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**MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON PRE-
ADOLESCENT SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT IN SELECTED
PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN NAIROBI**

By

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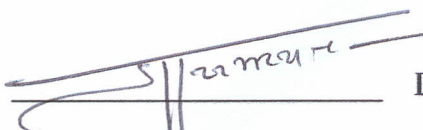
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

To my dear husband, Eliphas Mugambi, my daughters Kawira and Kathoni and my son Mugendi. To my Father – in – Love, Eliud Kamunde.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....	i
DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
ABSTRACT.....	xii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	6
1.3 Purpose of the Study.....	8
1.4 Objectives of the Study	8
1.5 Research Questions	9
1.6 Hypotheses.....	10
1.7 Significance of the Study.....	10
1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study	11
1.9 Delimitations of the Study.....	12
1.10 Assumptions of the Study	12
1.11 Theoretical Framework.....	13
1.11.1 Role Theory by Jung	13
1.11.2 Social Learning Theory	14
1.11.3 Horney's Object Relations Theory.....	14
1.11.4 Theory of Primary Object Sucking.....	15
1.11.5 Horney's Theory of Primary Return.....	15
1.11.6 Kelly's Role Model Theory.....	16
1.11.7 Erikson's Psychosocial Theory.....	16
1.11.8 Summary of the Theories	17
1.12 Conceptual Framework.....	18
1.13 Definition of Terms.....	19

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction.....	20
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2.1	Review of Related Studies	20
2.2	The Situation in Kenya.....	25
2.3	Developing Social Adjustment In Children	26
2.4	Causes of Children’s Adjustment Problems.....	27
2.5	Types of Children’s Adjustment Problems.....	28
2.6	Limiting Factors in Development of Social Adjustment.....	29
2.7	Multiple Roles.....	29
2.8	Child Rearing Practices and Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment.....	30
2.9	Mother-Child Interactions	34
2.10	Maternal Employment, Level of Education and Child Care.....	36
2.11	Maternal Deprivation.	39
2.12	Sex Differences in Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment	41
2.13	Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment.....	42
2.14	Boarding, Day Schools and Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment.....	44
2.15	Summary of Literature Review.....	48
2.16	Research Hypotheses	48

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.0	Introduction	51
3.1	Research Design	51
3.2	Area of Study	52
3.3	Target Population	52
3.4	Sampling Techniques and Sample Size	53
3.5	Instrumentation	56
3.6	Pilot Study	57
3.6.1	Validity.....	58
3.6.2	Reliability.....	58
3.7	Data Collection Techniques.....	59
3.7.1.	General Data Collection Method.....	59
3.7.2.	Data Collection Procedure	59
3.7.3.	Scoring.....	61
3.8	Data Analysis	62
3.9	Research Hypotheses	61
3.10	Logistical and Ethical Considerations.....	62

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction.....	63
4.1 Demographic data.....	63
4.1.1 Pupils' Demographic Data.....	63
4.1.2. Mothers' Demographic Data.....	68
4.2 Statistical Analysis.....	74
4.2.1 Relationship between Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment and Maternal Employment.....	74
4.2.2 Differences in Mother – Child Interaction between Children of Employed and Non Employed Mothers.....	76
4.2.3 Gender Differences in Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment between Children of Employed and Non – Employed Mothers.....	77
4.2.4 Differences in Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment among Children Who Are Left Under Specific Care Givers.....	79
4.2.5 Differences in Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment between Who Are In Boarding and Day Schools.....	82
4.2.6 Relationship between Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment and Educational Level of the Mother.....	83

**CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS**

5.0 Introduction.....	85
5.1 Summary of the Findings.....	85
5.2 Implications of the Study.....	87
5.3 Recommendations.....	88
5.3.1 Recommendations for Policy Makers.....	88
5.3.2 Recommendations for Parents.....	88
5.3.3 Recommendations for Teachers.....	89
5.3.4 Recommendations for Family Counselors.....	89
5.3.5 Recommendations for Further Research.....	90
References.....	91
Appendix A: Permission Letter.....	103
Appendix B: Demographic Data for Pupils.....	104
Appendix C: Pupils' Peer Rating	105
Appendix D: Peer Nomination Behavioral Assessment.....	106

Appendix E: Teacher – Pupil Rating Scale.....	107
Appendix F: Child – Social Competence Skill.....	108
Appendix G: Questionnaire for Mothers.....	109
Appendix H: Mother – Child Interaction Report.....	111
Appendix I: Interview Schedule for Mothers.....	112
Appendix J: Map of Nairobi Divisions	113
Appendix K: Letter from the Ministry	114
Appendix L: Letter from City education Department	115

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Sample Composition.....	55
Table 4.1 Kruskal-Wallis test for the relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and maternal employment status.....	74
Table 4.2 Kruskal-Wallis test for the differences in mother-child interaction between children of employed and non-employed mothers.....	76
Table 4.3 ANOVA test for gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers.....	78
Table 4.4 Tukey HSD test for gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers.....	78
Table 4.5 Kruskal-Wallis test for the differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific care givers.....	80
Table 4.6 Kruskal-Wallis test for the differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who are in Boarding schools and Day schools.....	82
Table 4.7 ANOVA test for the differences between pre-adolescent social adjustment and educational level of the mother.....	83
Table 4.8 Tukey HSD test for the differences between pre-adolescent social adjustment and educational level of the mother.....	84

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework of the study.....	18
Figure 4.1 Age distribution and statistics.....	63
Figure 4.2 Gender distribution of pupils.....	64
Figure 4.3 Mothers' employment status.....	65
Figure 4.4 Mothers occupation.....	66
Figure 4.5 Fathers' occupation.....	67
Figure 4.6 Whether happy with mothers' employment.....	68
Figure 4.7 Marital status.....	69
Figure 4.8 Mothers' education level.....	69
Figure 4.9 Child's age when mother started working.....	70
Figure 4.10 Working hours.....	71
Figure 4.11 Persons left with the child when the mother is away.....	72
Figure 4.12 Duration with maids.....	73
Figure 4.13 Mothers' house help rating.....	73

ABBREVIATIONS

PNVT	-	Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test
PSID	-	Panel Study of Income Dynamics
NLSY	-	National Longitudinal Survey of Youth
NICHD	-	National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
PNBA	-	Peer Nomination Behavioral Assessment
T-CRS	-	Teacher Child Rating Scale

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the impact of maternal employment on pre-adolescent social adjustment in Nairobi. It also investigated whether there was any gender difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers. In addition, the study investigated the differences in social adjustment between pre-adolescents who were taken care of by specific caregivers. An ex – post facto research design was used for the study. The subjects of the study were 549 respondents. Specifically, 195 were boys and 228 were girls. All of them were from six schools. One hundred and twenty (120) mothers were used for the study whereby 60 were employed and 60 were non - employed. Six (6) class-teachers were used from the selected schools. To obtain the impact of maternal employment on pre-adolescent social adjustment, data was obtained from: - the Peer Nomination Behavioral Assessment, Peer Rating scale, the Teachers' Social Competence Scale, a Teacher-Child Rating Scale and a questionnaire for the mothers. The responses were scored after which data was computer analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Kruskal-Wallis Non Parametric ANOVA at 0.05 level of significance was used in the analysis to establish whether there were differences or not in the variables under study. There was a significant relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and maternal employment status at 0.05 level of significance. There was no significant difference in mother-child interaction between children of employed and non-employed mothers at 0.05 level of significance. There were significant gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers at 0.05 level of significance. The Post Hoc test revealed that boys of non-employed mothers contributed to the significant difference. There was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific caregivers at 0.05 level of significance. There was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who are in boarding schools and day schools at 0.05 level of significance. There was a significant relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and educational level of the mother at 0.05 level of significance. The Post Hoc test showed that children whose mothers attained secondary school level of education contributed to the significant relationship. In relation to these findings, it was recommended to the policy makers that there is need for developing training programmes for caregivers (current and potential) in order to build their capacity for improved pre – adolescent social adjustment. In addition, there is need to develop policies to support such training programmes. Parents were hereby recommended to at least obtain house helps from recognized institutions. Teachers on their part were recommended to assist in training pupils in social skills that will assist them to adjust well to their school environment, including home. Further research was recommended with regard to finding out whether similar results would be found in other provinces in Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Globally, there are many roles involving a mother. Today's mothers are not only homemakers; they play a variety of roles: employees, employers, spouses and friends. This large number of responsibilities contributes to the challenges they encounter in an average day. This means that the more roles a mother plays, the more stress they encounter.

It is worth noting that, changing demographic and economic patterns in the world have created new situations in the labour market and in family life. Increasingly, women are working in paid employment which can result in conflict between the demands of family and work place.

In many cases, women getting into formal and informal employment are not relieved of their traditional role of assuming total or major responsibility for the care of children and other family members, domestic chores and sometimes working in family undertakings. They assume employment responsibilities in addition to their domestic responsibilities. This dual burden is acutely felt in many countries where domestic roles are perceived as entirely feminine yet the need for cash income is forcing more and more women to seek paid employment.

Interestingly, women are often the heads of households due to labour migration and other economic and social factors. For example, women have an important role in addressing the poverty experienced by the children, sustaining the livelihood of households, marketing of produce and labouring in offices. In this situation, women bear the sole responsibility of running the home and income-generation.

Apart from that, the migration of young families to urban areas such as Nairobi to earn a livelihood has resulted in their separation from members of the extended family. Whereas in traditional communities care of young children was left to the older or retired women, this is seldom possible in the current nuclear family arrangement. In this reorganization of family responsibilities, the house help phenomenon becomes a common issue in most families in the city of Nairobi, mainly to ensure the well-being of the family.

In view of this, the integration of domestic responsibilities and working life can be a problem to the mother. This is because she has to combine her family responsibilities harmoniously with the workplace responsibilities. To fulfill the realization of women's potential in development, the balance between work and household responsibilities needs to be addressed as a key issue that goes beyond boundaries of the workplace and is broader than women issues.

It is therefore important to note that the experiences in childhood are significant in the development of the child. This is because the quality of the child is determined by the health, nutrition and stimulation that the child receives during this period. However, it appears that young children in many urban areas in Kenya, especially in Nairobi, grow under fragile conditions.

Mothers in Kenya are faced with a multiplicity of roles, often taking mothers away from home and their young children for extended periods of time. Just like mothers elsewhere in the world, they spend most of their time at their places of work and attending to domestic chores at the same time. Indeed, many choose to combine both motherhood and career. For example, in 1982, only 36 percent of mothers with school going children were employed. In 1994, more than 59 percent of mothers of infants were employed (GoK, 1978). Thus, more of today's children are being

raised in households with mothers who are employed as compared to children a generation ago when most mothers did not engage in formal employment.

In Kenya, the history of women's participation in employment has been characterized by considerable resistance from some segments of society. The first assumption that people make regarding mothers' employment is that a woman's role should center on domestic and child-care responsibilities (Kwamboka, 2005). Many unemployed mothers, for example, view employed mothers as less dedicated and less sensitive to children's needs (Etaugh and Nekolny, 1988). In addition, traditional African systems also have placed emphasis on women remaining at home to deal with domestic chores and child-rearing. In this case, mothers who were employed were regarded as lacking femininity, immoral or were perceived as negligent to their mothering duties.

Indeed, the increased number of mothers who have joined various employment cadres has helped to remove stereotypes and encouraged many mothers to seek employment (Blehar, 1977). While many mothers work because they have to, several factors might have contributed to mothers joining employment. First, the encouragement from all sectors for women to consider other role options, in addition, to the homemaker's role.

Second, women's current high level of education has prepared them for employment that provides a challenge, especially, to their children. Third, many mothers must work for financial reasons (Flankel, 1993). Questions that many people ask are, how does a mother's work affect the child's development which, in turn, is likely to impact on pre-adolescent social adjustment; Are the children better or worse off? Are there effects on the child beyond the immediate impact of early employment? These questions are not usually posed about fathers, because their

employment is generally regarded as normal and beneficial to family life. It brings in money, and offers a role model.

Whether employed or not, mothers are actively involved in their children's activities. This is because mothers are primarily responsible for the care of children. For this reason, they impose greater control over them (Lenskey, 1981). Most of the children whose mothers are employed are cared for in their homes either by a house help or a relative. Therefore, the effects of daily separation when a mother works and the child receives care from a house help are likely to be felt (Bayder, 1991). In this regard, mothers in developing countries such as Kenya need information about themselves, their employment and how this can impact on their children socially. Such information will help mothers so as to discharge their multiple responsibilities effectively.

There is reason to assume that a mother's employment status affects the child's social adjustment. Indeed, the dual demands of employment and parenting influence the family structure, functioning, interaction patterns and child-rearing orientation. Yet, amazingly we know very little about what the differences are between children of employed and non-employed mothers and how such differences affect children.

Obviously, there is need to recognize that Kenya has experienced many social and technological changes that affect child rearing (Kinai, 2002). These changes have also produced great challenges for families especially mothers. Whatever form they take, employed mothers with children must mesh demands of jobs, housework and parenting as well as find satisfactory childcare.

Although maternal employment increases the amount of market goods that the family can accumulate, it may decrease the opportunity of mothers to provide non-market commodities especially in the form of attention, monitoring and stimulation of children (Dooley, 1996). Mugo (1999) observes that pre-adolescents especially from elite families where the mother is in employment are likely to lead a poor life in terms of social adjustment. Other scholars, Olowu (1990) and Sanders (1981) have noted that children of working mothers are likely to be exposed to problems of modern life that may lead to serious social adjustment problems especially during pre-adolescence and in their later life. These include being maimed, poisoned, strangled or even killed by the caretakers with whom they are left when the mother goes to work.

Given this kind of scenario, it is likely that employed mothers have little time to be with their children, as they arrive in their homes exhausted to continue with training and supervision. They are unable to offer this noble responsibility because work is associated with stress and frustrations (Anderson and Bushman, 2001).

Some mothers leave their children with house helps even for a period of a week or more. Others who work with Non Governmental Organizations (NGO'S) take as long as a month out of their homes. When they go back to their homes after work, they only find faults with the house helps. This creates a situation whereby there is perennial change of house helps. Therefore, the child relates with many house helps as she/he grows up. These house helps are more likely to have no social skills in childcare. These house helps also may not be able to provide the child with affection and social stimulation that is necessary for social adjustment in pre-adolescence years (Tumuti, 1991).

In the public sector, work begins at 8 a.m. and ends at 5 p.m. For those in senior positions, the day may stretch to ten or more hours. This makes women feel the pressure to prove themselves. For women in the informal sector or those who are self-employed, they wake up very early in order to be at the wholesale market before 5 am. They then have to carry their wares from house to house or back to the kiosk or roadside stands. They stay there till dusk or until the products are sold. The vegetable business which most women petty traders engage in is risky because of the short life of the products. The common denominator characterizing the situation in salaried and the self-employment is lack of control over their time, their working hours being dictated by official policy or their employers.

The situation within Nairobi is that both mothers and children spend significant portions of their days in different social environments. These environments may include the work place and schools, which are likely to influence the nature of pre-adolescent social adjustment. The pace with which maternal employment rates have increased to date, however, is so rapid that it is evident to many people. Furthermore, attempts to understand its effects often ignore the fact that this change is part of a whole complex relation of children's social adjustment. If the cycle of pre-adolescent social adjustment is to be broken, at least for future generations, a concerted effort should be made in the lines of educating mothers by giving them relevant information about maternal employment, social adjustment in children and the kind of caretakers that they need to engage.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The problem that this study addressed was that although there are many mothers who are in employment today, very few studies have been done to analyze its impact on pre-adolescents' social adjustment. Pre-adolescent social adjustment starts early in life. Before a child goes to

school, he / she interacts with the peers and the teachers. If the child has not been trained to live with others and to consider their interests, he /she begins to feel that school is not the right place for him/her. The child starts showing signs of inability to adjust socially in the school such as being unfriendly. As the child grows to pre-adolescence, the problem heightens. This can be manifested through aggression and having antisocial behavior like hitting others, saying bad things to them and not helping them. It is not uncommon to hear mothers say “my ten-year old son / daughter has a social problem. I am really worried about him/her” (Rainer, 1976). It is therefore not surprising that Gatere (1999); Kyungu (1999); Ndingi Mwana Nzeki (1999) observed that children’s problems to adjust socially to their school environment are home-related.

Children whose mothers are employed have also been considered to have conduct problems in schools (UNICEF, 2002). This means that for the mother to join the workforce, she has to make alternative arrangements for the care of her child/children. The option is either to employ a house help or a relative. These house helps may be young, inexperienced and not competent in bringing up children as observed by Gatere (1999). Hence, the rate at which the house helps change their jobs causes inconsistency in child-rearing practices. Those mothers who cannot afford house helps often leave young children alone. Many children are therefore growing up without adequate care. This is likely to affect the child’s pre-adolescent social adjustment.

Researchers in this area have concentrated their efforts on the impact of maternal employment on children’s academic achievement. Little qualitative and quantitative data has been collected locally, which provides insights into the impact of maternal employment on pre – adolescent social adjustment. Having empirical data is a prerequisite if we are to succeed in assisting pre-adolescents adjust socially. Available data in this area is from the western world. This suggests that there is need to carry out investigations on maternal employment and pre-adolescent social

adjustment locally. There is great need for a study on maternal employment specifically on its impact on pre-adolescent social adjustment geared towards individual and community development. Since mothers are custodians of family, there was urgent need for marked and increased awareness on maternal employment and its impact on pre-adolescent social adjustment and this can only be done through systematic research findings.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to find out whether maternal employment influences pre-adolescent social adjustment. Specifically, this study investigated whether there was any relationship between children of employed and non employed mothers in pre-adolescent social adjustment. In addition, the study investigated whether there were any gender differences with regard to effects caused by maternal employment on pre-adolescent social adjustment. Further, it investigated whether there was a relationship in pre-adolescent social adjustment between pre-adolescents who were taken care of by their own unemployed mothers and those who were left under the care of house helps.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The following objectives were formulated for the study:

1. To establish the relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and maternal employment.
2. To find out the differences in mother-child interaction between children of employed and non-employed mothers.
3. To investigate gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non – employed mothers.

4. To find out the differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific care givers.
5. To find out differences in pre – adolescent social adjustment between children who are in day and in boarding schools.
6. To find out to the extent to which education level of the mother affected pre-adolescent social adjustment.

1.5 Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed:

1. Are pre-adolescents whose mothers were employed likely to be more socially adjusted than those whose mothers were not employed?
2. Are there differences in mother-child interactions between pre-adolescents of employed and non-employed mothers?
3. Are there gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non – employed mothers?
4. Are there any differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific care givers?
5. Are there any differences in pre – adolescent social adjustment between children in day and in boarding schools?
6. Are there any differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children of mothers with different educational levels?

1.6 Hypotheses

The study's null hypotheses were:-

- H₀₁ There is no significant relationship between children of employed and non - employed mothers in pre-adolescent social adjustment.
- H₀₂ There is no significant difference in mother-child interaction between pre-adolescents of employed and non - employed mothers.
- H₀₃ There is no significant gender difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non employed mothers.
- H₀₄ There is no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific care givers.
- H₀₅ There is no significant difference in pre – adolescent social adjustment between children in day and in boarding schools.
- H₀₆ There is no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children of mothers with different educational levels.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study was in response to the challenge posed by the Ministry of Education (1999) into the need to assist children adjust to their school environment. It was necessitated by rampant strikes and cases of indiscipline in Kenyan schools that had caused loss of lives and property. It is expected that the findings of this study will provide useful information regarding maternal employment and children's social adjustments. The findings and suggestions are expected to be of significant help to teachers, mothers, counselors, the researcher and the Ministry of Education.

Knowledge of the effects of maternal employment on pre-adolescent social adjustment can be of great use to institutions that are charged with the responsibility of training child caretakers. This is in connection with having a programme that aims at training house helps on child-care skills.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to family counselors. For instance, the findings of the study could help in guiding employed and non - employed mothers on appropriate options in developing their children's social adjustment. Mothers would be guided on mother-child interactions in order to improve pre-adolescent social adjustment. In addition, they would be sensitized on the need to employ trained house helps from institutions such as Salvation Army's Nairobi Girls' Training Centre in Kariokor (Kwamboka, 2005).

To the learner, the information may be useful for discovering oneself and adjusting accordingly. When children lack competence in social interactions, it is a clear indication that maternal employment and non - employment and child social adjustment are two separate domains. This would call for teachers to design a method of reaching parents in order to create awareness on the effects of maternal employment and unemployment on pre-adolescent social adjustment.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was based on a sample size of 423 pre-adolescents from 6 randomly selected schools in Nairobi. Respondents comprised 28 girls and 195 boys. The study also included 100 mothers (50 employed and 50 non-employed) and six class-teachers. The findings of the study can be generalized to the extent that these pupils have similar characteristics, similar backgrounds and live in similar environments as the rest of the pupils in the selected schools.

The change in maternal employment rates have been accompanied by many other changes in family life. In addition, mothers' roles have been reconceptualized; child rearing orientation and the adult roles for which children are being socialized have changed. Ideally, to understand how maternal employment affects the child, it would have been in order to understand how it affects the family. These aspects include the father's role, mother's role of well being and parenting styles and the heredity factor. However, this was not possible. Hence, the researcher was only interested in the effects of the mother's employment on the pre-adolescent's social adjustment.

1.9 Delimitations of the Study

This study was confined to six selected schools from Nairobi Province. In pre-adolescent social adjustment, several issues regarding the mother were considered such as job satisfaction, single, married or widowed, rural or urban setting, level of education and nature of the job. However, this study investigated the impact of maternal employment on pre-adolescent social adjustment. The study was conducted within the sampled schools since the environment in which the children were brought up were almost similar though from diverse backgrounds.

1.10 Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that:

1. Mother's employment influences children's social adjustment.
2. House helps influence children's social adjustment.
3. The randomly selected samples of primary school pupils that were used constituted a representative sample of all pupils in Nairobi Province.
4. The information given by the pupils in the ratings and mothers in the questionnaire was true.
5. The responses of the mothers and pupils were representative of the views of similar people in other parts of Nairobi Province.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

Psychologists have developed various theories to justify the process of social adjustment. This study was based on the following theories:

- 1 Role Theory by Jung
- 2 Social Learning Theory by Albert Bandura
- 3 Horney's Object Relations Theory
- 4 Theory of Primary Object sucking by Bowlby
- 5 Theory of Primary Return by Horney
- 6 Kelly's Role Model Theory
- 7 Erickson's psychosocial theory

1.11.1 Role Theory by Jung

Role theory suggests that the maintenance of multiple roles across work and family institutions is a source of strain (Voydonoff 2001). Role strain has been defined as "a transactional process reflecting an imbalance between demands and the resources available to cope with those demands" (Scharlach, 2001). This role strain is a direct result of taking on a number of responsibilities and not being able to successfully balance them. Although some stress can be positive (i.e., it can be stimulating and increase alertness), too much will ultimately affect quality of life (Altamirano, 2001). It is true that all people experience stress; research has shown there are instances that cause some people to experience an increased level of stress compared to others. Applied to this study, this theory suggests that employed mothers strain from the responsibilities they undertake and fail to successfully balance them with child care.

1.11.2 Social Learning Theory

This theory was developed by Albert Bandura (1961). The theory was used to study the amount of imitative learning in children. Social learning theory stresses that social adjustment is a learned rather than an innate process. This viewpoint suggests that: - (1) social competence is a series of stimulus-response mechanisms, (2) the mother who is initially a neutral stimulus, acquires secondary reinforcing properties over time, and (3) infants learn that the mother is the agent responsible for their primary reinforcers such as milk or warmth. This theory indicates that the mother's continued physical presence becomes important to the infant throughout pre-adolescence and later in life. As applied to this study, the researcher expected the independent variable (maternal employment) to influence pre-adolescent social adjustment and mother-child interaction because the mother is continually associated with the dispensing of the primary reinforcers and satisfaction of the infant's basic needs.

1.11.3 Horney's Object Relations Theory

Horney (1976) shows that early childhood relationships are photographs of pre-adolescent social adjustment. This means that pre-adolescent adjustment is determined by experiences in childhood. How we relate to others, why our relationships fail or succeed and the common themes in our interpersonal lives have their roots in our early childhood relationships (Jenkins, 2000). If all is going well between the mother and infant, the child internalizes a caring, nurturing and trustworthy mother. This kind of a relationship forms fundamentals of how children come to view their relationships with others during pre-adolescence. In the absence of the mother (who is employed), the house help (who is left with the child), is likely not to be trustworthy to the child. This kind of a child is likely to grow up not to trust other people in life (Tumuti, 1985).

The first social attachments that infants develop towards their mother form a basis for pre-adolescent meaningful relationships. This is consistent with the classic psychoanalytic idea that the “child is father to the man.” This is in the sense that what develops in childhood determines the outcomes in pre-adolescence and later in adulthood (Menaghan, 1997). We can, therefore, predict that there is a difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between pre-adolescents who were taken care of by their unemployed mothers and those who were left under specific care givers.

1.11.4 Theory Of Primary Object Sucking

Bowlby (1969) came up with a comprehensive theory of interactions. This theory holds that there are instinctive behaviors such as sucking, following and crying which indicate the process of social adjustment. This theory argues that there is an inbuilt propensity in infants to relate themselves to a human breast, to suck it and possess it orally. By so doing, the infants learn that attached to the breast is a human figure (mother) and so she/he relates to her (Bowlby, 1996). Adjustment of such children later in life depends on how she/he perceives his/her relationship with the mother during sucking. If the child experiences feelings of rejection, neglect or hate since the breast is not there (due to employment), then his/her adjustment is perceived depending on those feelings. The result of this is a difference in social adjustment between pre-adolescents of employed and non - employed mothers.

1.11.5 Horney's Theory Of Primary Return

The theory of primary return suggests a craving for the womb. This means that infants resent their extrusion from the womb and seek to return there. In the course of doing that, they are attached to the mother from whose womb they came (Vandell and Ramanan, 1992). Applied to this study, this theory suggests a craving for the womb that makes children rebel against house

helps who take care of them in the absence of their mothers. This is likely to be exhibited during pre-adolescence where such children engage in behaviors destined to show that even in the absence of the mother, they can be independent (Santrock,1990). The researcher expected that pre-adolescents would exhibit antisocial behaviors even to their teachers. This kind of behavior is likely to influence pre-adolescent social adjustment. This theory presupposes that children who were taken care of by house helps are likely to differ in social adjustment with those who were taken care of by their non - employed mothers.

1.11.6 Kelly's Role Model Theory

This theory suggests that mothers are role models to their children whereby children aspire to the examples set by their mothers. In other words, employed mothers implicitly encourage their children. To the extent that maternal employment increases "family income", maternal employment may stimulate the child's career aspiration. Role model theory predicts that the effects of maternal employment are likely to be greater for girls than boys in as much as daughters are more likely to identify with their mother's roles (Wolfer & Moen, 1996). This theory suggests that there is a gender difference in the effects of maternal employment.

1.11.7 Erickson's Psychosocial Theory

Erikson (1968) argued that trust is a basic human attitude that includes a deep faith in the self, in other people and in the society. According to Erikson, trust develops from the attachment bond formed between an infant and its primary caregiver(s) early in life. For development of trust, Erikson believed in environmental contributions. A trustworthy social environment forms a sense of meaning to life. For basic trust to evolve, the infant must come to rely on the dependability of its caregivers(s). Initial trust is the basis for the trusting feelings that develop later in life. Accordingly, if trust is established with the caregiver(s), the infant will "translate" that

experience into other relationships, whereas mistrust or failure of trust to develop results in subsequent suspicion of people in general. When applied to this study, this theory proposes that inconsistency, for example, perennial changing of house helps and different experiences are likely to make the child not to be socially adjusted in pre-adolescence and later in life.

1.11.8 Summary of the Theories

In this section, seven theories were reviewed. Role theory suggests that the maintenance of multiple roles across work and family institutions is a source of strain. Social learning theory has been reviewed asserting the importance of the physical presence of a mother to an infant in order to form positive social adjustment during pre-adolescence. Psychosocial theory emphasizes on infant dependability on the house help. The object relations theory has also been reviewed indicating that pre-adolescent's social adjustments are determined by experiences in childhood. Theory of primary object sucking has been reviewed which asserts that infants resent separation from their mothers with whom they were attached since birth. Role model theory suggests that mothers are role models to their children.

1.12 Conceptual Framework

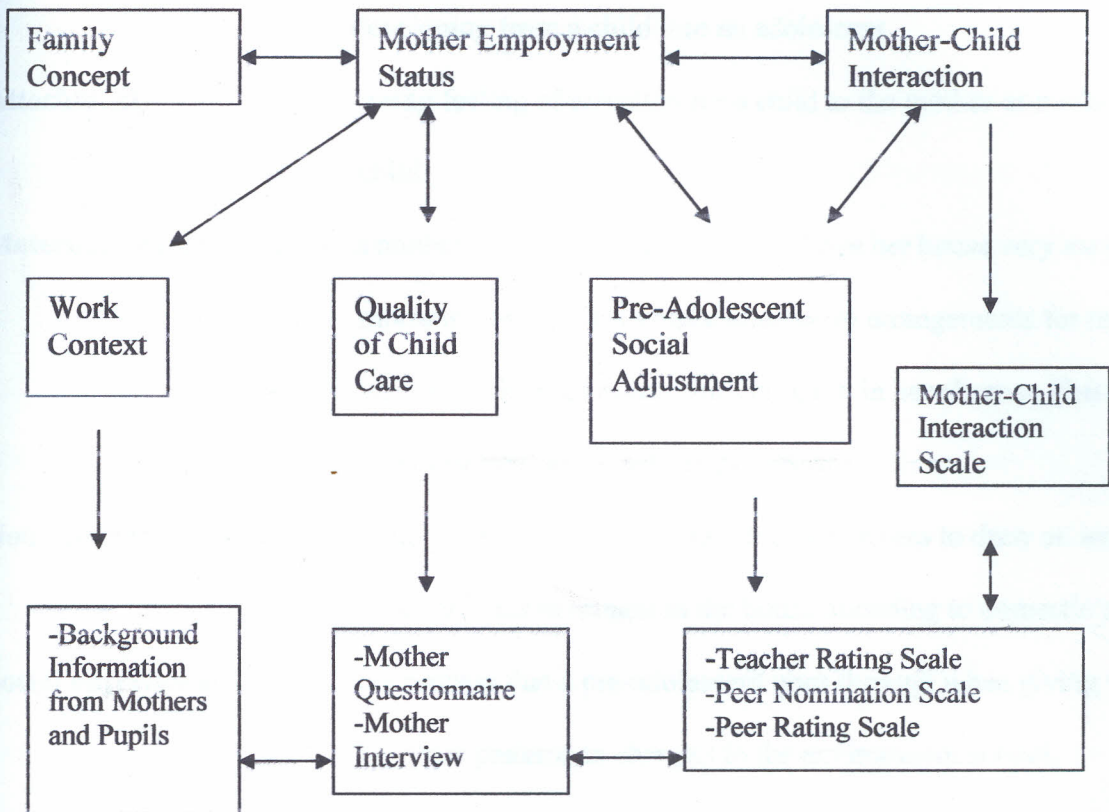


Figure 1.0 Conceptual Framework of the study

From the diagram, it is evident that pre-adolescents who are socially adjusted are viewed as able to cope competently with their world. This is achieved from the family context. Maternal employment is likely to affect the quality of childcare, pre-adolescent social adjustment and mother-child interaction. Thus, the child's outcome is manifested through the teacher's rating, peer nomination and peer ratings. Mothers' educational level and the type of school are likely to have an impact on pre – adolescent social adjustment. The researcher in this study conceptualizes that maternal employment also has an impact on pre-adolescent social adjustment.

1.13 Definition of Terms

- Pre-adolescents** - a young person between the ages of 10-11 years who is developing from a child into an adolescent
- Attachment** - strong feeling of affection for a child to the mother or mother to the child.
- Maternal employment** - a mother's job that demands her to leave her house very early in the morning forcing her to make alternative arrangements for the one who will take care of her child/children in her absence (this ranges from full time job to self-employment.)
- Non –employed mother** - a mother who has no formal job or a business to draw an income from and has to remain in the house attending to domestic chores
- Social adjustment** - the process that a pre-adolescent goes through when giving varied response patterns to changes in the environment/school.
- Pre-adolescent social adjustment** -a pre-adolescent's ability to relate with others according to the expected standards of the society.
- Social relationships** - actions demonstrated by pre-adolescents when interacting with others
- Social misfit** - a person who is not accepted by his peer group because his behaviour is different.
- Risk taking behavior** - any act that causes psychological, emotional or physical harm to individuals and damage to property.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The following section presents a review of literature of each of the variables, that is, maternal employment and educational level, pre-adolescent social adjustment, gender, child-care taking, boarding and day schools, and mother-child interaction.

2.1 Review of Related Studies

Various studies have been carried out on the theories in the previous chapter. Some of the studies have supported the theories whereas others have rejected them. For example, Burchinal (1999) conducted a study on the relationship between child care centers and the outcome of children after their first year in life. The study found that there is little indication of differences in the mother-child relations between children who stay with their mothers and those who do not.

Harlow (1992) shows that attachment between mothers and their pre-adolescents require physical contact with the mother in their early life. Harlow conducted an experiment that involved taking infant monkeys away from their real mothers and raising them with models of mother monkeys made of wire and cloth. The fake mothers did not provide the grooming, cuddling, holding or social contact of the real mother. The infant monkeys raised by the fake mothers developed problems later in life. They grew to be socially insecure, anxious and did not develop normal social relations. Moreover, the infant monkeys preferred their real mothers to the fake mothers. This predicted that children who are not taken care of by their own mothers early in life are likely to develop social adjustment problems later in life.

Silverberg and Steinberg (1990) in a study of over 100 families with adolescents between 10 and 15 years found that employed mothers had pre-adolescents who scored higher in academic achievement tests than those of mothers who were not employed.

Studies by Gold and Andres (1998); Gold, Andres and Glorieux (2000) compared 11-year-old children who since birth had employed mothers, with a comparable group of children of non – employed mothers. The group of the working members showed more personal views of the male and female gender roles. For these children, the impact of maternal employment is evident by greater flexibility in gender role definition when the mother is satisfied with her role as an employed mother.

Shek (1997) examined children's smoking behavior. The scales ranged from frequently, sometimes, rarely and never. A higher smoking score was found amongst pre-adolescents whose mothers were employed. Another item was constructed to assess whether the respondents had ever abused drugs. In this study, drugs were focused on because there had been complaints from many people that there had been an increase in drug abuse. The adolescents were selected from secondary schools in Hong Kong by stratified cluster sampling method. Of the families that consented to participate in the study, 429 were randomly selected to participate. During the visit to the families, the researcher asked the parents to complete parent questionnaires containing measures of family adolescent social behavior. The data were collected on 217 boys and 212 girls. From the study, a higher score of those who abused drugs was found amongst adolescents whose mothers were spending most of their time outside home.

As maternal employment patterns have changed over the years, so, too, have other aspects of society especially with regard to adolescent adjustment. In Hoffman's (1974) review of literature,

she cites the consistency of greater approval of maternal employment among female pre-adolescents of employed mothers compared to pre-adolescents whose mothers were not employed. Herzog and Bachman (1982) working with 11-16 year olds, found maladjusted behavior such as aggression among adolescent boys whose mothers were employed as compared to those whose mothers were not employed.

To determine the relative influence of mothers and peers on pre-adolescent behavior, Siman (1998) studied 41 pre-adolescents between 10 to 17 years from middle classes in New York. The study indicated that susceptibility to group influence was higher among children from homes in which the mother was frequently out of the home. Peer-oriented youngsters also described their mothers as less affectionate and less firm in discipline. These children were also pessimistic about the future, rated lower in responsibility and leadership and were not likely to engage in such anti-social behavior as lying, teasing other children and doing something illegal.

There are grounds for believing that mothers today, far from caring about their children, are more worried about them than before. This worry has been spelt out in the report for the White House Conference (1990):

In today's world, mothers find themselves at the mercy of a society which imposes pressures and priorities that allow neither time nor place for meaningful activities and relations between adolescents and mothers, which downgrades the role of mothers and the functions of motherhood, and which prevent the mother from doing things she wants to do as a guide, friend and companion to her adolescent. (pg 28)

Wolfer (1996) suggests that attachment only occurs to a person who provides needs, but Williams (1993); Yankelovich (1977) and Stucky, McGhee and Bell (1982) report that in families, though

children have caretakers, they show apathy, withdrawal and have a depressed functioning. All these characteristics have long-term consequences of inadequate adolescent social adjustment.

These studies show that a mother's presence is very important. A child once attached will cry for the mother when separated or with strangers (Bowlby, 1969; Hork 1978). The opposite was found of children with many caretakers (Maccoby, 1980). Therefore, early contact between a mother and infant is associated with pre-adolescent feeling of acceptance. Furthermore, Kennel (1994) found that mothers whose children were separated from them due to sickness developed to be aggressive in adolescence. Barglow, Vaughn and Monitor, Belsky, (1998), and Gold (2000) have also claimed that full-time employment of the mother puts the infants at risk for antisocial behavior.

Clarke-Stewart (1989); Marion (1994) and Haveman (1999) evaluating the same studies, have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to support this claim. In an effort to come up with an answer, Gold (2000) conducted a longitudinal study on mother-child attachment in relation to school adjustment. A sample of 32 children (at ages 10-17) and their mothers participated. At age 11, they were observed in an attachment situation and administered standard attachment task. The length of time that the children were able to show attachment at age 11 was predicted by a longitudinal attachment measure. Children with secure attachments were found to have mothers who were not employed whereas those with insecure disorganized attachments had their mothers employed. From this study, an interactive effect was found between attachment to the mother and school adjustment. This study provides a basis for further investigation of maternal employment factors that are linked to adolescent pre - social adjustment.

Other studies have found no significant relationship between maternal employment and pre-adolescents social adjustment. For example, Cook, Cynthia and Doughlas (1998) found no effect of maternal employment on adolescents' career aspirations and academic achievement whether males or females. Furthermore, other studies have obtained conflicting results depending on the variables and measures employed. Scar (1989) found no significant differences among males with employed versus non-employed mothers on measures concerning mother's participation in politics. The implication that pre - adolescent males are more likely to be affected by maternal employment than females calls for study of this magnitude so that attention can be taken while supervising pre - adolescents especially males in the absence of the mother.

Cooksey (1997) and Elizabeth (2000), in their review of literature, illustrate the variability in findings from study to study. Despite the existence of different views on the influence of maternal employment on pre - adolescents, one important fact all of us need to agree on is that pre - adolescents need to adjust socially in order to fit well in the environment.

In conclusion, pre-adolescent social adjustment can be regarded as important to pre-adolescent development. Kennel (1994) believes that early contact between the mother and her child is responsible for pre-adolescent's social adjustment or adjustment problems. It is possible from the above that maternal employment could act as an advantage or disadvantage to pre- adolescents. However, no test has been done in Nairobi Province to find out whether maternal employment could influence pre-adolescent social adjustment.

2.2 The Situation in Kenya

It is only recently in Kenya that mothers have joined employment cadres in large numbers (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 1978). In areas where farming and livestock keeping was common, many women shared child-care roles unlike the way the situation is today.

Due to social, economic and technological changes, there has been an increase in rural urban migration. People from all over the country have been moving to the urban areas such as Nairobi looking for employment. Mothers have not been left behind in this venture. Mothers can no longer wait for their husbands to take care of the family. They have to supplement what their husbands bring. As a result, there has been a separation of women from their traditional role of child-rearing to employment (Jennifer, 1986).

Information on maternal employment is vital for a better understanding of how to help children as they go through various stages of development especially in pre-adolescent social adjustment. Unless we know the truth and appreciate it, we will not know how to help our children in advance for pre-adolescence and later social adjustment (Levine, 1979).

The results by Ndambuki (1987) with pre-school and primary school children in standard one to standard seven demonstrated that mothers' employment has got a liberating effect on girls. The study concluded that children's behavior outcomes may result from mothers who act as models to their children.

Brookins (1978) conducted a study on maternal employment and its impact on sex role and occupational choices of middle and working class children. The study indicated that children of employed mothers show less traditional sex role concepts than children of non-employed

mothers. Other studies indicate that children's sex role stereotypes depend on the type of work the mother does. They, therefore, indicate that the mother who works as a professional has a very different influence from the one who works in a less prestigious position or not employed (Bifani, Kavetsa and Kariuki, 1982).

In conclusion, majority of the research on maternal employment and children's behavior show that few studies maintain that there is no relationship. It would be interesting to carry out a research like this one to find out the way the situation is locally, especially in Nairobi province.

2.3 Developing Social Adjustment in Children

Social adjustment is necessary because we live with people. We not only are influenced by them but exert our own influence on them. The ability to live or get along with others is important to an individual's happiness and success as the mental ability which they display in adjusting to their physical environment. The importance of getting along with those with whom one lives or studies becomes clear when it is realized that good social adjustment improves physical health, adds to enjoyment in play and encourages school success. The child who develops satisfactory social habits is likely to be equipped to meet those social situations which he/she will be confronted with during pre-adolescent stage of development and in later life.

Yoshikawa (2005) observes that it is essential to begin developing social adjustment in children at a young age because anti social behavior if not remedied early in life leads to acts of maladjustment. Changes in the way families are organized and function have resulted in less and possibly lower quality mother-child closeness and interactions. As a result children face a vast and increasing array of challenges (Flannery, 2001).

The newborn infant is an organism possessing certain potentialities that have varying degrees of readiness to function in the environment in which he finds himself. At birth, the child's social development is determined by his biological inheritance and those qualities that make possible the modifiability of his/her behavior as he/she interacts with others in his/her environment especially the mother. As those upon whom he/she depends fulfill the life needs of a child for him, he/she begins to respond to them as a person. For example, the mother's touch, her social expression and her tone or voice are constant stimuli that develop patterns of behavior, which help the infant relate to the mother.

As the child grows and develops in an expanding environment, he/she learns to differentiate between the touch of his mother's hand and that of another person. By the time the child reaches pre-adolescence, he/she has formed many habits, attitudes and ideals, which will either hinder or help in social adjustment. The behavior he/she displays towards another will evoke definite responses from the other person. If the child wishes to win the other's friendship, she/he will try to do or say that which will win the other's friendship and win the friend's approval. The social qualities which are stressed by pre-adolescents for one to be well-adjusted include sincerity, consideration for others, good manners, friendliness, reasonable modesty about oneself and self-control (Patterson, 1989).

2.4 Causes of Children's Adjustment Problems

Walker (2005) suggested that anti social behavior is largely inherent. He designates the symptoms called "conduct disorder" to indicate that it is an illness. He asserted that children with disorder can never be free from the impulse to act out. He noted that they can learn to control their behavior if they receive ongoing help. This help could be given by caretakers who could either be mothers, teachers, relatives, house helps or adults who are entrusted with child care.

Embry and Flannery (2001) observed that psychodynamic factors which include external stimuli such as love and nurturing can affect children's social adjustment. Similar findings obtained by Hoffman, (1991) which showed that child rearing experiences, particularly in the early years affect the capacity of children to regulate their social adjustment.

This may be due to the fact that the mother's employment reduces mother-child interaction. The developing child left under the care of the house help may not receive the love and nurturance expected for social adjustment (Maccoby, 1980). In a study by Oden (1999) it was found that social factors in the child's life can result in the symptoms of anti social behavior. These include: inadequate family life, deprivation, violent neighborhood, ineffective schools or substantial exposure to real or media violence. This study investigated whether there was a relationship in social adjustment between pre-adolescents of employed and non employed mothers.

2.5 Types of Children's Adjustment Problems

Greenberg (2002) proposed that aggressive children cannot control their impulses-since they respond to a feeling without first considering its impact, particularly how their response might affect other people. This might be because while all young children engage in aggressive behavior such as tantrums, some do not learn alternative social ways of behavior and their bad conduct intensifies as they grow into pre-adolescent and later in life. It can also be explained that their childhood experiences were not well monitored.

Half of 10 to 15 year olds are at high risk or moderate risk of compromising a healthy pre-adolescent lifestyle due to failure to adjust well in the society. This impact on the society through lessened potential for collective future (Lerner and Galambos, 1995). Investing in the healthy

growth and development of people at every stage of life has both immediate and long term benefits. Consequently, this study sought to establish whether there was a difference between pre-adolescents of employed and non-employed mothers in social adjustment.

2.6 Limiting Factors in Development of Social Adjustment

A child's connection with a given family or school may limit opportunities for social adjustment (Ramsely, 2000). Family functioning, organization and learned experiences may also limit the extent of diversity in social adjustment. This lack of diversity limits the child's ability to be socially adjusted in various circumstances. Societal factors also affect children's social adjustment. Ramsely stressed that families and those with little time for interaction with children undermine opportunities for children's positive social adjustment. From literature reviewed in this section, further investigation is needed on the linkage between child's social adjustment and maternal employment.

2.7 Multiple Roles

Brazelton (2001) observed that as women begin to face squarely the unforeseen anxieties of dividing the self into two important roles – one geared towards the family, the other towards the working world – the pressures are enormous and largely uncharted by past generations. A common problem for adults in today's society is increased responsibilities from work and family. With the addition of children to the family, care giving responsibilities increase dramatically. Mothers are responsible for caring for the children's best interests, education, wellness, housecleaning, clothing, care, food preparation and financial management.

The stress experienced by mothers result from multiple roles. These roles are usually more stressful due to the increased number of demanding situations (Stull, Bowman, and Smerglia,

2002). Employed mothers state that they experience more stress in the areas of work and family than employees without such responsibilities. Consequently, 9 to 22% actually quit their jobs, whereas others think of reducing the activities of care giving (Lechner, 2000). This information leads to the study's null hypothesis, that there is no significant relationship between children of employed and non - employed mothers in pre-adolescent social adjustment.

A contrary finding was established by Loecher (2002) which concluded that children of mothers who juggle various roles experience low levels of social adjustments problems.

2.8 Child Rearing Practices and Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment

Childcare is a challenging task for the increasing number of working women with young children, particularly in urban areas such as Nairobi. The large number of women who have joined the formal or informal employment, has made Nairobi mothers dependent on house helps.

A national survey of women in the reproductive years (i.e., aged 15–49) showed that slightly over one-half (52%) of employed women had a child under age 6 years (CBS, 1999, p. 27). On being asked to indicate the person who takes care of the child, 42% of the employed women who have a child under 6 years said they look after their own child (ren). 17% said they have relatives (other than husband) to look after their children. In 15% of the cases, a house help takes care of the young child. Women with more education and who reside in urban areas (especially Nairobi) use a hired worker to take care of the young child, and are less likely to use some other child (male or female).

A study on childcare arrangements for children under 5 years of age in five Kenyan districts showed that different childcare arrangements were used in different environments. In Siaya and Kilifi Districts, mothers were the main caregivers. In Kericho District, mothers utilized institutional childcare services, since they could not simultaneously combine work with childcare.

In Narok District, grandmothers were the main care-givers, while in the Nairobi slums, siblings and child-minders were used (National Center for Early Childhood and Education [NACECE], 2002). In Laikipia District, it was found that 71% of the families with children aged below 6 years indicated maternal care to be the predominant childcare arrangement. This came in the form of maternal care at home (31%), maternal care at the farm (29%), maternal care at the business premises (9%), and maternal care at the employer's premises (2%). Childcare in nursery schools involved 17% of the families with children under the age of 6 years. Other types of childcare arrangements such as support by extended family (5%), support by siblings (4%), and house help (1%) were insignificant.

The findings imply that the options available for childcare are quickly changing from traditional forms of care to modern forms that entail social and economic costs. The rural mother is still to be seen carrying her baby to all places including the market-place, the river, the farm plot (*shamba*), village meetings, and so on, an example that is sometimes emulated by the mother in urban areas. If there is no reliable person to leave the child with at home, this trend remains the most attractive option for both baby and mother despite the extra "load/weight" the mother has to bear. This way, the baby is wrapped in security and can feed on demand.

The urban environment, with its thick morning and evening traffic and long distances to cover to the market place or work-place, is not convenient for the mother carrying a baby. The urban society is also not tolerant of the inconvenience of baby/child company. In the words of a woman educator in Kenya: "A mother is almost always made to feel guilty that she brought her baby to church or meetings. It is as if the only outing the baby should have is to the clinic" (Gachukia, 2001, p. 97).

Though diminishing in importance, the care of children through the extended family is widely practised in rural areas. It is common to find a grandmother tending a compound and overseeing the welfare of young children while their mothers are attending to other duties—a practice that is of mutual benefit to all parties involved. The elderly feel wanted and needed; they have something to offer. They command experience and have loving care to offer to the young and are experts in the socialization process. Furthermore, grandmothers, even the elderly, are good supervisors (Gachukia, 2001).

The current economic situation in Kenya has necessitated the employment of mothers, who have as a result left the task of bringing up their children in the hands of other caregivers. Observations from the urban areas such as Nairobi indicate that those caregivers are girls below the age of sixteen years from families of average incomes. The fairly limited number of studies in Kenya (Kanyongo-Male and Walji, 1984; Onyango and Kanyongo-Male, 1989; Kariuki, 1989) show that even nine and ten year olds are quite common house helps. The work demanded of these house helps often exceed their physical and mental capacities.

Kariuki (1989) showed that such house helps find themselves unable to cope with their emotional, physical, social and spiritual needs. The reason for their taking employment at such an early age is simply in order to survive and to some extent meet the needs of their families

Pringle (1990) proposed that child's needs are essential for social adjustment. Some of these needs are affection, stimulation, security, experiences and recognition of achievement. For healthy growth of the child, these needs must be met. In ideal terms, if proper care of the child is taken, then, he/she grows normally into pre-adolescence and later life without problems. However, in real life, things become hardly ideal. In the case of a growing child particularly, the

ideal environment for growth is hard to realize. Hetherington and Parke (1999) draw attention to the fact that in the case of the child, things lose their idealism early in life. One type of casualty that he refers to is caretaking casualty. He defines caretaking casualty as adverse factors due to family, especially maternal situations, which harm the child's development.

Sameroff and Chandler (1995) showed that caretaker casualty or influences which distort development are largely responsible for protracted development problems. Lambert, Lydia and Streather (1980) observed that the proportion of time spent by the mother in mothering her child/children is very important. They said:

Children with mothers who are not able to spend much time with them may start school with a disadvantage, as they are likely to lack some of the basic social skills, which would have enabled them to cope with the demands of the environment. (p. 102)

The alternative arrangements for childcare which the mothers make when they have to attend to their jobs are likely to affect the child's later life. This is because the common house help phenomenon is likely to have adverse effects on the development of the child. Most of the house helps range between 12 and 16 years. They are young and may have dropped out in the course of primary or lower secondary school. The job has little in terms of prestige, status, remuneration, terms of service or mobility (Kariuki, 1989). Yet the house helps have become the most common option of childcare for mothers in employment. The house helps have little or no orientation regarding childcare, nutrition, hygiene and time management. They are left in charge of young children above the household duties. In a Daily Nation (May 18, 1997) article entitled "*New childcare plans to reduce delinquency rates,*" Munyakho 1997 said '*most house helps are of the same age as the children they are supposed to look after. They drink babies' milk and expose them to all sorts of accidents*'. The article also quoted Whiting (1988) saying, '*today's house*

helps not only feed on baby's food but also beat them up when they fail to sleep quickly enough for them to take time off to talk with other house helps in the neighbourhood'.

Given this scenario, one is forced to ask some fundamental questions. Is it possible for those house helps to offer children stimulation that is necessary for social competence later in life? Does the mother's employment lower the quality of mother-child closeness and interaction? Are the challenges that result from maternal employment similar for boys and girls? This study sought to answer these questions and to suggest options for employed mothers.

2.9 Mother – Child Interactions

A certain amount of interaction is necessary for the development of any attachment. While comparing mothers and other caregivers, Walker (2005) found that mothers not only provide affection but also see things from the child's point of view. This kind of relationship will assist the child in being sociable later in life. He emphasized that at birth; children are helpless and cannot survive without parental care especially maternal care. This is why it takes at least two decades of family care to teach children all the things they must know in order to survive on their own (Cook et al 1998). In this regard, it is not clear what kind of relationship children develop with house helps. This is because it is only recently that children started being under the care of house helps due to maternal employment (Scott, 1999).

Cooksey (1997) investigated the effects of maternal employment on children's behavioral outcomes. Those pre-adolescents whose mothers were not employed tended to have higher cases of adjustment problems than those whose mothers were employed.

Patterson, Debanyshe and Ramsey (1989) described the process of delinquent behavior as beginning with lack of mother-child interaction in infancy throughout pre-adolescence and later life. In an exhaustive review of the literature, Patterson, Dotty and Winte (1996) described maternal management as a factor having the best abilities to predict adolescent delinquency. Weak interaction with the mother is also likely to be associated with higher levels of delinquent behavior. Although delinquent behavior was once thought to be a product of "broken homes" and single families, there is a possibility that maternal employment could cause some levels of delinquent and antisocial behavior (Henry, 1993).

One of the remarkable phenomena of mothers living in Nairobi is that a large number leave their children with house helps. Bayder (1991) argued that house helps are not the same as mothers since it is possible that they are likely to lack tenderness, which is a cause of pre-adolescent social adjustment problems. Lefebvre, Piere and Phillip (1988) showed that maternal employment is associated with lack of maternal supervision and monitoring. Due to employment, a mother is forced to leave her children under the care of a house help. The more a pre-adolescent experiences an unsatisfying relationship with a house help, the more she/he is likely not to adjust to his environment. This suggests that there is likely to be a difference between pre-adolescents who have been taken care of by their non-employed mothers and those who were taken care of by house helps.

From this general perspective, it is notable that interactions that are primarily negative in context may have serious pre-adolescent consequences. For example, those pre-adolescents that stay with house helps since their mothers are employed are likely to feel neglected (Dawson,1991). They are also likely to view the use of violence in their relationships as an acceptable social norm as well as a form of conflict resolution. This is a behavior that they learn from televised violence,

for example, in the game of wrestling. Consequently, with the mother not employed supervision and directing her pre-adolescent child is likely not to be a problem since she will have control over the television. This may not be the case with a house help who could be coming from a place where she had never watched a television. The television could be used to keep children busy while the house help does other chores. (Sanders, 1981).

Maternal employment thus is likely to make pre-adolescents feel neglected by their mothers and engage in antisocial behavior. The most intriguing fact is that adolescent violence in our schools and institutions of higher learning continues to be a salient concern for adolescents, parents, communities and schools. Although it is tempting to think that pre-adolescent behavior is dependent on whether the mother stays at home or not, there is little evidence to support this. The question this study addressed was whether children, especially pre-adolescents are better socially adjusted when mothers are at home or are employed.

2.10 Maternal Employment, Level of Education and Child Care

One of the most striking social changes in Kenya has been the dramatic increase in the number of mothers going to work within the first few months after their babies are born. This was rare in the 1960s and unusual in the 1970s, but now it is common. Half of the pre-adolescents in Nairobi today come from families where mothers are employed. (Gatere, 1999).

Researchers and parents, alike, agree that mothers who are employed and spend more time out of the home have less available time to spend with their children. Less time spent is presumed to be associated with maladjustment. The number of hours the mother works is very important as it affects her availability to children. As hours increase, hiring house helps becomes necessary. Mothers no longer feel compelled to remain in the home when their children are young. It thus

seems likely that as mothers spend more time in their places of work, and less time in the home, family roles and patterns of family functioning change. What are some of these changes in family roles and intervention and how do they influence pre-adolescent social competence?

Studies by Haveman (2001) found that children of employed mothers achieve socially at higher levels than children of non-employed mothers. One possible explanation is that some of the negative aspects have been overstated -the amount of difference between employed and non-employed mothers in time spent with children may be small. Another explanation is an increased emphasis on quality time, that is, the time a parent and child actively engage in an activity together. Since the time mothers have at home has diminished, the focus on "quality time" has increased. Employed mothers may therefore attempt to protect this quality time in spite of an overall decline in total time available for children. Non employed mothers spend more time at home but if they are engaged in household work or other activities, they are not actively engaged in the child (Fidhusen,1977). Such time may be less productive in terms of developing the human and social capital of children. Thus the quality of time may be higher among employed mothers because of the types and intensity of activities with which they engage their children and this may compensate for the lesser total time available. Haveman's study did not explain clearly arrangements of non-maternal care if the mother is employed and the effects it has on the child.

Hill and Neill (2004) examined the portion of maternal hours worked during a child's life on Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) scores. They found out that such work has significant negative effect.

Ruhm (2000) examined various measures of maternal employment (such as average employment hours and proportions of weeks worked) during a child's first three years. The results showed that there were detrimental effects on the child's cognitive development. In a study by Parcel and

Menaghan (1999), it was found that the number of hours worked by employed mothers had negative effect on cognitive development relative to part and full-time maternal work. Additionally, Belsky and Eggebeen (1999) examined mothers' employment status and the extent of maternal employment during a child's three years on a multiple measure of socio-emotional development (such as a child's adjustment, compliance and attachment to its mother) and found significant negative effects.

However, others found that maternal employment had mixed results on children's development. Blau and Grossberg (2002) found that the long portions of weeks spent by the mother in the absence of her child in the child's first year reduce Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) scores. Baydar and Brooks-Gunn (2001) found that a mother's employment in her child's first year had detrimental effects on the PPVT, but the continuity and intensity do not. Mott (2001) examined maternal work intensity and whether the child spends a significant amount of time in non-maternal childcare in the child's first year. The results showed that there were no major effects on various measures of child development. However, Desai, Chase-Land and Michael (1999) found that a mother's employment had negative effect on PPVT scores of males from high social economic status.

Evidently, families will differ in terms of their basic parental abilities and skills, in their endowment of financial and human capital, and their values. Mothers of different educational levels will raise their children in different ways, largely due to differences in maternal characteristics and life experiences. Mothers with high level of education are in formal employment thus they do not spend time with their children. This suggests that their educational level may not be solely sufficient in child rearing processes. However, less educated mothers may not possess a great deal of observable endowments but can spend much quality time interacting

with their children. Therefore, their children may have access to whatever human capital the mothers do possess, including personal resources

(Ferree, 1996)

Studies reviewed in this section have shown that maternal employment has an influence on children's development. These studies have laid emphasis on children up to the age of three years and particularly on cognitive development. This study sought to find out whether similar results would be found in social adjustment in pre-adolescents.

2.11 Maternal Deprivation

According to Bowlby (1996) an infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his/her mother for both satisfaction and enjoyment. However, breaking the maternal bond with the child during the early years of its life is likely to have serious effect on its social development and competence. These effects are permanent and irreversible. For example, one of the theories of the causes of depression that has focused on childhood suggests that depression results from maternal deprivation. The children could have been deprived of a relationship with their mothers either due to long periods of separation resulting from death, illness or long hours of working, joining boarding schools or unconscious rejection of the child. This increases the risk of children not developing social competence and thus social adjustment.

Disturbance caused by maternal deprivation is known to result in perverse developmental disorders. This is characterized by gross deficits in many areas of cognitive, emotional and social development. Notably, children's ability to eat depends on the relationship they have with the caregiver. The worst that a child can get is myopia which is sensory deprivation resulting from

lack of human contact and stimulation. Psychomotor and social development is also likely to be affected depending on the kind of interaction and care that is given to the child.

In their extensive study of maternal employment and adolescent occupational aspirations on 37 adolescents, Molt and Cooksey (1997) reported that children of employed mothers scored higher than children of non-employed mothers. A study on children growing up in orphanages and other residential institutions observed pale, retarded and inept children and attributed their inadequacies to the deprivation of "a mother's love" (Patterson, 1989). These children were deprived more of good food, air, stimulating activities and surroundings. From this study, it was clear that emotional and social relations are impaired if no close relationship develops with the caregiver or if there is no regular interaction with one particular adult (especially the mother) during the first year of a child's life (Cook, 1998).

Bowlby (1951) admonished that:

"Mother love in infancy and childhood is as important for mental health as are vitamins and proteins for physical health" (p.106)

According to Bowlby, a loving relationship with one person in the infant's own family (usually the mother), from the beginning and continuing, unbroken, beyond infancy and throughout childhood is necessary for infants' social adjustment. It was necessary again to pursue research that would investigate maternal employment versus pre-adolescents social adjustments in Nairobi to find out if the situation would be similar to or different from that of Bowlby.

2.12 Sex Differences in Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment

The increased participation of fathers associated with the mother's employment has been found to extend across the traditional division of labour. For example, Banuch and Bomett (1987) found that in single wage families, more active fathers participate by spending more time with their children but are not as likely to take part in childcare and household tasks.

The effects of maternal employment on gender role stereotypes reflect that daughters of employed mothers hold less stereotyped attitudes than daughters of non-employed mothers (Miller, 2003). Gottfried and Bathurst (2004) investigated children of employed mothers and non-employed mothers on cognitive development. They found that children whose fathers are involved in their care as their mothers work have higher cognitive abilities than children of non-employed mothers and non-involved fathers. Their finding also showed that fathers' participation may decrease gender role stereotyping for daughters and this may have positive effects on daughters' achievement, motivation and behavior. Longer (1997) found daughters of employed mothers to have higher cognitive scores as children and to show higher achievement patterns as adults.

Males and females are likely to vary much in their pre-adolescent social adjustment as a result of maternal employment (Longer, 1997). The hypothesis that maternal employment influences pre-adolescent social adjustment suggests positive outcomes for girls and negative outcome for boys. For example, girls are likely to be more interdependent to their mothers than boys. Moreover, in their attachment, girls are likely to reveal more empathy. On the other hand, boys are likely to place relatively more emphasis on having a companion, with whom they can play.

In summary, there is little data investigating the relationship between mothers' employment status and pre – adolescent social adjustment in terms of gender. In addition, the social-cultural setting within which available studies were done is different from Kenya. In the Kenyan setting, it is the responsibility of the woman to know who will take care of her child when she goes to work, whether or not the father is employed. This explains why house help phenomenon is common in most families especially in Nairobi. This study therefore, sought to find out whether there were gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers.

2.13 Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment

Adjustment is a psychological process of adapting to, coping with and managing the challenges to everyday life effectively. When an individual makes sufficient changes to experience success and contentment in any activity, he is believed by most laymen to have made satisfactory positive adjustment. To the psychologist, however, to adjust includes both inner and overt changes that individuals experience during their growing up years. Adjustment embodies both personal and social experiences. The pre-adolescent lives with himself in a society patterned by others.

In a rapidly changing world, each change makes new demands on pre-adolescents to adjust (Dorothy, 1998). There are individual variations in the way and extent to which pre-adolescents adjust. A well-adjusted individual is one who can cope successfully and effectively with personal and situational demands (Ruther, 1979). As pre-adolescents increasingly become responsible for their own lives and society becomes more complex, a need arises to constantly adjust to people and conditions, which surround them (Essex & Clark, 1995). This means that as pre-adolescents struggle to succeed in social adjustment, they meet and grapple with opposing forces of one kind or another.

Stanford (1997) examined school-aged children and found that maternal work time in that period had negative effects on later teacher evaluated measures of school performance. Similarly, Vandell and Corasaniti (1990) examined the amount of time infants spent with various caretakers. They found that excessive time on non-maternal child care (more than 30 hours per week) had detrimental effects on various social emotional and cognitive outcomes of 9 year olds. However, Hanusheck (1999) found that neither maternal employment nor work hours had an effect on reading and vocabulary tests in grades 2 to 6.

Alwin and Thornton (1994) examined the effect of maternal employment on attainment of 10 year olds. They found that neither employment when the child was young (1 year) nor recent maternal employment (5 year and above) have significant effects. Similarly, D' Amico, Haurin and Mott (1993) did not find significant effects of maternal employment on educational attainment for either sons or daughters.

In contrast, Haveman (2001) found different results. He used the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) to examine the effects of many economic factors including maternal employment on high school graduation rates. The results showed that the number of years in which a mother works (when a child is between 5-15 years of age) significantly increases her child's probability of graduating from high school.

The literature reviewed in this section has several shortcomings. First, virtually none of the existing studies accurately identifies the effects of maternal employment on children from employed and non-employed mothers on pre-adolescent social adjustment. Thus, the literature provides a gap on the effects of maternal employment on pre-adolescent social adjustment. Second, existing studies that examine academic achievement do not identify the impact of house

helps on children's social adjustment which in turn affects pre-adolescents social adjustment. In particular the literature fails to identify any gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers.

This study sought to improve on the existing literature by developing a more complete specification of maternal employment that identifies a mother's employment status as any kind of employment that demands the mother to leave her child early in the morning and arrive home later in the evening. Consequently, this study sought to suggest appropriate options for employed mothers in developing their children's social adjustment. Furthermore, by identifying effects of maternal employment in early childhood years, the research was able to determine the effects of maternal employment on pre-adolescent social adjustment. Finally, the research used data from children, mothers and teachers, which allowed the researcher to collect extensive information.

2.14 Boarding, Day Schools And Pre – Adolescent Social Adjustment

Schools, once regarded as places of comfort, safe learning, and socialization, are increasingly becoming places in society of youth anti-social behavior. Students have lost respect for authority, to their peers and to themselves. They also pay less value to the resources that support their learning. Schools are gradually developing into places where students, through peer influence, indulge in anti-social behaviour (Moswela, 2004). At boarding schools, as would be expected, there are rules that regulate students' behaviour and movement beyond the premises.

This means that for most of the time, students are kept within the school compound bored with little to keep their minds actively engaged. Boarding institutions therefore are generally boring places. Students have often referred to them as "concentration camps" or "prisons". The temptation for students to jump or damage the fence surrounding them in pursuit of whatever

source of entertainment outside the school becomes very high in the circumstances. Students who would not under normal circumstances indulge in vices such as drinking and smoking picked up and got accustomed to such habits due to boredom (Goodenow,1993).

There is an extensive literature examining the effects of maternal employment and non maternal care on child social outcomes. Results of these studies are mixed, but they generally suggest that there are no overall effects of maternal employment or non maternal care per se on child social functioning. However, the positive effects of early intervention programs on the social functioning of economically disadvantaged children are well documented (Gold, & Andress, 1998).

Many researchers have studied the possible effects of substitute forms of child care on social development and behavioral problems (Clarke-Stewart, 1989). It has been suggested that substitute care, particularly when these substitute are of low quality, may be responsible for impairing social adjustment or creating undesirable behavior such as aggression and noncompliance. (Lenskey, 1981)

Research by social scientists in this area concentrates on the effects of emotional insecurity and aggression. In particular, the emotional insecurity of children cared for in non maternal settings has been the focus of debate. Some researchers have found that infants of full-time employed mothers are more likely to be classified as insecurely attached than are infants of non - employed mothers or mothers working part-time. For example, Vandell and Corrasantu (1990) have argued that some non maternal care arrangements in the first year for more than 20 hours per week may be a risk factor in the emergence of developmental difficulties. This can be a serious problem to

children who are taken to boarding schools due to lack of maternal care since the mother is engaged in some kind of employment.

Many clinical studies suggest that children who had extensive non maternal care experiences as infants tend to be less compliant with their parents and more aggressive with their peers (Lambert, Lydia and Streater, J. 1980). However, Allison Clarke-Stewart (1989) suggest that these findings may simply reflect the fact that children in substitute care arrangements: -

“ . . . think for themselves and that they want their own way. They are not willing to comply with adults' arbitrary rules. . . . Children who have spent time in boarding schools, then, may be more independent, disobedient, aggressive, bossy and bratty than children who spend time in day schools because they want their own way and do not have the skills to achieve it smoothly, rather than because they are maladjusted. (p. 269)”

In a study of Swedish first-borns, Super (1995) concluded that child care arrangements were not associated with social maladjustment. Stein (1995) study of Norwegian children suggested that, based on parental perceptions, boarding school experience was associated with a lower level of behavior problems. In Switzerland, Kenell (1994) found that the effect of non maternal care on behavior problems was mediated by the pattern of attachment to the mother, and that behavior problems were minimized when the child had extensive non maternal care, or when the care was provided by other adults

In the United States, there have been a number of large-scale studies of the effects of maternal employment during early childhood and substitute care experiences on child emotional and cognitive outcomes. Summarizing his analyses of one- to four-year-olds from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), Frank Mott (1993, p. 147) concluded that "extensive non maternal care did not either substantially enhance or negatively influence subsequent scores" on

the memory for location, Motor and Social Development instruments. His analyses of effects on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, however, suggest that use of group care arrangements during infancy may enhance cognitive abilities, especially among healthy female infants. Male infants, on the other hand, do not exhibit effects of care arrangement on this cognitive dimension.

Jeanne (1991) studied cognitive and behavioral outcomes for children who were three to four years of age. Some of their analyses show a small but significant negative effect of maternal employment during infancy, and suggest that different types of substitute care may affect boys differently from the way they affect girls.

Belsky and Eggebeen (1999) study of two- to six-year-old children suggests that children whose mothers were employed during infancy are less socially adjusted than other children. Dooley (1996) summarized his study of 1,657 NLSY children by concluding that "early and extensive maternal employment does not seem to have generally adverse effect on the behavior of 4 and 5 year old children" (p. 349).

In the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) study, which looked at 1,300 children in ten research sites across the United States, extensive time spent in non maternal care was associated with heightened behavioral problems at fourteen and fifty-four months of age (Report to the President: White House Conference on Children, 1990).

In general, it appears that non maternal care when the child is in a boarding school in early childhood may affect the child's social adjustment. In those studies in which differences between children in day schools and children in boarding schools are observed, the differences tend to be small. The determining factor seems to be the quality of the care received by the child. Children

who receive high-quality care and high levels of emotional support are likely to be well-adjusted, regardless of whom the caregiver is. Conversely, children who are neglected or receive little emotional support will probably demonstrate problems of emotional adjustment. This study therefore, sought to find out whether there were differences in the effects of maternal employment to pre-adolescent social adjustment between children in day and those in boarding schools.

2.15 Summary of Literature Review

In this chapter, studies that have dealt with maternal employment and pre-adolescent social adjustment have been highlighted. The findings of the literature reviewed can be summarized as follows:

1. There is a positive relationship between maternal employment and pre-adolescent social adjustment. Children are left early in life by their mothers since they have to work. This has an influence on their social development as children and even their later years in life.
2. There is a relationship between maternal employment and mother-child interaction. This means that weak interactions between the mother and her child due to employment are likely to affect the child's social adjustments during pre-adolescence and later in life (Patterson, 1996).
3. There are no significant gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non employed mothers.
4. There is a relationship between maternal employment and child care-taking practices in pre-adolescents social adjustment. Children who are left under the care of house helps are likely to feel rejected by their mothers and develop a mistrust of the environment (Hetherington, 1999). Such children are likely to lack in social adjustment.

5. There is no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who are in day and boarding schools.
6. There is a significant difference between pre-adolescent social adjustment and educational level of the mother.

However, what is not known clearly is how employed mothers can bring up children who are socially adjusted. The present literature does not expose whether there is a difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers, whether there is a difference between children who are left under the care of house helps and those who are taken care of by their unemployed mothers; whether there is a difference in social adjustments between children in boarding and day schools. This study aspired to address the shortcomings exposed with the aim of enhancing pre-adolescents social adjustment not only in Kenya but also in other developing countries.

2.16 Research Hypotheses

The research hypotheses for this study were:

- Ha₁ There is a significant relationship between children of employed and non - employed mothers in pre-adolescent social adjustment.
- Ha₂ There is a significant difference in mother-child interaction between pre-adolescents of employed and non - employed mothers.
- Ha₃ There is significant gender difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment on the impact of maternal employment and non-employment.
- Ha₄ There is a significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific caregivers.

Ha₅ There is a significant difference in pre – adolescent social adjustment between children in day and in boarding schools.

Ha₆ There is a significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children of mothers with different educational levels.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the study's methodology. In doing so, the following will be discussed: Research design, variables of the study and area of the study. This will be followed by the description of the study population and sample. There will be a discussion of the pilot study after which a description of data collection methods will be presented. Finally, scoring and data analysis procedures will be discussed.

3.1 Research Design

This study was designed to obtain a vast amount of data information from pupils, teachers and mothers. The researcher needed measures of mother-child interaction, peer interaction patterns, gender, pre-adolescent social adjustment and mothers' demographic history. In addition, the study required measures of the child's social adjustment.

An ex-post facto research design was used. This is in order to investigate possible cause and effect relationship by observing an existing condition or state of affairs and searching back in time for plausible causal factors. It is also a method of teasing out possible antecedents of events that have happened and cannot, therefore, be engineered or manipulated by the researcher (Mutai, 2000). For example, maternal employment will be related to gender, mother-child interactions and pre-adolescent social adjustment patterns and peer interactions that are dependent variables. This design is useful since it will give a sense of direction.

The independent variable for this study was maternal employment; specific care givers, day and boarding schools, gender and maternal level of education. The dependent variables were mother-

child interaction patterns and pre-adolescent social adjustment. Responses on maternal employment came from the pupils and the mothers of the pupils. The mothers were asked to fill in a questionnaire, which required information regarding their interaction with their children and employment.

3.2 Area of Study

The site of this study was the City of Nairobi (see the map on the appendix J). It is an industrialized city with a population of about three million people. It is a stable community in several respects. Although it is not immune to the increase in unemployment rates that characterize many urban centres in Kenya, it has a more diversified economy. It is primarily a blue-collar city. Nairobi being a major employment centre attracts many people. It is a cosmopolitan town. It has the rich, poor, middle-class, literate and illiterate people. It is also the climax of heterogeneity. Being Kenya's capital city it has an international outlook. It has a population that has the nature of variables that were being investigated.

3.3 Target Population

There are eight divisions in Nairobi. The estimated standard five population was 26,000 pupils (Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics and Planning, 2007). The subjects of the study were drawn from six of the divisions. The target population was standard five pupils aged between 10-11 years. These pupils were chosen so that the target child would be part of the cohort of children for whom a sizeable number of mothers resume work during their first birth. This is because there can be enough children whose mothers resume work during their first year to enable the researcher to contrast them on the child's social adjustment with those whose mothers are not employed. Standard five pupils are also young enough that their mothers will be able to accurately report their employment history since the child's birth. On the other hand,

standard five children can read and fill in the peer rating and nomination questionnaires. Their level of understanding and use of language is appropriate for this study. They are able to express their opinions freely.

Six divisions were selected for the study with one primary school in each. Pupils from these schools had parents of low and middle-income group. For the purpose of this study, there was need for pupils to come from different economic and social settings. This acted as a natural control for confounding factors such as different school exposures and socio-economic backgrounds.

There were 245 class teachers in standard 5 in the selected divisions from whom 6 were selected for the study. There were approximately 423 mothers of the pupils in the six schools that were used. Due to financial constraints and limitations of time, 120 mothers were included in the study. These comprised mothers of the pupils who were selected for the study from the six schools.

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The sample included one parent families as well as two-parent families. To obtain adequate size sample of standard five pupils from various categories of schools, the researcher used six schools. The sample was obtained from multi-stage sampling techniques. There were three school samples. That is, two private day schools, two private boarding schools and two City Council day schools. This was partly for efficiency since obtaining the co-operation of a school system can be quite time-consuming. In addition, it was important that the school system encompassed an ethnically and social economically diverse population to control for intervening variables such as social economic backgrounds and nature of child care experiences. The above statistics were obtained from the Ministry of Education, department of statistics and planning. Additional

information was also obtained from the City Council of Nairobi, Education Department. It is worth noting here that the sample frame included only those schools (both private and public) registered by the City Council of Nairobi. Those schools that were not registered and are found within Nairobi were not included in the sampling process and so the results may not apply to them. Once the schools that represent the above strata had been identified, the following procedure was used to identify the subjects of the study.

Simple random sampling was used in order to create a representative sample of Nairobi divisions. This ensured that all divisions had an equal chance of being selected. Random numbers were allocated to each of the divisions and placed in a box and then they were mixed after which six were randomly selected. This implied that every division had an equal chance of selection into the sample. This method was preferred because it produced more precise estimates.

School stratification was found important in order to get a representative sample of schools. That is, private day schools, private boarding schools and City Council schools. After stratification a random sample of two schools within each stratum were selected.

Employment and non-employment stratification was also found important because the care and exposure given to children of employed mothers was likely to be different from that of non-employed mothers as shown in the literature. Children of employed mothers are exposed to house help hazards more than those children who are cared for by their own non - employed mothers. It was expected that children's early experiences and exposure would influence their social adjustment.

Systematic random sampling was also used to select the mothers. The registration lists of mothers who had attended the class open day meeting were used to select a desired number of mothers for

the pupils. In this case, the total number of mothers was divided by the number of mothers required per school to obtain the sampling interval. After this, every K^{th} number of student's mother was selected starting from a randomly chosen number. This method allowed the researcher to obtain a representative sample of mothers who had attended the meeting.

Purposive sampling was used to select 6 class teachers. This technique allowed the researcher to use cases that had requisite information with respect to the objectives of the study. These class teachers were handpicked because they were considered informative regarding the pupils' social competence.

Most of the schools in Nairobi have more than one stream. To select the specific stream for the research, simple random sampling was used. This was because only one stream would be used per school due to financial constraints and time factor.

The final study sample consisted of 549 subjects selected from Nairobi Province. This sample was made up of 423 pupils, 120 mothers and 6 teachers. The pupils' ages ranged from 10-11 years. The composition of the study sample is represented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Composition of Study Sample

Division	School	Class	Boys	Girls	Teachers	Mothers	Total
Parklands	Loreto convent	5	—	49	1	20	70
Makadara	Madaraka Primary	5	42	45	1	20	108
Embakasi	Utawala Academy	5	36	44	1	20	101
Central	Mathari Primary	5	42	42	1	20	105
Kasarani	Mt. Laverna Academy	5	37	48	1	20	106
Pumwani	St. Teresa's Boys	5	38	—	1	20	59
Total			195	228	6	120	549

3.5 Instrumentation

Pre-adolescent measures of social adjustment were from four sources: the peers and the teachers' ratings, a questionnaire and an interview schedule. Five peer-rating measures were used. The first were a measure of likeability or acceptance in which children in the classroom were given a list of all their classmates' names and asked to rate how much they liked each child on a five-point scale, "like a lot" to "dislike a lot". Scores were computed for each child.

A Peer Nomination Behavioral Assessment (PNBA) format was used for five measures (Hymel Ruben, 1985). Children were given a list of all their classmates' names and asked to nominate one who was characterized by the following behaviors:

- Who says bad things to other kids?
- Who hits other kids?
- Who says good things to other kids.
- Who is quiet and friendly?
- Who helps others a lot?

All children in the classroom were rated by the teacher using Teacher-Child Rating Scale (T-CRS). T-CRS is an instrument that was developed by Hightower (1986). Items on this scale tap children's social adjustment problems and social competences. For adjustment problems, teachers rated each item using a scale from 1 (not a problem) to 5 (very serious problem). For social competence items, teachers rated each item using a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very well).

Measures of interaction and affection included mother's report of mother-child interactions. Mothers were given a questionnaire with a list of four scales and were asked to indicate how often they had done each activity with their child in the past few weeks. The first part of the mother's questionnaire sought background information. Responses were scored on a four-point scale ranging from "not at all" (1) to 3-4 weeks (4). Four statements also regarding maternal employment were given to the mother to gather information about their employment in relation to their children. The mothers were required to tick either true or false.

The Focus Group Discussions were prepared for the mothers to enhance what was filled in the questionnaire. This was in a sense an oral questionnaire. Instead of writing the response, the subject gave the needed information orally and on a face-to-face base. This method took a very short time. Though it appeared like a conversation, a discussion involved a set of assumptions and understanding about a situation, which was not normally associated with a casual conversation (Denscombe, 1983; Silverman, 1985). The interviewer can clarify and elaborate the purpose of the research and effectively convince respondents about the importance of the research. This was advantageous because respondents could give more complete and honest information (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). Each group comprised of eight members whereby four were employed and four were not employed. Each participant was free to comment, criticize or elaborate on the views expressed by the other previous speakers. The interviewer guided the discussion. The interviews were conducted in the respective schools with prior arrangements with the class-teacher.

3.6 Pilot Study

The researcher carried out a pilot study with Kasarani Primary school Nairobi. The school was not included in the main study. A sample of one class with 68 pupils and 1 class teacher was

used. The school was convenient to the researcher. It was also comparable to the sample schools. The purpose of the pilot study was to establish the reliability and validity of the instrument. The pilot study also helped to improve the data collection procedure. It determined the length of time needed for the administration of the questionnaire. It also determined whether the instrument would elicit the data that this study expected. Once the pilot study was done, the entire research procedure, including analysis of data collected was done. Necessary adjustments were made thereafter.

3.6.1 Validity

The construct validity of the instruments that were used in this study showed evidence of acceptable levels of reliability after being used in various studies several times. Hymes and Ruben (1985) on peer ratings evident test-retest correlation of $P=.92$ teachers' rating as shown by Hightower (1986) behavioural and social competence at $P=.94$, Mother-child-interaction report questionnaire on a post-hoc ANOVA by Hymel (1982) indicated $P=0.05$ levels.

Validity was analyzed by tallying each objective with respective questionnaire items, which facilitated the assessment of whether or not the items responded to the respective research questions.

3.6.2 Reliability

The reliability of the instrument used was based on the fact that the scale had been used in America and South Africa on a population similar to the subjects of this study. To establish inter-rater reliability, three questionnaires were randomly selected from the data that was collected. The questionnaires scores were compared to get inter reliability. Some items in the questionnaire were revised and restated so as to be clear to the subjects.

3.7 Data Collection Techniques

3.7.1 Data Collection Procedure

With the help of a research assistant, the researcher personally distributed the questionnaires to the respondents in the classrooms. Four hundred and twenty three questionnaires were distributed to the pupils. Arrangement was made with the respective class teachers on their appropriate time to meet the mothers to fill the questionnaires and interview schedules.

3.7.2 Scoring

The peer rating measures included total scores of each pupil from the same class. This was divided into children whose mothers are employed and those whose mothers are not employed.

Peer nomination scores were based on the percentage of children who nominated him or her for that particular behavior. Higher score on the first four items on the teachers' rating indicated greater difficulty. Higher score on social competence scale indicated greater competence. For the mother-child interaction, each response was given numerals as follows:

1=Not at all, 2=within last 9 weeks, 3= 6 weeks ago, 4=3-4 weeks ago,

3.8 Data Analysis

Items of the questionnaires were scored and coded. Data was entered into the computer. This was due to the large number of subjects and variables involved in the study. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to process data. Summary scores were computed for every questionnaire. Data was presented in tabular, graphic, percentages and tables of various aspects of maternal employment and pre- adolescents' scores in a descriptive manner.

A summary for the pupil's demographic data was done for each child. This helped the researcher get information on the pupil's background. The information gathered pertained to the employment status of the mother, duration of the mother's employment and role of the father. ANOVA test was computed on the means of the children of the employed and children of the non-employed mothers.

The second and third questionnaires were pupils Rating scale and Peer Nomination Behavioral Assessment. Scores of each questionnaire was calculated and a summary of the scores done through calculating the mean score for each pupil.

Teacher-Child Rating Scale and the Child-Social Competence scale scores were computed for each child. ANOVA test was performed on the mean scores.

The background information for the mothers is important in supplementing the responses that was given by the pupils. From this questionnaire, responses from each mother were analyzed and a summary for all mothers was done. Percentages were used to draw conclusions.

Mother-child interaction reports were used to assess mother-child interaction pattern. Scores of mother-child interaction were compiled. Scores of employed and non-employed mothers were calculated. ANOVA test was done on the mean scores of both responses. This indicated the extent to which the mother interacts with her child. Higher scores indicated more mother involvement.

Descriptive analysis was done on the mothers' interview. The significance probability was set at $p < 0.05$ levels.

3.9 Research Null Hypotheses

- H₀₁ There is no significant relationship between children of employed and non - employed mothers in pre-adolescent social adjustment. The null hypothesis H₀₁ was tested using Kruskal-Wallis Non Parametric ANOVA at 0.05 level of significant.
- H₀₂ There is no significant difference in mother-child interaction between pre-adolescents of employed and non - employed mothers. Kruskal-Wallis Non Parametric ANOVA at 0.05 level of significant was used to test null hypothesis H₀₂.
- H₀₃ There is no significant gender difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers. To test null hypothesis H₀₃, ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance was used. In this hypothesis, gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers were examined.
- H₀₄ There is no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific care givers. The null hypothesis H₀₄ was tested by Kruskal-Wallis Non-Parametric ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance. This tested for the differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific caregivers.
- H₀₅ There is no significant difference in pre – adolescent social adjustment between children in day and in boarding schools. Kruskal-Wallis Non-Parametric ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance was used to test null hypothesis H₀₅. Kruskal-Wallis tested for the differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who are in Boarding schools and Day schools.
- H₀₆ There is no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children of mothers with different educational levels. Kruskal-Wallis Non-Parametric ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance was used to test null hypothesis H₀₆.

3.10 Logistical and Ethical Considerations

For ethical considerations, the first step was to obtain a research permit from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and City Education Department(see appendices K and L). Next, the researcher visited the schools, which were selected for study. A letter was drafted by the researcher to the parents of the pupils targeted for the study seeking their permission for them to participate in the study.

Parental permission for the child's participation was obtained prior to the administration of any measures. Parents were requested to inform the school of their acceptance or non acceptance by returning a form enclosed with the letter to school. Those children whose parents did not return the form were not studied.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main sections. Section one presents demographic data on pupils and their parents. The second section presents statistical analyses of the hypotheses.

4.1 Demographic Data

4.1.1 Pupil Respondents' Demographic Data

Pupil respondents were asked a number of background characteristics concerning themselves, their parents and the overall home environment. Their responses are summarized in the following figures.

Pupil's Age

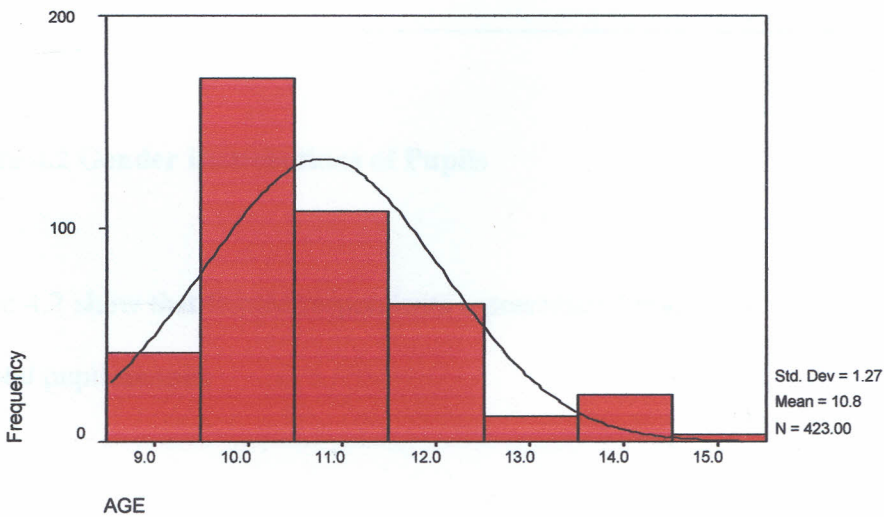


Figure 4.1 Age Distribution and Statistics

Figure 4.1 indicates that majority of pupils were of age 10 years, followed by 11 years and then 12 years. The distribution reflects a positive skewness, with majority of pupils aged between 10 years to 11 years, few aged between 13 years to 15 years. This showed the usual distribution of

pupils in standard five, where their ages ranged from 10 to 11 years. The mean age was 11 years with a standard deviation of approximately 1 year.

Pupils' Gender

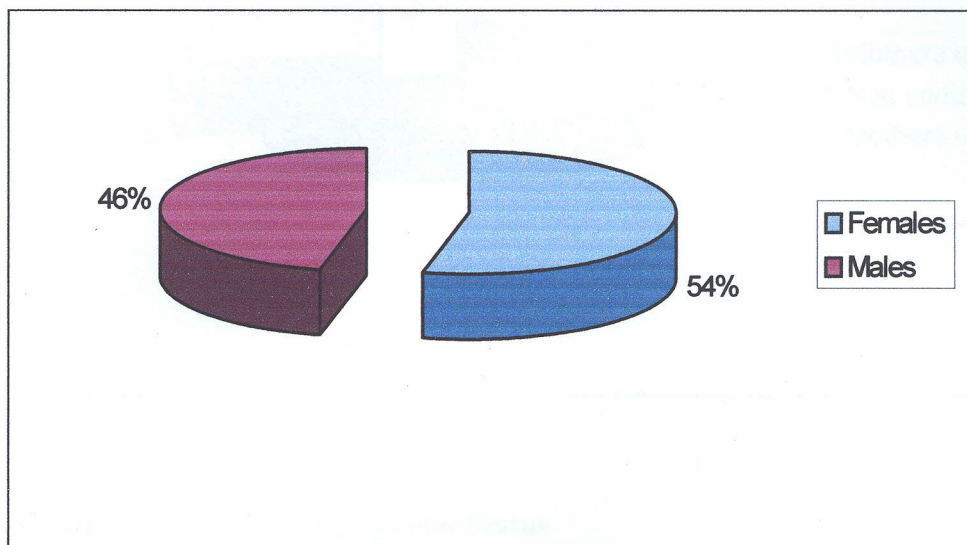


Figure 4.2 Gender Distributions of Pupils

Figure 4.2 show that female respondents represented 54%, while male respondents were 46% of the total pupil sample.

Mothers' Employment

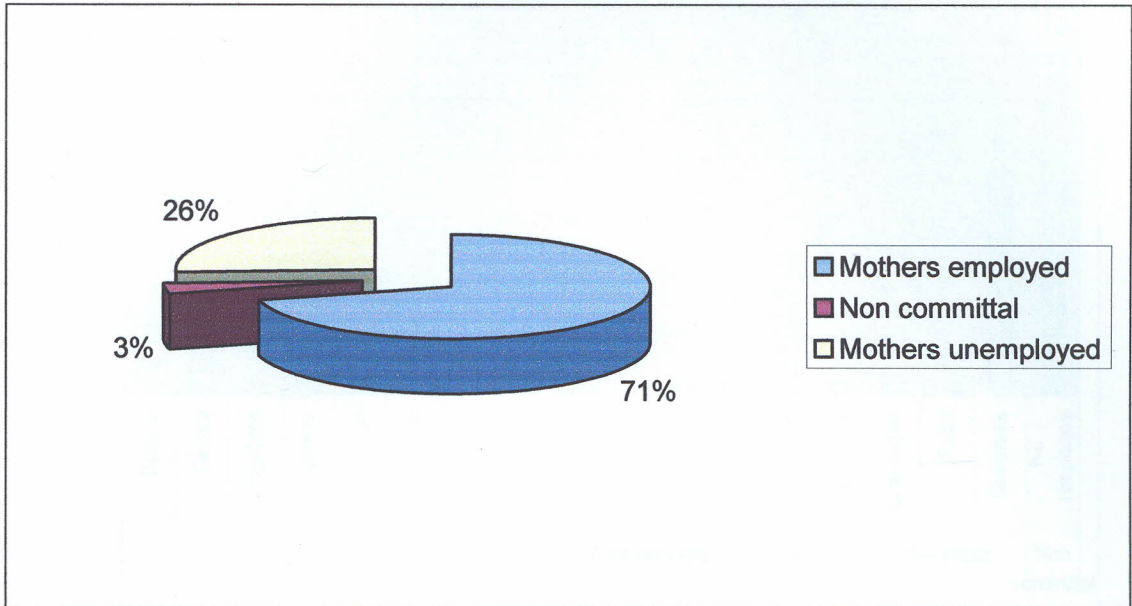


Figure 4.3 Mothers' Employment Status

As shown in Figure 4.3, majority (71%) of mothers were employed, either waged or self-employment, while, 26% were unemployed. A few (3%) of the pupils did not indicate the employment status of their mothers since they were not living with them or were deceased.

Mothers' Occupation

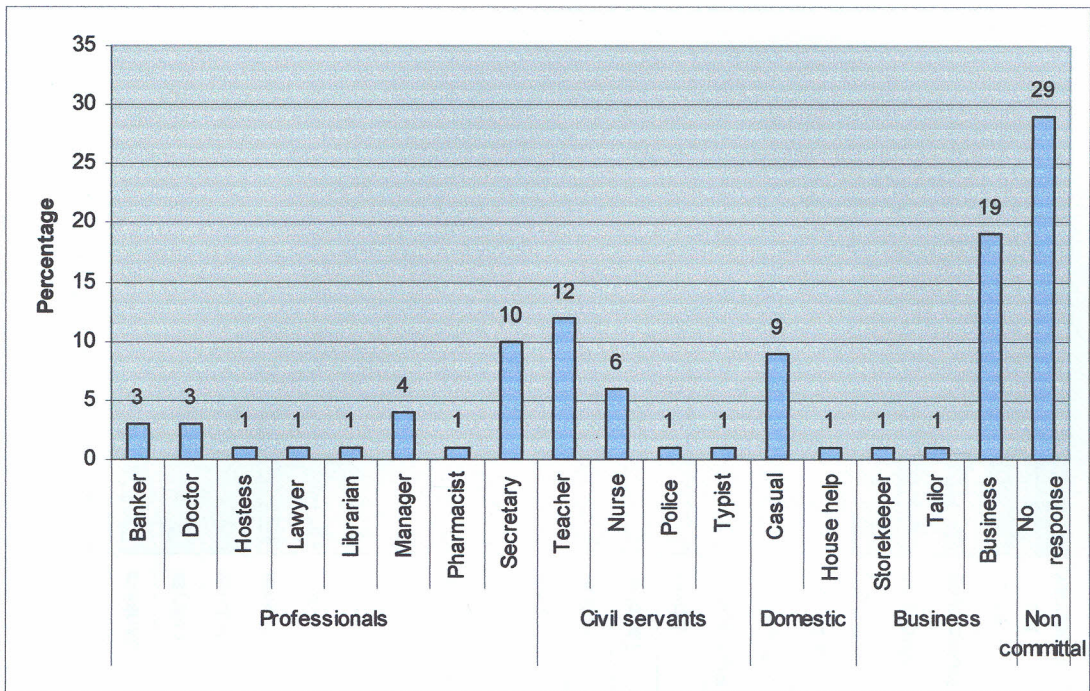


Figure 4.4 Mothers Occupation

Figure 4.4 shows those most outstanding mothers' occupations of the 71% of mothers who were employed included business (19%), secretary (10%), teacher (12%), casual work (9%) and nurse (6%).

Fathers' Occupation

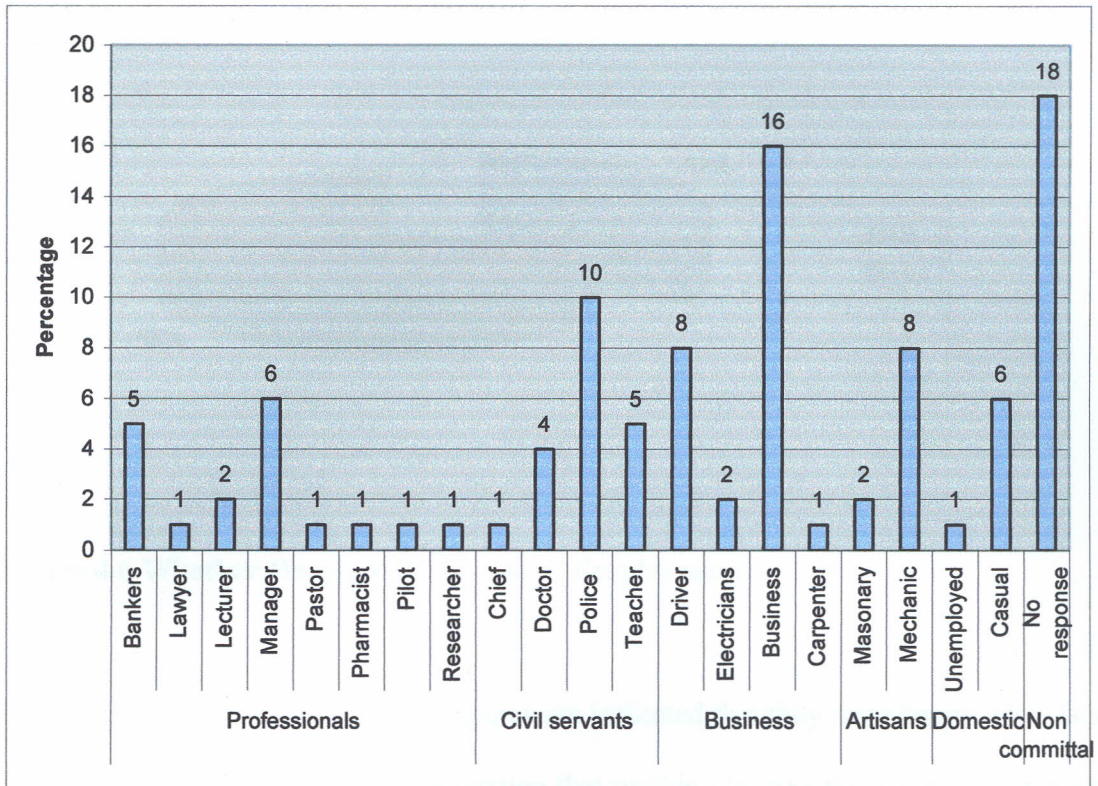


Figure 4.5 Fathers' Occupation

Figure 4.5 shows that almost 80% of fathers were employed and only 1% was unemployed. Of the 80% employed fathers, 16% were businessmen, 10% policemen, 8% each in mechanical and driving jobs, 6% in management and casual workers respectively.

Happy With Mothers' Employment

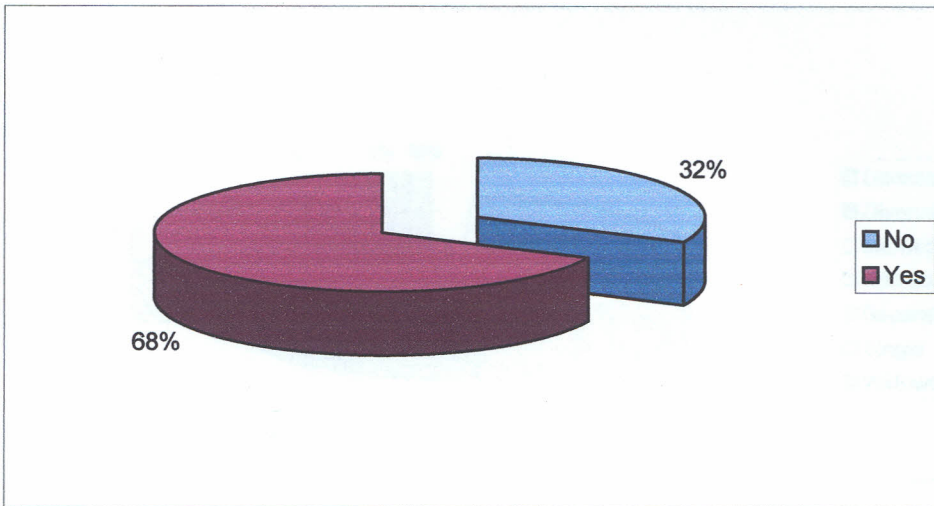


Figure 4.6 Whether Happy With Mothers' Employment

From Figure 4.6 majority of pupil respondents indicated that they were happy with their mothers' employment (68%), against the expectation that working lessens the contact hours between them and their mothers. Only 32% were not happy with their mothers' employment.

Further analysis of the pupil responses did indicate that for the 68% who were happy with their mothers' employment, they gave reasons that this enables their mothers to care for them (i.e. buy them clothes, food, etc), educate them and give them money for personal effects.

4.1.2 Mother Respondents' Demographic Data

Mother respondents were also asked a number of background characteristics regarding themselves and their children. The following figures present a summary of their responses.

Marital Status

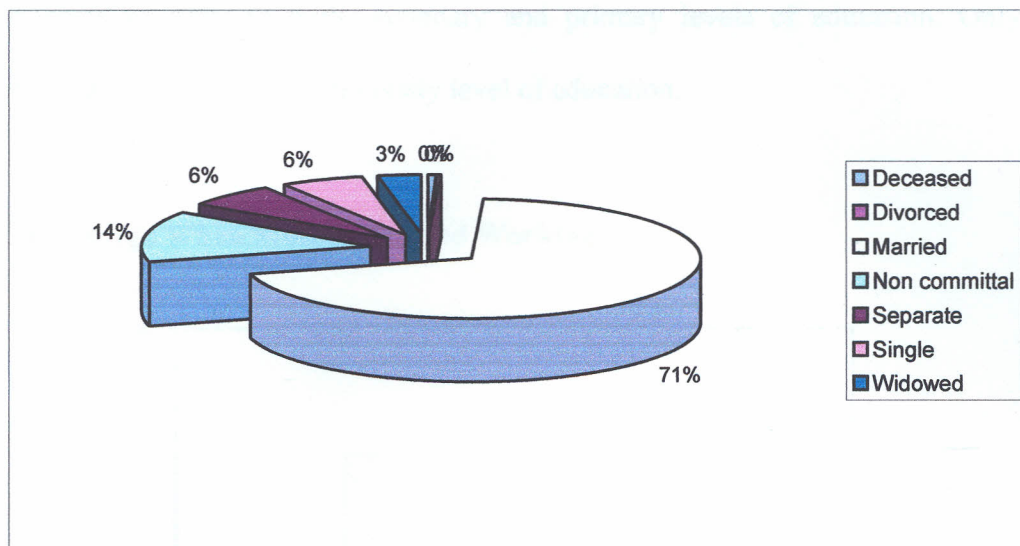


Figure 4.7 Marital Status

As indicated in Figure 4.7 majority (71%) of the mothers were married. The remainders were single due to divorce, separation or had lost their partner. Only 14% were non-committal concerning their marital status.

Mothers' Education Level

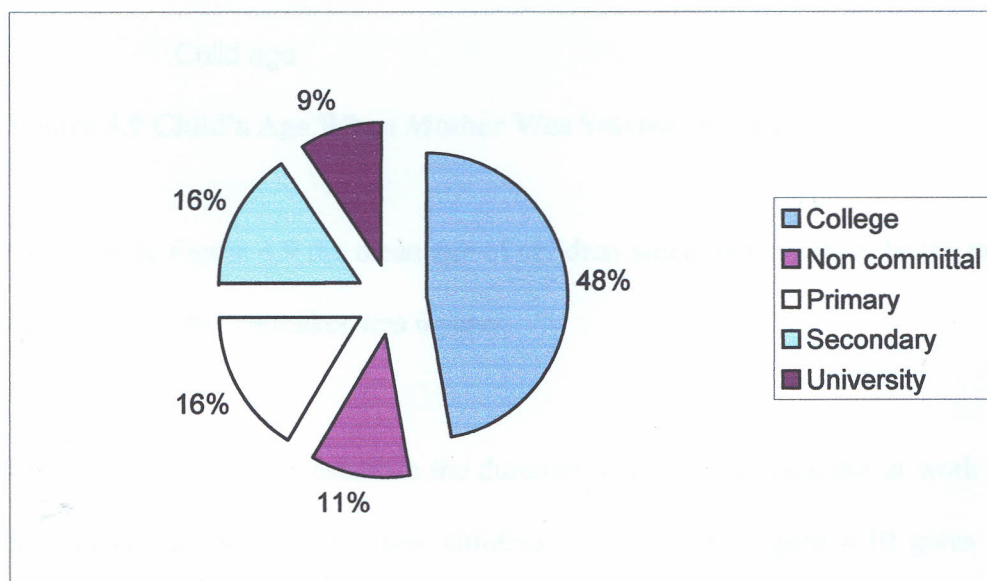


Figure 4.8 Mothers' Education Level

Figure 4.8 shows that majority (48%) of mothers had attained up to college level of education, followed by 16% in both secondary and primary levels of education. Only 9% of mother respondents had attained university level of education.

Child's Age When Mother Started Working

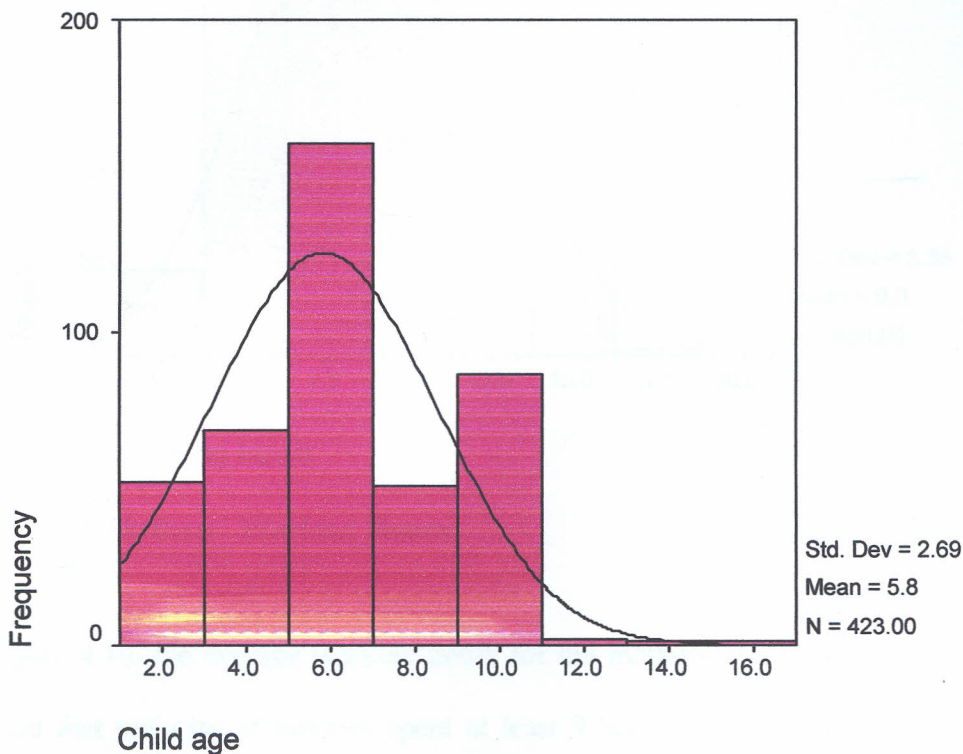


Figure 4.9 Child's Age When Mother Was Started Working

As shown in Figure 4.9 the mean age of children when their mothers began working and leaving them with another caretaker was 6 years.

It was also important to establish the duration that mothers spent out at work in a bid to find out the lost contact hours with their children due to work. Figure 4.10 gives a summary of the findings concerning mothers' working hours.

Working Hours

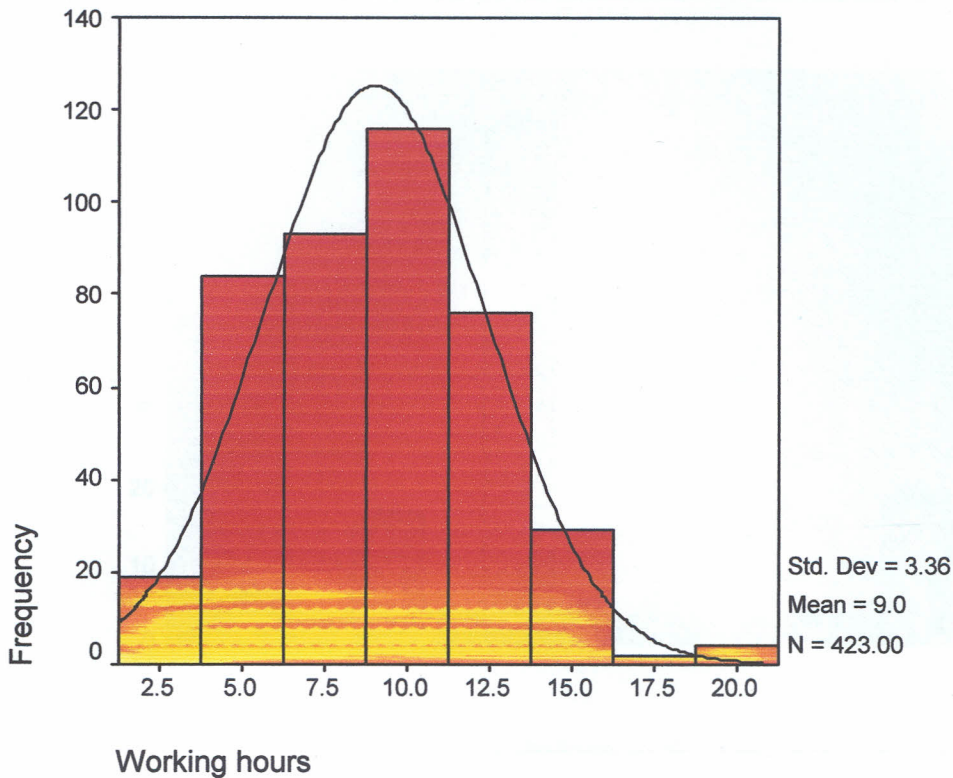


Figure 4.10 Mothers' Working Hours

In Figure 4.10, the average working hours for the mothers was 9 per day (i.e. day time). This implied that majority of mothers spent at least 9 hours in the absence of their children daily. Importantly, this is the active phase of the day where active interaction is supposed to take place between the mother and the child which influences mother-child interaction. This also impacts on the child social adjustments.

The findings in Figure 4.10 indicate that majority of mothers spent an average of 9 hours of their day time at work, hence, it was important for the researcher to find out who the mothers left their children with during these 9 hours when they were out for work. Figure 4.11 presents the results of the study

Specific Care Givers

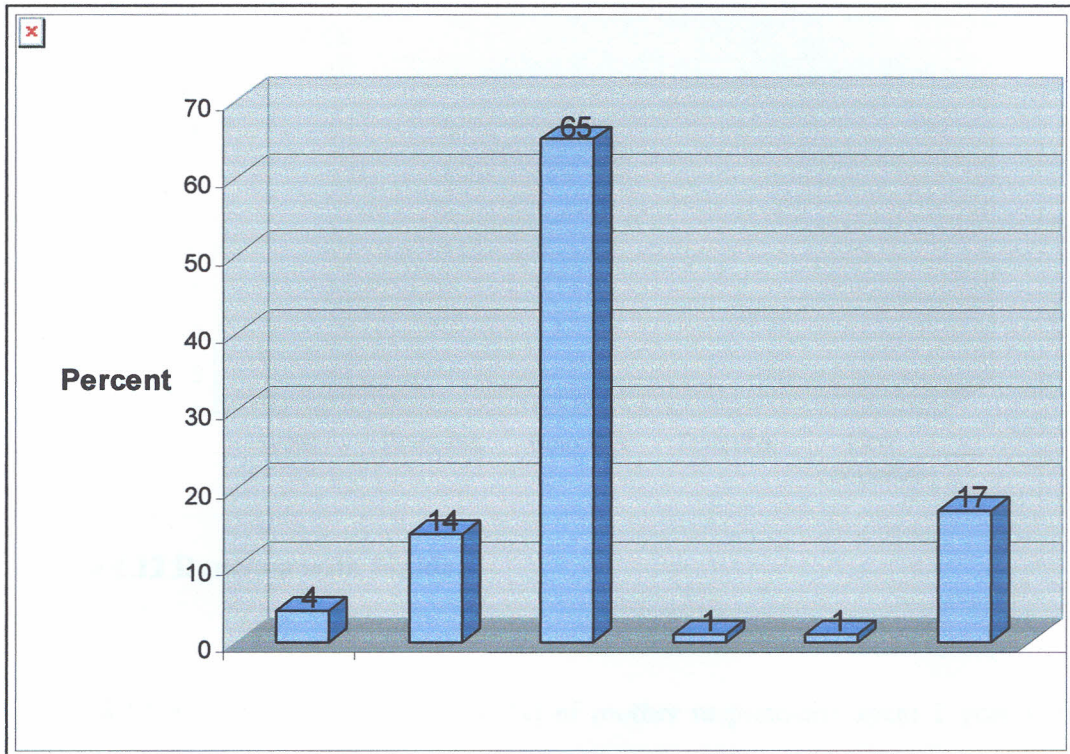


Figure 4.11 Persons left with the child when the mother is away

It is clear in Figure 4.11 that majority (65%) of mother respondents left their children with house helps. Seventeen percent left them with their daughters (i.e. children's sisters), 14% left their children with their mothers (i.e. children's grandmothers) and 4% left them with their elder sons (i.e. children's elder brothers), while 1% of mother respondents left their children with their husbands and 1% of respondents were non committal.

The researcher also sought to find out the duration that mothers stayed with house helps as caretakers of their children. The summary of the findings is given in Figure 4.12.

Duration with Maids

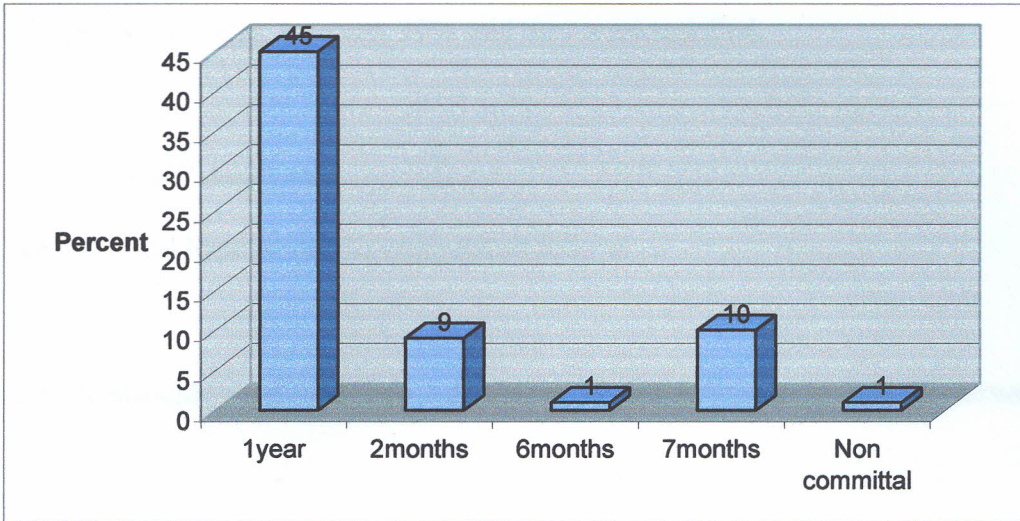


Figure 4.12 Duration with Maids

Figure 4.12 indicates that majority (45%) of mother respondents spent 1 year with their house helps, followed by 10% who spent 7 months with their house helps and 9% who spent only 2 months with the house helps. One percent of mother respondents spent 6 months with the house helps. In addition, mothers with house helps were asked to rate their house helps, and their responses are summarized in Figure 4.13.

Mothers house help rating

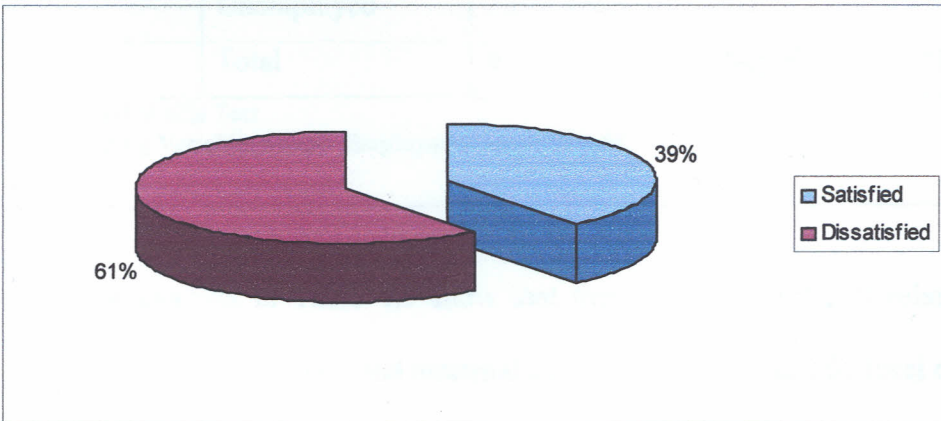


Figure 4.13 Mothers house help rating

From Figure 4.13 majority (61%) of mother respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with their house helps, whereas, 39% said they were satisfied.

4.2 Statistical Analyses

Each statistical hypothesis was analyzed as follows

4.2.1 Relationship between Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment and Maternal Employment Status

The null hypothesis H_0 was tested using Kruskal-Wallis Non Parametric ANOVA at 0.05 level of significance. The results of analysis are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Kruskal -Wallis Test for the Relationship between Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment and Maternal Employment Status at 0.05 Level of Significance

Ranks				Test Statistics (a,b)	
	Mothers' Employment Status	N	Mean Rank		Social Adjustment
Social Adjustment	Employed	300	197.84	Chi-Square	13.915
	Unemployed	123	246.55	Df	1
	Total	423		Sig. F	.001
a Kruskal Wallis Test b Grouping Variable: Mother Employment status $P < 0.05$					

Results of analysis in Table 4.1 show that there was a significant relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and maternal employment status at 0.05 level of significance. This is because the calculated proportion (0.001) was less than the set 0.05 level of significance. Hence, the relationship in the mean rank was statistically significant. Thus, the null hypothesis H_0 that

there was no significant relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and maternal employment status at 0.05 level of significance was not accepted. This implied that mothers' employment status did affect children' social adjustment, with children whose mothers were employed recording the lowest mean (197.84) and those whose mothers were not employed having a mean of 246.55. This shows that children of unemployed mother were higher in social adjustment than those of employed mothers.

These results were consistent with a number of previously reviewed studies. Haveman and Wolfe (1994) who found that children of employed mothers had higher academic achievements than children of non employed mothers. UNICEF (2000) found out that children whose mothers were employed were considered to have conduct problems in schools. Ruhm's (2000) study on various measures of maternal employment including employment hours and proportions of weeks worked during a child's first three years, showed that there were detrimental effects on the child's cognitive development.

A study by Parcel and Menaghan (1999) also found that the number of hours worked by employed mothers had negative effect on cognitive development relative to part and full-time maternal work. In addition, Belsky and Eggebeen (1999) examined mothers' employment status and the extent of maternal employment during a child's first three years. They found significant negative effects on multiple measures of socio-emotional development (such as a child's adjustment, compliance and attachment to its mother. Desai, Chase-Land and Michael (1999) found that a mother's employment had negative effect on Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) scores of males from high social economic status.

However, others found that maternal employment has mixed results on children's development. Early Child Care Research Network (1998) showed little evidence related to social incompetence and maternal employment. Grossberg (2002) found that the portions of weeks spent out of home by mothers in the child's first year, reduce Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) scores. Baydar and Brooks-Gunn (2001) found that a mother's employment in her child's first year had detrimental effects on the PPVT, but the continuity and intensity did not. Mott (2001) examined maternal work intensity and whether the child spends a significant amount of time in non-maternal childcare in the child's first year. The results showed that there were no major effects on various measures of child development. Mixed findings in some of these studies occur due to differences in sample and time of the study.

4.2.2 Differences in mother-child interaction between children of employed and non-employed mothers

Kruskal-Wallis Non Parametric ANOVA at 0.05 level of significant was used to test null hypothesis H_{02} . The summary of the analysis is presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Kruskal-Wallis Test for the Differences in Mother-Child Interaction between Children of Employed and Non-Employed Mothers at 0.05 Level Of Significance

Ranks				Test Statistics (a,b)	
	Mothers' Employment status	N	Mean Rank		Mother-Child Interaction
Mother-Child Interaction	Employed	300	216.55	Chi-Square	1.650
	Unemployed	123	200.91	Df	1
	Total	423		Sig. F	.199
a Kruskal Wallis Test b Grouping Variable: Mother Employment status P<0.05					

The analysis in Table 4.2 indicates that there was no significant difference in mother-child interaction between children of employed and non-employed mothers at 0.05 level of significance. In this case, the calculated proportion was 0.199, which is greater than 0.05 level of significance. This shows that the difference in mean rank was not statistically significant. Hence, the null hypothesis H_{02} , which stated that there was no significant difference in mother-child interaction between children of employed and non-employed mothers at 0.05 level of significance was accepted. This implied that the mother-child interaction was the same in employed and non-employed mothers. Thus, the mean differences for employed mothers (216.55) and non-employed mothers (200.91) were not statistically different.

These results are similar to Burchinal (1999) who conducted a study on the relationship between childcare centers after children's first year. The study found that there was little indication of differences in the mother-child relations between those who stay with their mothers (unemployed) and those who do not (employed). Also Cook (1998) found no effect of maternal employment on adolescents' career aspirations and academic achievement. But Gold (2000) found that full-time employment of the mother denied her interaction with her child and put the infants at risk of developing maladjusted behavior. However, Clarke-Stewart, (1988); Marion (1994) and Haveman (1999) evaluated the same studies, and concluded that there was insufficient evidence to support Gold's claim, giving rise to mixed findings on this variable.

4.2.3 Gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers

To test null hypothesis H_{03} , ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance was used. In this hypothesis, gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed

and non-employed mothers were examined. Table 4.3 below presents the summary of the analysis.

Table 4.3 ANOVA Test for Gender Differences in Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment between Children of Employed and Non-Employed Mothers

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Gender	Between Groups	16.792	20	.840	3.819	.001
	Within Groups	88.390	402	.220		
	Total	105.182	422			
Mothers' Employment status	Between Groups	19.708	20	.985	5.866	.001
	Within Groups	67.526	402	.168		
	Total	87.234	422			

P<0.05

Results of analysis in Table 4.3 show that there was a significant gender difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers at 0.05 level of significance. Hence, the null hypothesis Ho3, which stated that there was no significant gender difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers, was not accepted. A post Hoc test, Tukey HSD, was performed to establish the group that contributed to the significant difference. Table 4.4 gives a summary of the Post Hoc test.

Table 4.4 Tukey HSD Test for Gender Differences in Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment between Children of Employed and Non-Employed Mothers

		Subset for alpha = .05
Gender	Boys	.083
	Girls	.058
Mothers' Employment status	Employed	.067
	Non Employed	.068

As shown in Table 4.4, the Tukey HSD test revealed that boys of non-employed mothers contributed to the significant difference. This is because under the gender variable, boys who had employed mothers Tukey value was high (0.083). Boys of non employed mothers had Tukey value of 0.068. This implied that boys of non-employed mothers have low social adjustment as compared to their girls counterparts and children of employed mothers.

The findings in hypothesis Ho₃ showed that there were significant gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers. Further analysis using Tukey HSD test revealed that boys of non-employed mothers contributed to the significant difference. Thus, this meant that boys of non-employed mothers had low social adjustment as compared to their girls' counterparts and children of employed mothers. Bifani, Kavetsa, Kariuki (1982) study showed relatively similar findings that mother's employment status determines children's sex role stereotypes. In fact, Longer and Galabos (1997) found that male and female children vary in social adjustment due to maternal employment.

Contrary to this, Brookins (1978) found that children of employed mothers evidence more approval of employment, less traditional sex role concepts and higher evaluation of female competence than children of non employed mothers. However, Scar (1989) found no significant differences among male and female of employed and non-employed mothers on matters concerning mother participation in employment (more so in politics).

4.2.4 Differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific care givers

The null hypothesis Ho₄ was tested by Kruskal-Wallis Non-Parametric ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance. Table 4.5 below presents the summary of the analysis.

Analysis of Hypothesis Ho4 in Table 4.5 indicates that there was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific caregivers at 0.05 level of significance. This is because the calculated proportion (0.289) is greater than 0.05 level of significance. This indicates that the differences in mean rank were not statistically significant. Hence, the null hypothesis Ho4, which stated that there was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who are left under specific caregivers at 0.05 level of significance, was accepted. This implied that regardless of the different caregivers with whom children were left in the place of mothers, the children's level of social adjustment was not different.

Table 4.5 Kruskal-Wallis Test for the Differences in Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment among Children Who Are Left Under Specific Care Givers at 0.05 Level Of Significance

Ranks				Test Statistics (a,b)	
	Care giver	N	Mean Rank		Social adjustment
Social adjustment	House help	274	210.91	1 Chi-Square Df Sig.F	4.980
	Sister	71	221.65		4
	Elder siblings	16	242.41		.289
	Grandmother	57	183.28		
	Husband	1	137.00		
	Total	419			
a Kruskal Wallis Test b Grouping Variable: Mother Employment status P<0.05					

Analysis of Hypothesis Ho₄ indicated that there was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who were left under specific caregivers. These caregivers included house helps, sisters, elder siblings, grandmothers and husbands. These results implied that whether the child was left with the house help, sister, elder sibling, grandmother and husband, his/her level of social adjustment was not different in any case. However, Clarke-Stewart, (1988); Marion (1994) and Haveman (1999) indicated that there was insufficient evidence to claim that there was a difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who were left under specific caregivers.

But Williams (1993), Yankelovich (1977) and Stucky (1982) report that in families, though children have caretakers, they do not develop attachment with them. Instead, these children show apathy, withdrawal and have a depressed functioning, all of which have long-term consequences of inadequate adolescent social adjustment. In fact, Embry and Flannery (2001) observed that psychodynamic factors which include external stimuli such as love and nurturing can affect children's social adjustment. Similar findings were supported by Hoffman (1991) whose study results showed that child rearing experiences, particularly in the early years affect the capacity of children to regulate their social competence.

This may be due to mother's employment, which reduces mother-child interaction. Indeed, the developing child left under the care of the house help may not receive the love and nurturance expected for social competence (Maccoby, 1980). Oden (1999) found that social factors in the child's life can result in the symptoms of anti social behavior. These include: inadequate family life, deprived children, violent neighborhood, ineffective schools or substantial exposure to real or media violence. Furthermore, Tumuti (1991) indicated that perennial changing of house helps might lead to the child's low rate in social adjustment.

4.2.5 Differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who were in Boarding schools and Day schools.

Kruskal-Wallis Non-Parametric ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance was used to test null hypothesis H_0 . Table 4.6 shows the summary of the analysis.

Table 4.6 Kruskal-Wallis Test for the Differences in Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment between Children Who Are In Boarding Schools and Day Schools

Ranks				Test Statistics (a,b)	
	Residential status of the school	N	Mean Rank		Social adjustment
Social adjustment	Boarding	137	210.35	1 Chi-Square df Sig.F	.037
	Day schools	286	212.79		1
	Total	423			.848
a Kruskal Wallis Test b Grouping Variable: Residential status of the school P<0.05					

The results of analysis of Hypothesis H_0 as shown in Table 4.6 indicate that there was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who were in boarding schools and those who were in day schools at 0.05 level of significance. This is because the calculated proportion (0.848) is greater than the set 0.05 level of significance. This gives the evidence that the differences in the mean ranks were not statistically significant. Therefore, the null hypothesis H_0 , which stated that there was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who were in boarding schools and day schools at 0.05 level of significance, was accepted. This implied that despite the schools' residential status, that is, whether in boarding and or day school, the children's level of social adjustment was more or less the same.

The results of the analysis showed that there was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who are in boarding schools and day schools. Hence, despite

of the child's school residential status (that is, whether in boarding and /or day school), his/her level of social adjustment was not different from each other. However, according to Bowlby (1951) taking a child to a boarding school breaks the maternal bond with the child during the early years of its life is likely to have serious effect on its social adjustment and competence. These effects are permanent and irreversible. Furthermore, Molt and Cooksey (1997) reported that children growing up in orphanages and other residential institutions observed pale, retarded and inept children and attributed their inadequacies to the deprivation of "a mother's love".

4.2.6 Relationship between Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment and Educational Level of the Mother

In order to test null hypothesis H_0 , ANOVA test at 0.05 level of significance was used. The results of analysis are shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 ANOVA Test for the Differences between Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment and Educational Level of the Mother

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1268.717	4	317.179	10.663	.0002
Within Groups	12434.266	418	29.747		
Total	13702.983	422			

$P < 0.05$

Analysis of the results in Table 4.7 shows that there was a significant difference between pre-adolescent social adjustment and educational level of the mother at 0.05 level of significance. Hence, the null hypothesis H_0 , which stated that there was no difference between pre-adolescent social adjustment and educational level of the mother, was not accepted. A Further analysis of post Hoc test, Tukey HSD, was performed to establish the group that contributed to the significant difference. Table 4.8 gives a summary of the Post Hoc test.

Table 4.8 Tukey HSD Test for the Differences between Pre-Adolescent Social Adjustment and Educational Level of the Mother

Educational Level	Subset for alpha = .05
Primary	.321
Secondary	.999
College	.081
University	.643

The Tukey HSD test in Table 4.8 above shows that children whose mothers attained secondary school level of education contributed to the significant difference (with a Tukey value of 0.999). This implied that children whose mothers had attained secondary school level of education had high social adjustment compared to the rest.

Indeed, Flannel (1993) points out that high level of women's education encourages them to join work force which is likely to affect the child's development and impact on its social adjustment. Apparently, Igaga (1990) and Sanders (1981) noted that children of elite working mothers are likely to be exposed to hazards of modern life, which are related to both print and visual media (that is, as a result of information super highway).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter the summary of the findings, implications of the study and recommendations are presented. The summary of the findings is presented first, followed by the implications of the study and then recommendations.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The summary of the results shows the following trends:

- (i) Majority of pupils were of age 10 years, followed by 11 years and then 12 years.
- (ii) Female respondents represented 54%, while male respondents represented 46% of the total pupil sample.
- (iii) Seventy one percent (71%) of mothers were in either waged or self-employment while, 26% were unemployed.
- (iv) The most outstanding mothers' occupations of the 71% of mothers who were employed included business (19%), secretary (10%), teacher (12%), casual work (9%) and nurse (6%).
- (v) Almost 80% of fathers were employed and only 1% were unemployed. Of the 80% employed fathers, 16% were businessmen, 10% policemen, 8% each in mechanical and driver jobs, and 6% in management and casual workers respectively.
- (vi) Majority of pupil respondents indicated that they were happy with their mother's employment against the expectation that working lessens the contact hours between them and their mothers. Only 32% were not happy with their mothers' employment.

- (vii) Sixty eight percent (68%) who were happy with their mothers' employment gave reasons that this enabled their mothers to care for them (i.e. buy them clothes, food, etc), educate them and give them money for personal effects.
- (viii) Majority (71%) of the mothers were married. The rest were living single due to divorce, separation or a deceased partner.
- (ix) Majority (48%) of mothers had attained up to college level of education.
- (x) The mean age of children when their mothers began working and leaving them with another caretaker was 6 years.
- (xi) The average working hours for the mothers was 9 per day (i.e. day time), implying that they spent at least 9 hours in the absence of their children daily.
- (xii) Majority (65%) of mother respondents left their children with house helps.
- (xiii) Majority (45%) of mother respondents spent one year with their house helps.
- (xiv) Majority (61%) of mother respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with their house helps.
- (xv) There was a significant relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and maternal employment status at 0.05 level of significance.
- (xvi) There was no significant difference in mother-child interaction between children of employed and non-employed mothers at 0.05 level of significance.
- (xvii) There were significant gender differences in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children of employed and non-employed mothers at 0.05 level of significance. The Tukey HSD test reveals that boys of non-employed mothers contributed to the significant difference.
- (xviii) There was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment among children who were left under specific caregivers at 0.05 level of significance.

- (xix) There was no significant difference in pre-adolescent social adjustment between children who were in boarding schools and day schools at 0.05 level of significance.
- (xx) There was a significant relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and educational level of the mother at 0.05 level of significance. The Tukey HSD test showed that children whose mothers attained secondary school level of education contributed to the significant relationship.

5.2 Implications of the Study

It is evident in this research that the average working hours for the mothers was 9 per day (i.e. day time), showing that they spent at least 9 hours in the absence of their children daily. Hence, majority of mothers resorted to leaving their children with other caregivers, who included house helps, siblings, husbands and other relatives. However, the children were influenced in their social adjustment by these caregivers, some of whom the children's mothers were dissatisfied with, and spent less time with them as their helpers, especially, those employed on temporary basis. Thus, it is important to consider the competence of caregivers in helping children adjust socially when hiring helpers to care for children in their parents' absence.

Therefore, it is hoped that the results of this study will strengthen the early care environment of children/pre-adolescents families where 'good' home environment management skills are displayed (e.g. good child and pre-adolescent monitoring skills). Mothers and other caregivers within the home environment are children's first teachers and therefore are critical in encouraging the acquisition of and the nurturing of social adjustment during one of the most sensitive periods in the human lifespan.

5.3 Recommendations

Since there was a relationship between pre-adolescent social adjustment and maternal employment, including other caregivers, the following recommendations with regard to policy measures, parental care, teachers, counselors and further research need to be addressed:

5.3.1 Recommendations for policy makers (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development)

- There is need for developing training programmes for caregivers (current and potential) in order to build their capacity for improved pre – adolescent social adjustment.
- There is need to develop policies to support such training programmes.
- There is need to establish appropriate child care centres where children of employed mothers can receive appropriate care by trained care givers.
- There is need for policy makers to develop policies to support establishment of such centres.
- In situations where mothers are employed, a policy should be put in place imposing on the employer strict conditions limiting working hours to allow time for the mothers to be with their children.
- Employment of house helps without a certificate of training should be punishable by law.

5.3.2 Recommendations for parents

It is in the home where the child is trained in social skills.

- Parents should obtain house helps from recognized institutions. Such house helps should have the necessary skills to assist children to achieve positive social adjustment in life.

5.3.3 Recommendations for teachers

Schools are settings for enhancing socialization. Teachers thus have a responsibility of: -

- Ensuring that they diagnose pupils' social competences and identify any one of them that has a problem. After this, they can recommend to the parents the intervention measures that they can take to assist their children.
- There is need to create forums in schools where parents can be made aware of the impact of maternal employment on the social development and adjustment of pre-adolescents.
- Encouraging pupils to build cohesion with each other in the school/classes so that they are able to relate well without problems.
- Training pupils in social skills that will assist them to adjust well to their school environment.
- Encouraging pupils to discuss their social adjustment problems with parents, especially mothers in order to improve on their inadequacies.

5.3.4 Recommendations For Family Counselors

It is to family therapists that parents take family matters in case they are detected at home or in school by teachers. The therapist assists an individual to understand himself, the world around him and to be able to deal or adjust to ones immediate circumstances. Family counselors can enhance this by: -

- Emphasizing to the mothers the importance of hiring skilled house helps and care givers.
- Helping employed mothers take relevant options regarding child care giving and being employed.

- There need to create awareness to individual, voluntary organizations, churches and other community groups on the need for organized child care centres. These should be made cheap so that the children of employed mothers can be looked after.

5.3.5 Recommendations for Further Research

- Since this study to be done in Nairobi, a similar study should be conducted in other provinces in Kenya to find out whether similar results would be found.
- Conducting a longitudinal research where a particular child/children is/are observed as they develop, in respect to the long-term effects of maternal employment on children social adjustment could be interesting.
- A study to determine the influence of other variables such as social economic status, peer pressure and heredity on social development and adjustment of children could be carried out.
- A larger sample could be used to find out whether similar results would be found.

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APPENDIX A

DOYNE KAGENI MUGAMBI
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
DATE:

Dear Parent,

Greetings.

I work at Kenyatta University (academic division). I am carrying out a study leading to the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the department of Educational Psychology.

To assist me achieve the above objective, I am going to involve a number of pupils in standard five.

I am requesting that you allow your daughter/son to participate in the exercise. I will appreciate any assistance accorded in that respect.

Thank you and God bless you.

Yours faithfully,

Doyne Mugambi.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FOR PUPILS.

In this questionnaire, there are questions for you to answer. There are also alternative answers given to you to make suitable responses. Put a tick on the choice that you make. The responses you give will be kept confidential and will only be used specifically for this research. Thank you.

1. 1.Age_____ years

2. Gender

a. Male

b. Female

3. Mother

a. Employed

b. Unemployed

4. Mother's occupation

5. Father

a. Employed

b. Unemployed

6. Father's occupation

7. How old were you when your mother started working?

_____ Years.

Any other

8. .How do you feel about your mother's employment?

9. In which way does your mother's employment affect you?

10. In which way does your mother's unemployment affect you?

APPENDIX G
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MOTHERS

Background Information for mothers

Please answer all the questions honestly by ticking on the space provided. The response you will give will only be used for this study. Do not indicate your name.

1. Marital Status:

Single()

Separated()

Married ()

Divorced()

Widowed ()

2. What level of education did you attain?

No formal education()

Primary education ()

Secondary education ()

College (polytechnic, T.T.C) ()

Any other ()

3. Employment status: Employed ()

Not employed ()

Self employed ()

If you are not employed please skip question 4 to 10.**4. How many hours do you work in a day outside your house? _____ hours.****5. How old was your child (who is now in standard five) when you started working? _____ years.****6. With whom were you leaving him/her?****7. If you were leaving him/her with a house help, how long would you stay with one house help?**

1-2 months ()

3-6 months ()

7 months-1 year ()

1 year and above ()

8. Were you confident that the house helps you were leaving your child/children with were giving him/her enough care?

Yes () No ()

Explain why

9. Employed mothers are usually dissatisfied with their work because they leave their children early in life with other caretakers, which make them to be affected socially.

Yes () No ()

10. Children of unemployed mothers have normal social adjustments compared to children of employed mothers.

Yes () No ()

Give reasons

APPENDIX H

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MOTHERS

MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTION REPORT

INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire aims at finding out how you have been interacting with your child for the last few weeks. Indicate when you last did the following activities together by putting a tick on the boxes provided.

Activity	Not at all	Within the last 9 weeks	6 weeks ago	3-4 weeks ago
Played a game together				
Talk about what happened in school				
Prepared a meal together				
Shared a meal together				
Helped to tidy his/her bedroom				

Below are statements about maternal employment. Some are true and others false, put a tick where appropriate.

- Mothers should take their children to boarding schools if their jobs demand that they leave their houses early and go back late.
True False
- Maternal employment is capable of interfering with a child's social adjustment.
True False
- It is safer to take a child to a boarding school than to leave him/her with a house help.
True False
- Playing a game with a child spoils the child
True False

APPENDIX I

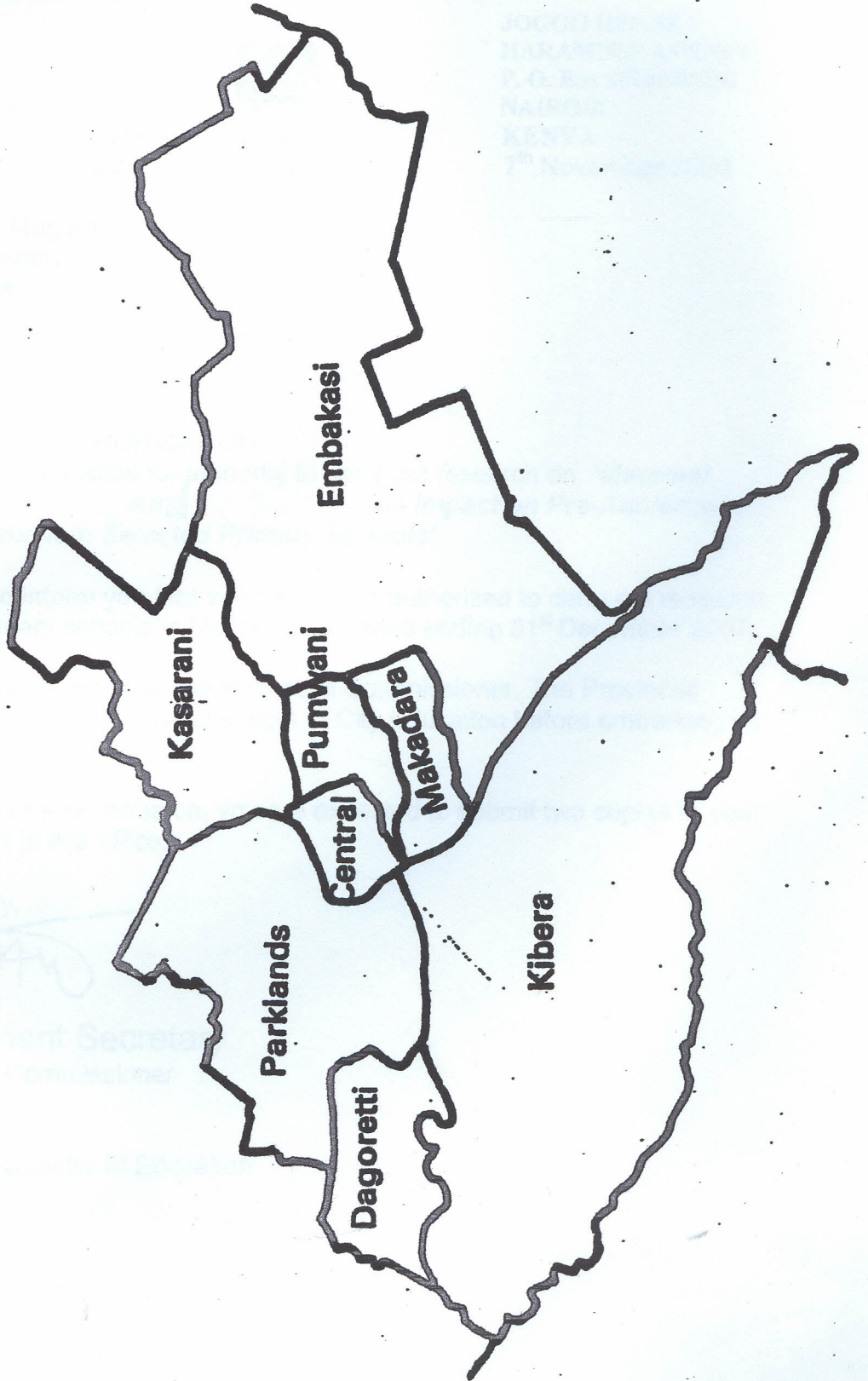
INTERVIEW FOR MOTHERS

MOTHERS' INTERVIEW

How often in the last few weeks did you:

- 1 Play a game together with your child?
- 2 Talk to your child about what happened in school?
- 3 Had a religious activity with your child?
- 4 Prepare a meal together?
- 5 Help him or her tidy the bedroom?

APPENDIX J
MAP OF NAIROBI DIVISIONS



APPENDIX K

MINISTRY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: SCIENCE TEC", Nairobi

Fax No.
Telephone: 318581
When replying please quote
MOST 13/001/36c 670/2



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

JOGOO HOUSE
HARAMBEE AVENUE
P. O. Box 60209-00200
NAIROBI
KENYA
7th November 2006

Doyne Kageni Mugambi
Kenyatta University
P.O Box 43844
Nairobi

Dear Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on, *'Maternal Employment And its Impact on Pre-Adolescent social Adjustment in Selected Primary Schools'*

I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to carry out research in selected primary schools in Nairobi for a period ending 31st December 2007.

You are advised to report to The Provincial Commissioner, The Provincial Director of Education and The Directors of City Education before embarking on your research project.

On completion of your research, you are expected to submit two copies of your research report to this office.

Yours Faithfully,


B.O. Adewa

For Permanent Secretary
The Provincial Commissioner
Nairobi

The Provincial Director of Education
Nairobi

The Director
City Education

APPENDIX L



TELEGRAM "SCHOOLING"
TELEPHONE: 221166/224281
EXT: 2426 /2590

CITY HALL ANNEXE
P. O. BOX 30298 GPO
NAIROBI

CITY EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

GL/NC/141 VOL II/124

15th MARCH 2007

All Headteachers
City Council Primary Schools
NAIROBI

RE : RESEARCH AUTHORITY

I write to certify that Doyne Kageni Mugambi of Kenyatta University is authorised to visit Council Schools for the purpose of Conducting a research titled "Maternal Employment And its impact on Pre-adolescent Social adjustment in selected Primary Schools in Nairobi".

Therefore you are requested to facilitate this important study in your schools.

F. L. SONGOLE
CHIEF ADVISER TO SCHOOLS
FOR : DIRECTOR OF CITY EDUCATION