REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The importance of the way parents care for their children has never been more thoroughly researched or more convincingly expounded than it is in the past two decades. It is certainly much harder to be a parent today, because the present day parents know more about the job than parents of the past, and therefore try self-consciously to do it well.

Family influence on personality is greatest when the major part of one's time is spent in the home and with members of the family. According to Groves and Groves (1947) "not only is the family's influence fundamental in contributing the growth of the individual personality, it is also inevitable, since the child's physical survival depends upon the protective function of the family. In the process of meeting, this responsibility of child nurture, the family also takes over to some degree what Bernard (1966, pp.421-448) has so carefully classified as the affectional and the socializing functions. "Even where no deliberate attempts have been made to give the child anything besides the care needed for his physical welfare, in the doing of this, the parental service becomes an influence which stimulates the development of the child's personality."

"In the small modern family aided by social provisions
of all kinds, children never before had such opportunities for enjoying physical and mental health, and for a full development of all their talents. Furthermore the evidence suggests that most parents are very concerned to see that their children enjoy these benefits to the full. The findings of Gorer (1954) and of Young and Willmott (1956) show that the duties of parenthood appear both to be enjoyed and to be taken very seriously and responsibly. The studies show that majority of the British people at the present time and many others share this view" (Maccoby, p.149, 1961). As Bowlby (quoted by Michael, Rutter, 1972) said that "...... mother's love in infancy and childhood is as important for mental health as are vitamins and proteins for physical health". According to Caldwell (1972, p.163) "the optimal environment for the young child is cared for in his own home in the context of a warm, continuous emotional relationship with his own mother under conditions of varied sensory input".


Studies such as those by Escalona (1972) and B. White (1972) within the United States and those by Candill and Weinstein
(1969) in Japan and the United States are examples of a host of literature that support the idea that the parent-child interaction pattern has measurable effects on the cognitive and social behaviour of the young child.

The Ministry of Labour, Government of India (1964) has pointed out that whatsoever the stage of economic or social development of a country, four factors prevail which lead women to join the labour force. They are (a) the inadequate income of the principal earner which forces a woman to work and supplement the income; (b) mishaps, such as incapacity of the bread winner; (c) death of the bread-winner; and (d) a women's desire for economic independence or for securing higher standard of living. There is also the desire on the part of the women to give expression to their own talents and skills.

Yudkin and Holme (1969, p.106) quoting De Alcami (1965, p.43) says that maternal employment has been seen in Spain as a possible way of increasing women's emotional and social maturity and to help to change the overtly matriarchal society in that country.

Increasingly, women are taking up jobs which take them away from their households for varying periods of the day. Many of them work only before marriage, or only during the first few years of marriage before children are born, withdrawing from the jobs during the period when their young children need
closest care and returning to work when their children are grown. But most of them continue their work during the child-rearing years also. The present research was undertaken with such group of mothers and their children to see the positive and negative effects.

EFFECTS OF MOTHERS' WORK OUTSIDE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN

The results of studies on maternal employment suggest that it does not always have detrimental effects on children, in fact, in many studies positive consequences have been found.

A psychologist, Lois W. Hoffman, and a sociologist F. Ivan Nye (1974), have made a survey of the research dealing with working mothers. They conclude that the working mother who obtains personal satisfaction from employment, who does not feel excessive guilt, and who has made adequate household arrangements is likely to perform as well as or better than the nonworking mother. Hoffman and Nye also find that the working mother provides a somewhat different role model for her children from that of the nonworking mother. Consequently, maternal employment tends to be associated with less traditional sex role concepts, more approval of working mothers and a higher evaluation of female competence (Zanden, 1978, p.359).

Research carried out in Great Britain, the United States and France has established that the performance of children, whose mothers work, is generally better at school than children.
whose mothers stay at home (Sullerot, 1971, p. 89). Even the findings of a seminar conducted by Dharmayug (1968) on the working mothers in India indicate that children of working mothers are more self-confident and self-reliant than those of non-working mothers.

Flora F. Cherry and Ethel L. Eaton (1977) conducted a study on physical and cognitive development in children of low income mothers working in the child's early years. Children of 200 low income families were studied as to possible deleterious outcomes due to maternal employment in the child's first 3 years of life. In an 8 year follow up, children of workers and nonworkers were compared as to weights and measures, IQ, reading, arithmetic and spelling achievement and ITPA. Children of workers performed as well as nonworkers. Association with maternal age, education, parity, subsequent fertility, per capita income, crowding index, household size, adult/child ratio and presence of the husband were also examined as to maternal work status and the outcome variables. When controlled for maternal variables, 30 differences in outcomes were found, 27 of which favoured children of workers. This study indicated there are certain advantages to children and families with limitation of procreation.

Changes in the partnership and family structure as a result of women in the work force were examined in a descriptive research project involving 200 women. Children were described
as more independent, self-assured, and capable of handling a variety of experiences as a consequence of their mothers' work. (Aswell, Kathleen M. Sancr, 1982, p.195).

The employment of the mother does not seem to hinder the child's school achievement, if the family is stable, it may even enhance it (Clarke, 1977, p.47).

Eagle (1964, p.57) conducted a study in four rural villages in Guatemala which examined the effects of maternal employment on child survival, controlling for the quality of alternative child care, the mothers level of education, the mothers overall fertility, and the family's income level. The results of her study showed an independent positive relationship between maternal employment and child survival, which suggests that the benefits of the work experience for child development outweigh its disadvantages.

Research on school age children of working mothers shows that, all other things being equal, there are two advantages when mothers work. In their case, the children are more likely to take responsibility for themselves and for household chores, and they are more likely to have a positive image of women and women's abilities, which can foster higher educational and vocational aspirations in these women's daughters. (Clarke-Stewart, Koch, 1983, p.345).
The Rapaports survey (quoted by Hann 1976, p.38) of dual-career families highlighted several advantages for children. The parents were forced by their heavy commitments to plan time with their children very carefully, so they used it well, and developed close relationships. Parents claimed that their children became independent and resourceful because helping with family work made them feel competent and useful. Some of the children definitely felt a sense of special merit because of their mothers work.

Occasional separation between mother and child are not necessarily harmful, and that, under certain conditions, they may be beneficial (Moore, 1964, quoted by Krech, Crutchfield, Livson and Krech, 1976, p.348).

Women who have been educated to expect a career can easily become depressed when they are at home all day with young children. In these cases it is better for children, if their mothers work and return home happy, because the quality of the care given to children is more important than the quantity. Although their lives become more complicated by having to deal with family and job, they seem younger in mind and body, and their children can benefit. Studies in Czechoslovakia show that children staying at home with frustrated mothers tend to have a more disturbed relationship with their parents than children who spend long days in nursery schools while their mothers work (Hann, 1976, p.34).
The official attitude in Eastern Europe is that women involved in satisfying work are better people and better mothers, who develop a deeper understanding of adolescent children (Hann, 1976, p.36).

The example of serious interest in outside work on the mother's part makes both her sons and her daughters value such work more highly. High achievement motivation in children is often associated with the early application of parental pressure for independence. If mothers who work take special pains to train their children to do things by themselves, instead of relying upon others to help them, then one may expect that the children of working mothers would be especially self-reliant and oriented toward achievement (Maccoby, 1961, p.526).

Roy's (1964, p.151) conclusions show beneficial effects in rural families owing to maternal employment. There is less delinquency, more affection, more fairness of discipline, more democracy and more cooperation in such families.

Goswami's results (1986) on the study of achievement related motivation in secondary school pupils of working and nonworking mothers in Shillong, were in favour of working mothers' children, especially the boys.

Not that all researches on the subject show that mothers' work outside the home is necessarily beneficial to childdevelopment in such families. For instance Anne Locksley mentioned Byrne
(1977) and Molinoff (1977) who have suggested that the rising divorce, illegitimacy and juvenile crime rates may be a function of wives increasing employment outside the home (Anne Locksley, 1980, p.337).

Bowlby's study (1952, p.46) on maternal care and mental health claims that "the prolonged deprivation of the young child of maternal care may have grave and far reaching effects on his character and so, on the whole, on his future life. One of the more specific hypothesis emerging from his general proposition is that one of the adverse effects of maternal deprivation is a delinquent character-development.

Pawar (1959) worked on "Problems of married women teachers in Baroda High Schools with special reference to family and child care." In this study major aspects of the lives of the teachers, in relation to the above subject were studied and classified. It involved information about personal, social, religious and family life. In the group studied 78.12% of the teachers came from unitary type of family, while only 21.88% came from joint families. Children experienced that their mothers hardly spared any time to hear about them or to hear from them. They face these frustrations and sometimes they show it off in their behaviour or activities. All the mothers expressed that when they educate the children of other people they are unable to educate their own and they feel very guilty about it. Pawar says that children till 5 years of age need the mother most.
Ved R.G. (1960) had carried out a research on home life of women workers of textile industry. Age of these mothers was between 25 and 45 years. Majority of women were literate. She found that child care and education suffer because of mother's job. She says that there are all possibilities of creating atmosphere for delinquent children.

Desai, A.S. & S.R. Oke undertook a study on the effects of employment on the children of married women in domestic service in 1957. They found that children of working mothers hardly ate any meals at all without their mothers. These children were uninterested in recreation, and planned recreation was not present in most areas. Sleep of these children was also much below the usual hours required and they were often ill. Majority of the children were either indifferent or just tolerate their mothers' employment.

Nanda P. Manocha, M.K. (1977) carried out a comparative study of the social behaviour of nine year old children of working and nonworking mothers. Social behaviour and seven other social traits viz: cooperation, competition, sympathy, aggression, negativism, ascendent behaviour and social approval were studied in case of nine year old children of working and nonworking mothers, studying in the schools of Chandigarh. Employment of the mothers influenced the children and they became less cooperative, sympathetic and showed indifferent social behaviour.
Jayalakshmi S. undertook a study in Madras in 1960, on working mothers and their children. The results of her study show that in withdrawing tendencies and aggressive symptoms there is no difference in the two groups. But the children of the working mothers showed a significantly higher degree of maladjustment symptoms, thus indicating a rather injurious influence of mothers going to work on the personality of the child.

Rajalakshmi also undertook a study in Madras in 1961, on the same lines. Her topic was behaviour problems of children — Pre school and early school age. She found behaviour problems more in working mothers children than in nonworking mothers children. In her opinion working mother in most cases cannot pay undivided attention to her children and she cannot be at home when the child comes back from school or perhaps even when he leaves in the morning. Often she was tired after the day's work and was perhaps not in a fit shape to listen to her child's prattle. She got less time both to help and to supervise her children. This loss of direct control affects the training procedures and is likely to lead to deviant behaviour in their children.

According to Rajalakshmi, when role patterns were changed between husband and wife, confusion results and this confusion was usually accompanied by conflict and tension at home. This tense and unhealthy home atmosphere contributes to the development
of problem behaviour in children. Moreover, the mother herself may develop anxiety and guilt feelings since traditional role expectations are internalized to a degree. An anxious or guilty mother is no match for a growing child, it is likely that she either over indulges him to compensate for the guilt feelings or rejects or ignores him totally due to the feelings, that he is the source of all her troubles. Over indulgence or rejection on the parental side can often lead to behaviour difficulties in children.

Vasantha Kumar (1964, p.13) on "India's working women" says that a mother who must both work and run a home may be too emotionally enervated to give the child all the affection and attention they need and children may feel rejected if parental guidance is not available when it is needed. During the age period from 6 to 12 years the quantity and quality of the home's contribution to a child's education depends primarily on two things, what the home has to offer and how the members of the household deal with the growing child.

Hoffman and Nye (James W. Vander Zanden, 1978) also found that mothers who are not working and would like to, and working mothers whose lives are beset by harassment and strain, are the ones whose children are most likely to show maladjustment and behavioural problems.

Society and people are in general prejudiced against
the employment of a mother with young children. It is argued that the long absence of mother from home hampers the development of child's personality and can lead to juvenile delinquency. But Kapur (1974, p.113) quoting the following says that 25 separate studies of employed mothers in the United States compiled together by Nye and Hoffman (1963), the European study of children of working mothers by Ferguson and Cunnison (1951), Scott's study in Glasgow University (1965), Fraser's study in Aberdeen, and in India Kapur's study of married working women (1970), the findings of Ranade and Ramachandran (1970), Barot (1972), Srivastava (1972), Dhingra (1972), and a few surveys conducted by various magazines by asking the employed mothers what they felt about the influence of their working on their children (Dharmayug, 1968) and also by asking the children of various ages having mothers working in a variety of occupations and professions, as to what they felt about their mothers employment (Eve's Weekly, 1973, pp.34-51), they all go to prove that mother's employment as such appears to be of no importance as an influence on the lives of children and does not affect their personality development, adjustment and physical and mental health adversely. It has also been indicated by the studies mentioned above, that it is not the quantity of time spent by the mother with the children but the quality and manner of spending the available time that matters and is of importance to the children.
The research shows that there are no differences on the average between children of mothers who work outside the home and children of mothers who do not work outside the home. Thus, the percentage of well adjusted, 'normal' children among working mothers is the same as among mothers staying at home. This means that the mother's outside employment is not a factor that relates in most cases to the child's adjustment. The important point is that the chances of the mother's working having a negative effect are no greater than the chances of the mother's staying at home having a negative effect (Kimball, 1978, p.227).

No consistent differences between preschool children of working and nonworking mothers have been found, however, when potentially confounding variables (such as socio-economic status, mother's age, child's age, mothers attitude toward working, stability of the home, presence of the father, and alternate childcare arrangements) have been controlled. (Alison Clarke-Stewart, 1977, p.34).

Reviews of studies on the role of maternal employment on psychopathology of the child are available by Hoffman (1963), by Siegal and Haas (1963), and by Stolz (1960). The studies cited provide evidence that maternal employment by itself is not related to personality disturbances (Lazarus, 1961, p.459).

Milten Senn (quoted by John A. Rose, 1959, pp.213-215) in his recent survey of child rearing problems of working mothers
in Russia concluded that there need to be no intrinsic conflict in the roles of mothers and working women since he found no destructive effects among the children involved. Dr. Alice Stewart, Reader in Social Medicine, Oxford, told the Health conference at Harrogate that there was very little evidence to suggest that children who attended day nurseries and who went home in the evening came to any harm because of mother's absence, as day nurseries provided sufficient care.

Basing his conclusions on the evidence from research studies, Stoltz (1960, p.779) also observes that the fact of the mothers being employed or staying at home is not as important a factor in influencing the behaviour of the child as it was generally thought to be.

Sally Wendkos Olds in the Annual Editions of "Human Development" 84/85 refers the following studies:

"As social scientists delve more deeply into the effects on children of their mothers working, their findings are turning out to be quite different from long accepted beliefs....."

"In 1973, Harvard University pediatrician Dr. Mary C. Howell surveyed the voluminous literature on children of working mothers. After studying nearly 300 studies involving thousands of youngsters, she concluded: "almost every childhood behaviour characteristic, and its opposite, can be found among the children of employed mothers. Put another way, there are almost no con-
stant differences found between the children of employed and nonemployed mothers".

She also refers to a study by Harvard psychologist Jerome Kagan and two researchers from the Tufts New England Medical Center, Phillip Zelazo and Richard Kearsley, who zeroed in on the possible effects of day care on the emotional and developmental progress of infants whose mothers worked, as compared to children raised by their mothers at home. As the yardstick for his evaluation, Kagan used three characteristics considered "most desirable" by parents: intellectual growth, social development and ability to achieve a close relationship with the mother. Provided the center was well staffed and well equipped, Kagan and his colleagues were unable to find any significant differences between the two groups of children.

Yudkin and Holme (1969, p.99) quote Cartwright and Jeffereys study which showed no differences in general in matters such as self-confidence, cooperativeness, perseverance, sociability and conscientiousness though there were slight differences between certain groups, mostly in favour of the children of workers. Certain negative characteristics like nervousness, apathy, withdrawal, exhibitionism, resentfulness, spitefulness, were also not more frequent amongst the children of working mothers than amongst the children of those who were not working.

The literature on the results of maternal employment
though conflicting in its conclusions, frequently suggests that it is not so much the employment in itself that causes the damage but the other factors which are related to employment. It is still widely assumed that damage to child development is the inevitable result when the mother is employed. However, when scrutinized under research microscope shows that there is no simple cause effect relationship between the two factors of maternal employment and developmental damage. Class position, the type of work, the age and sex of children, ordinal position, number of children in the family, rural-urban residence, attitude of the parents, substitute care provided, type of family and other variables have been shown to interact in complex ways in the final result.

Kimball (1978, p.228) says "looking back, it seems that whether a mother took outside employment or not was too gross a variable to relate in any simple casual way to the development of the child. One must consider not only whether a mother takes outside employment or not, but also her reasons for working, the age and sex of her children and the social class of the family as well as many other aspects of the family and work situation which will influence the relationship between a mother's outside employment and her child's mental and social development.

Dr. Maccoby, (1961, pp. 521, 522) a social psychologist examined the effects upon children of their mothers' outside employment. Although she does not doubt that the fact of the
mother working outside the home has some impact upon the child's personality, Dr. Maccoby concludes that this characteristic of a family's adaptive patterns interacts with many other elements of family structure in the production of personality qualities. According to her a mother's working is only one of the very many factors bearing upon a child's development. It may even be a minor one, when viewed as part of a constellation which includes such other factors as the child's inherited intellectual and physical capacities, his parents emotional stability, the number and characteristics of other children in the family, whether he is being raised in a city or on a farm, and whether he grows up in an extended or isolated nuclear family.

Hoffman's (1970, pp.211-217) study illustrates the complexity of the problem and the need to get beyond "working" as the major variable to be analysed. The sample included 176 white, intact families with at least one child in the third through sixth grades of 3 elementary schools in Detroit. There were 88 working mother families and 88 nonworking mother families matched on occupation of father, sex of child and ordinal position, including the important status of being an only child. Except for sex of child, all matched variables were selected because they were known to be related to maternal employment, (Hoffman, 1960) and because it was believed they might be related to the dependent variables. Pairs of families were matched by sex of child so that it might be possible to examine the relationship between maternal employment and the dependent variables.
separately for boys and girls. All statistical comparisons are between working and nonworking populations and with a few exceptions all comparisons are for matched pairs. The data reported here are based on questionnaires filled out by the children, interviews with the mother, teacher ratings and a classroom sociometric. The overall pattern of findings suggest that the working mother who likes working is relatively high on positive affect toward the child, uses mild discipline, and tends to avoid inconveniencing the child with household tasks; the child is relatively nonassertive and ineffective. The working mother who dislikes working, on the other hand, seems less involved with the child altogether and obtains the child's help with tasks, the child is assertive and hostile.

Shahane D.G. (1959) conducted a survey on married women teachers in municipal primary schools of Baroda as regards the effect of their profession on their family life. 40 teachers were taken in the study out of the total universe of 108. It has been found that the effects due to employment did not show the uniform results in all the cases. They showed fluctuations to a remarkable degree because of the factors such as religion, caste, number of children and their ages, number of elder members in the family, number of servants employed, the location of the school from home, the attitudes of teachers towards her own employment, the attitude of the husband and so on.

The different factors which were reviewed in this chapter are
sex of the child, substitute care, number of children in the family, ordinal position of the child, SES of the family, child's age, family type, and mother's age.

According to Hurlock (1983, p.354) "because girls and women spend more time in the home and with family than do boys and men, there is a sex difference in the effect family relationships have on personality." Most cultures expect males and females to exhibit different behaviours and to assume different roles in society.

According to Baughman (1971, p.217), "most families, moreover, deliberately train a child in behaviour which they consider appropriate to his sex role. Harry Levin and Barbara Fleischmann, writing on childhood socialization, summarize this situation as follows — the child learns to behave in ways appropriate to his sex because he is encouraged to do so. Parents have different expectancies for boys and girls, they treat them differently and expect different behaviour from them."

Watson and Lindgren (1973, p.307) quoting the works on this subject say "American behavioural scientists for a member of years tended to explain sex differences in children's behaviour in terms of environmental variables..... Some data by the Early School Admissions Project in Baltimore shows how mothers of girls and mothers of boys not only have different
perceptions of the behaviour of their children, but also tend to become involved in different ways in the life of their community."

Parsons (1955) and D'Andrade, R.G. (1966) also had the same opinion. Depending on the expectancies of the parents, boys and girls showed different behaviours. Saran's (1973) results showed that girls are found to have better social adjustment and individual development than boys. According to Crandall and Rabson (1960) and Emmerich. W, (1966) "during early childhood, manifestations of dependency are more frequent and more intense among girls than among boys." Kagan & Moss (1960, 1962) also say that dependent behaviour is more stable for girls than for boys, in contrast to aggressive behaviour, from the age of 3 to the age of 14.

"During the preschool years boys express more aggression than girls both in play and fantasy" (Maccoby, E.E., 1966).

Bayley (1964) studied relationships between maternal behaviour patterns and children's personal-social manifestations of Berkeley Growth study subjects (Institute of human development, University of California at Berkeley). He found that girls are more self-sufficient and somewhat less affected by maternal behaviour than boys are. Bayley's findings were also consistent with some research done by Kagan and Freeman (1963).

During the first 10 years of life, educational results
for boys are poorer, and they tend to have more emotional and behavior problems than girls. Several reasons have been suggested, genetic and environmental. J.M. Tanner (1974) showed that girls are born with slightly more mature skeletal and nervous systems and gradually increase their developmental lead throughout childhood. (Judith Hann, 1976, p.22).

According to Alvarez, (1985, pp.350-360) "Recent reviews of the available evidence call attention to a recurrent pattern indicating that mothers' involvement outside the home tends to have a salutary effect on girls. For boys, the pattern suggests that mothers' working outside the home is associated with lower academic achievement for sons in middle class but not in low income families (Bronfenbrenner and Crouter, 1982, Hoffman, 1983). Fulltime maternal employment may compound the under-socialization of sons (Bronfenbrenner, 1961). It appears that maternal employment increases the independence training of daughters via the ideological stance of higher educated, career oriented mothers. Sons fared better than daughters when maternal employment was purely a matter of personal preference. Daughters are generally less susceptible to environmental disruption (Elder, 1974, Hetherington, 1979) than sons and benefit more from the ideological stance of more highly educated career-oriented mothers".

Dolores Gold and David Andres (1978) studied the develop-
mental comparisons between ten year old children with employed and nonemployed mothers. This study tested hypothesis specifying differential relations between maternal employment and children's development, dependent on the sex of the child and socio-economic class of the family. An examination was made of the sex role concepts, personality adjustment and academic achievement of 223, 10 year old girls and boys with either fulltime employed or nonemployed mothers from working class or middle class families. The data provided some support for the hypothesis, children with employed mothers had the most egalitarian sex role concepts. Maternal employment status was partly related to the adjustment of children. Middle class boys with employed mothers had lower scores on language and mathematics achievement tests than the other middle class children.

Gilroy Faith D, Talierco, Teresa. H. and Steinbacher, Roberta studied the impact of maternal employment on daughters' sex role orientation and fear of success. They hypothesized that daughters of working mothers would demonstrate greater endrogyny and less fear of success than the daughters of non-working mothers. Results support the hypothesis. It is suggested that the modeling of a broad spectrum of sex role behaviours by the employed mothers was positively reflected in the daughters' self concept and mothers who work were influencing their daughters to achieve greater personal satisfaction and productivity.

Rollins, Judy and White, Priscilla N. (1982, pp.1141-
investigated whether significant relationships existed between 100 mothers and daughters (10-14 years old) regarding sex role attitudes and self-concepts. Three types of families were sampled, those where the mother was a fulltime homemaker, those where she was employed because of economic necessity and those where she was employed for personal and professional fulfilment. Results indicate significant relationships between mothers' and daughters' attitudes toward marriage, children and careers, but not self-concepts. Differences were also found between the three groups of mothers and daughters. Mothers who were involved in careers that were personally salient differed from mothers who were employed because of economic necessity and mothers who were fulltime homemakers.

Dr Maccoby (1961, p.526) writing on the effects upon children of their mothers' outside employment says that there is always a possibility of a mother's working having an opposite effect, especially upon boys. If a woman's working makes her dominant, then possibly her son will be in conflict about the acceptability of maleness and will find it difficult to succeed in the male world he must enter in adulthood. But quite evidently, there are many instances in which a husband approves and encourages his wife's working and does not feel that his masculinity is threatened by it. In such cases, the son's development should not be hampered.
But Douvan and Adelson (1966) report little relation between a mother's employment and her adolescent son's activities and psychological characteristics. Daughters of working mothers were more likely to share home responsibilities and participated in fewer leisure activities. Adolescent daughters of working mothers tend to admire and respect their mothers more than do the daughters of nonworking mothers.

According to Kimball (1978, p.226) daughters seemed to benefit more than boys from their mothers being employed. The girls admired their mothers and were more independent and aggressive. Boys were less self-reliant and less sociable. Kimball refers Hoffman (1963) in this—context.—Hoffman says that daughters of paid mothers seem most clearly to benefit from their mothers' outside employment. With younger children some interesting but very tentative sex differences appear. Hoffman warns that most of these differences are rather small. However they are consistent across several studies. If we compare girls of mothers who work outside the home with girls of mothers who are at home, the girls whose mothers are employed "appear to be more aggressive, dominant, disobedient, and independent". On the other hand, comparing boys of mothers who work outside the home with boys whose mothers are at home, we find the boys of working mothers "appear to be generally more dependent, they are more obedient, less self-reliant, less sociable and more likely to seek succourance from adults." These differences
have been interpreted to mean that the mother's working outside the home may have an advantageous effect on her daughter but a negative effect on her son. Perhaps the boy feels the mother's absence more, or perhaps the girl feels the absence as much but the more exciting role model her mother provides makes up for the absence.

Nanda P. Manocha, M.K. (1977) studied the social behaviour of nine year old children of working and nonworking mothers. Her results showed that the indifferent social behaviour exhibited by working mother's children was more drastic in case of the male children as compared to the change in girls.

According to the Modern Encyclopedia of Baby and Child care (1966), "Practically all studies of working mothers indicate that the ultimate effect of their work upon the development of their children depends to a large extent upon the arrangements made for the children's care during their absence. Some experts feel that it is advisable for small children to have the same 'mother substitute' over a long period. Others believe that a succession of people, or a group, can be just as beneficial for the child as long as they are not only competent and loving, but also able to impose limits on the child's behaviour that are congenial with the family's standards. Usually individual care is preferable before the age of 3 years. Later group care is generally better. When a child starts school, it is equally important that specific arrangements be made for his supervision
during the hours preceding the return of his parents."

Alison Clarke-Stewart (1977, p.34) says that stable, stimulating substitute care is minimally essential for the child's psychological well being. The supervision of the child while the mother is working is also relevant-particularly to the child's intellectual development. Unsupervised children tend to experience much greater cognitive impoverishment than those who are supervised, (Banducci, 1967; Etchart, 1974; Hess, 1969; Hieronymus, 1951; Hoffman, 1961; Nye and Hoffman, 1963).

According to Yudkin and Holme (1957, p.68) "when the mother was a capable woman and able to make satisfactory arrangements for the care of her children when she was not at home the children did not appear to suffer".

According to Maccoby (1961, p.522) "one of the most interesting features of the Glueck's findings concerns the importance of the kind of supervision a mother arranges for her children in her absence if she does work. It can be seen from the Glueck's article 'working mothers and delinquency', the quality of the supervision her child receives is paramount. If the mother remains at home but does not keep track of where her child is and what he is doing, he is far more likely to become a delinquent than if he is closely watched".

She also discusses about the importance of substitute care saying that if nurturant caretaking is divided between
two people — the mother during the evenings, weekends and early mornings and a substitute during the day, for the child. Discipline should be similarly divided. It would appear to be unwise for the mother to try to 'make up' to the child for her absence by being exclusively nurturant while she is with him, to the point of not exercising control and discipline. Equally unwise would be a policy of delegating to her substitute only caretaking but not disciplinary functions. In case of delinquency, as has been seen, it is often found that the mother has not arranged for such care, so that after school hours the child roams the neighbourhood unchecked until his mother comes home from work. It is obvious that under these conditions the risk is very great that the child will not learn the behaviour society demands of him. The adequacy of the substitute caretaker depends in part, not on the amount of control she exercises nor on how she does it, but on how similar her reactions are to those of the mother when she is at home.

Cynthia Epstein (1971) expresses the view that although grandparents may act as surrogate parents, this is only an informal pattern and not the normative one. The advantages of these cases is that the mother is not jealous of the child's love for its grandmother and the grandmother being an affectionate and loyal member of the family will usually take care of the child well and not expose it to bad manners.

Hann (1976, p.42), Jersild, Telford and Sawrey (1975, p.222)
also stress the importance of substitute care for the child. According to Hurlock (1978, p.504) "If the mother starts working after strong attachments have been formed with the child, the child will suffer from maternal deprivation unless a satisfactory mother substitute is provided — a substitute whom the child likes and whose methods of child training will not cause confusion or resentment on the child's part."

Krech, Crutchfield, Livson and Krech (1976, p.348) also say that stable substitute care, whether by relatives or others, resulted in greater self-confidence. However, when the child's separation from the mother involved frequently changing arrangements made substitute care, insecurity, anxiety and dependence were common results.

According to Munsinger (1971, p.301) the type of substitute care provided for the child affects the results. In lower class homes this substitute care is often haphazard. Children may be left with a neighbour or someone who may be responsible for many children in the neighbourhood. Often older children are free to roam the streets by themselves. The success of any arrangement depends on the attitude of the caretaker. If the substitute mother provides security and comfort to the child, it may sometimes be desirable to separate mother and child.

A study was conducted by Shenoy (1973) on the aspects
of the changing structure of the family of the industrial working woman including her adjustment pattern to her household in Madras city. Her results show that unless suitable and satisfactory arrangements are made for taking care of children at home, the working woman are found to be worried, even during their work, about possible lack of care and neglect of their children's needs. The smaller percentage of respondents feeling guilty about neglecting children show that satisfactory arrangements have been made in the majority of cases for the proper care of the children.

Children's development seems to be related to the size and composition of the family and the individual child's development to his or her place in the family structure. Both direct influences of siblings on each other and indirect effects of number and order of children on parental behaviour have been suggested to account for the complex relations observed (Bossa and Boll, 1966; Brim, 1958; Clausan, 1966; Fauls and Smith, 1956; Freeberg and Payne, 1957). Clarke (1977, p.65) says that the effects of parents behaviour on children's development is complicated by the presence of number of siblings in the home.

According to Hurlock (1978, p.499 and 1983, p.365) the size of the family influences the personality pattern both directly and indirectly. She says that the lack of adequate supervision and guidance, especially when the mother must work
to help meet family needs, leads to undisciplined behaviour in school, antisocial behaviour outside of school and personality maladjustments. The problem is greater for children from large families than for those from smaller families. While discussing about the other studies she says that more recent studies agree that the only child develops a distinctive personality pattern. He shows maturity of behaviour especially control over the emotions. He has selfish and self-centered personality characteristics that militate against good social adjustments outside the home. He tends to lack self confidence.

Hurlock gives the advantages of a small and medium sized family. She says that a child in a small family has self confidence and self assurance and eliminates the feelings of inadequacy. He competes as well as cooperates. The personality pattern moulded by a small family environment will favour better personal and social adjustments. The child from a medium sized family has also good social adjustments outside the home. He cooperates and develops a personality pattern that will lead to good social and personal adjustments. She concludes saying that it is generally agreed by sociologists who have made extensive studies of the effects of family size that, all things considered, the medium sized family — especially that with three or four children is probably the best from the point of view of healthy family relationships, and the large family is probably the worst.
Lieberman (1973, p.70) discussing on small families may that behavioural scientists have found that a child's emotional health is strongly affected by the number of brothers and sisters he has. Several studies of elementary and high school children have shown that the youngest in a small family gets along more happily with his brothers and sisters as well as with his parents than the youngster in a large family. Lieberman also says that scientists are also finding that the small family child is superior in a number of other ways to his large family counterpart. He is brighter, more creative, bigger and taller, more vigorous and independent.

According to Hetherington and Parke (1975, pp.446,447) "as family size increases, opportunities for extensive contact between the parents and the individual child decrease, but opportunities for a variety of interactions with siblings expand. A parents' attitude toward childrearing and the circumstances under which a child is reared will change as more children are added to the family. With a large number of children, particularly in families with over six children, family roles tend to become more precisely defined, chores are assigned and discipline is more authoritarian and severe (Bossard and Boll, 1960). There is little time for reasoning and extended explanations. More use of hostile, restrictive control by mothers, particularly in relation to daughters, occurs in large families. (Nuttall and Nuttall, 1971). In addition, as family size increases, the mother exhibits not only less attention but less warmth
towards individual children. Frequently older children are assigned the supervisory and disciplinary roles maintained by parents in smaller families. Because the parents in large families cannot interact as closely with their children as those in smaller families, there is less opportunity for over protection, infantalization, constant harassing, or close supervision of children. The results of this relationship are reflected in the greater independence, but lower academic achievement of children from large families.

Maynard (1970, p.170) also says that the child's relationships with other children with whom it shares the home are also of importance in shaping the child's personality. The nature of these relationships is largely determined by sex, age-rank and years between births.

According to Weinberg (1971, pp.126-127) "there is some evidence that suggests that children of large families have more personality problems (Glenn R. Hawkes and Dora Damrin), more school problems, less social mobility and greater participation in voluntary and non-family oriented activities". He also mentions that only children are forced to interact predominantly with adults since siblings do not exist. They are more socialized to the language and knowledge of the adult world than children with siblings.

But Dr. Maccoby (1961, p.533) says that in very large families when the child interacts more with brothers and sisters
than he does with parents, there is no reason to believe that such a relationship is harmful, although it probably produces a different kind of adult personality than an enduring, intense, and exclusive mother-child relationship does.

The child's position in the family is often thought to be important in shaping his personality. Every one has her own experience of being in the particular spot of eldest, middle or youngest, and in a special arrangement of boys and girls or all boys of all girls, or even in being an only child. Smart and Smart (1967, pp.366-367) referred a cross cultural study of child behaviour who found that in their United States sample the eldest child differed from middle children. Among their subjects in Africa, India, Okinawa, the Philippines and Mexico, the youngest's personality was different. American eldest children were more anxious and sought attention more, non-American youngest children sought attention more.

Researchers like Hetherington and Parke (1975, p.450), Baughman (1965, p.218), Mussen and Kagan (1974, p.150), Craig (1976, p.346), and Elkind, Irving B. Weiner (1978, p.311) said that the first-born children remain more adult-oriented, helpful, self-controlled, conforming, anxious, and less aggressive than their siblings. The parental demands and high standards imposed on first-borns result in eldest children being more studious, conscientious, and serious. These children excel in academic and professional achievement. Emotionally and socially first-borns
show less selfconfidence and social poise and greater fear of failure and guilt than later-borns. They are more apprehensive about pain and are more anxious than later-borns in stressful situations. Middle children have poor achievement and short attention spans and are readily distractible. They tend to be extroverts frequently seeking the companionship and affection of others and are more humorous and pleasure-oriented than their siblings. The last-born child is usually indulged by his parents and siblings and has a variety of sibling models available in addition to the parents. This state of security and sometimes benign neglect results in a set of characteristics which have many of the positive and few of the negative attributes of firstborns.

The study of Lasko (1954, pp.97-107) has revealed that the oldest child is in a position which makes successful adjustment very difficult. His rather high-pitched relationship with his mother steadily lessens in intensity especially when a second child arrives. The second born child is spared much of the parental anxiety, emotional tension and over-protectiveness experienced by the firstborns. As a result, the second born child is usually less dependent than the first.

Some studies suggested the older child to be more conservative and less aggressive and dominant. He is found to be more dependent and more excitable. Due to parental idealism, the older child often suffers from feeling of failure, being
worried and more anxious to escape blame (Aldous and Kill 1956, Bell 1958, Hodges and Balow 1961).

Desai (1975, pp.245-247) summarizing the characteristics of firstborns and secondborns says that the firstborns are less likely to express overtly aggressive feeling, less likely to be sociable, outgoing, highly rated individual, serious, sensitive and sympathetic. The second borns are less concerned with authority, responsibility and absolute power and competitive with peers.

According to Sewell (1964, p.138) there is an evidence which indicates a correlation between the position of the child in the stratification system and some aspects of personality. This evidence points that lower class children more commonly exhibit neurotic personality traits than do children of middle class origins. In her description of the child-rearing environments provided by lower-class families, Pavenstedt (1965, pp.89-98) has been described them as impulse determined with very little evidence of clear planfulness for activities that would benefit either parent or child. Similarly, Wortis and associates (1963, pp.298-307) have described the extent to which the problems of the low income mother so overwhelm her with reactions of depression and inadequacy that behaviour toward the child is largely determined by the needs of the moment rather than by any clear plan about how to bring up children and how to train them to engage in the kind of behaviour that the parents regard
as acceptable or desirable.

Stagner (1974, p.538) quoting other researchers says that there are various ways in which social and economic factors affect the personality development of the child. Drucker and Remmers (1952) found that children of lower economic status will experience more frustration and more personality problems. According to Sims (1954) the children from working class families showed substantial handicaps in social adjustment and some handicap in home adjustment. Gough (1946) found that low-status subjects in general receive unfavourable scores on MMPI. They were somewhat more rebellious, and they were inclined to depression and emotional disturbance more than the higher status subjects. Hoffeditz (1934) Mintzer and Sargent (1939) and Patterson (1943) were in agreement that lower class status was associated with the less desirable ends of the scales, poorer subjects had more worries, less self-sufficiency, more introversion and less dominance. Auld (1952b) compared a group of middle class boys studied by Hertz (1942) with nondelinquent working class boys studied by Glueck and Glueck (1950). The typical profiles suggested that the middle class boy is more imaginative and intelligent, is more mature, has better control of his emotions, is more responsive to his environment and has more emotional warmth.

Shapira and Madsen (1975, p.451) quote the following studies on SES. Mckee Leader (1955) found pre-school children
of low socio-economic level to be more competitive than children of middle class families. Goodman (1952) found Negro children (age 4) to be more competitive than white children, while Sampson and Kardush (1965) found the opposite to be true with older children (age 7-11). In an experimental study of subcultural differences in competitive and cooperative behaviour, Madsen (1967) found that both rural and urban poor children in Mexico were dramatically more cooperative than Mexican urban middle class children.

Srivastava's study (1978, p.110) showed that within each group the upper class women are more liberal than the middle class and the middle class is more liberal as compared to the lower class. Her data confirms the findings of Maccoby and Gibbs (1954, pp.380-396) and Bronfenbrenner (1961, pp.400-425) which state that there are class differences in child rearing practices and that permissiveness and liniency decreases with the decline in the class position.

The age of the children is also an important factor in maternal employment. Ordinarily, children who are of school age experience less psychological shock when mothers leave home, although there are also cases in which a very small child is better off with a warm mother substitute than with an unwilling mother.

According to Hurlock (1978, pp.495,504) the younger the child, the more influence the family and the different
family members have. As children grow older, peers and other outsiders have increasingly more influence and family members increasingly less. The effect of the mother's working on the mother-child relationship depends to a great extent on the child's age at the time the mother starts to work. If she begins working before the child becomes accustomed to spending most of the time with her — before any definite relationship has been established — the effect will be minimal. If strong attachments have been formed, however, the child will suffer from maternal deprivation. How older children feel about the mother's working depends partly upon how seriously her working interferes with the pattern of family life, partly upon what their friends' mothers do, partly upon the stereotype they have learned of 'mother', and many other factors.

Kimball (1978, p.228) after examining the Canadian data says that across a large number of studies there are very few differences between young children of paid and non-paid mothers. This is true whether the mother works outside the home from the time the child is very young or whether she waits until her child is 3 or 4 years old to begin work outside. Although there are very few differences in the children, there are interesting and important differences in the attitudes and feelings of the mothers. It seems that mothers of very young children feel guilty about doing paid work, especially if they enjoy their work and do not see themselves doing it out of economic necessity. Because these mothers feel guilty there is a tendency
for them to overprotect their children.

Hunn (1976, p.38) says that older children can gain materially and psychologically when both parents work because their mothers have more experience and maturity and are less tempted to be over protective and dominant.

According to Hoffman (quoted by Goode, 1964, pp.76-77) young children (third to sixth graders) of working mothers show a lower performance level and are more likely to respond to a frustrating problem with non-adaptive behaviour.

Alison Clarke-Stewart (1977, p.34) also says that children who are under 3 years when their mothers begin work are more susceptible than older children to damaging effects of separation from mother.

According to Maccoby (1961, p.533) child's adjustment is made easier a) if the division of responsibility is a common, indeed, taken-for-granted thing in the society, b) if the mother's daily departure is begun in the child's infancy. So that there is no dramatic beginning of separation after the child has become accustomed to a single caretaker and c) if the substitute is a relative who presumably has very similar childcare techniques to those of the mother.

A.I. Rabin (1957) found that while Kibbutz children appeared to be somewhat behind a group of home-reared children at the age of one year, by the age of ten the Kibbutz children
were more mature in the features of personality development that were measured. Thus it can be seen that whatever negative effects there were in early childhood in the group care setting and the absence of constant close interaction with parents, these effects were not lasting.

The two family types give entirely two different kinds of social environment to the child — one in which the child has less freedom to develop his self identity and individuality by virtue of its authoritarian set up (the joint family) and the other which encourages independence and development of a distinctive self on account of its more permissive atmosphere (the nuclear family). Sinha (1982, p.277) quoting other researches on joint and nuclear families says that in a joint family, having a large number of relatives, the child had many adult figures for his identification. Not only his mother, but other members had a vital role in bringing him up. He passed through many hands and encountered many faces which provided multiple role models before him. This led to more diffused and less individuated conception of self (Clausen, 1966). He related himself to many adults who represented sources of the authority and gratification in varying degrees (Gore, 1978) preventing the development of a well-articulated and clear-cut image of himself. In a joint family, infant indulgence was high (Whiting, 1961), children were over protected and sheltered, and were dependent on the mother, and separation was discouraged.....

The nuclear family is a two generation structure in which the
child encounters only his immediate relations. As the family universe is small and he has a limited set of adult models to emulate, he develops a strong sense of personal bond with the parents and there is greater concentration and intensity in parent-child interaction. There is consequently greater scope for developing clearcut self-identity.

According to Jayaswal (1976, p.440) in nuclear family structure, intense emotional relationship between the parent and the child is established because there are no grandparents present. On the other hand there are certain disadvantages also. If the parent goes out for work, the child is left alone and experiences emotional deprivation. In extended families where the parent and grandparent are to look after children, personality development takes place in a harmonious manner. There is always some elder to look after the young. The related family structure is also helpful in providing healthy influences on child personality.

Thomas (1976) carried out a research on "academic achievement of the elementary school children of working and nonworking mothers". She found that children of mothers with college education and those coming from joint families were significantly better than others in academic achievement regardless of the mothers' employment and sex of the child.

Singh (1980, p.82) says that at the lower class level,
although it is common for female construction workers and domestic workers to carry at least their youngest children with them to work, joint family living may ease the domestic burdens of working women and increase the quality of child and household care.

According to Hurlock (1978, p. 493 and 1983, p. 370) young parents understand their children better than older parents because the smaller the age gap between parent and child, the less change there will have been in cultural values and patterns of living. Older parents tend to be stricter than younger parents. As a result, their children often develop personality problems due to parental inhibition of childish impulses.

The recent dramatic increases in employment among married women with children has been paralleled by a growth in research and commentary on this subject. Reviews show that studies on the effects of maternal employment on the child failed to give a clear answer to the value of these effects. Some evidence exists to support the contention that the working mother provides a different role model for the child than does the nonworking mother, but no apparent evidence exists to show whether this different role model is better or worse. A large sector still harbour the belief that a woman's employment interferes with her capacity to manage a family. In other studies it appears that the quality of mother-child interaction is a more significant determinant of the child's adjustment than the maternal employment
itself. If the mother remains at home but does not keep track of where her child is and what he is doing, he is far more likely to become a delinquent than if he is closely watched. Middleclass working mother who has gone into the work with a clear sense of the problem in carrying the double role may feel a greater responsibility for making up for their absence, by better organization, by consciously planning to be with their children, or anticipating and preventing difficulties in their children's life.

There is a need to know more about working mothers and her children and the factors which influence the outcome through cross-cultural studies. The present study was undertaken in a matrilineal society and it covers most of the factors which were viewed as important by many researchers.