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Active Latter-day Saint Working Mothers: Their Effect
on Their Daughters' Future Plans

A Thesis

Presented to the
Department of Sociology
Brigham Young University

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

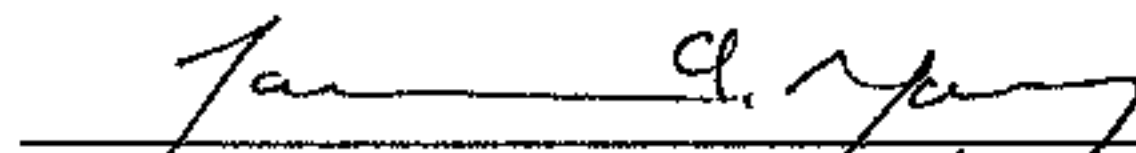
by

Nissa C. Bengtson Allred

August 1994

This thesis, by Nissa C. Bengtson Allred is accepted in its present form by the Department of Sociology of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Science.


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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Marie Cornwall for all her patience, long-suffering, and help in getting me through my master's. I would also like to thank the Women's Research Institute for all they have given to me in my time of need. My family and husband have been wonderful and I am thankful for them. Thanks to all who helped me!!

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Adolescents' Future Plans

The "traditional family," where dad is working to support the family and mom is home with the children, is the ideal in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS/Mormon). Mothers are encouraged to stay home with the children except in extreme economic situations where there is a need for the mother to seek employment outside the home. [Yet over forty-five percent of Mormon women work outside the home (Martin et al, 1986).] While many are employed out of necessity, some are employed by choice. In this research, I will be concerned with how employed LDS mothers influence their daughters' future plans regarding education and career, marriage and children. I have chosen to examine LDS women and their daughters because the LDS church espouses a highly specific view of women's employment.

Mothers are a significant role model in their daughters lives (Rich, 1990). I expect to find that daughters of mothers who are employed are more inclined to have future plans which include obtaining a college degree and a career. In addition, I expect to find that the higher the

educational level of the mother, the greater her daughter's inclination to make plans for college and a career. While education and labor force participation are associated with lower fertility and later marriage among women, being educated and having a career does not preclude marriage and children for most women. Therefore, I expect to find most daughters planning for marriage and children. I also expect to find that if a daughter is attached to the LDS church, she will be less inclined to plan for an education and career.

Latter-day Saint Church

As stated earlier, the traditional family is the ideal to strive for in the Mormon church. Each gender has been assigned very specific roles which each must play in conforming to this traditional family ideal. Women's contributions to and in the LDS church have always been described in familial terms (Cornwall, 1994). Fathers are expected to be the bread-winners, while mothers are to take care of the household and to be at home with the children. Latter-day Saints believe that God defined male and female roles in the beginning by commanding Adam to earn bread by the sweat of his brow (Gen. 3:16-19; Benson, 1987). In the LDS Doctrine and Covenants it states that "women have claim on their husbands for their maintenance..." (D&C 83:2) while staying home to raise and teach the children. The LDS

church leaders teach that the mother is the best nurturer a child can have and that it is detrimental to the child when a mother leaves the home to work.

LDS women have, in contemporary times, been counseled to stay home with the children and run the household. Church leaders discourage the employment of women with children, particularly young children. The president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles of the LDS church, President Ezra Taft Benson, counseled in his talk to the women in a General Relief Society meeting (a gathering of women ages eighteen and older) that a mother should be at home with her children (1981). He stated,

It is a misguided idea that a woman should leave the home, where there is a husband and children, to prepare educationally and financially for an unforeseen eventuality (1981, p.105).

In 1983, President Gordon B. Hinckley, first counselor in the First Presidency of the LDS church, addressed the women at a General Relief Society meeting and offered a word of caution to the women who work outside of the home when it is not necessary. He warned those women that they may lose the substance while grasping at the shadow by working for extra material items. "The woman is the bearer and the nurturer of children. The man is the provider and protector" (1983, p.84). President Ezra T. Benson in a 1987 address to parents counseled women that God never intended

for women to work outside the home, but that they should stay home and nurture the family (Benson, 1987).

The LDS church leaders realize that some mothers may have to work outside the home because of monetary circumstances, but this should be the exception, not the rule. Most recently Elder Richard G. Scott, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, said,

You in these unusual circumstances qualify for additional inspiration and strength from the Lord.

Those who leave the home for lesser reasons will not (1993, p.34).

Employment of Women

Today women make up over fifty percent of the labor-force. Only 7 percent of the households in the United States contain both parents, two children, with the mother at home (Vanderkolk and Young, 1991). In 1950, 12 percent of women who had children under age six worked; today 60 percent of women with children of that age do, with the number expected to reach 65 percent by 1995 (1990 Census; Thomas and Thomas, 1990). Of married couple families, 63 percent report both spouses working (Vanderkolk and Young, 1991).

Mormon women are also members of the labor force. Over forty-five percent of Mormon women in the Utah Wasatch area are employed (Martin et al, 1986). Over fifty percent of the mothers in the sample used in this research were

employed outside the home, either full or part-time. Employed mothers constitute a large percentage of Mormon women. In view of the significant numbers of employed Mormon mothers, I have chosen to examine the influence of mothers on their daughters future plans.

The Empirical Model

Mother-Daughter Relationships: Social scientists have recently turned their attention to studying the mother-daughter relationship. Studies and books such as My Mother/Myself (Friday, 1977), Making Connections: The Relational Worlds of Adolescent Girls at Emma Willard School (Gilligan, Lyons, and Hanmer, 1990), and Altered Loves: Mothers and Daughters During Adolescence (Apter, 1990) look at the relationships of mothers and daughters. La Sorsa and Fodor (1990) looked at the adolescent daughter/midlife mother dyad and how the lifecycle crisis of each may affect their relationship. They describe daughters trying to figure out who they are and working out their independence, while still wanting to cling to their mother for support. Mothers on the other hand were found to be working out their roles while their daughters fight for their independence, and their mothering patterns are not working as well as they did in the past. The mothers are also dealing with menopause, "empty-nest," and choices about what to do with the rest of their lives.

The consensus in research on the mother-daughter relationship is that this relationship is the strongest of all parent-child relationship dyads (Rich, 1990). Troll (1987) gives five reasons as to why the mother-daughter bond is stronger than other parent-child relations. These five reasons include infant bonding, socialization, similarity, demography, and developmental stages. While fathers do have an influence on daughters' occupational plans, mothers' influence on their daughters is greater.

Because of the strong relational bond between mothers and daughters, researchers are now studying the effect mothers have on their daughters' future plans, especially employed mothers. The first studies on employed mothers focused on the negative effects employment had on children. As it became apparent that more and more mothers were entering the work force, and that employment had few negative effects on children, more studies looked at the positive effects that children experienced when their mother was employed. Hoffman (1974) reports that working mothers influence their daughters' self-concepts and the behavior expected of them. The daughters of working mothers ascribe traits that are usually associated with the opposite sex (males), to their own self-concept. For example, the daughters of employed mothers are more likely to see women as competent and effective.

Spitze (1988) has found no consistent evidence of

children feeling deprived because of an employed mother. She states that although employed mothers spend less time with their children than non-employed mothers, the more educated employed mothers spend the most time with their children by reducing time spent in leisure and sleep as compared to the less educated employed mothers. Milne, Myers, Rosenthal, and Ginsburg (1986) found that mothers' employment had a small but consistently negative effect on the child's reading and mathematic abilities and that this effect was cumulative and proportional to mother's time working. However, Heyns and Catsambis (1986) reexamined the Milne et al. data and found that the only negative effects that could be found were those isolated to white middle-class children from two-parent families where the mother worked full-time outside the home before the child entered school. With controls, even these negative findings lost their significance.

The vast majority of research on employed mothers' influence on their daughters show that employed mothers significantly influence their daughters in their choice of a career and education. Daughters of employed women are more likely to want to work full time and have a marriage with children (Jensen and Borges, 1986; Bloom-Feshbach, Bloom-Feshbach, and Heller, 1982) In fact, a daughter whose mother was employed during her elementary and secondary school years is one and one-third times more likely to be in the

labor force as compared to those whose mother was not employed during the same time (Stevens and Boyd, 1980). Daughters are more likely to be independent if their mothers are employed (Hoffman, 1974). Daughters who chose more non-traditional jobs are more likely to have had mothers who were employed (Sandberg, Ehrhardt, Mellins, Ince, and Meyer-Bahlburg, 1987). The authors are not sure that it is a direct modeling effect, since very few of the mothers had non-traditional jobs themselves. Another study found that daughters of employed mothers imitate the occupational experience of their mothers (Stevens and Boyd, 1980). Stevens and Boyd claim that if they are given a mother's occupation, they are able to predict the daughter's occupation reasonably well.

Stevens (1986) looked to see if occupational influence of the parents is mainly same-sex or if there is a strong opposite-sex influence. He found that children are more apt to model the occupation of the same-sex parent rather than the opposite-sex parent. This was particularly so if the parent was professional, semi-professional, or engaged in farming. This tendency is more pronounced for females than males.

Macke and Morgan (1978) looked at role-modeling of employed mothers, both positive and negative. Positive modeling means that mother has successfully combined both the roles of homemaking and employee. Daughters who see

their mothers doing both, increase their confidence that they can do the same. On the negative side, a daughter who sees her mother as unhappy or inadequate in performing both roles, may decide not to work so as to avoid a similar fate. Unhappiness often occurs when the mother has a low status job or when the mother is employed because of economic constraints on the family and not because she wishes to. Modeling may be both positive, as with mothers who have a higher status job or are employed because they want to, as well as negative, as with mothers who have a lower status job or are employed because they have to be. Macke and Morgan found that black daughters were the only group that were negatively influenced by mothers' employment. Specifically, if the mother had a blue-collar job, the daughter was less work-oriented because she wanted a lifestyle more rewarding than blue-collar work.

Callan and Gallois (1983) found daughters did not value having children as much as their mothers did. The daughters did not see children as providing pleasure, enjoyment, and personal development as did the mothers. This may be explained by the fact that daughters today have more choices than did their mothers, and so childbearing need not be their only career opportunity. Adamchak (1977) found that there was no difference in desired family size between daughters of employed and non-employed mothers. Childbearing has also lost its popularity since the 1950's.

Popenoe (1993) reports that in the 1950's the average woman had 3.7 children, while by 1990, the rate had dropped to 1.9. He also reports that positive attitudes toward parenthood have declined dramatically. In 1962, 84% of American mothers reported that "all couples should have children," while in 1980, only 43% responded so (Sweet and Bumpass, 1987; Thornton, 1989; Popenoe, 1993).

Literature on the influence of mothers' educational level on their daughters education is scanty. Cohn (1987) found there was no tendency for same-sex modeling, but that the parent who had the highest educational level was the parent the child would model. Even with parental encouragement controlled for, parental educational level still influenced their child's level of education.

After reviewing the literature, I hypothesize 1.) daughters of employed mothers will be more inclined to plan for education and career as well as marriage and children than will daughters of mothers who are not employed; 2.) daughters of employed mothers who have non-traditional careers will be more likely to plan for education and career along with marriage and children than daughters of mothers who have traditional careers; 3.) daughters of mothers who have post high school education will be more likely to plan for education and career along with marriage and children, than daughters of mothers who have only high school education.

Change Over Time: Social competence in adolescence includes the making of future plans (Thomas and Carver, 1990). These future plans change as adolescent females get older because their role models are no longer the same as when they were younger. Young girls are accustomed to being able to disagree with people, letting people know when they are upset, and acting on that which they know is right. The research of Carol Gilligan demonstrates that as females move from childhood into adolescence they begin to recognize a female model that society has set up for them to follow. This model female is one that gets along with everyone, does not have disagreements, and does what she is told, even if it goes against what she believes to be true. She is "to be all things to all people; to be perfect girls and model women" (Brown and Gilligan, 1992, p.180). As the girls get older, they see the model of the "being all things to all people" working in the lives of the adult women and see that this is now the way they themselves must begin to act. They try to guess what others want and desire, and try to look more like some ideal image of what a woman should be.

Looking at themselves and listening to themselves, they begin to change their looks, modulate their voices, and monitor their behavior in relation to the looks and the voices of others in the world in which they are living. Thus at adolescence, girls can become more readily disconnected from what they are feeling, distanced from

their own desires and pleasures, and therefore, ironically, more reliant on others who tell them what they want and feel and think and know (Brown and Gilligan, 1992, p.169).

Disagreement makes them vulnerable, opens them up for attack, goes against the definition of a good, nice girl, jeopardizes relationships, and endangers them.

Based on the findings of Brown and Gilligan (1992), I anticipate that as LDS daughters pass through adolescence, they begin to recognize the female model of the LDS church. This woman is one who gets married, has children, and remains at home to take care of them. Because the LDS church is such a large part of the daughters' lives, the daughters modify their plans for the future to accommodate the model woman the LDS church has set up for them to follow. They become reliant on the LDS church to tell them how to think and live their lives.

These findings by Brown and Gilligan (1992) demonstrate the need to examine how the plans girls make for the future change over time. Based on the above findings, I hypothesize that, over time, adolescent girls will be less inclined to plan for education and career as they become more aware of prescribed gender roles.

Attachment to the LDS Church: Adolescent development and the making of future plans occur in a particular context for LDS young women. Religious socialization emphasizes the

importance of following God's plan which requires motherhood and caring for children. Therefore, I also hypothesize that the level of attachment to religion influences adolescents' future plans (Thomas and Carver, 1990). "Attachment itself is the extent to which a person identifies with the central goals and expectations of the organization" (Cornwall, 1993, p.7). I have chosen to measure attachment because it examines the extent to which a person (in this case, a daughter) identifies with the LDS church, its goals and expectations. A young woman does not feel attached to the LDS church if she does not want others to know that she is LDS or if she believes that the church is too strict--for example, if she believes that the LDS church discourages women from wanting higher education and a career. On the other hand, if the young woman is highly attached to the LDS church, she would more likely follow the church counsel by making plans for marriage and children and giving less ~~emphasis~~ emphasis to college or a career. I hypothesize that the more a young woman is attached to the LDS church, the less she will plan for college and career.

To summarize, my hypotheses are as follows:

- 1.) Young women of employed mothers will be more inclined to plan for education and career along with marriage and children than will young women of mothers who are not employed.
- 2.) Young women of employed mothers who have non-

traditional careers will be more likely to plan for education and career with marriage and children than young women of employed mothers in traditional careers.

3.) Young women of mothers who have a post-high school education will be more likely to plan for education and career along with marriage and children than young women of mothers with only a high school education.

4.) Young women who are attached to the LDS church will be less inclined to plan for future education and career than young women who are not attached to the LDS church, regardless of mothers' employment or educational status.

5.) Over time, all young women will be less likely to plan for education and career, regardless of mothers' employment or educational status.

In the following chapters, I will discuss the methodology of this research, the statistical methods used, and the results.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Data Collection

The data used in this study were collected as part of the Adolescent Faith Development (AFD) study, phases I, II, and III (Cornwall, 1993). Respondents were selected using a proportional stratified random sample in nine administrative and geographical areas of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) wards (or congregations) in the United States. In each ward sampled, families were requested to participate if at least one member of the family was born in 1974 through 1977 and was currently attending church on a regular basis. The data were collected in questionnaire form, given by professional data collectors at the local church buildings of the sample wards; the data collectors were specifically trained to collect this data. The questionnaires were administered during a normally scheduled block of church meetings on Sunday. For those not present on the day of data collection, the data collectors left "mail-in" questionnaires for the local church leaders to deliver to them. The first wave of data was collected in the summer of

1989. There were 1,715 youth between the ages of eleven and fifteen who participated, 863 female and 852 males. Most of the respondents came from Utah or the West, reflecting a larger percentage of Mormons in those particular regions.

The second wave of data was collected in the fall of 1990. This time all youth who belonged to the wards' Young Women/Young Men youth programs were invited to participate, along with those who participated in the first wave of data collection. The 1990 data collection took place in the same way the 1989 collection did. Questionnaires were administered during the scheduled block of church meetings by specifically trained data collectors. For those youth not present on the day of data collection, "mail-in" questionnaires were left for local church leader to deliver to them. Also, questionnaires were mailed to those who had moved from the original sample of wards. A second mailing was done for those who did not respond the first time. This time only the youth were surveyed; parents responded in the first wave only.

Wave three data were collected in winter 1992. As before, the data were collected by specifically trained data collectors during a scheduled block of time during church meetings. All the youth who had participated in the previous years were targeted. Local church leaders were instructed to deliver "mail-in" questionnaires to youth who were not present at the time the questionnaire was given.

Those who had moved from the original sample wards were sent questionnaires.

Overall, in the 87 wards surveyed, there were 2,948 youth--1,051 females and 1,057 males. There was an 80.6 percent total response rate. There were 1,477 households surveyed, but only a 57.5 percent return rate from both the mother and father. The mothers' return rate was 74 percent. In this analysis I used data from families where I could match the mother's and the daughter's responses. I am using this sub-group because I am most interested in the effect employed mothers have on the future plans of their daughters. See Table 2.1 for the ages of the daughters in this sample.

Table 2.1: Age of Daughters at Time One Data Collection

Age	Number	Percent
11	93	16.8
12	129	23.4
13	165	29.9
14	133	24.1
15	32	5.8
Total	552	100%

The primary drawback of using data from someone else's research design is being restricted in the kinds of data available to measure the theoretical constructs. The data is limited in that it does not include questions about mothers' feelings about employment, her reason for employment, or her own attitudes about being employed. All these variables would provide a better understanding of why

the mother is employed.

Sample Characteristics

This particular Mormon population differs from a United States population of women and from some Mormon women in that they are highly religious. Two-thirds of the sampled daughters and 96% of the sampled mothers reported religion to be either one of the most important or the most important thing in their lives (see Table 2.2). Ninety-four percent of daughters and 93% of the mothers report attending sacrament meeting weekly (see Table 2.2 on the next page). The results of this research could be generalized best to active LDS, since the sample comes from highly active Mormons.

The majority of mothers in this sample are married. Only 27 mothers at the time of the data collection were single; the rest, 95 percent, were married (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Mothers' Marital Status at Time One

Marital Status	Number	Percent
Married	532	95.1
Divorced or Separated	20	3.6
Widowed	6	1.1
Never Married	1	.2
Total	559	100.00

TABLE 2.2: Religiosity of Daughters and Mothers in Sample

	<u>Daughters</u>			<u>Mothers</u>
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	
Religion is the Most Important Thing in my Life	18.9% (n=99)	21.5% (n=119)	22.6% (n=125)	32.6% (n=180)
Religion is one of the Most Important Things in my Life	48% (n=265)	60.1% (n=332)	54.2% (n=299)	63.8% (n=352)
Attend Sacrament Meeting 2-3 times a Month	3.6% (n=20)	4.5% (n=25)	5.6% (n=31)	4.3% (n=24)
Attend Sacrament Meeting Every Week	94% (n=519)	92.4% (n=510)	89.1% (n=492)	92.8% (n=512)

Measurement

Daughters' Future plans: Daughters' choices regarding future plans focused on graduation from college, having a career, getting married, and having children. While most studies are based on data from older women who report what they have actually accomplished, this data focuses on the changing future plans for adolescent girls. The young women were asked: "As you look to the future, which of the following things do you think you will do?" Response categories included "definitely will not," "probably will not," "not sure," "yes, probably," and "yes, definitely." Respondents were asked about several different areas in life including going on a mission, going to the temple, being active in the LDS church, and being liked and respected. For this study, however, only the items "graduate from college," "have a good job or career," "get married," and "have children of my own" will be used. To see the daughters' responses, see Table 3.1.

Mothers' employment: Mothers were asked, "Do you work for pay?" If the reply was "yes," they were then asked "What kind of work do you do?" and "How many hours per week do you usually work?" If they replied "no," they were asked if they were "a full-time homemaker," "not employed, not looking for work," "not employed, looking for work," "retired," or "disabled." Fifty-six percent (306) of the mothers in the sample reported they work for pay and forty-

four percent (240) did not (see Table 2.4). Of the mothers who work for pay, most work part time, but some (one in four of all mothers) work full-time (see Table 2.4). Of the mothers who do not work for pay, almost all are full-time homemakers; nine reported looking for work, and one was disabled. These data suggest that not as many Mormon mothers are employed as mothers in the national population and when they are, they are more likely to be employed part-time. The low employment rate of this sample, however may be a function of the type of women who responded, specifically, those women who are very active in the LDS church.

TABLE 2.4: Employment of Mothers in Sample Compared to U.S. Women with Children

	U.S. Population	Sample Population
Employed	75.0%	56%
Full	46.5%	24%
Part-time	28.5%	32%
Not in Labor Force	25.0%	44%

Mothers' Occupation. Occupation of the employed mother was coded using the same occupational classification used in the 1990 Census of Population and Housing (1990 Census Codes). To determine whether the mothers had traditional or non-traditional jobs, I calculated the percentage of women in ten different occupational groups using the 1990 census

TABLE 2.5: Mothers' Occupation

OCCUPATIONS	% workers that are female	distribution in population of U.S. Employed Women	distribution in Mormon Sample
Executive, Administrative, and Managerial	42% (N)	9.9%	.7%
Professional Specialty	53% (N)	14.6%	23.9%
Technicians and Related Support	66% (N)	3.2%	3.9%
Sales	49% (N)	9.3%	11.1%
Administrative Support	77% (T)	22.4%	33.0%
Private Household	94% (T)	1.8%	3.9%
Service Occupations Except Protective and Household	63% (N)	12.8%	17.0%
Farming, Forestry, and Fishing	16% (M)	.8%	1.0%
Precision Production Craft and Repair	10% (M)	2.1%	3.3%
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	26% (M)	8.1%	4.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%

(T = Traditionally Female Occupations; N = Neutral Occupations; M = Traditionally Male Occupations)

data. If the percentage of women in an occupational group was more than 70%, I considered it a traditionally female occupation. Two occupational categories meet this criteria: administrative support and private household occupations. Any occupational group that had less than 30% women was coded as traditionally male. Three occupational categories met this criteria: farming, precision production, and operators. All those in between were considered gender neutral (see Table 2.5). I used main headings of occupational groups from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing. As can be seen in Table 2.5, only 9% of the mothers in the sample had traditionally male jobs. Thirty-seven percent had traditionally female jobs, while the rest, 54%, had gender neutral jobs. The data suggest very little variation in the type of occupations Mormon mothers have. Compared to the national average, Mormon mothers are more likely to be employed in traditionally female jobs and fewer male oriented jobs when compared to U.S. women.

Mothers' Education: Education is measured with two questions: "Circle the highest grade in school you have completed" and "What degrees have you received?" The latter question did not give high school degree as an option, so I combined the two questions into one variable. If the respondent said she had completed less than 12 grades of school and had not circled any "degrees received," her education was coded as less than high school education. If

she had completed 12 grades of school and circled "other" or nothing in "degrees received," the response was coded as a high school education. If she had completed 13 grades of school and circled either "associate degree" or "other," then her response was coded as an associate degree. The "other" includes technical schooling, which would not necessarily mean an associate degree, and some college. The bachelors and masters degrees did not have to be recoded. So for education, 2.5% (13) of mothers had less than a high school education, 26.6% (136) had a high school degree, 45.9% (235) had an associates degree or some college, 21.9% (112) had a bachelors degree, and 3.1% (16) had a masters degree (see Table 2.6). Compared to the U.S. population, Mormon women have less education at higher levels and more education at lower levels. After graduating from high school, Mormon women in this sample are more likely to go on to college, but less than half actually graduate from college. By comparison, women nationally are more likely to go on to graduate school once they complete college than Mormon women. Mormon mothers in this sample are more inclined to go to college, but do not finish college or go on for post-graduate education, as compared to the national population.

Table 2.6: Womens' Education

	U.S. Population	Sample Population
Less than High School	17.78%	2.5%
High School degree	32.26%	26.6%
Associate and/or Some College	28.97%	45.9%
Bachelor Degree	14.35%	21.9%
Masters Degree	6.64%	3.1%

Daughters' Attachment to the LDS Church: Attachment to the LDS church is measured using a five item scale developed by Marie Cornwall (1993). It is actually a measure of "lack of attachment" since all five items are reversed (1=Exactly, 2=Very Much, 3=Somewhat, 4=Not Very Much, 5=Not at all), but I will refer to it as "attachment." The questions which make up the scale include:

1. Sometimes I wish my friends didn't know I am Mormon.
2. I believe a person can be religious without attending church.
3. The main reason I go to church on Sunday is because my parents want me to go.
4. Sometimes I think our religion is too strict.
5. I think church meetings are boring.

The reliability analysis of this scale showed an alpha of .6692, with a standardized alpha of .6776.

The women in this sample, both mothers and daughters are highly attached to the Mormon church (see Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Mothers' and Daughters' Lack of Attachment to the LDS Church

	Daughters			Mothers
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	
Not Very Much	51% (n=286)	51.3% (n=283)	50% (n=276)	66% (n=369)
Not At All	1.3% (n=7)	2.9% (n=16)	3.1% (n=17)	6% (n=33)

Over half of the mothers and daughters responded negatively to the statements above. Because these women say they do not agree with the statements, they are highly attached to the LDS church.

Longitudinal Research: There are several advantages to doing longitudinal research. One in particular is that I am able to follow the daughters as they get older and see the changes, rather than taking a cross-section of girls in the Mormon population. By following the same population over time, I am able to note changes in the mean scores that are otherwise not directly assessed using cross-sectional data. As stated earlier in this chapter, the data collections for this study were made 18 months apart. In this research I will be referring any change (up or down) as an effect of "time." Three data collections occurred and thus three points in time will be examined.

Analytic Procedures

The analysis involved examining the relationship

between mothers' employment and daughters' future plans. I began by correlating mothers' employment and daughters' future plans for education, career, marriage, and children using SPSSx. By correlating all the dependent variables with the independent variables I was able to identify the direction of effect (positive or negative) for each hypothesis. However, the extent to which mothers' employment, type of job, and education affected the daughters' future plans required a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). For these, I looked at the main effects and interactions. After running those MANOVAs, I ran others, controlling for attachment and looking for the interaction effect of time.

Because there are so few daughters aged eleven and fifteen, I combined the eleven-year-olds with the twelve-year-olds and the fifteen with the fourteen-year-olds, producing three age categories.

Chapter 3

Results and Discussion

Quick Overview

A vast majority of the daughters at time one planned to graduate from college, have a career, get married, and have children. Although these plans remain in the majority, over time the percentages become less definite, as seen in Table 3.1. However, plans to marry and have children are far more constant over time than plans for college and a career. (More than three out of four young women plan for marriage and children, while one in three plan to graduate from college and have a career. By time three, only half of the young women planned for college and a career. An interesting point is that many of the daughters are "definitely" planning for education, career, marriage, and children, rather than "probably" planning for these things.) In the following sections, I will be reporting the results in terms of each hypothesis, integrating the last hypothesis of change over time into each section.

Table 3.1: Daughters' Future Plans
Yes, Definitely Will...

	<u>Time 1</u>	<u>Time 2</u>	<u>Time 3</u>
Graduate from College	63.8% (n=351)	64.6% (n=352)	55.2% (n=303)
Have a Good Job or Career	67% (n=367)	60.7% (n=331)	50.6% (n=278)
Get Married	79.6% (n=438)	77.5% (n=423)	76.1% (n=418)
Have Children of My Own	75.6% (n=416)	74% (n=404)	74.3% (n=408)

Employment of Mother: First Hypothesis

The first hypothesis presented was that daughters of employed mothers will be more inclined to plan for education and career along with marriage and children than will daughters of mothers who are not employed. Mothers' employment was not correlated with college graduation plans, but it does have a significant positive correlation with daughters' future plans for a career over all three points in time (T1 $r=.124$; T2 $r=.154$; T3 $r=.137$; see Table 3.2). If a mother is employed, her daughter will be more likely to plan for employment as well. Over time, the impact of mothers' employment on plans for a career maintains its significance. The daughters' future plans for marriage and children were not correlated to mothers' employment except at time two when the correlation with daughters' plans for marriage is negative and significant ($r=-.103$; see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Mothers' Employment at Time One Correlated
with Daughters' Future Plans

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
Graduation from College	.043 (n=510)	.058 (n=505)	-.012 (n=509)
Career	.124** (n=510)	.154*** (n=505)	.137*** (n=509)
Marriage	-.029 (n=510)	-.103* (n=505)	-.002 (n=509)
Children	-.07 (n=510)	-.053 (n=505)	.023 (n=509)

* = p.<.05; ** = p.<.01; *** = p.<.001

Looking further, the MANOVA showed no difference between the daughters of employed mothers and the daughters unemployed mothers in terms of their future plans for college (F=1.14; see Table 3.3). The means are shown in Table 3.7. Over time, future plans for graduating from college became less definite; however, it was the same for both groups (F=17.45, sig=.001; see Table 3.3). The decline was greater between time two and time three than time one and time two. The tables include both within and between group interactions and daughters' age as calculated from their age at time one data collection. No interaction effects were significant.

Table 3.3: Mothers' Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Graduation from College

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n=535					
Mother's Employment	1.12	1	1.14		
Daughter's Age	2.07	2	2.12		
Mother's Employment by Daughter's Age	.59	2	.59		
Time	5.48	2	17.45*	10.04**	23.48*
No Interaction Effect was Significant			*=p<.001; **p=<.01		

A MANOVA examining the effect of employed mothers on their daughters' future plans for employment supported the correlation findings that the daughter of an employed mother is more inclined to plan for a career than the daughter of an unemployed mother, see Table 3.4 (F=19.70, sig at .001).

Table 3.4: Mothers' Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for a Career

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 532					
Mother's Employment	23.70	1	19.70*		
Daughter's Age	1.50	2	1.24		
Mother's Employment by Daughter's Age	.26	2	.22		
Time	11.59	2	31.18*	33.58*	28.7*
No Interaction Effect was Significant				*=p<.001	

Additional analysis showed there is no difference between part-time and full-time employed mothers in terms of the daughters' plans for future employment. Over time, however, the plans to be employed diminished (F=31.18, sig at .001; see Table 3.4). No interaction effect was found, although the means (see Table 3.7) suggest a tendency toward less definite plans for a career among the daughters of non-employed mothers. As the daughters mature, fewer make plans for a future career. From time one to time three, this decline is consistent and significant (see Table 3.4). There is not much difference between the decline in plans at time one and time two compared with time two and time three. The decline appears relatively consistent (F=33.58 and

F=28.7, respectively, sig at .001). Again, the tables include both within and between group interactions and daughters' age at time one. No interaction effects were significant.

Mothers' employment had no influence on daughters' future plans for marriage and children as seen in Tables 3.5 and 3.6. Also, there was no effect of time.

Table 3.5: Mothers' Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Marriage

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 535					
Mother's Employment	1.58	1	2.97		
Daughter's Age	.68	2	1.28		
Mother's Employment by Daughter's Age	.09	2	.16		
Time	.59	2	2.68	3.45	2.11

No Interaction Effect was Significant

Table 3.6 Mothers' Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Having Children of Their Own

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2, T3	T2-T3
n = 535					
Mother's Employment	1.16	1	1.25		
Daughter's Age	1.31	2	1.41		
Mother's Employment by Daughter's Age	.55	2	.60		
Time	.54	2	1.83	2.98	.67

No Interaction Effect was Significant

Table 3.7: Mothers' Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans--Means on a five point scale

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
College			
Employed	4.55	4.57	4.37
Not Employed	4.52	4.49	4.33
Career			
Employed	4.63	4.54	4.35
Not Employed	4.40	4.30	4.09
Marriage			
Employed	4.73	4.68	4.68
Not Employed	4.79	4.80	4.70
Children			
Employed	4.63	4.62	4.64
Not Employed	4.75	4.68	4.62

Mothers' employment status has a significant effect on daughters' future plans for a career, but not for education,

marriage, and children. Over time, future plans regarding education and career change, but the amount of change was much greater for career plans (64% to 55% versus 67% to 51%). Over time, fewer young women reported planning to have a career. Even so, 51% still reported plans for a career on the third wave of data collection. These results are a reflection of Mormon culture which teaches that women should stay home with children. The Mormon church emphasizes marriage and children, but also encourages women to go to college and be well-read and educated women.

Mothers' Type of Employment: Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis states that daughters of employed mothers who have non-traditional careers will be more likely to plan for education and career along with marriage and children than will daughters of mothers employed in traditional careers. As mentioned in the previous chapter, I divided the employed mothers into three groups, those with traditionally female jobs, those with gender neutral jobs, and those with traditionally male jobs. There was no correlation between the type of job an employed mother had and the daughters' future plans (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: Mothers' Type of Employment Correlated with Daughters' Future Plans

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
Graduation from College	.081 (n=312)	.089 (n=310)	.057 (n=313)
Career	.024 (n=311)	-.041 (n=310)	.012 (n=313)
Marriage	.024 (n=312)	-.013 (n=310)	.075 (n=313)
Children	.006 (n=312)	-.019 (n=310)	.095 (n=313)

Because there were so few mothers employed in traditionally male jobs, I was not able to determine if there was a difference in the influence of type of job, either traditionally female or traditionally male, on the daughters' future plans. So I looked to see if there was a difference between gender neutral and traditionally female jobs and excluded the traditionally male occupations.

In the MANOVAs, the type of job the employed mother had showed no significant influence on the daughters' future plans for graduating from college, having a career, getting married, or having children (see Tables 3.9 through 3.12.) For these MANOVAs, I used only those mothers who are employed, so only half of the mothers in the sample are included. As a result, the F scores of these particular MANOVAs are not comparable to the rest of the MANOVAs. As shown in the earlier analysis, time did have an effect on the daughters' plans in terms of college and a career. In

both cases the daughters' plans significantly became less definite over time (F=9.23, sig at .001 and F=14.70, sig at .001 respectively). Again, the tables include both within and between group interaction effects and the daughters' age is from time one.

Table 3.9: Mothers' Type of Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Graduation from College

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 279					
Mother's Type of Employment	3.33	1	3.44		
Daughter's Age	1.30	2	1.35		
Mother's Type of Employment by Daughter's Age	.23	2	.24		
Time	2.91	2	9.23*	3.79	13.62*
No Interaction Effect was Significant			*=p<.001; **p=<.01		

Table 3.10: Mothers' Type of Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for a Career

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 278					
Mother's Type of Employment	.01	1	.01		
Daughter's Age	.16	2	.18		
Mother's Type of Employment by Daughter's Age	.16	2	.18		
Time	5.21	2	14.70*	16.19*	13.24*
No Interaction Effect was Significant				*=p<.001	

Table 3.11: Mothers' Type of Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Marriage

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 279					
Mother's Type of Employment	.01	1	.02		
Daughter's Age	.81	2	1.28		
Mother's Type of Employment by Daughter's Age	.43	2	.69		
Time	.37	2	1.44	3.61	.041
No Interaction Effect was Significant				*=p<.001; **p=<.01	

Table 3.12 Mothers' Type of Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Having Children of Their Own

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 279					
Mother's Type of Employment	.22	1	.21		
Daughter's Age	1.90	2	1.82		
Mother's Type of Employment by Daughter's Age	1.99	2	1.90		
Time	.06	2	.21	.28	.13

No Interaction Effect was Significant

Table 3.13: Mothers' Type of Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans--Means on a five point scale

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
College			
Traditionally			
Female	4.47	4.47	4.30
Gender Neutral	4.59	4.62	4.41
Career			
Traditionally			
Female	4.62	4.61	4.33
Gender Neutral	4.70	4.49	4.39
Marriage			
Traditionally			
Female	4.73	4.71	4.65
Gender Neutral	4.76	4.65	4.70
Children			
Traditionally			
Female	4.63	4.64	4.55
Gender Neutral	4.65	4.61	4.66

It seems the type of job the mother has does not significantly influence future plans, but whether or not she is employed does influence daughters' plans. This finding may be because there was very little variance in the type of jobs these Mormon mothers have. Since Mormon mothers tend to have traditionally female jobs the effect of this type of modeling on daughters' future plans can only be minimal. Further research might consider the effect social status may have on daughters' plans. A high or low status occupation may be more likely to significantly affect future plans.

Mothers' Education: Third Hypothesis

The third hypothesis is that daughters of mothers who have a post-high school education will be more likely to plan for education and career than will daughters of mothers who have only a high school education. Mother's education was significantly positively correlated with her daughters' future plans for graduation from college at all three times ($r=.099$, $r=.170$, $r=.158$). Also daughters' future plans for a career was negatively correlated with mothers' education reported at time one, but only for time one. This means that the higher a mothers' education at time one, the less definite her daughters' plans for a career three years later ($r=-.144$; see Table 3.14).

Table 3.14: Mothers' Education Correlated with Daughters' Future Plans

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
Graduation from College	.099* (n=510)	.170*** (n=505)	.158*** (n=509)
Career	-.05 (n=508)	-.033 (n=505)	-.144** (n=509)
Marriage	-.034 (n=510)	.002 (n=506)	-.052 (n=509)
Children	.017 (n=510)	.034 (n=506)	.004 (n=509)

* = p.<.05; ** = p.<.01; *** = p.<.001

Results from a MANOVA suggests that the more education the mothers have, the more inclined the daughters are to plan for graduation from college, as seen in Table 3.15 (F=10.19, sig at .001). The daughters who are more likely to plan for college graduation are those whose mothers had an associates/training degree, some college, or a college degree. Again, over time plans to graduate from college became less definite (F=15.27, sig at .001). The change from time two to time three (F=21.34, sig at .001) is much larger than the change from time one to time two (F=7.94, sig at .005).

Table 3.15: Mothers' Education Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Graduation from College

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2, T3	T2-T3
n = 501					
Mother's Education	9.62	2	10.19*		
Daughter's Age	1.33	2	1.41		
Mother's Education by Daughter's Age	.83	4	.88		
Time	4.83	2	15.27*	7.94**	21.34*

No Interaction Effect was Significant *= $p < .001$; **= $p < .005$

Mother's educational level had no significant effect on her daughter's future plans for a career, marriage, and children (see Tables 3.16 through 3.18). Over time the daughters' plans for a career became less definite ($F=28.19$, sig. at .001). Tables include the within and between group interaction effects and the effect of daughter's age at time one.

Table 3.16: Mothers' Education Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for a Career

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 498					
Mother's Education	2.61	2	2.16		
Daughter's Age	2.05	2	1.70		
Mother's Education by Daughter's Age	.93	4	.93		
Time	10.54	2	28.19*	27.97*	28.43*
No Interaction Effect was Significant				*=p<.001	

Table 3.17: Mothers' Education Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Marriage

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2,T3	T2-T3
n = 501					
Mother's Education	.60	2	1.10		
Daughter's Age	.77	2	1.41		
Mother's Education by Daughter's Age	.33	4	.61		
Time	.50	2	2.21	3.61	1.26
No Interaction Effect was Significant				*=p<.001; **p=<.01	

Table 3.18 Mothers' Education Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Having Children of Their Own

	Mean Square	Degrees of Freedom	Overall Effect F Score	Change over time, F score	
				T1-T2, T3	T2-T3
n = 501					
Mother's Education	.07	2	.07		
Daughter's Age	1.73	2	1.76		
Mother's Education by Daughter's Age	.27	4	.28		
Time	.33	2	1.10	2.00	.17
No Interaction Effect was Significant				*=p<.001; **p=<.01	

Table 3.19: Mothers' Education Effect on Daughters' Future Plans--Means on a five point scale

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
College			
High School	4.49	4.42	4.21
Some College	4.49	4.50	4.34
College Degree	4.68	4.75	4.58
Career			
High School	4.60	4.47	4.40
Some College	4.50	4.48	4.23
College Degree	4.50	4.40	4.08
Marriage			
High School	4.81	4.75	4.76
Some College	4.74	4.71	4.69
College Degree	4.74	4.74	4.65
Children			
High School	4.68	4.63	4.67
Some College	4.68	4.64	4.60
College Degree	4.69	4.67	4.62

Daughters' Attachment to the LDS Church: Fourth Hypothesis

Hypothesis four states: daughters who are attached to the LDS church will be less inclined to plan for future education and career than daughters who are not attached to the LDS church, when controlling for mother's employment or educational status. The correlations showed daughters' attachment to the church to be somewhat positively correlated with their future plans for graduation from college, marriage, and children. In light of this pattern it is interesting to note that two trends are evident: first, the strength of correlations increases over time. For example, plans to have children and attachment are correlated .20 (time one), .22 (time two), and .28 (time three). Within a given time period we find a moderately strong association between attachment and plans--especially plans for children and marriage. Attachment time three was negatively correlated with the daughters' plans for career at time three ($r=-.111$). All the other years, daughters' attachment had no significant negative correlation with her future plans for a career (see Table 3.20).

Table 3.20: Daughters' Attachment Correlated with Her Future Plans and Age

		Attachment		
		Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
College				
	Time 1	.127**	.147**	.099*
	Time 2	.08	.094*	.04
	Time 3	.084*	.166**	.178**
Career				
	Time 1	-.045	-.059	-.082
	Time 2	-.025	-.048	-.076
	Time 3	-.086*	-.107*	-.111**
Marriage				
	Time 1	.154**	.112**	.109**
	Time 2	.139**	.206**	.176**
	Time 3	.123**	.143**	.236**
Children				
	Time 1	.203**	.118**	.195**
	Time 2	.176**	.219**	.215**
	Time 3	.117**	.128**	.283**

*=p<.05; **=p<.01

The second trend is that the correlation becomes weaker over time. For example, the correlation between plans to marry and attachment at time one declined from .154 (time one attachment with time two plans) to .139 (time one attachment with time two plans) and then to .123 (time one attachment with time three plans). The correlation between plans for children and attachment declined from .203 to .117 during the same time period.

The MANOVAs looked at the effect of mothers' educational and employment status on future plans, while taking into account the daughters' attachment to the LDS church. The MANOVAs showed that both mothers' educational level (F=9.24, sig. at .001) and daughters' attachment

($F=16.6$, sig. at .001) have a significant effect on the daughters' future plans for college (attachment Beta =.18). Again, time also had a significant effect ($F=15.84$ and 27.92 , sig. at .001[see Table 3.21]).

Table 3.21 Mothers' Education Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for College and Career with Daughters' Attachment

	Daughters' Attachment		Mothers' Education		Time	
	Sum of Squares	F Score	Sum of Squares	F score	Sum of Squares	F Score
College	15.1	16.6*	16.9	9.2*	9.9	15.8*
Career	5	2.4**	5.8	1.6	20.6	27.9*

*= $p<.000$; ** $p<.05$

Mothers' educational level had no significant effect and daughters' attachment had a very small significant effect on the daughters' future plans for a career. Mormonism emphasizes education, but does not necessarily link it to career plans.

In the next tables I report the between-subjects and within-subjects effects. Between-subjects effects compare the effect of mothers' education (or mothers' employment) with the effect of daughters' age, the interaction effect, and the effect of daughters' attachment to the LDS church. Within-subjects compares the effect of time with the effect of daughters' attachment.

Daughters' attachment ($F=18.07$, sig. at .001) has more of an effect on daughters' future plans for college than does mother being employed ($F=2.49$). But a mother being employed has a stronger effect ($F=18.89$, sig. at .001) on her daughter's plans for a career than the daughter's attachment to the LDS church ($F=3.89$, sig. at .05). This means even if the daughter is highly attached to the LDS church, she is more likely to plan for a career if her mother is employed (see Table 3.22). In these MANOVAs time was the only between-subject effect that was significant so that is the only one reported.

Table 3.22 Mothers' Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for College and Career with Daughters' Attachment

	Daughters' Attachment		Mothers' Employment		Time	
	Sum of Squares	F Score	Sum of Squares	F score	Sum of Squares	F Score
College	17	18*	2.4	2.5	11	17.6*
Career	4.7	3.9**	22.6	18.9*	22.4	30.5*

*= $p < .000$; **= $p < .05$

Daughters' attachment was the only significant effect on daughters' future plans for marriage and children. Neither mothers' education or employment had any effect on the daughters' plans for marriage and children. So if a daughter is not attached to the LDS church, she will be less

inclined to plan for marriage and children, and mothers' educational level and employment has no effect on this decision. Time had no significant effect on the daughters' future plans for either marriage or children. The tables that follow include both within and between-subjects effects for attachment since that was the only significant result.

Table 3.23 Mothers' Education Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Marriage and Children with Daughters' Attachment

	Attachment Between-Subjects		Attachment Within-Subjects	
	Sum of Squares	F score	Sum of Squares	F score
Marriage	17.6	35.01**	3.7	17.01**
Children	35.9	39.12**	6.7	22.24**

**=p<.000

Table 3.23 Mothers' Employment Effect on Daughters' Future Plans for Marriage and Children with Daughters' Attachment

	Attachment Between-Subjects		Attachment Within-Subjects	
	Sum of Squares	F score	Sum of Squares	F score
Marriage	16.1	32.56**	3.5	16.37**
Children	34.3	39.19**	6.8	23.23**

**=p<.000; *p<.05

Summary of Results

To begin with, a great majority of daughters

"definitely" planned for education, career, marriage, and children, rather than "probably" planning for these.

The first hypothesis was only partially supported by the data. Daughters of employed mothers were more definite about plans for a career, but I found no difference between employed and non-employed mothers in terms of the daughters' future plans for college, marriage, and children.

The second hypothesis was not supported by the data. Mothers with traditionally female occupations did not differently influence the future plans of their daughters.

Mothers' educational level did influence the daughters' future plans for education, but not for career, marriage, or children. So hypothesis three was only partially correct.

Daughters' attachment to the LDS church had an impact on her future plans for marriage and children. If a daughter was not attached to the LDS church, she had less definite plans for marriage and children. Daughters' attachment to the LDS church positively influenced her future plans for education, and to some extent, career. The relative impact of mothers' modeling and the daughters' attachment to the church is important to note. Mothers' employment status had more of an effect on the daughters' future plans for a career than did the daughters' attachment to the LDS church. When a mother is employed, daughters' attachment to the LDS church has comparatively little effect on future plans for a career.

Time had a significant effect on the daughters' future plans. The daughters at time one would plan for education and career, but by time three, these plans had become less definite. Change over time may either be an indication of developmental time or a reflection of institutional effects--changes in LDS Church policy or program. Since very little institutional change was taking place during the time of the study, much of the change is likely attributed to developmental issues.

There is a lack of effect for age, remembering age is the age of the daughters at time one of the data collection. Following Carol Gilligan's theory, the younger daughters should be more definite in their future plans than the older daughters. However, in all the models presented in this research, age had no effect, only time. There is no difference between the younger daughters and the older daughters in terms of their future plans at time one. This discrepancy between Gilligan's study and my findings deserves further study, as no apparent explanation is currently available.

Chapter 4

Conclusions

I began this research wanting to examine the effect employed LDS mothers have on their daughters' future plans for education, career, marriage, and children. The question is of interest for several reasons. First, there are increasing numbers of employed women in the U.S. Second, this trend is similar for LDS women. Third, the LDS church continues to discourage employment of women. Fourth, this discouragement is a source of potential strain between the women and the LDS church hierarchy.

Mothers' Employment

Mother's employment status does have an effect on her daughter's future plans for career, but not for education, marriage, and children. Also, the type of employment held by mothers had no effect on the daughters' future plans. It is not what type of job the mother has, but the fact that she is employed that influences the daughter. The lack of effect for type of occupation may be primarily because Mormon mothers are not in a wide range of occupations. Most Mormon mothers in this sample are in traditionally female or

gender neutral jobs.

Mothers' Education

Mothers' educational level did have an effect on the daughters' future plans for college, but not on her plans for career, marriage, or children. If a mother had some college, her daughter was more inclined to plan for college graduation.

Daughters' Attachment to the LDS Church

Daughters' attachment to the LDS church does affect her future plans. Daughters who were more attached to the LDS church were less likely to plan for a career, but were more likely to plan for college, marriage, and children. One explanation for why attachment to the LDS church did not affect plans for college in the same way it affected plans for a career is that college is seen as the main marriage market, a place to meet "your husband," especially at an LDS sponsored college. Also, attending college is not "going against the counsels" of the LDS church. Women are encouraged to educate themselves in traditionally female areas such as school teachers, marriage and family relations, nursing, and humanities--anything that will assist in raising children.

Change over time

Daughters' plans for the future changed over the course of the study greatly. When the daughters were young, a large portion responded that they planned for graduation from college and to have a career. But over time, the daughters' plans became less definite in these areas. The daughters appear to modify their plans to be more consistent with cultural expectations. This finding supports Carol Gilligan's finding of adolescent girls monitoring "their behavior in relation to the looks and the voices of others in the world in which they are living" (Brown and Gilligan 1992, p.169). The modifications in plans are associated with the daughters' adolescent development. Even so, more than half maintained non-traditional plans.

But there is a lack of effect for age, which does not follow Carol Gilligan's findings exactly. The younger daughters, according to Gilligan, should have more definite future plans than the older daughters, however, the findings presented here show there is no difference between the daughters. Gilligan's research would suggest at least an interaction effect of age at time one and change over time. No interaction effect was found. As the daughters got older, their plans became less definite, and the change was apparently the same for each age group. An explanation as to why the older and younger daughters do not differ in their plans for the future may be that I combined the

eleven-year-olds with the twelve-year-olds, and the fifteen-year-olds with the fourteen-year-olds. But one would think there would still be a difference between the twelve-year-olds and fourteen-year-olds. Further study is needed to explain this discrepancy, as no apparent explanation is available.

Unexpected Finding

The most interesting finding was that employed mothers have a very strong effect on their daughters' future plans for a career, stronger than the daughters' attachment to the LDS church. This creates a tension between the modeling of the mother and the daughters' attachment to the LDS church. The daughters are seeing their mothers working, and at the same time are hearing they should not work when they get to be mothers. At this point in time, mothers' modeling has more of an effect on the daughters than does the daughters' attachment to the LDS church. Since over fifty percent of LDS mothers in this sample were employed, we can expect many more LDS women to be employed outside the home in the future. The numbers of employed LDS mothers and the number of daughters making plans for future employment guarantees further social change within the LDS church.

Implications

The results show that most daughters plan for marriage

and children and a majority plan for education and career, regardless of mothers' employment or educational status. Because many daughters are planning for marriage and children along with education and career, it is not an either/or situation for the daughters. The implication for the LDS church is that the daughters are planning for marriage, children, education, and adding plans for a career as well. The data do not suggest that if daughters choose education or career, they are then excluding the possibility of marriage and children. The daughters will be adding another dimension to their lives besides marriage and motherhood.

But does adding another dimension happen at one time or sequentially? Another study might include a measure of whether the daughters are planning to have a career and family at the same time or if they will do these things sequentially. Or does it mean they will do it all at once and be able to "compartmentalize" their lives so they will do it all; or will it be a combination of both--going to school, getting married, and having children all at the same time, and then having a career when the children are in school.

Because many LDS mothers now are employed, and in the future more mothers will be employed, there will be increased strain between what the LDS church counsels and what the mothers are actually doing. Finding out what the

daughters are planning will help the LDS church in their dealings with the women in the church. If a majority of the LDS mothers are employed and their "attached" daughters are planning to be employed at some time in their adult lives, it seems the LDS church needs to find out when these women plan on being employed. If the women plan on being employed after the children are in school, then the LDS church would need to modify their positions only slightly. But if the daughters are planning to be employed with children under six years of age, there will be a great chasm between what the LDS church counsels and what the women practice.

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Active Latter-day Saint Working Mothers: Their Effect
on Their Daughters' Future Plans

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M.S. Degree, August 1994

ABSTRACT

This research looks at the effect employed active LDS mothers have on their daughters' future plans for education, career, marriage, and children. Mothers' educational level, type of employment, and daughters' attachment to the LDS church were taken into consideration. It was found that a majority of daughters are definite in their plans for education, career, marriage, and children, regardless of the employment status of their mother. Daughters of employed LDS mothers are more definite in their plans for a career than daughters of unemployed LDS mothers. No effect was found for mothers' employment on daughters' future plans for college, marriage, and children. Mothers' type of employment also had no effect. Mothers' educational level did influence the daughters' future plans for education, but not for career, marriage, or children. Mothers' employment had a greater effect on her daughters' future plans for a career than did the daughters' attachment to the LDS church.

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