in housework. The advantage of work is that it takes place outside of the home, provides opportunities to meet people and to feel important. The mother role may be very satisfying in the long-run, but many women lose sight of the creativity in child-rearing in the midst of washing, changing diapers, picking up toys and putting on snowsuits. Even if this is very satisfying, when the children start school, housecleaning may seem much less important. The child becomes less dependent on the mother and the mother may begin to feel very unimportant. (Hoffman, 1963, pp.25-29)

The extent to which the woman's time is required for the fulfillment of her roles as housewife and mother also influences her decision to work. Having no pre-school

children facilitates employment. Older children require less care and can contribute more to the household chores.

The number of children and their physical and mental health also influences the mother's decision to work.

The 'companionship' marriage, in which the husband agrees to help out in managing the home is more conducive to maternal employment. The availability of aid from outside the family-- extended family ties, help from friends, or the likelihood of arranging for paid help -- facilitates working. Also, the attitudes of the family, the community and the mother's own personal views concerning maternal employment are contributory factors. (Hoffman, 1963, pp. 31-36)

The age of the woman and whether or not she worked before marriage affects her decision to work. Sobol (1963) refers to the study, "Growth of American Families" by the Survey Research Centre of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, carried out in 1955 under the direction of Ronald Freedman and P.K. Whelpton. It was found that younger women were more likely to have worked before marriage than their older counterparts. In fact, one-half of the young married women surveyed planned extensive future work careers. Of the 672 working wives interviewed, 37% planned to work permanently. Of the 2,141 non-working wives, 38% planned to work in the future. Freedman and Whelpton conclude that an increase in the percentage of married women

who will work in the future seems likely from three standpoints: (1) a greater percentage of wives of childbearing age have future work plans than are currently working. (2) more younger wives plan future work careers. (3) work participation prior to marriage, which is positively correlated to work after marriage, is more common among younger women. (Sobol, 1963, pp. 40-46)

In the light of the above discussion, it appears apparent that, contrary to the ideas of the social scientists and lay people during the fifties, the trend towards the employment of mothers is not a temporary fad, but rather more and more mothers are entering the world of work and will continue to for years to come. For this reason, social scientists can no longer ignore the possible effects that this will have on the one million children in Canada whose mothers are employed.

The next chapter of this thesis will review the literature that is pertinent to any study of the effects of maternal employment on children. The third chapter will propose a theory of the relation of maternal employment to adolescent girls' educational and occupational aspirations. Furthermore, hypotheses will be stated concerning the effects of social class, mothers' education and mothers' occupation on the students aspirations. The remaining chapters will be concerned with a study carried out in five high schools in Windsor to test this theory.

## CHAPTER I

## FOOTNOTES

1. The term "liberated" does not refer to a member or supporter of the Women's Liberation Movement, but rather means liberated as opposed to the traditional view that a woman's place is in the home and that a woman should be a housewife and mother. Liberated refers to the woman who believes that she is able to successfully combine the roles of mother and worker without seriously jeopardizing her performance in either role.
2. The term "occupational aspirations" refers to the level of the daughters future work plans on a socio-economic scale of occupations. This is more fully explained in Chapter IV.
3. Since there has been so little research done on working women in Canada, it was necessary to rely on the American research that has been done. Lois Hoffman and Ivan Nye discuss the trend of maternal employment in The Employed Mother in America , Chicago: Rand, McNally and Company, 1963. Their discussion has been applied to the existing statistics on working women in Canada, compiled in a series of government publications by the Women's Bureau, Canada Department of Labour. Constant reference is made to these publications throughout this chapter.
4. "Working mothers are defined as each woman reported in the Labour Force Survey as:
  - (1) having been married.

(2) having worked during the reference week.

(3) being a mother of one or more children under fourteen years of age living in the same dwelling."

(Women's Bureau, 1970, p. 1)

5. "Of the 6,035,000 Canadian children aged under 14 years of age, 18% or 1,075,000 have working mothers and the percentage of children with working mothers ranges from 13% in Quebec to 22% in Ontario. Sixty-five per cent are six to thirteen years old, 20% are three to five years old and 16% are under three years old. Twenty-five per cent of the mothers have children both under and over six years of age."

(Women's Bureau, 1970, p. 11)

6. Three quarters of the working mothers have one or two children under fourteen years of age. The majority (65%) of children under fourteen years of age of working mothers are aged six to thirteen, the age of school attendance.

( Women's Bureau, 1970)

7. A majority of working mothers (63%) work 35 or more hours per week. A sizeable minority of working mothers work part-time, 27% work less than 25 hours per week and 36% work less than 35 hours per week. (Women's Bureau, 1970)

CHAPTER II  
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter will deal, first of all, with a general discussion of the effects of maternal employment on intra-familial relationships, on the personality development of children, and on juvenile delinquency. Secondly, the variables of mothers' attitudes toward employment and the differential effect of working part-time and full-time will be examined. Thirdly, the relationship between maternal employment and academic achievement will be examined. Fourthly, the effect of social class on the educational attainments and aspirations of adolescents will be analyzed. Finally, a detailed account will be given of the research pertaining to the occupational aspirations of high school students in Ontario and of the literature on maternal employment and parental role models.

Research on the effects of maternal employment on children has been extremely limited in both scope and quality. This deficiency has been noted by a number of social scientists.

The recent review of the literature on maternal employment and child development by Stolz (1960) indicates defects in research design and other difficulties that make it impossible to draw many definite conclusions about the effects on their children of mothers' working. (Brieland, 1961, p.4)

An evaluation of existing literature permits only the evaluation that maternal employment has



little or no effect on child development or that employment can be related almost any kind of outcome. Those few differences reported are not consistent with one another and hence only add to the feeling that mothers working can be dismissed as one of the many factors in the socialization of children, probably not a very important one. But I think these conclusions are in error. Mothers working or not working, translated into relevant conditions of the psychological environment and of the parental role must surely make a difference. (Yarrow, 1961, p.14)

The existing research is often limited in quality as well as quantity. Much of the earlier literature may be criticized from two standpoints: (1) failure to test statistically the observations or 'findings' and (2) failure to control for important variables. (Peterson, 1958, p.11)

Maternal employment has been particularly neglected by sociologists. Most of the literature is concerned with the effects of mothers' working on the personality development of their children.

Most of the studies that have been done are of a descriptive sort with their main interest in such variables as age, number of dependents, earnings, and their reasons for working...The important sociological consequences of the employment of mothers, particularly with reference to intrafamilial relationships have been relatively neglected. (Peterson, 1958, pp.2-3)

#### Maternal Employment and Intra-familial Relationships

A number of studies have focused on the role conflict that the working mother experiences. Merton (1968, p. 170) refers to the working mother as an illustration of the "multi-selved" person. This woman has multiple social roles and tends to organize her behaviour in terms of the structurally defined

expectations assigned to each role. This role conflict is believed to have some effect on intra-familial relationships. Locke and Mackeprang (1949), Kligler (1954), and Gianopulos and Mitchell (1957) have all studied the consequences of the wife's employment on her relationship with her husband. Gianopulos and Mitchell analyzed three classifications of troubled marriages according to whether (1) the husband disapproves of the wife's working, (2) the husband holds no objections to the wife's working and (3) the wife is not working. The data revealed that the magnitude of disagreement on a marriage adjustment schedule was in part a function of the husband's disapproval of the wife's employment.

#### Maternal Employment and Personality Development of Children

As stated above, much of the literature has been concerned with the psychological effects of maternal employment. Although this area does not bear directly on the development of the theory used in this research, it is believed that a general knowledge of this area is necessary to any study of maternal employment.

Psychologists have been particularly interested in the effect of maternal employment on the social and psychological development of the child, particularly during the pre-school years. There has been a great deal of controversy over whether or not a woman should leave her child to go to work before he enters school. Myrdal and Klein (1968, p.133)

state: "There are no grounds for the belief that child neglect is the necessary result of the employment of mothers. This is as mistaken as it would be to assume that all mothers who devote their whole time to their families spoil their children."

Nye, et.al. (1963) interviewed 104 working mothers, 104 non-working mothers and their baby-sitters to determine if children of working mothers suffered from maternal deprivation.<sup>1</sup> The two groups of children were compared according to anti-social behaviour, withdrawing behaviour, and nervous symptoms. They found that the adjustment of children of working and non-working mothers was not significantly different.

Burchinal and Rossman (1961) tested 1600 seventh and eleventh grade students in Iowa according to the Minnesota Test of Personality. They found no relationship between maternal employment and selected personality traits of the children. They also compared children of working and non-working mothers according to school and social adjustment, as measured by intelligence scores, school participation scores, achievement scores, grades, days absent and days tardy. Again, they found no difference between the two groups.

Siegel et.al. (1963, p.68) studied the possible differences between the children of working and non-working mothers with respect to dependence and independence:

A child's development with respect to dependency is intimately associated with his relation with his parents and especially his mother. If maternal employment is indeed a significant factor in the constellation of psychological and social factors which provide a background for personality development in the young child, its implications will be greatest for the child's development with respect to dependence and independence.

Siegel found no differences in independence and dependence among 56 kindergarten children of working and non-working mothers.

Faye von Mering (1955), in her study of 25 professional and non-professional women found that professionally active mothers emphasized discipline and independence training functions while mothers currently identified with the maternal role exclusively emphasized the protective, empathetic and understanding functions. She saw these differences as being due to maternal employment and professional training.

These studies are of interest to this researcher since independence is a characteristic deemed beneficial to achievement.

It may be assumed that familiarity with, or better still a commitment to, the dominant values of a group facilitates an individual's achievement of the rewards the group makes available in return for appropriate performances, then it is reasonable to suggest that children whose socialization emphasized achievement, independence, or individualism and the deferral of gratification will have a competitive advantage over those whose socialization emphasized other values. In other words, it is a reasonable assumption that patterns of action learned at home are carried into the school then a considerable advantage will be with those pupils who have acquired patterns of action which are also emphasized and rewarded in school. (Jones, 1965, pp.28-29)

### Delinquency and Maternal Employment

There has been a long standing belief that maternal employment was strongly associated with juvenile delinquency. However, Glueck and Glueck (1957) found that this relationship disappears when social class and broken homes are controlled. They conclude that women who are employed occasionally are more likely to have delinquent sons than full-time workers or non-workers. They relate this to the fact that these families are less stable and the delinquency of the boys probably results from an inadequate father model and disorganized home life rather than from maternal rejection. Gold (1961) found that maternal employment was related in the blue collar group, but not in the white collar group.

Myrdal and Klein (1968, p.133) refer to a study carried out in Britain which showed that the rate of delinquency among children whose mothers go out to work is not higher than among those whose mothers stay at home, other conditions being equal. Another investigation made among 1,345 elementary school children in Gothenburg, Sweden by their medical officer Dr. Blume-Westerberg showed no difference in the rates of absentism between the children of employed mothers and the children of non-employed mothers. Ivan Nye (1959) studied 2,350 grade nine to twelve students and found that somewhat more delinquent behaviour was characteristic of children of employed mothers than of children

of non-employed mothers. However, the relationship was non-significant and has not been substantiated by other research.

It is apparent from these studies that the research done on delinquency and maternal employment is inconsistent and cannot be compared due to differences in sampling and control variables such as sex, age and social class. Furthermore, the studies do not all share common definitions of deviance or delinquency.

#### Mother's Attitude Toward Employment

When a mother's employment is gratifying to her, the mother-child relationship is a warm one; with the younger children it seems to be too warm, suggesting the possibility of a guilt reaction on the part of the mother. When the mother's employment is not satisfying, the mother-child relationship is almost the opposite. There seems to be less interaction and there are also indications that the child may be heavily burdened with household tasks. The fact that working--non-working differences are so divergent when the mother's attitude is considered indicates the fruitfulness of this approach. (Hoffman, 1963, p.204)

Yarrow analyzed the mother's preference for work in a preliminary study of 50 working and 50 non-working women from white, suburban and urban middle-class intact families. All had children in elementary school. She divided the women into four distinct groups: (1) working mothers who preferred not to work, (2) working mothers for whom work was the desired state, (3) non-working mothers who preferred not to work and (4) non-working mothers who wanted to work.

Briefly, our findings are that when mothers satisfied and those dissatisfied with their present roles are compared (ignoring whether or not they are working), the two groups score similarly on adequacy of mothering. When working mothers who prefer to work and those who do not prefer to work are compared there is again no difference. However, when nonworking mothers are studied there is a difference (significant at the .01 level) between those satisfied and those dissatisfied with not working. The dissatisfied nonworking mothers are predominantly at the lower end of the scale of 'good' mothering. Expressed differently, if mothers are satisfied with their present role, working or not working does not distinguish them on the items of 'good' mothering. If mothers are dissatisfied with their present role, working mothers are as likely to be high as low on the mothering score, but nonworking mothers are almost surely to tend toward the lower end of the scale. (Yarrow, 1961, p.19)

In brief, then, what I have tried to suggest is that the woman who will succeed in combining the working role with the mother role is a rather different kind of person than the one who will feel most adequate and competent as a fulltime homemaker and that this difference may lie in her social and cultural background, in the nature of her reference orientations, in the extent to which her life has seemed discontinuous in her ideology about women, about children and about the family in the strength and nature of her motivation for achievement, and in the severity of her standards for excellence in home-making and perfection in child-care...The career-oriented and achievement-motivated woman who does not work may be as disruptive at home as the the perfectionistic, child-centred, and home-oriented woman who does work. Thus it seems to me that what is significant is not simply whether or not the mother does work, but rather whether there is a 'fit' between her motivations, ideology and reference orientations and what she is actually doing. (Siegel, 1961, pp.35-36)

In 1963, Siegel and Curtis researched this theory among a group of forty-six 19 year old college women from the upper-middle and upper classes. A series of questions about

their mothers' work history and attitude toward working, whether she would prefer to work or not, irrespective of her present employment, were asked. They found that 60% of the mothers preferred working. They grouped the professional and white-collar groups as presumably more positively oriented toward work than the blue-collar workers.

Elizabeth Douvan (1963) also inferred mothers' attitude towards working from whether or not they worked full or part-time, the assumption being that women who worked part-time did so because they wanted to work rather than as a result of economic need.

These studies cannot be considered to be conclusive, since the results were based on indirect evidence of the mothers' attitudes toward work, rather than directly determining her attitude through personal interviews with the mothers. Since interviews with mothers was not the methodology used in this research study, it was decided to eliminate this variable rather than attempt to infer the mothers' attitudes from their children's perceptions, from her social class, or from whether or not she worked full or part-time.

#### Part-Time and Full-Time Employment

Elizabeth Douvan's study of girls aged 11 to 18 years and boys aged 14 to 16 years is the major work that has been done on the differential aspects of mothers' working full or part-time. Douvan interviewed only intact families



in which the father was employed. She did not find any relationship between socio-economic class and the likelihood of the mother working. She also found no relationship between the age of the child and the mother's employment. Part-time employment reflected choice by the mother rather economic coercion; under these circumstances the mother is more likely to compensate for her employment to provide a positive model. In contrast, Douvan suggests that full-time employment, especially in the lower class is involuntary and the mother may feel burdened and harried, and therefore neglect and overburden the child.

Nye (1952, 1959) found that part-time maternal employment had a positive effect on the child. It is believed that part-time employment is a more gradual change for the child, involving less separation. Brieland (1961), Douvan (1963) and Nye (1959) all point out the advantages of working part-time. It is less likely to communicate to the family that the father is a failure. When the mother works only part-time, the father is still thought of as the major breadwinner. These researchers believe that the mother who works part-time has more time to spend with her family, more energy, and is less likely to experience feelings of guilt.

Furthermore, it is important to determine how long the mother has been working. If she has been working ever since the child was born, the child may not suffer from an

abrupt separation as might be the case if a mother suddenly begins work when the child is older. Burchinal and Rossman (1961) believe that the child whose mother has worked almost continuously since his birth, will be less distressed than the child who has grown accustomed to having his mother at home before 'losing' her to the occupational world. However, the researchers' results do not support the view that maternal work continuity is an important variable in predicting child adjustment. Nye (1963) indicates that the longer the mother has been employed the better she adjusts to the child. Presumably, the mother's adjustment in turn affects the child.

#### Maternal Employment and Academic Achievement

There is contradictory evidence concerning the employment status of the mother and the academic achievement of their children. Hoffman (1961) found that in a sample of 176 children from grades three to six in three schools in Detroit, that working mothers' children were less liked by other children in the class and showed lower intellectual performance.

Francena L. Nolan (1963) studied two groups of children, aged six to eleven and twelve and over, from 69 farm families. She did not control for social class or mothers' education due to the small size of the sample. The teachers of these children were asked to rate their pupils on a four-point scale in the following areas: academic

achievement, relation between the child's ability and achievement, acceptance by peers, acceptance of teacher's supervision, and evidence of home training. For the younger children there were no significant differences between the children of non-working and working mothers. However, among the older group, children whose mothers were employed scored slightly higher in academic achievement and acceptance by peers than children from homes of full-time homemakers.

Prodipto Roy (1963) studied the effect of maternal employment on the children's academic achievement and academic aspirations. His data was collected from a group of 1,343 students in grades nine to twelve in two counties in Washington. The sons of employed mothers showed lower grade point medians than the sons of non-employed mothers. The difference was more pronounced in the town sample than in the rural sample. The daughters of rural employed mothers showed a slightly higher grade point average than the daughters of non-employed mothers; however, the town sample showed the opposite result. Neither of the differences were statistically significant. A higher percentage of the children of the rural employed mothers plan to go to college than the children of non-employed rural mothers. A lower proportion of the children of employed town mothers planned to go to college than the children of non-employed town mothers. Roy concludes that the results suggest that rural families in general benefitted from the employment of the mother.

Durlyn E. Wade (1962) compared 355 seventh grade children in a suburban community in New York State, according to whether or not their mother was working. They found no significant difference between the two groups' scores on the Stanford Achievement Test. However, the working mothers' children had a slightly higher non-significant score. There was a significant difference between the two groups on IQ scores: the non-working group had a higher score. Jones (1965,p.55), interprets Wade's findings:

...this could be interpreted to mean that students with two parents employed actually preformed better, since they appear to be less intelligent than students with one parent employed. For these students, at least, there may be an advantage in having a working mother.

Morrow and Wilson (1961) appear to support this theory. They found that 47% of the high achievers as compared to 37% of the low achievers reported that their mothers were working outside of the home. Furthermore, Powell (1963) found that children of employed mothers showed stronger achievement motives than children of non-employed mothers.

Myrdal and Klein (1968, p.133) offer two reasons for children of working mothers being intellectually more alert and socially more independent than other children: "Firstly, because children of working mothers are led to take more active responsibility for their own lives and, secondly, because mothers at home are continually adjusting themselves to a much lower level of maturity than their own."

### Social Class and Education--Its Effects on Children

Brieland (1961, p.8), in an analysis of the variables that should be studied in any research on maternal employment and its effects on children states that:

Control of social class in any comparative research is essential. Otherwise differences that may be attributed to employment or non-employment may actually be related more closely to social class.

Frank Jones (1965), in a study of high school students in Canada, found that students from higher social class families stay in school longer than those from lower social class families. Students from the upper social classes are over-represented in both high school and college while those from the lower social classes are under-represented.

Porter (1965) showed that among families where the father's occupation falls into either the first or second highest occupational classes, 71% and 55% respectively, of children between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four, were in school compared to 38% and 35%, respectively, of children whose fathers were employed in the two lowest occupational classes.

In an Ontario community in 1962, 44% of students whose fathers were employed as manual workers, dropped out of school by grade ten; while 15% of the students from lower class homes as compared to 35% of the students from higher class homes achieved senior matriculation. (Hall and McFarlane, 1962) Furthermore, another study by Bancroft (1962) reports that the school grade attained by an individual was related to

the class position of the individual's family.

Fleming (1957) found that among grade 13 students in Ontario in 1956, 50% came from white collar families; in other words, were children of fathers employed in professional, managerial, executive, sub-professional, minor supervisory or proprietorial occupations. Hall and McFarlane (1962) state that only 15% of children of manual workers survive to grade 13 compared to 35% from non-manual homes.

Based on the distribution of Ontario males, 35 years and older in the occupational structure, the white collar group has more than double their expected proportion among grade 13 students. Among those Ontario grade 13 students who went to university, Fleming (1957) found that a disproportionately large number came from families where the father was employed in the highest occupational categories: professional, managerial, or executive positions.

Consequently, no matter how one assesses the situation, there is little doubt that children from the higher social classes are more likely to achieve a higher education than children from lower social classes. John E. Robbins (1948) gives evidence that social class is also related to intelligence, i.e., academic aptitude.

Jones (1965, p.20) concludes:

In addition to the evidence which shows that higher social class students possess the intelligence, perform better and have the income to keep them in school and to reach higher levels of education, there is strong evidence to show that they

want to achieve educationally more than those from lower social classes.

Slocum (1956), in a study in the United States reports favourable attitudes toward education among students from the comparatively higher socioeconomic levels. This relationship between the valuation of education and socioeconomic level was found to be even more pronounced among the students' mothers.

A higher occupational aspiration, is of course, linked with longer periods of education, usually requiring study towards a university degree. The goal of an upper white-collar occupation, then provides further motivation to continue in high school and to perform well and may be regarded as additional evidence to support the assertion that students drawn from the higher social classes want to obtain higher levels of education.

#### Occupational Aspirations of High School Students

Breton and MacDonald (1967) conducted a study of the future plans of Canadian high school students. Their sample consisted of students from 373 high schools across Canada. They found that about one-third of Canadian high school students thought that they would definitely continue their education after high school on a full-time basis. Another 20.6% thought that they would probably do so. A little less than one-tenth thought that they would either definitely or probably not attend post-secondary school at all. There were almost no differences between boys and girls in their intentions concerning post-secondary education.

Breton and MacDonald also found that about one-third (34.3%) of the students who intended to continue their education thought they would attend a college or university; 9.1% a business college; 8.6% an institute of technology; 8.4% a nursing school; 7.3% a teacher's college; and 11.2% other types of post-secondary institutions. Boys mentioned college or university more frequently than girls by about 10%, while girls mentioned business college and teacher's college by about 6% more than boys in each case. More than one-half of the students said that their parents wanted them to continue their education after high school.

Breton and MacDonald found that professional and technical occupations constituted the most frequently preferred type of career (38.9%). Service and recreation occupations were the next most frequently preferred occupations; 10.1% of the students preferred this category. Thirdly, clerical and sales and craft and production process were preferred by 7.2% and 5.4% respectively. Few high school students showed a preference for the following types of occupations: managerial, 0.3%; transport and communication, 1.9%; farming, 1.2%; logging, fishing, mining, and manual labour (less than 1% combined). More than one-quarter of the students were unable to indicate a preference for their future career. Girls were more likely than boys to show a preference for professional and technical occupations, and for clerical and sales occupations. The reverse was true for craft and production process occupations.



Almost one-third of the high school girls (29.7%) planned to work full-time after they had finished their schooling both before and after marriage, while another one-third (34.4%) planned to work full-time only before they were married. Only a few of the high school girls (1.8%) did not plan to work at all after their schooling. However, 32.8% had not yet thought about the question.

Social origin also effects students' occupational aspirations. Pavalko and Bishop (1968) conducted a study of 889 grade twelve students in seven high schools in Port Arthur and Fort William. They found a direct relationship between socio-economic status and college plans even when sex and intelligence were simultaneously controlled.

To a large extent the occupational aspirations of an adolescent are conditioned by the socio-economic standing of his family. This is reflected in the positive association between the occupation of the father and the career preferences of students. However, the association is not equally strong for girls, for boys, for students in their first years of high school, and for those in their last years. The sons of unskilled workers in their first years of high school are less likely to prefer a high-status occupation than the sons of managers, professionals, and technical workers: there is a 31.2 per cent difference between these two categories of students. The corresponding differences among boys in third and fourth year are much lower: 13.8%.

Boys from different social origins tend to be more alike in their career preferences in the last than in the first years of high school. This decrease in the difference between the occupational preferences of students from different status groups comes from a change in the distribution of the preferences of those students from the lower-status groups who survive into the senior secondary school grades; and the lower the status, the greater the change...

The increase that occurs with the number of years in school in the level of aspiration of boys of relatively low social origin is partly the result of a selection process in which students from the lower socio-economic statuses are more likely to drop out of high school. The extent of this process is suggested by the change in the number of students from each social origin category counted in the first as compared to the last secondary grades. There is about the same number of boys from high-status families in the first as in the last years of high school. (Breton and MacDonald, 1969, pp.277-279)

Breton and MacDonald (1969) also found that high school students' occupational aspirations are related to their mental ability, their programme of study, the region of Canada in which they live, the extent and type of information to which they are exposed with respect to existing occupational opportunities, and the flexibility of the type of programme they are in at the high school.

Sewell and Ornstein (1965) studied 9,986 Wisconsin high school seniors and found that there were differences in occupational choice by residence for boys; the proportion of boys choosing high status occupations increases as the size of community of residence increases, even when intelligence and socio-economic status is controlled. These differences did not hold for girls. Grigg and Middleton (1960) also found this relationship for boys only.

#### Maternal Employment and Parental Role Models

It is the family, of course, which is a major transmission belt for the diffusion of cultural standards to the oncoming generation. But what has until lately been overlooked is

that the family transmits that portion of the culture accessible to the social stratum and groups in which the parents find themselves. It is, therefore, a mechanism for disciplining the child in terms of the cultural goals and mores characteristic of this narrow range of groups. Nor is the socialization confined to direct training and disciplining. The process is at least, in part, inadvertent. Quite apart from direct admonitions, rewards, and punishments, the child is exposed to social prototypes in the witnessed daily behaviour and casual conversations of parents. Not infrequently, children detect and incorporate cultural uniformities even when these remain implicit and have not been reduced to rules. (Merton, 1968, p.212)

Lynn (1962, p.555) defines sex-role identification as

"the internalization of a role considered appropriate to a given sex and the unconscious reactions similar to that parent." "The mother is usually her daughter's primary role model." (Douvan and Kaye, 1956, p.7)

Ruth Hartley (1964a, 1964, 1961a, 1961, 1960, 1959) has done a great deal of work in the area of sex-role concepts. She has observed that one experience common to all children of working mothers is that they are exposed to a female parent who implements a social role not implemented by the female parent of other children.

The most obvious direct impact of the presence of a working mother in a household would seem to be related to the self-concepts and ego-development of the child. We would all agree, I believe, that ego development takes place at least partially through identification processes and that these processes involve parental figures fairly intimately. It is in this relationship that a working mother is, at some period of the child's life, most directly, unequivocally, and uniquely a different stimulus

object from the non-working mother...Whatever else she may or may not be, the mother who implements a work role adds a facet to the spectrum of social roles personalized by the identification figures available for modelling in the child's world. (Hartley, 1961, p.42)

Working mothers' daughters tend to perceive women as freer to move more widely, to behave more freely than do their opposite numbers with non-working mothers. They also see them as responding more positively to a variety of tasks and opportunities. It seems reasonable to expect their self-definitions, in terms of their sex identity to be both broader and freer of compulsion than those of their peers...(Hartley, 1961, p.44)

Just as a rat (or a puppy or a child) exposed to a more complex object environment becomes a brighter rat, might not a child involved in a richer complex of stable personal relationships be a more flexible and adaptive child...Similarly, might not a mother's continuing involvement in a part of the world outside the home serve as a bridge to a wider awareness on the part of the child?...I suggest that the work environment of a mother, when well utilized, might have 'stretching' effects on the child's perceptions and social concepts. (Hartley, 1961, p.48)

Nye (1963) also believes that the employed mother provides a more positive model for her daughter than the non-employed mother. Daughters of employed mothers are more likely to choose their mothers as an adult ideal. (Douvan, 1963) Hartley (1960) and Peterson (1958) report that working mothers' daughters are more likely to want to work themselves when they are older and when they have their children. Furthermore, Douvan (1963) and Roy (1963) report that adolescent daughters of working mothers are more likely to be currently employed at a part-time job than daughters of full-time homemakers.

Douvan (1963) found that daughters of working mothers scored low on an index of traditional femininity. According to Hartley, (1961) adolescent daughters of working mothers are more likely to say that both men and women typically engage in each of several specified tasks and that women liked to engage in various household, work and recreational activities. Also, they were more likely to see women as less restricted to their homes.

Hartley and Klein (1959) found that girls whose mothers were not in the labour force tended to sex-type more items than did the girls with mothers who were working.

Within this sample, the influence of age or sex on role concepts seems to be less decisive than the work status of the mother. Subjects with working mothers and those with mothers who are not in the labour force differ from each other in their concepts of sex-appropriate behaviour more than either group differs from an adult sample. (Hartley and Klein, 1959, p.63)

Raymond Payne (1956) questioned 416 males and 485 females from grades eight to twelve in several schools in Georgia, concerning their expectations of maternal employment after marriage. While only 24% of the girls did not expect to work after marriage, 78% of the boys did not expect their wives to work after marriage. He found that younger girls were less likely to expect to work after marriage and that there was an attitudinal transition during the high school experience in which girls develop greater expectations of entering the labour force as wives and mothers. The girls

expectations corresponded more nearly to the actual situation in our society. Unfortunately, Payne did not correlate adolescent attitudes toward the working mother and the working status of the adolescents' mothers.

Empey La Mar (1958) studied the role expectations of 1,981 senior students in the public high schools in Washington and 403 undergraduates at the State College of Washington. He found that the occupational aspirations of young women still tended to favour traditional feminine roles rather than occupational equality between the sexes. However, he did note a growing tendency for young women to view their role preparation in dual terms, preparing for both marriage and productive occupation.

Rose (1955, p.9) in a study of 108 male and 151 female students at the University of Minnesota found no difference in the occupational aspirations of those who had working mothers and those who did not. Rose concludes:

Among the female students, the outstanding fact is the vocational training of the younger generation in contrast with the housewife status of their mothers. Half of those whose mothers were not gainfully employed (111 cases) were expecting to go into professional occupations and another 22% were expecting to go into semi-professional occupations (only 64% say that they expect to be housewives primarily). The minority of female students whose mothers are employed as rather unskilled workers or as professional or semiprofessionals are equally as likely to expect to go into professional or semiprofessional occupations themselves.

Jones (1965) discusses how the family influences the educational behaviour of children. Through socialization, the child is taught the basic dominant values, attitudes and behaviour patterns of the community. Parents determine the content of socialization. The child accepts one or both of the parents as models for behaviour. A positive model facilitates successful socialization, a negative role model leads to failure. Parents must be regarded as significant in relation to the child's own objectives and aspirations. By defining values, goals and social expectations for their children, parents communicate the importance they attach to education and the more general values which aid achievement. The scholastic achievement is associated with the degree to which parents and children share similar beliefs and values. Parents are able to influence their children's academic achievement and occupational aspirations by means of their expectations. Payne (1956) in a study of eighth grade and twelfth grade boys identified the family as the major influence on their vocational choice. Simpson (1962) found that parental influence on occupational aspirations was stronger than peer influence.

Levine (1970) analyzed female graduate students at Yale who were in "women's career fields" and in "men's career fields"<sup>2</sup> according to the education and employment status of their mothers. Levine hypothesized that a girl's

choice of career field, her decision to work after marriage and childbirth might be related to factors around her mother's employment. Furthermore, since all mothers do not have an occupation, comparisons may be made using the variable of education of the mother. Levine states that the mother contributes to the creation of a life style for the family and that part of the life style includes the educational aspirations which are encouraged in daughters. Therefore, she concludes that the mother's own education should be related to the way she is a wife and a mother. According to Levine, there should be differences in the ambitions of college students which are related to the students' mothers' occupational and educational attainments and which are relatively independent of social class as based upon the fathers' occupations and employment.

Levine found that there was a strong relationship between mothers' education and the career field of the students. Women in the "men's career field" had mothers who were better educated as a group than the mothers of the women in the "women's career field". Not only were there more mothers with college degrees at a minimum, but 41% of the mothers of the "men's career field" group had obtained advanced degrees (graduate professional degrees) as compared to only 9% of the mothers of the "women's career field" group.

When social class was held constant, Levine found that the highest percentage of cases with better educated



mothers was in the "men's career field" group. When the level of the mothers' education was held constant, then there was far less difference between social classes in their relationship to career fields. Levine (1970, p.32) concludes: "The direction of the interrelationships leads to the conclusion that the better predictor of career field choice is, in this case, the level of the mothers' education, rather than social class."

Of the young women interviewed, 61% had mothers who had been employed during the subject's lifetime. There were minute differences between the "men's career field" group and the "women's career field" group as to whether the mothers had been employed full or part-time. Furthermore, mother's employment per se and type of job were not related to social class. The main difference between the two groups was the kinds of jobs the mothers had. When mothers were employed, the type of job was appropriate to the educational levels.

...a role model not only shows specific ways to play a role, but early in an individual's life, provides a broad orientation and helps the individual to develop attitudes towards certain kinds of behaviour. In this instance, the daughters do not seem to be modelling themselves after their mothers as employed women, in the sense of imitating their employment, but the mothers may instead have provided 'roles of orientation' toward educational and occupational attainments. The mothers may influence the daughters' attitudes about desirable female roles, and in turn, their own attitudes may well be related to their own educational achievement. (Levine, 1970, pp.35-36)

In concluding this chapter, the comments of Hoffman and Nye (1963) should be mentioned since they have perhaps done the most research in the area of maternal employment and its effects on the family. They believe that little has been done in this area due to a tendency for social scientists to shy away from social problem areas at a time when social science was just coming of age. The social scientists did not wish to be associated with social reform. The renewed interest reflects the security of having their field accepted as a science. New research is very different from the old research and reflects the methodological sophistication of social scientists to-day.

After reviewing the literature in the area, Hoffman (1963), comments that none of the studies done so far have found meaningful differences between children of working and non-working mothers. The few differences that have been found can probably be attributed to chance variations. When differences are studied separately within certain subgroups, the children of working mothers are different from children of non-working mothers. The categories that have been used effectively as the basis of these subgroups are: social class, full-time vs. part-time maternal employment, age of the child, sex of the child, and mother's attitude toward employment.

## CHAPTER II

## FOOTNOTES

1. "Maternal deprivation as used by Nye, et.al. (1963) refers to Bowlby's (1953) classification of the three types of maternal deprivation: (1) the partial deprivation of living with a mother whose attitude towards him is unfavourable. (2) the complete deprivation of losing his mother and having no familiar relatives to care for him, (3) the complete deprivation of being removed from his mother to strangers by a medical or social agency.

2. Turning to the distribution of women in professional occupations, the 'clustering' of women in but a few of these occupations can be demonstrated rather simply. In the professional-technical category of the 1960 census, there are 46 occupations, or professions, whose members have a median of 13.0 years of education. In 36 of these professions, 60% or more of the members are men. In eight of them, 60% or more are women. Since one group is comprised primarily of men, the other of women, it is convenient to refer to them as 'men's career fields' and 'women's career fields'. (Levine, 1970, p.2)

Levine studies nursing and teaching as the "women's career fields" and law and medicine as the "men's career fields".

### CHAPTER III

#### THEORY

The family serves as the major transmission belt for the diffusion of cultural standards. Parents teach their children the appropriate values, attitudes and behaviour for their future position in society. (Merton, 1968) Since children are socialized into the social group to which their parents belong, we would expect to find that:

HYPOTHESIS I: The girls' occupational and educational aspirations will be directly related to their social class.

However, we would expect to find that in addition to social class differences, there will be differences in the educational and occupational aspirations of the daughters which will be related to the mothers' working status and educational attainments.

Girls tend to model their behaviour after their mothers. (Douvan and Kaye, 1956) Mothers provide "roles of orientation" toward educational and occupational goals. (Levine, 1970) Through her mother's expectations and modeling behaviour, the daughter learns about desirable female roles. Her attitudes toward appropriate female behaviour—appropriate educational and career choices—are affected to some degree by her mother's attitudes.

The mother's attitudes and expectations are, in turn, influenced by her position in society—the social group to which she belongs—and her past experiences. In other words, the values and behaviours she teaches her daughter are those which will allow her daughter to function adequately in the social role her mother plays or to which she aspires. Consequently, a mother who is involved in activities outside the home and enjoys these activities will encourage her daughter to aspire to a similar level.

Furthermore, the mother who is involved in activities outside the home may bring home an alternative model for her daughter. The daughter of the working mother is able to identify with a role other than housewife and mother and incorporate it into her perception of her future role as a woman. The working mother may be more aware and able to discuss different educational and occupational plans with her daughter. She has had experience in the "world of work" and may be better able to explain the advantages and disadvantages of various occupations. The professional or career woman cannot help but bring a part of her work home with her, influencing her daughter's aspirations. The mother's attitudes toward her work may influence her daughter's attitudes toward her future work status. A mother who dislikes her work may create a negative attitude toward her type of work on the part of her daughter; however, a mother who dislikes being a housewife exerts a similar negative influence. (Yarrow, 1961)

In spite of the mother's attitudes towards work, the daughters of working mothers have the advantage of learning about maternal employment and its possibilities for their future adult roles, first-hand in their own homes, an opportunity which the daughters of fulltime homemakers never experience.

Working mothers tend to emphasize self-discipline and independence training in their children more than their non-working counterparts. (von Mering, 1955) Children whose socialization emphasized achievement, independence or individualism and the deferral of gratification have a competitive advantage over those children whose socialization emphasized other values. (Jones, 1965) Children whose mothers are employed are higher achievers than children whose mothers are not employed. (Nolan, 1959 and Wade, 1962) Children of working mothers are also more intellectually alert and socially independent. (Myrdal and Klein, 1968) Children of working mothers perform better in school and show higher achievement motives. (Jones, 1965 and Powell, 1963)

Therefore, given that children of working mothers are socialized in such a way that they become higher achievers, show stronger achievement motives, and display values conducive to success in school more often than children of non-working mothers, we would hypothesize that:

HYPOTHESIS II: Daughters of working mothers will have higher educational aspirations than daughters of non-working mothers.

Furthermore, since a higher educational level is related to the attainment of a higher occupational level, it follows that:

HYPOTHESIS III: Daughters of working mothers will have higher occupational aspirations than daughters of non-working mothers.

Mothers socialize their daughters according to their own values and attitudes. Their own attitudes are formed as a result of their own personal experiences. Mothers in different occupational positions have quite different types of experiences which will affect their expectations of their daughters in different ways. Since daughters tend to model themselves after their mothers, it is quite possible that they will model their aspirations after mothers. Girls whose mothers occupy top level positions are more likely to learn of the different types of occupations that are open to women than girls whose mothers occupy low level positions. Top level women may be better educated and have higher educational aspirations for their daughters than their lower level counterparts. Professional women are more likely to encourage their daughters to continue their educations in order that they may attain these higher level occupational positions.

(Levine, 1970) Consequently, one would expect to find:

HYPOTHESIS IV: The educational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' occupational level.

HYPOTHESIS V: The occupational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' occupational level.

All mothers do not have a career; in fact many mothers may never have worked outside the home since they were married. However, every mother has attained some level of education. Comparisons may be made on the basis of the level of education that each of the girls' mothers attained. Mothers contribute to the creation of a life style for the family. Part of the life style includes the educational aspirations which are encouraged in daughters. The mothers' expectations are formed as a result of her past experiences. Just as the working status of the mother influences her daughter's occupational plans, the educational status of the mother will influence her daughter's educational plans. Consequently, it follows that:

HYPOTHESIS VI: The educational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to the level of their mothers' education.

Levine (1970), in a study of college women in men's and women's career fields, found that the educational attainment of the mother was directly related to the daughter's choice of career field. She found that daughters in the men's career field had mothers who were better educated than the daughters in the women's career fields. Levine defined "men's career fields" as law and medicine, two of the highest level occupations in North America. Teaching and nursing were considered to be "women's career fields". Both teaching and nursing are in a considerably lower occupational level than law and medicine.



HYPOTHESIS VII: The occupational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to the level of their mother's educational level.

#### Summary of Hypotheses

1. The girl's occupational and educational aspirations will be directly related to their social class.
2. Daughters of working mothers will have higher educational aspirations than daughters of non-working mothers.
3. Daughters of working mothers will have higher occupational aspirations than daughters of non-working mothers.
4. The educational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' occupational level.
5. The occupational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' occupational level.
6. The educational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' educational level.
7. The daughters occupational aspirations will be directly related to their mothers' educational level.

CHAPTER IV  
METHODOLOGY

Sample

The subjects were all grade ten girls attending local high schools. Grade ten students were chosen in order to minimize the class bias in the senior grades. (Fleming, 1957; Porter, 1961; Hall and MacFarlane, 1962; Jones, 1965) Grade nine students were not chosen since many students are not required to choose their programme or stream<sup>1</sup> until the end of grade nine, and often have not seriously considered what they will do after high school. Girls were chosen because of the differing effects that maternal employment is believed to have on boys and girls; many of the studies are not clear on what effect, if any, maternal employment has on boys.<sup>2</sup> (Douvan, 1963; Hoffman, 1963)

One hundred and twelve girls from five different schools were included in the study. Three of the schools offer a four and a five year programme and the other two schools offer a three year programme only. The schools in the sample were selected by the local board of education and the high school principals. There are fourteen high schools in the city, four of which offer the three year vocational training.

The remaining ten high schools offer four and five year programmes and the possibility of continuing one's education after high school. The schools tested were fairly representative of the city's socio-economic groups, covering each of the main sections of the city.

The researcher was unable to control the selection of the individual subjects. Each of the principals was instructed to choose two or three grade ten classes which he believed to be fairly representative of the different programmes in the school. With an average of thirty students per class, a total sample of 350 girls was expected. However, the principals were required to send home parental consent forms with each student that was to participate in the study. Unfortunately, due to forgetfulness on the part of the students to request their parent's permission and some lack of co-operation on the part of the parents and students, the size of the sample was cut to about one-third of the original (112). There was no way of determining the number of parents and students who refused to answer the questionnaire nor the reason for their refusal.

As a result of the limitations placed upon the selection of this sample, certain qualifications must be made concerning any generalizing of the results of this study. It is believed that the sample is fairly representative of the city; however, further research must be done before any further generalizations can be made to other communities.

### Field Procedures

All of the questionnaires were administered by the researcher. Each of the schools was visited by the researcher during the week of February 21 to February 25, 1972. The researcher met with all of the subjects in the morning. The researcher either went into the individual classrooms where the questionnaires were administered or, in the case of two of the schools, the subjects were escorted by their teachers to the school cafeteria where they sat at tables and filled out the questionnaire. In all cases it was a closed setting in a general classroom atmosphere.

The researcher read a standardized introduction and set of instructions to the students. (Appendix I) The students were encouraged to ask questions about anything they did not understand or had difficulty with. The researcher gave the subjects encouragement in an attempt to make the students as comfortable as possible and to elicit as much information as possible. The students were extremely co-operative; they answered the questionnaires seriously and carefully. There were a few problems with the questions concerning their mothers' work status and occupation. Generally, however, they understood the questions quite well. From the time the questionnaires were passed out to the time they were collected 20 to 25 minutes had elapsed. The vocational schools required more time than the other schools to complete the questionnaire.

### The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was revised to meet the approval of the board of education and then pre-tested in a school in another city. Due to limitations on the amount of time available for research activities in the high schools, the questionnaire was limited to fourteen questions and consisted of one page only. (Appendix II) The questions on the students' aspirations and their parents' education and occupations were constructed for this research.

### Operational Definitions of Variables

#### The Dependent Variables

Occupational Aspirations of the students were determined by an open-ended question (Question 6). The responses were coded by level of occupation using a slightly revised form of Straus and Nelson's (1968) occupational categories.<sup>3</sup>

(Appendix III)

Educational Aspirations<sup>5</sup> of the students were determined by a forced-choice question (Question 5). (Appendix III)

#### The Independent Variables

Social Class was determined by an open-ended question (Question 10) concerning the students' fathers' occupational level. The responses were coded according to the occupational category (Straus and Nelson, 1968) that was used to determine the daughters' occupational aspirations and also, the mothers' occupational level.<sup>5</sup> Occupation of the father was used to

determine social class rather than income because of a general unwillingness to reveal one's family income and also because many children are not aware of the exact income of their families. Fathers' education was determined in this study but was found to be an inaccurate indicator of social class, since many fathers' educational levels were considerably lower than their occupational levels. Furthermore, children are more likely to know the type of work their father does than they are to know their father's education.

Mother's Working Status was determined by a forced-choice question (Question 14). Working mothers were coded according to whether they worked regularly or often. Non-working mothers included all of the mothers who had never worked since their daughter was born or who had seldom worked.<sup>6</sup>

Mother's Education was determined by a forced-choice question (Question 9).

Mother's Occupation<sup>7</sup> was determined by an open-ended question (Question 11) which was similar in structure to the question regarding father's occupation. The question was coded by the same scale that was used for father's occupation and the girls' occupational aspirations.

Stream or programme in which the respondent was enrolled in high school was determined by asking the respondent to indicate whether she was in the three year, four year or five year programme. (Question 3)

Religion was determined by a question asking the respondent to check her family religion: Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or Other. (Question 8)

Family Size or number of siblings was determined by Question 7.

#### Characteristics of the Students

Total Size. There were 112 girls in the sample.

Stream Distribution. There were 35 girls (31%) in the two vocational schools or in the three year programme. There were 77 girls in the three schools which offered the four and five year programmes. There were 18 girls (16%) in the four year programme and 59 girls (53%) in the five year programme.

Age. The average age of all the girls was 15.6 years. The average age of the girls in the three year programme only was 16.0 years, in the four year programme 15.7 years, and in the five year programme 15.1 years.

Religion. Thirty-six (32.4%) of the girls were Protestant, 67 (60.3%) were Roman Catholic, 2 (2%) were Jewish and 6 (5%) were other.

Family Size.

3	(3%)	were an only child.
11	(10%)	had one sibling.
23	(21%)	had two siblings.
22	(19%)	had three siblings.
16	(14%)	had four siblings.
11	(10%)	had five siblings.
10	(6%)	had six siblings.
8	(7%)	had seven siblings.
3	(3%)	had eight siblings.
5	(4%)	had nine or more siblings.

Over one-half (53%) of the respondents had three or less

siblings.

Father's Occupation (Social Class).

Level:	High 1	2	3	4	5	6	Low 7
	7(6%)	11(10%)	19(18%)	7(6%)	29(27%)	25(23%)	11(10%)
N=109	(For explanation of occupational levels, see Appendix III)						

Mother's Occupation.

Level:	High 1	2	3	4	5	6	Low 7
	0(0%)	11(10%)	6(8%)	40(55%)	1(2%)	5(7%)	9(13%)
N=72							

Sixty per cent of the girls' fathers were employed as manual workers while 55% of the girls' mothers who were working had Level 4 occupations (clerical work, technicians, sales clerks, etc.) None of the mothers were employed in the top professions or Level 1 professions. Approximately the same percentage of mothers and fathers were employed in Level 2 occupations, the women being mainly teachers and nurses in that category and the men being mainly business owners and managers.

Working Status. There were only 22 (20%) regular working mothers in the sample. There were 20 (18%) mothers who had worked often, 29 (26%) who had seldom worked and 41 (36%) mothers who had never worked since the subject was born.

Mother's Education. Forty-six per cent of the students' mothers had at least completed high school. Many of the



mothers had completed high school and had some other training such as nursing, business college or teacher's college (19%). Very few of the mothers had attended or graduated from university (only 4%).

<u>Mother's Educational Levels</u>		
1. Attended grade school	11	(10%)
2. Completed grade school	21	(19%)
3. Completed grade school plus other training	3	(3%)
4. Attended high school	23	(21%)
5. Attended high school plus other training	1	(1%)
6. Completed high school	25	(23%)
7. Completed high school plus other training	21	(19%)
8. Attended university	2	(2%)
9. University degree	2	(2%)
N=109		

Girls' Occupational Aspirations. Fifty-six per cent of the girls aspired to occupations in the top three levels; only 23% of the girls' mothers were actually in the top three level occupations. Eighty per cent of girls planned on entering the top four occupational levels.

<u>Occupational Aspirations</u>							
Level:	High 1	2	3	4	5	6	Low 7
	10(10%)	36(36%)	10(10%)	23(23%)	11(11%)	9(10%)	0
N=99							

Girls' Educational Aspirations: Thirty-seven (33%) of the girls planned on going to work immediately after high school, 24 (22%) of the girls planned on going to community college, 40 (36%) of the girls planned on going to university after completion of high school and 10(9%) of the girls planned on

entering some other type of training after completion of high school. Altogether, two-thirds of the girls planned on continuing their education after high school. As stated earlier, Breton and MacDonald (1967) found that one-third of the Canadian high school students definitely planned on continuing their education after high school and another 22% would probably do so. It appears that the girls aspirations reported in this study are considerably higher than the aspirations of the girls in Breton and MacDonald's study.

## CHAPTER IV

## FOOTNOTES

1. The term "stream" or "programme" traditionally referred to a system established by Premier Robarts in Ontario whose purpose was to provide an alternative to the traditional arts and science education. The premier established four possible streams that a student could enter: arts and science, technical, commercial or occupational (vocational). The first three streams were offered as either four or five year programmes, but the vocational stream was offered as a terminal three year programme only. At the time that this study was carried out, all the schools in Ontario were in the midst of changing their programmes in an attempt to eliminate the streaming. The students appeared to perceive themselves as being in a stream, however. Those in the three year programme were all in the vocational stream and most of the girls in the four year stream were in the commercial stream. Most of the girls in the five year stream were in the arts and science programme which prepares them for university.

2. Hoffman (1963) believes that although maternal employment might affect all children's concepts of the woman's role, it should affect only the girls' self-concept, unless the mother's working also reflects something about the father. Douvan (1963) found that lower-class boys whose mothers work full-time are least likely to name their fathers as their ideal

adult model. Douvan believes that it is in these families that the mother's working reflects the fact or the belief that the father is an economic failure. The available data suggests that maternal employment has a more negative effect on boys than on girls. Hoffman (1963) suggests that maternal employment may have detrimental effects on children but that the more positive model presented by the working mother may counterbalance these effects for girls but not for boys.

3. A few changes were made on the original occupational scale used by Straus and Nelson (1968). Firstly, factory workers (including assembly line) are considered to be Level 7 occupations on the Straus and Nelson scale. However, due to the increased income of factory workers, it was decided to consider them as semi-skilled or Level 6 workers. Farmers were omitted from the scale since there were no respondents whose parents were occupied as farmers nor were there any students who aspired to be farmers.

4. All "Other" responses were coded as "Other training" since they referred to air stewardess training, nursing training in a hospital, business college, modelling school, and teacher's college. If the respondent checked more than one item, and one item indicated plans to continue their education and the other item indicated plans to go to work, then the response was coded as continuing their education, since it was expected that most of the students planned on going to work at some later date. Furthermore, there was one case in which the

respondent indicated that she planned to go to work and get married. Again, it was assumed that most of the girls planned to get married in the future, and the response was coded as "go to work". None of the girls indicated that they planned to get married only. If two items were checked which indicated plans to continue their education, the highest level of education was coded. For example, if "go to university" and "teacher's college" were both indicated, the response was recorded as "go to university".

5. In the case of a response indicating that the father owned a business and the value of the business was not obtainable, the business was classified as Level 3. Similarly, all salesmen whose incomes were unknown and relative positions (type of salesman) was not given and also all office workers whose positions were not described, were classified as Level 3. A typical response to illustrate the last point was, "My father works in the office at Chrysler's."

6. All of the responses which indicated that the mother had never worked since the respondent was born were coded as "never" worked although the respondent may have described in an earlier question a former occupation of the mother. Also, all of the responses which indicated that the mother worked within her home or did volunteer work only were coded as not working.

7. All secretarial or clerical workers were coded as Level 4, although some of the jobs probably carried more prestige and a larger income than others. However, this was impossible to determine. Work such as babysitting on a regular basis outside the home was coded as Level 7, while volunteer workers were all classified as Level 8, a separate category, and were included with the non-working mothers in the analysis. All responses indicating that the mother was a housewife and mother and all non-responses were coded as Level 9.

CHAPTER V  
ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Introduction

In order to test the hypotheses, the chi-square test of statistical significance was employed to determine if there were any relationships between the variables. The .05 level was considered to be an adequate indicator of significance for this study. All of the findings are reported in this section, regardless of their statistical significance since there are a number of results which are extremely interesting and certainly significant to the sociology of education.

The variables shown in the tables have been collapsed to facilitate analyses and to ensure clarity. The nine levels of mother's education have been grouped into three main levels which will be referred to as: (1) post-secondary education, (2) high school education and (3) grade school education. Mother's occupation, father's occupation (social class) and the students' occupational aspirations have each been grouped into (1) high, which includes Levels 1 and 2; (2) medium, which includes Levels 3, 4, and 5; and (3) low which includes Levels 6 and 7. Students' educational

aspirations were grouped into three categories: (1) go to work; (2) post-secondary training, which includes community college and other training; and (3) university. The working status of the mother will be discussed according to: (1) working mothers, which includes mothers who worked regularly or often; and (2) non-working mothers, which includes mothers who have never worked and those who have seldom worked.

Each of the hypotheses will be discussed in this chapter. The final discussion and implications of the research will be dealt with in the final chapter.

HYPOTHESIS I: The girls' occupational and educational aspirations will be directly related to their social class.

Social class was found to be directly related to the students' educational aspirations. Sixty-six per cent of the daughters whose fathers were in the highest occupational levels planned on going to university compared to 19% of the students whose fathers were in the lowest occupational levels. Forty-five per cent of the daughters of fathers in the low occupational levels planned to go to work compared to 16.5% in the high occupational levels. (Table 1)

Social class is directly related to the students' occupational aspirations. (Table 2) Seventy-eight per cent of the students in the high social class planned on entering a high level occupation. None of the students in this class planned on entering a low level occupation. Only 30% of the



Table 1  
Students' Educational Aspirations According to Social Class

Educational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
Go to work	3 (16.5%)	17 (31.0%)	16 (45.0%)
Post-secondary Training	3 (16.5%)	17 (31.0%)	13 (36.0%)
University	12 (66.7%)	21 (38.0%)	7 (19.0%)
N=109	18	55	36

$\chi^2 = 11.823$ , d.f. = 4, P = .02

Table 2  
Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Social Class

Occupational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
High	14 (78%)	22 (44%)	9 (30%)
Middle	4 (22%)	24 (48%)	16 (53%)
Low	0 (0%)	4 (8%)	5 (17%)
N=98	18	50	30

$\chi^2 = 11.875$ , d.f. = 4, P = .02

students in the lower level social class planned on entering a high level occupation. Fifty-three per cent of the students from the lower social class planned on entering a middle level occupation, indicating upward mobility. Similarly, 44% of the students from the middle social class level planned on entering a high level occupation.

Table 3 demonstrates the direct relationship between the students' stream in high school and their social class position. Of the students in the upper social class, 89% were in the five year stream. None of the students in the upper social class were in the three year programme. Of the students in the lower social class, 47% were in the three year programme.

Table 3  
Students' Stream in High School According to Social Class

Stream	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
Five year	16 (89%)	29 (53%)	14 (39%)
Four year	2 (11%)	9 (16%)	5 (14%)
Three year	0 (0%)	17 (31%)	17 (47%)
N = 109	18	55	36

$\chi^2 = 14.437$ , d.f. = 4, P = .01

The data suggests that the students enter the different streams on the basis of social class. When a student enters high school, she is required to choose a stream and her choice indicates her future occupational and educational plans. Unless she enters the five year stream, her educational and occupational choices will be extremely limited. The five year programme, alone, prepares the students for university. The three year programme is a terminal vocational course which allows little chance for advancement. The girls in the four year stream are generally prepared for clerical work.

The probability of a girl in the lowest social class level entering the five year programme are less than 3 to 1. Hall and MacFarlane (1962) found that only 15% of the children of manual workers survived to grade 13. If this is predictive of the girls in this sample, only one-half of the girls from the lower social class who entered the five year programme will complete it.

Stream serves as another empirical indicator of the students' educational and occupational aspirations. When stream is controlled, (Table 4 and Table 5) the relationship between social class and the students' occupational and educational aspirations disappears. Since the students' social class appears to determine the stream the students will enter, and the stream determines their educational and occupational choices, the class system is perpetuated within

Table 4

Students' Educational Aspirations According to Social Class  
Within Stream in High School

Five Year Stream			
Educational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
Go to work	2 (12.5%)	1 (3.0%)	1 (7.0%)
Post-secondary training	2 (12.5%)	8 (28.0%)	6 (43.0%)
University	12 (75.0%)	20 (69.0%)	7 (50.0%)
N = 59	16	29	14
$x^2 = 4.556, d.f. = 4, P = ns$			
Four Year Stream			
Educational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
Go to work	1 (50%)	3 (33%)	2 (40%)
Post-secondary training	1 (50%)	5 (56%)	3 (60%)
University	0 (0%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)
N = 16	2	9	5
$x^2 = 1.158, d.f. = 4, P = ns$			
Three Year Stream			
Educational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
Go to work	0 (0%)	13 (76%)	13 (76%)
Post-secondary training	0 (0%)	4 (24%)	4 (24%)
University	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
N = 34	0	17	17
$x^2 = 0, d.f. = 1, P = ns$			

Table 5

Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Social Class  
Within Stream in High School

Five Year Stream			
Occupational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
High	14 (88%)	22 (81%)	9 (69%)
Medium	2 (12%)	5 (19%)	4 (31%)
Low	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
N=56	16	27	13
$x^2 = 3.448, \text{ d.f.} = 2, \text{ P} = \text{ns}$			
Four Year Stream			
Occupational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
High	0 (0%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)
Medium	2 (100%)	5 (83%)	4 (100%)
Low	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
N=12	2	6	4
$x^2 = 1.086, \text{ d.f.} = 2, \text{ P} = \text{ns}$			
Three Year Stream			
Occupational Aspirations	Social Class		
	Upper n (%)	Middle n (%)	Lower n (%)
High	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Medium	0 (0%)	14 (78%)	7 (58%)
Low	0 (0%)	4 (22%)	5 (42%)
N=30	0	18	12
$x^2 = 1.294, \text{ d.f.} = 1, \text{ P} = \text{ns}$			

the school system. There is little chance for girls from the lower class to become upwardly mobile.

However, it was found that the daughters of manual workers who did enter the five year programme did not have significantly lower aspirations than the daughters of non-manual workers. Han Young Kim (1969) in a study of high school students in St. Thomas, Ontario, found that the original direct relationship between the social class position of the family and educational aspirations of the adolescents increased under the mode of familial reference and decreased under the mode of extra-familial reference. It follows that the student who models himself after a person outside of the family is less likely to have aspirations related to his social class position. In the present study, it is possible that the daughters in the lower social class who aspired to a higher level occupation and chose the five year stream, may have modeled themselves after a person outside the family who had an educational and occupational position of a higher level than her mother or father. Unfortunately, the variable of an extra-familial reference was not dealt with in the questionnaire. Therefore, the influence of an extra-familial reference remains speculative.

HYPOTHESIS II: Daughters of working mothers will have higher educational aspirations than daughters of non-working mothers.

Twenty-two (20%) of the students reported that

their mothers had worked "regularly", twenty (18%) had worked "often", twenty-nine (26%) had worked "seldom", and forty-one (36%) had "never" worked. All of the mothers who had worked "regularly" and "often" (42 or 38%) are considered to be working mothers in the following analysis. All of the mothers who had worked "seldom" and "never" ( 70 or 62%) are considered to be non-working mothers. The mothers who had worked "regularly" or "often" are the only mothers who could be considered to be "career-oriented" or who would consider work to be a major part of their daily lives. These are the mothers whose attitudes and values were expected to be influenced by their status and consequently, might influence their daughters' educational and occupational aspirations.

When the daughters of working and non-working mothers were compared according to their educational aspirations, there was a random distribution of educational aspirations between the two groups. The hypothesis that states that the daughters of working mothers will have higher educational aspirations than the daughters of non-working mothers has not been supported. (Table 6)

The educational aspirations of the daughters of working mothers and non-working mothers were then compared with the educational level of their mothers. When the daughters of mothers who had a post-secondary education were compared, it was found that all of the daughters of working mothers planned to continue their education after high school while

73% of the daughters of non-working mothers planned to continue their education after high school. None of the daughters of working mothers whose mothers had a post-secondary education planned to go to work immediately after high school compared to 27% of the daughters of non-working mothers. However, when the daughters of mothers who had a high school or grade school education were compared, their educational aspirations were unrelated to their mothers' working status. It appears that it is only those working mothers who have attained a higher education who exert a positive influence on their daughters' educational aspirations. (Table 7) The working status of mothers who have a grade school or a high school education effect their daughters' educational aspirations.

Table 6

Students' Educational Aspirations According to the Mothers' Working Status

Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Working Status	
	Working n (%)	Non-working n (%)
Go to work	14 (33%)	23 (33%)
Post-secondary training	13 (31%)	21 (31%)
University	15 (36%)	25 (36%)
N = 111	42	69
$\chi^2 = .002, d.f. = 4, P = ns$		



Table 7

Students' Educational Aspirations According to Mothers' Education and Working Status

Working Mothers				
Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Education			Grade School n (%)
	Post-secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)	
Go to work	0 (0%)	7 (50%)	5 (42%)	
Post-secondary training	7 (50%)	3 (21%)	3 (25%)	
University	7 (50%)	4 (29%)	4 (33%)	
N = 40	14	14	12	
-----				
Non-working Mothers				
Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Education			Grade School n (%)
	Post-secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)	
Go to work	3 (27%)	10 (29%)	10 (46%)	
Post-secondary training	1 (9%)	14 (40%)	6 (27%)	
University	7 (64%)	11 (31%)	6 (27%)	
N = 68	11	35	22	

The girls in the sample had already attained an educational level comparable to or higher than the mothers who had a grade school or high school education. The mother who is working at an occupational level comparable to her high school

education may not have expected her daughter to reach a higher position than herself. Consequently, she would not have encouraged her daughter to continue her education after high school any more than the non-working mother with a comparable educational level. A high school education is considered to be a minimum educational requirement for most jobs. Any mother, regardless of her working status would probably encourage her daughter to at least complete high school. It is only the working mother who has attained a higher level of education who would serve as a model for alternative educational aspirations. The professional or career woman brings home a part of her work. Her daughter is better able to realize and more likely to aspire to a higher level education than the daughter of the highly educated mother who does not work. The more highly educated mother who stays at home appears to exert a more negative influence on her daughter; she suggests by her own actions that post-secondary education is of little use to a woman who is a housewife and mother, only. The daughter of the highly educated non-working mother who models her behaviour after her mother and plans to not work after she is married and has her family may believe that further education is insignificant. Her aspirations might be to start work immediately after high school at an occupation which requires little additional training, perhaps planning to quit the job after marriage. It would be interesting to

study the girls plans concerning work after marriage to discover if the girls whose mothers had post-secondary educations and were working were more likely to plan on working after marriage than the daughters of non-working mothers who had post-secondary educations. The data suggests that these girls who plan to work after high school are not planning on entering a "career" since their mothers' educational level suggests that they were aware of available educational opportunities which would lead them into a career.

The working mothers and the non-working mothers in the different educational levels were then compared according to the fathers' occupational level or social class position. (Table 8) Of the working mothers with high level educations, 13 1/3 % had husbands who were occupied in the high level occupations, while 55% of the non-working mothers with a high educational level had husbands who were occupied in the high level positions. The majority (53%) of the working mothers with high educational attainments had husbands in the middle social class level.

Since the daughters of working mothers with high level educations had higher educational aspirations than the daughters of non-working mothers with high level educations and since the working mothers were mainly from the middle class families, it appears that the working status of high educational level mothers counteracts the negative effect of the social class position of the family on the girls' educational

Table 8

Social Class According to the Working Status of Mothers within  
Mothers' Educational Level

Mothers with Post-secondary Education			
Social Class	Working Status		Non-working n (%)
	Working n (%)		
Upper	2 (13.3%)		6 (55%)
Middle	8 (53.3%)		4 (36%)
Lower	5 (33.3%)		1 (9%)
N = 26	15		11
-----			
Mothers with High School Education			
Social Class	Working Status		Non-Working n (%)
	Working n (%)		
Upper	3 (17%)		6 (19%)
Middle	10 (56%)		18 (56%)
Lower	5 (27%)		8 (25%)
N = 50	18		32
-----			
Mothers with Grade School Education			
Social Class	Working Status		Non-working n (%)
	Working n (%)		
Upper	0 (0%)		0 (0%)
Middle	2 (22%)		11 (50%)
Lower	7 (78%)		11 (50%)
N = 31	9		22

aspirations. This relationship holds only for those working mothers who have a post-secondary education. Working and non-working mothers with a high school education are randomly distributed among the families of the different social classes. Working mothers with lower levels of education tend to be in families where the occupational level of the father is lower than the non-working mothers with lower level educations.

As a result, the educational aspirations of the daughters of working mothers who have a post-secondary education tend to be related to their mothers' educational level. Their aspirations are higher than the daughters of non-working mothers with post-secondary educations in spite of the fact that the daughters of non-working mothers with post-secondary educations are from a higher social class.

The daughters of working mothers with a post-secondary education were more likely to plan on entering a post-secondary educational institution other than university, than were the daughters of non-working mothers with post-secondary educations. The daughters of working mothers with a post-secondary education tended to be oriented towards a specific career requiring a specific type of post-secondary education, rather than the more general university programme. University may be a more desirable form of post-secondary education for girls who will enter the higher social classes and do not plan to work after marriage. A university education is an asset to wives of professional men, not as a means of acquiring a

career, but rather as a valuable asset in the social class to which the husband belongs. The career-oriented girls may be more likely to choose those types of post-secondary institutions, such as nursing schools, business schools or community colleges which, at the present time prepare girls for a more specific type of occupation than university.

HYPOTHESIS III: Daughters of working mothers will have higher occupational aspirations than daughters of non-working mothers.

No relationship was found to exist between the occupational aspirations of the students and their mothers' working status. The students were equally as likely to choose a high of medium level occupation, regardless of their mothers' working status. (Table 9)

Table 9

Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Mothers' Working Status

Occupational Aspirations	Working Status	
	Working n (%)	Non-Working n (%)
High	18 (46%)	28 (47%)
Medium	17 (44%)	27 (45%)
Low	4 (10%)	5 (8%)
N = 99	39	60
$\chi^2 = .105, \text{ d.f.} = 2, P = \text{ns}$		

All of the girls planned to go to work at some time after they had completed their education. Most of the girls planned to enter an occupation which required some post-secondary education. The students appeared to be "career-oriented", having a fairly specific idea of what they planned to do. Their occupational choices were fairly realistic when compared with their educational streams and aspirations. However, their occupational choices were extremely limited, being very traditional in scope. Most of the girls planned to enter the traditional women's occupations of nurse, teacher, secretary, sales clerk, model, stewardess, lab and dental technician, etc. However, here there was a slight difference between the daughters of working and non-working mothers. Twenty-three per cent of the daughters of working mothers planned to enter what have traditionally been "men's career fields", compared to only 10% of the daughters of non-working mothers. Furthermore, two of the daughters of working mothers aspired to occupations which have been almost completely closed to women--mechanic and engineer. The other seven daughters of working mothers planned on entering the fields of law, psychology, journalism, psychiatry, and retailing. The six daughters of non-working mothers planned on entering the fields of university teaching, obstetrics, forestry, research consulting, and law.

The available research studies on the effects of mothers' working status have reported that daughters of working

mothers perceive women as able to move more freely and more widely than the daughters of non-working mothers. The work environment of the mother may have "stretching" effects on the child's perceptions and social concepts. (Hartley, 1961)

Hartley (1960) and Peterson (1958) reported that daughters of working mothers are more likely to want to work when they are older and when they have their children. Hartley (1961) and Douvan (1963) found that working mothers' daughters scored lower on a traditional femininity scale and saw women and men as more likely to engage in similar tasks than did daughters of non-working mothers. These studies add support to these findings that working mothers' daughters are more likely to plan on entering a "male profession". The difference between the working mothers daughters and the non-working mothers' daughters occupational aspirations did not show up on the occupational scale due to the types of groupings in the scale. The scale did not distinguish between occupations characteristic of the different sexes which are categorized in the same level. Also, by grouping the first two levels into "high occupations", differences between such occupations as "elementary school teacher" and "university teacher" do not appear.

Upon examining the occupational aspirations of the students in the middle class, it appears that 60% of the daughters of working mothers compared to 42% of the daughters of non-working mothers planned to enter high level occupations. (Table 10) All of the students in the top social class planned



Table 10

Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Mothers' Working Status within Social Class

Upper Social Class			
Occupational Aspirations	Working Status		Non-Working n (%)
	Working n (%)		
High	3 (60%)		11 (85%)
Medium	2 (40%)		2 (15%)
Low	0 (0%)		0 (0%)
N = 18	5		13
$x^2 = 3.794$ , d.f. = 1, P = ns			
-----			
Middle Social Class			
Occupational Aspirations	Working Status		Non-Working n (%)
	Working n (%)		
High	12 (60%)		11 (42%)
Medium	7 (35%)		14 (54%)
Low	1 (5%)		1 (4%)
N = 46	20		26
$x^2 = 1.585$ , d.f. = 2, P = ns			
-----			
Lower Social Class			
Occupational Aspirations	Working Status		Non-Working n (%)
	Working n (%)		
High	3 (20%)		6 (46%)
Medium	9 (60%)		6 (46%)
Low	3 (20%)		1 (8%)
N = 28	15		13
$x^2 = 2.458$ , d.f. = 2, P = ns			

to enter top level occupations, regardless of whether or not their mothers were working. In the lower social class, it appears that the working status of the mother does not have a positive effect on her daughters occupational aspirations.

The girls who planned on entering the "male professions" were from middle class families who had mothers who were working. Consequently, it may be that in these families, the working status of the mother exerts a positive influence on her daughters' occupational aspirations. It is most likely that in the middle social class level families, daughters would be more aware of the impact of their mothers' working. It is possible that it is the mothers' working, which places the family in a position which will be able to finance a post-secondary education for their daughter and influence her to acquire a high level occupation. Perhaps, if the social class scale had been based on income, these families in which the mothers are working and the fathers are in middle level occupations, would have been in the higher social class level. The daughters of middle-class working mothers are able to see the positive rewards which the mothers working has made possible. As it was established earlier that the more highly educated mothers who were working tended to be in the middle social class, it may be assumed that the working mothers in the middle class level have higher level occupations which may serve as a model for higher occupational aspirations for their daughters.

Table 10 shows a negative non-significant relationship between the working status of the mother and the daughters' occupational aspirations in the upper social class for those daughters who planned to enter the top level occupations. Since none of the mothers who were working were occupied in the first occupational level, it appears that these working mothers were occupied in a lower level position than their husbands. As a result, the daughters of working mothers, by modelling themselves after their mothers, were aspiring to a lower level than their social class, as determined by their fathers' occupational level. In contrast, the daughters of non-working mothers may have modeled themselves after their fathers, since their mothers could not serve as a working model. However, this remains undetermined.

HYPOTHESIS IV: The educational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' occupational level.

There is a direct non-statistically significant relationship between mothers' occupational level and their daughters' educational aspirations. (Table 11) Fifty-six per cent of the students whose mothers are in the top level occupations planned to go to university compared to fifteen per cent of the daughters of mothers who held lower level occupations. The mother in a higher level occupation may be better equipped to discuss educational alternatives with her daughter and may be more likely to encourage her to aspire to

a higher educational level than herself than is the mother in a lower level occupation. Mothers in lower level positions may not be aware of the different types of education open to her daughter. Unlike her professional counterpart, she does not have daily contact with those people who have been through the different educational streams. Furthermore, her occupational level does not require the training that a higher level occupation does.

Table 11

Students' Educational Aspirations According to Their Mothers' Occupational Level

Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Occupational Level		
	High n (%)	Medium n (%)	Low n (%)
Go to Work	2 (18%)	13 (27%)	13 (48%)
Post-secondary Training	3 (27%)	13 (27%)	10 (37%)
University	6 (55%)	22 (46%)	4 (15%)
N = 86	11	48	27
$\chi^2 = 5.546, \text{ d.f.} = 4, P = \text{ns}$			

HYPOTHESIS V: The occupational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' occupational level.

The occupational aspirations of the students are directly related to occupational level of their mothers. The relationship is significant at the .05 level. (Table 12)

Table 12  
Students' Occupational Aspirations According to their Mothers'  
Occupational Level

Occupational Aspirations	Mothers' Occupational Level		
	High n (%)	Medium n (%)	Low n (%)
High	7 (64%)	25 (54%)	5 (21%)
Medium	3 (27%)	19 (41%)	15 (63%)
Low	1 (9%)	2 (5%)	4 (16%)
N = 81	11	46	24
$\chi^2 = 10.041, \text{ d.f.} = 4, P = .05$			

Mothers in high level occupations may be better able to discuss the available alternative occupations open to their daughters. They are professionals in contact with people who occupy high status positions. Mothers in the lower level occupations of factory worker, maid, and waitress, do not establish those very important work relationships with persons who are in a position to offer provocative jobs to young people. The social norms that surround different level occupations are very important to learn. A daughter who is not aware of the norms that exist in a high level occupation may not be able to function within the group. It is the professional mother who is more likely to provide the necessary socialization to ensure successful entry into a high status occupation.

HYPOTHESIS VI: The educational aspirations of the girls will be directly related to their mothers' educational level.

A direct relationship was found between the students' educational aspirations and the level of their mothers' education, significant beyond the .01 level. Twenty-five per cent of the girls whose mothers had a post-secondary education planned on entering post-secondary school training and another 67% planned on going to university. Only 8% of the girls in this group planned on going to work immediately after high school. (Table 13) Forty-six per cent of the girls whose mothers had a low level of education planned on going to work, and 31% planned on entering post-secondary training. Only 23% planned on going to university.

Table 13

Students' Educational Aspirations According to their Mothers' Education

Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Education					
	Post-secondary		High School		Grade School	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Go to work	2	( 8%)	18	(38%)	16	(46%)
Post-secondary Training	6	(25%)	15	(31%)	11	(31%)
University	16	(67%)	15	(31%)	8	(23%)
N = 107	24		48		35	
$x^2 = 19.179, \text{ d.f.} = 4, P = .01$						

Stream is directly related to mothers' education and is significant beyond the .01 level. Of the girls whose mothers had a post-secondary education, 88% were in the five year stream, 4% were in the four year stream and 8% were in the three year stream. (Table 14) Of the daughters of mothers with a grade school education, 49% were in the three year stream, while only 31% were in the five year stream.

Table 14  
Students' Stream in High School According to their Mothers' Education

Stream	Mothers' Education					
	Post-secondary		High School		Grade School	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
Five Year	22	(88%)	26	(53%)	11	(31%)
Four Year	1	(4%)	8	(16%)	7	(20%)
Three Year	2	(8%)	15	(31%)	17	(49%)
N = 109	25		49		35	
$\chi^2 = 20.872, \text{ d.f.} = 4, P = .01$						

When stream is controlled, the relationship between mothers' education and the students' educational aspirations becomes non-significant. However, a directional relationship can still be observed. Within the five year programme, none of the girls whose mothers had a post-secondary education planned to go to work. (Table 15) Of the girls whose mothers were in the top educational level, 73% planned to go to university,

Table 15

Students' Educational Aspirations According to their Mothers' Education within Streams

Five Year Stream				
Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Education			Grade School n (%)
	Post-Secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)	
Go to Work	0 (0%)	3 (12%)	1 (9%)	
Post-Secondary Training	6 (27%)	8 (31%)	3 (27%)	
University	16 (73%)	15 (57%)	7 (64%)	
N = 59	22	26	11	
$x^2 = 2.72, d.f. = 4, P = ns$				
Four Year Stream				
Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Education			Grade School n (%)
	Post-Secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)	
Go to Work	1 (100%)	3 (43%)	2 (29%)	
Post-Secondary Training	0 (0%)	4 (57%)	4 (57%)	
University	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (14%)	
N = 15	1	7	7	
$x^2 = 7.79, d.f. = 4, P = ns$				
Three Year Stream				
Educational Aspirations	Mothers' Education			Grade School n (%)
	Post-Secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)	
Go to Work	1 (50%)	12 (80%)	13 (76%)	
Post-Secondary Training	1 (50%)	3 (20%)	4 (24%)	
University	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	
N = 33	1	15	17	
$x^2 = 1.259, d.f. = 2, P = ns$				



compared to 57% of the girls whose mothers had a high school education only and 64% of the girls who had a grade school education only. Within the four year programme, comparisons are difficult to make since there is only one student whose mother had a post-secondary education. Furthermore, one of the students in the four year programme planned to go to university. This is a very unrealistic expectation since universities generally require a grade thirteen education in Ontario. Within the three year programme, only one of the girls whose mother had a post-secondary education planned to go to work, compared to twelve of the girls whose mothers had a high school education and thirteen of the girls whose mothers had a grade school education only.

HYPOTHESIS VII: The daughters' occupational aspirations will be directly related to their mothers' educational level.

Mothers' educational level is directly related to the students' occupational aspirations. Of the girls whose mothers had a high educational level, 75% aspired to top level occupations, compared to 47% of the girls whose mothers had a high school education only, and 21% of the girls whose mothers had a grade school education only. None of the daughters of high level education mothers planned on entering a low level occupation, compared to 4% of the daughters of mothers with a high school education and 27% of the daughters whose mothers had a grade school education. (Table 16)

Table 16  
Students' Occupational Aspirations According to their Mothers' Education

Occupational Aspirations	Mothers' Education					
	Post-Secondary		High School		Grade School	
	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
High	18	(75%)	20	(47%)	7	(21%)
Medium	6	(25%)	21	(49%)	17	(52%)
Low	0	(0%)	2	(4%)	9	(27%)
N = 100	24		43		33	
$\chi^2 = 23.868, \text{ d.f.} = 4, P = .01$						

With stream controlled, the relationship between mothers' education and students' occupational aspirations is non-significant. None of the students in the five and the four year programme planned to enter the low level occupations. Within the five year programme, 82% of the girls whose mothers had a post-secondary education planned to enter a top level occupation, compared to 70% of the students whose mothers had a grade school education. Students whose mothers had a high school education were more likely to choose a high level occupation than the other groups in the five year programme. (Table 17)

Mothers' education was found to be directly related to the students' high school stream. Girls whose mothers were in the highest educational level tended to aspire to a higher

Table 17

Students' Occupational Aspirations According to Mothers' Education Within Stream in High School

Five Year Stream					
Mothers' Education					
Occupational Aspirations	Post-Secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)		
High	18 (82%)	19 (86%)	7 (70%)		
Medium	4 (18%)	3 (14%)	3 (30%)		
Low	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)		
N = 54	22	22	10		
$\chi^2 = 1.262, \text{ d.f.} = 2, \text{ P} = \text{ns}$					
Four Year Stream					
Mothers' Education					
Occupational Aspirations	Post-Secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)		
High	0 (0%)	1 (14%)	0 (0%)		
Medium	0 (0%)	6 (86%)	5 (100%)		
Low	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)		
N = 12	0	7	5		
$\chi^2 = .794, \text{ d.f.} = 1, \text{ P} = \text{ns}$					
Three Year Stream					
Mothers' Education					
Occupational Aspirations	Post-Secondary n (%)	High School n (%)	Grade School n (%)		
High	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)		
Medium	2 (100%)	12 (80%)	8 (47%)		
Low	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	9 (53%)		
N = 34	2	15	17		
$\chi^2 = 4.238, \text{ d.f.} = 2, \text{ P} = \text{ns}$					

educational and occupational level. These girls appear to have realized that they must enter the five year programme in order that their educational and occupational aspirations could be attained.

More highly educated mothers may be more likely to be aware of the consequences of entering the "wrong" programme and will encourage their daughter to enter the educational stream which allows them greater freedom in their choice of future educational and occupational levels. More highly educated mothers may be more likely to discourage their daughters from entering the four year or the three year stream due to their limitations on the type of post-secondary education and occupational level that the girl will be able to attain.

Mothers with a lower educational level may not be fully aware of the advantages and disadvantages of entering the different streams. When the time came for their daughter to choose a particular programme they may not have been prepared to discuss the alternatives with her. As a result, the daughter of the lower educated mother may find herself in the wrong programme.

The two girls in the five year programme who did not plan on continuing their education after high school had mothers with grade school and high school educations. The mothers of these girls may not have been aware of the alternative programmes for girls who desire to go to work immediately after high school. The five year programme is a preparatory course

for university; it does not offer any specific job training, as the four year and three year programmes do. These girls may have entered the five year programme with no intentions of continuing their education or their aspirations may have been lowered while they were in high school. Daughters of more highly educated mothers have been taught the appropriate values to enhance their achievement, are able to receive help from home, and are constantly encouraged to perform at a higher level. Daughters of poorly educated mothers are at a disadvantage before they enter school.

Girls with higher aspirations who have mothers in the lower educational levels may be in the three and four year programmes as a result of entering the wrong stream. Post-secondary education is an unrealistic aspiration for girls in the three year programme, since most post-secondary educational institutions require at least a grade twelve education for entrance. However, 31% of the students in the three year stream planned on entering some type of post-secondary training. One-half of these girls had mothers with a grade school education only. Similarly, a university education is an unrealistic aspiration for a student in the four year programme. The only student in the four year programme who plans to go to university has a mother in the lowest educational level. One might hypothesize that this girl was not aware of the fact that a grade thirteen education was required for entrance into university or that she was in the wrong programme.

In this sample population it is clear that mothers' education is significantly related to stream. Furthermore, mothers' education is significantly related to students' occupational and educational aspirations when all streams are considered. However, when stream is controlled, the relationship between mothers education and the students' aspirations becomes non-significant. Consequently, it appears that stream is the main determinant and the best indicator of the students' occupational and educational aspirations.

CHAPTER VI  
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The educational and occupational aspirations of grade ten girls have been analyzed according to social class, mothers' working status, mothers' occupation, and mothers' education. Social class was found to be a main determinant of the students' occupational and educational aspirations as it was found to be significantly related to the students' stream in high school. The stream, in turn, reflects the students' educational and occupational attainments. As a result, the entire class-based system appears to be perpetuated by the school streaming process. A latent function of the school as an institution appears to be the re-inforcement of the existing class structure in the community. The students are only able to remain in the same position as their parents, or at best, advance to the next educational and occupational level. Most of the mobility, however, appears to be within the class level of the parents. The girls planned on entering an occupation which is comparable in level to their fathers and aspire to a type of post-secondary education to prepare for it.

Mothers' education was found to be directly related to the students' occupational and educational aspirations. It was also found that mothers' education was directly related to stream. Stream served as another empirical indicator of the students' aspirations; here, again, the system appears to be perpetuated within the school. When stream was controlled, the relationship between mothers' education and the students' occupational and educational aspirations disappeared. In summary, it appears that stream is the main determinant of the girls aspirations, and stream is based on the families' social class and on the mothers' educational level.

Mothers who were better educated tended to steer their daughters into the five year programme. They appeared to be more aware of the consequences of entering the terminal three and four year programmes. More highly educated mothers seemed to have higher educational expectations for their daughters, based on their own past experiences. Coming from a higher social class they may be able to exert a greater pressure on the school system to ensure that their daughters are channelled into an appropriate programme. They may also be better equipped to help their daughters with school work and may be more likely to encourage them to achieve than mothers with lower level educations.

Daughters of better educated women were more likely to aspire to a higher level occupation than the daughters of less well educated women. Again, this may be due to the values,



attitudes and behaviours which the more highly educated mothers learned are necessary to function in a higher social class level. Girls tend to model their behaviour after their mother and in so doing, were found to aspire to a similar educational and occupational level as their mothers.

The daughters of working and non-working mothers were compared according to their educational aspirations and their mothers' educational level. Working status influenced the daughters' educational aspirations only if the mother had attained a post-secondary education. In the cases in which the mothers had a grade school or high school education, the working status of the mothers did not affect the daughters' educational aspirations. The working mother who has a post-secondary education appears to be more likely to have a higher level occupation than the working mother who has a grade school or high school education only. Furthermore, the working mother who has a post-secondary education may be working for other reasons than economic need, since she is more likely to belong to a higher social class.

It has been argued that the mothers' attitude toward work is a significant factor in determining the effect of her working on her children. (Siegel and Curtis, 1963; Hoffman and Nye, 1963; and Yarrow, 1961) Siegel and Curtis (1963) considered the professional and white collar working mother to be more positively oriented toward her work. It is possible,

then, that the working mothers with a higher educational level may be more positively oriented toward her work and, as a result, may exert a more positive effect on her daughters' aspirations.

Faye von Mering (1955) found that the professional working mothers emphasized discipline and independence training in the socialization of her children. Independence is related to higher achievement in school (Jones, 1965). Daughters of working mothers tended to score higher on achievement tests and to have higher achievement motives (Powell, 1963). Traditional sociology has proposed that children who perform better in school and show higher achievement motives are more likely to continue their education than children who are poor achievers and show low achievement motives. It follows that working mothers with a high educational level are the most likely to exert a positive influence on their daughters' educational aspirations.

The discrepancies that occur in the literature on working mothers may be due to differences in the educational level and the social class of the mother. All of the studies reported in this paper used groups with different levels of maternal education and social class, making comparisons of the results of these studies difficult. It is quite possible that the studies that used lower class subjects whose mothers had comparatively low educational levels may have found no differences in the academic achievement of the children of

working and non-working mothers due to the fact that the type of work that the mother does is not a desirable model for the child, rather than because the working mother does not serve as a different type of model for the child.

The working mothers who had a higher educational level tended to be in the middle social class level. Their daughters had higher aspirations than the daughters of non-working mothers who had a similarly high level of education. Over one-half of these non-working mothers were from the upper social class level. It appears that the working status of the mother, when she has a post-secondary education exerts a positive influence on her daughters' educational aspirations, in spite of her lower social class position. This is of extreme importance since mothers' education is an indicator of the mothers' social class position apart from the fathers' occupational level. It is the mother who is the daughter's primary role model, not the father. In spite of social class, if a mother has a high level of education and is working, her daughter will have high educational aspirations..

No relationship was found between the students' occupational aspirations and the mothers' working status. There was a direct relationship between the daughters' occupational aspirations and the mothers' occupational level, however.

The occupational levels used in this study were based mainly on what has traditionally been known as "men's occupations". All of the clerical workers, sales clerks, and the

technicians were lumped together into one category; this resulted in almost one-half of the mothers being placed in Level 4 or the middle level occupational group. The researcher was not able to distinguish the different levels of clerical workers from the students' responses and therefore, was forced to place them all in the middle level.

All of the mothers were engaged in traditionally "women's occupations", with the greatest number being in clerical and sales occupations. There was also a significant number of women in the semi-skilled and unskilled labour group, such as waitresses, cashiers, domestic workers, and factory workers. A smaller number of women were in the lower level professions of teaching and nursing.

The daughters tended to have higher occupational aspirations than their mothers. However, they were still overwhelmingly planning to enter "women's occupations". The greatest number of students planned on being teachers, nurses, and secretaries. Consequently, there is a change occurring in the level of occupations women are entering. Relative to the type of positions women hold in our society and considering the age of the mothers, the students' mothers who were working in the middle level occupations are considered to be in a relatively high occupational level. Furthermore, the students who planned on entering the lower professions of nursing and teaching perceive these occupations as high level occupations

relative to the average level of their mothers' occupations, which are Level 4 or middle level occupations. These girls perceive these positions as being similar in status for women as the top level occupations of law and medicine are seen for boys.

All of the girls planned to go to work after they had completed all of their schooling. The daughters appear to be much more career-oriented than their mothers. The students have realistically chosen occupations which require specific post-secondary training or a university education.

It is apparent that the aspirations of the girls in this sample are still extremely limited in scope. The students in each stream and social class level tended to have high aspirations relative to what they perceive as available positions. Girls in the three year stream planned to be either hairdressers, sales clerks, or factory workers. These are the only positions which they appear to see as available to them. Their mothers had lower levels of education and lower level occupations. Therefore, they may have been unable to provide a model for any other type of position. Similarly, the girls in the four year stream perceived only clerical positions as being open to them. These girls tended to be from working class homes in which the mother, if she was working, was usually in a clerical position herself. The girls in the five year programme overwhelmingly planned to become

teachers and nurses. Relative to the occupational and educational experiences of their mothers, this was considered to be a high status occupational level.

Since the working mothers were all in the traditional women's occupations, this is the model that they will offer their daughters. One cannot expect their daughters to have exceptionally high occupational aspirations. The lack of relationship between the mothers' working status and the daughters' occupational aspirations may not be due to the mothers not serving as a "working" model for their daughters. It may not be the mothers who did not have an impact on their daughters' aspirations, but rather, it may be the school system which does not provide available alternative occupational opportunities for these girls.

As noted, the school system appears from this analysis to perpetuate the class bias in our society. It also appears to perpetuate the sexual stereotypes. Streaming permits only those students whose parents are from higher social class levels and may be aware of the consequences of entering a "wrong" stream to enter the five year stream. The girls are only offered the opportunity to enter the traditional female occupations. The large number of girls who aspire to teaching and nursing seems to indicate their desire to reach a higher social class level than their parents. These girls plan to enter university but the majority do not plan on entering a professional field in university. The mothers appear to have provided

the model to aspire to a high level occupation, yet the girls do not appear to be aspiring to these occupations. One possible explanation is that the schools have not provided the necessary information concerning the types of positions open to these girls. The school, along with other institutions in society, may be discouraging girls from entering such areas as science, medicine, engineering, and law-- the top level occupations. As a result, the girls cling to the traditional roles of nursing and teaching, which have been thought to be compatible with a "woman's disposition and the feminine role". The small number of girls who do plan on entering "men's careers" had mothers who were either presently working at high level occupations (relative to the average level of the students' mothers occupations) or had mothers who were not presently working but had been highly trained to work at a position they had occupied in the past.

The data lend support to the accusations of the women's liberation literature. Oppenheimer (1968) and Knudsen (1969) have shown how the number of women relative to the number of men employed in the different occupations has not increased as has often been reported. Oppenheimer found that the important female occupations in both 1900 and 1960 were the lower level professions such as nursing and teaching and such occupations as clerical work, private household work and certain kinds of service occupations, such as waitresses, practical nurses, and hospital aids. Knudsen found that from

1940 to 1966 there was only a slight change in the relative sizes of the two highest status categories, the professional and managerial positions for women, although considerable increases for men. There was a decline in the proportion of professional, technical and kindred workers that were female, while either a definite increase or a leveling occurred for every other category. Furthermore, the relative income and educational levels of women to men had also declined. The number of women relative to men in graduate schools had decreased. Consequently, it does not appear that the number of women who will enter the top professions in the immediate future will increase. Knudsen(1969, p.192) concludes: "Given the close correlation of income and occupation with educational achievement, it appears likely that women will remain in an inferior position for the next generation."

The results from this study support Knudsen's conclusions. Very few of the grade ten girls planned to enter high level professions. Those girls who are in the five year programme and appear from their school grade averages to be capable of achieving a top level profession, have settled for a lower level profession. These girls have high educational aspirations, planning to go to university, but they do not appear to realize that there are alternatives to teaching and nursing. The working mother appears to have provided a model for achievement, it is now up to the school system to provide the available information and courses to encourage



the girls to pursue alternative careers.

In conclusion, it has been established that girls are going to work and that they perceive their future occupations as "careers", in that they are planning a post-secondary training and planning to prepare for a specific occupational position. Their aspirations in both education and occupation are higher than their mothers were, but are extremely limited in range. Their mothers appear to have provided the appropriate role model necessary for achieving a high level education and a relatively high level occupation. However, streaming in the schools appears to have limited these girls' aspirations, by separating the girls into the five year, four year, and three year stream. The school system is attempting to alter this class bias and sexual stereotyping by eliminating much of the streaming. However, much more information must be provided to the girls as well as opportunities to choose alternative educational programmes in order that they may enter occupations comparable to their ability.

APPENDIX I  
QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUCTIONS

I am a student at the University of Windsor and this questionnaire is part of my thesis for my Master's Degree. I would appreciate your co-operation in answering these questions as carefully and as accurately as possible. Please do not write your name on the questionnaires. They are to be kept anonymous. No one will know who filled out what questionnaire. Now I will briefly go through the questionnaire with you. Please do not start filling it out until I have finished. I will be glad to answer any questions you may have about the questionnaire. First, you will fill in your age in years and check whether you are male or female. Then circle your level and stream. Fill in your average on your last report card. Check what you plan to do after high school. If you are planning to go to community college and then to work, check both categories. If you plan to go into some other type of training than what is listed, write it in on the line marked "Other (specify)". In question #6, give a full description of the kind of work you plan to do after you have completed all of your schooling. If you are not certain what you plan to do, then write down what you think you will probably be doing. In question #7, please list all of your parents' children according to age, from oldest to youngest.

Fill in their age and sex, answer yes or no to whether or not they are living at home (your home), answer yes or no to whether or not they are at school and describe the type of work they are doing if they are working. For example, you may have a brother who is 25 years old, is married, is not living at home, is not at school and who is a truck driver. In this case, you would put "24" under age, "male" under sex, "no" under living at home, "no" under at school and "truck driver" under type of work. Please include all step-brothers and step-sisters, but do not include yourself. If you do not have enough space on the lines provided to list all of your brothers and sisters, then write the rest on the back of the questionnaire. In question #8 please check your family religion. If your religion is not Protestant, Roman Catholic or Jewish, please write it in beside "Other". Answer all of the questions regarding your parents with reference to those parents or guardians that you are presently living with. For example, if your father has died and your mother has remarried, answer the questions with reference to your mother's second husband; in other words, the father you are presently living with. In question #9, make sure you check the appropriate category for each parent, not just one parent. Please describe your parents' occupations as fully as possible. Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX II  
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ years.                      2. Sex:    Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

3. Please circle your level and stream:

Level:    1    2    3    4    5                      Stream:    3 year    4 year    5 year

4. What was your average on your last report card? \_\_\_\_\_%

5. What are your plans after high school? (Check more than one if they apply)

- \_\_\_\_\_ go to work
- \_\_\_\_\_ go to community college
- \_\_\_\_\_ go to university
- \_\_\_\_\_ other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

6. Describe the kind of work you plan to do after you have completed school.

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7. Please list all your parents' children according to age (oldest to youngest)

Age	Sex	Married	Living at home	At school	Describe type of work
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

8. Your family religion: (Please check)

Protestant \_\_\_\_\_ Roman Catholic \_\_\_\_\_ Jewish \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Answer all of the following questions with reference to the parents you are presently living with.

9. You parents' education: (Check more than one category if they apply)

Father	Mother	Education
_____	_____	Attended grade school
_____	_____	Completed grade school
_____	_____	Attended high school
_____	_____	Completed high school
_____	_____	Other training (Specify) _____
_____	_____	Attended university
_____	_____	Degree(s) obtained

10. Describe the kind of work that your father does. If he is not presently working, describe the last job that he had. (Please be specific: State that he "sells life insurance" not simply that he is a "salesman")

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

11. Describe the kind of work that your mother does. If she is not presently working, describe the last job that she had. (Please be specific, as above.)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

12. Has your mother been working outside the home? Yes \_\_\_\_\_  
No \_\_\_\_\_

13. Has it been a full-time \_\_\_\_\_ or a part-time \_\_\_\_\_ job?

14. Approximately how often has your mother worked since you were born?

Regularly \_\_\_\_\_ Often \_\_\_\_\_ Seldom \_\_\_\_\_ Never \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX III  
OCCUPATIONAL INDEX

LEVEL I

1. Proprietor of a large business (valued at \$100,000 or more)
2. Top level executive in a large organization: senior official of a large business, officer above the rank of major, mayor and city manager of a large city, head of a large government department, etc.
3. Top level professional: CPA, architect, chemist, doctor, lawyer, university professor, engineer, etc. (all must have university degrees)

LEVEL II

1. Proprietor of a medium business (valued at \$35,000 to \$100,000)
2. Middle level executive or official or Top level of a small organization: district or branch manager, head of small department, police chief or sheriff of small city, postmaster, personnel manager, etc.
3. Lower level professional: accountant (not CPA), chiropractor, engineer (not college grad.), librarian, military officer up to major, nurse, optical pharmacist, symphony musician, public health officer, research assistant, social worker, correctional officer, teacher (elementary or high school), etc.
4. Sales Representative of manufacturers or wholesalers or other senior salesmen earning \$10,000 or more per year.

LEVEL III

1. Proprietor of a small business (valued at \$6,000 to \$35,000)
2. Semi-professional: actor, M/Sgt., warrant officer, oral hygienist, commercial artist, clergyman without seminary papers, computer programmer, mortician, photographer, TV announcer, physiotherapist, reporter, surveyor, tool designer, yard or station manager, interpreter, etc.
3. Lower level official and manager: credit manager, chief clerk, department or section manager, insurance agent or adjuster, shop manager, chain store manager, etc.
4. Sales Representatives (as above) earning \$7,000 to \$9,999 per year.

## LEVEL IV

1. Proprietor of a very small business. (valued under \$6,000)
2. Technician: dental technician, draftsman, driving teacher, inspector of weights and measures, investigator, lab technician, proofreader, R.R. tower operator, dispatcher, etc.
3. Sales clerk and salesman earning less than \$7,000 per year and clerical workers: bookkeeper, business machine operator, R.R. conductor, interviewer, storekeeper, sales clerk, route salesman.

## LEVEL V

1. Skilled manual worker and foreman: baker, barber, bookbinder, brakeman, heavy equipment operator, carpenter, cheesemaker, compositor, diemaker, auto repairman, engraver, plumber, fitter, hair stylist, horticulturist, lineman, machinist, policeman, shoe repairman, tailor, watchmaker, welder, etc.

## LEVEL VI

1. Semi-skilled worker and machine operator: aids (hospital, etc.), bartender, truck driver, short order cook, delivery man, enlisted man in military, guard, watchman, meat cutter, practical nurse, roofer, waiter in high class restaurant, factory worker (including assembly line), etc.

## LEVEL VII

1. Unskilled worker: attendant, trash remover, restaurant worker and waiter in ordinary restaurant, cleaner, farm hand, freight handler, stevedore, hog killer, janitor, laborer, porter, helper, window cleaner, etc.

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