CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

The following review focuses on studies that are related to the types of part-time jobs commonly engaged by students, the reasons of students working part-time and the correlates of part-time employment such as academic achievement, deviant behaviour and the development of personal responsibility. It is organised under the following headings:

I) Types of part-time jobs for urban school students;
II) Reasons for engaging in part-time employment;
III) Part-time employment and its effects on academic performance;
IV) Part-time employment and the development of personal responsibility;

V) Part-time employment and deviant behaviour.

2.1 Types of Part-time Jobs for Urban School Students

In the urban area, the range of jobs open to adolescents who wish to work in the labour force is rather limited. This is mainly due to school
students' lacking skills required in certain works. Many students seek employment in the service and trade industry because their entry requirements are usually low and job opportunities are plenty. These jobs usually do not require much training. On top of that, the working hour is flexible and this makes it easy for students to blend work into their school timetable.

In America, most surveys indicated a substantial number of working high school students employed in food service industry. For example, in a longitudinal study in Orange County, Steinberg, Greenberger, Garduque, Ruggiero and Vaux (1982) revealed that the most common job engaged by high school students was found in the food service (34.9%). Others were in manual labour (14.4%), retail sales (12.9%), cleaning (9.6%), clerical work (9.1%), child-care (4.9%). Out of the total sample of 531 students, only 7.3% of them were skilled workers. The most common workplace in the food service industry was fast-food restaurant where students were engaged in works such as staffing fast-food counters, preparing food, waiting on customers, seating guests, clearing tables or washing dishes.

In another study that involved nine high schools in Wisconsin and northern California, Steinberg, Fegley and Dornbush (1993) found that the types of job held by students were almost similar to those in Steinberg's earlier study. Out of a total sample of 2,538 students, the vast majority of the
working adolescents were employed in the service industry, with a significant number working in restaurants (30.2%) and retail stores (26.4%). Those involved in jobs such as skilled crafts (e.g., mechanic), technical (e.g., data processing) and factory work were less than 15% of the total sample.

The findings of a more recent study of 1,800 high school students in Kentucky, conducted by Ruscoe, Morgan and Peebles (1996) supported the popular belief that working students in America usually hold jobs in fast food establishments. The sample, comprising mainly 16- and 17-year olds, showed that 43% of the students were working in fast food establishments and other restaurants and stores. The study also reported that there were a large variety of other part-time jobs that were engaged by the rest of the sample. For example, construction jobs ranging from installing footings to assembling mobile homes. Others were instructors in clogging, karate, swimming and gymnastics. Some students looked after children in after-school programmes while others cared for the elderly. A number of them worked as lifeguards at pool, referees of soccer game, umpires of baseball game and one worked as a guard at an ice rink. Three were disc jockeys and many worked on farms or did lawn work (Ruscoe, Morgan and Peebles, 1996).

In Malaysia, although it is common to see children at work in restaurants, hawker stalls, shopping complexes and even small-scale
factories, empirical data on the types of job held by them in the various sectors are scanty. Labour force statistics do not provide sufficient information on working adolescents. The data do not differentiate full-time workers from the part-time workers. Moreover, information regarding children under the age of fifteen is excluded.

The study conducted by Mary George (1991) explored the issue of child labour in Peninsular Malaysia. She discovered that most urban children were working in restaurants and eating stalls. According to George, the majority of those working in restaurants/eating stalls were unpaid workers since their employers were their parents. They did all sort of jobs that were given by their parents including waiting on customers, taking orders and serving food, clearing and cleaning up tables and washing dishes. In addition, she cited children working in hawking business, retail shops that include video cassette rental shops, shops retailing sewing items; small-time businesses like hairdressing saloons and service shops such as vehicle repair and car wash.

George's study which was carried out in the late 80's may no longer depict an accurate picture on the types of employment held by today's Malaysian school students in a fast growing urban region, such as the Klang Valley. Since its arrival in the late eighties, the fast food chains, such as Kentucky Fried Chicken, A & W, McDonald and Pizza Hut, have rapidly
grown into a major industry in Malaysia. Together with the recent booming business of retailing (e.g., the supermarkets, hypermarkets and departmental stores), hotels and restaurants, they are believed to be the main employers of many today's part-time teenage workers.

In a survey carried out by Loo (1994), she interviewed a total sample of 65 respondents in the Klang Valley. Loo found that the most common workplace for part-time school students were restaurants (30.8%), followed by fast-food stores (12.3%), offices (10.8%), grocery stores such as Seven-eleven and Hop-in (7.7%). Jobs engaged by the students were mainly concerning with sales and services such as taking orders, clearing tables and serving food. Besides these, some students were also involved in jobs offered by small-scale industries, hawker stores, single retail shops and home tutoring. These types of employment comprised 38.5% of the total sample. Loo however noted that, unlike in the past, jobs such as retail shop assistants and hawker store helpers were becoming less popular with part-time students.

One of the aspects to look into in students' part-time employment is whether there is any sex segregation in their jobs like those of adults? According to White and Brinkerhoff (1981), job opportunities outside the home are more stereotyped than chores carried out within the family. Their 1979 study of Nebraska youths (below age of 17) showed that boys did
paper routes, odd jobs and manual labour while girls were more likely to be in office and restaurant work.

Greenberger and Steinberg’s (1986) study conducted in four California high schools in 1978 similarly revealed that tenth and eleventh grade youth’s work was highly segregated by sex, with girls frequently in babysitting and boys in a wider range of jobs. Lewin-Epstein’s (1981) national study of high school sophomores and seniors reported similar findings: boys were more likely to do manual and skilled work and girls babysat and engaged in clerical jobs. Similar results were also found in Mortimer, Finch, Owens and Shanahan’s (1990) study. They found the job distributions of 1,105 ninth-grade boys and girls in Minnesota were sex segregated. Among those who worked in the private household, 74% of them were girls and only 36% of the boys were employed in this setting. Boys were more likely to be employed in sales work (including newsboys), in restaurant work and in labouring jobs.

This result was also supported by George’s (1991) study of Malaysian child labour. From a total sample of 63 children, she observed that most of the children who helped in the restaurants, food stalls and hawking business were boys. In both the motor-vehicle repair shops as well as the car washing business, boys made up the entire sample of the workers. On the other hand, 5 children (8%) found selling sewing materials or working in the
2.2 Reasons for Students Working Part-time

Until recently, reasons of students' working have remained ambiguous because not many previous studies have paid sufficient attention to this topic. The most common explanation given by American students for working is their desire to spend money – the ability to participate in what Bedenbaugh and Garvey (1993, p.76) termed the "consumer largeness" of American society. One of the American national surveys, for example, showed that the majority of American working teenagers spent most of their earnings on their own needs such as buying designer clothing and expensive stereo equipment, or on activities like going to movies and eating out (Johnston, Bashman and O'Malley, 1982). The estimation of 54% of teenagers not receiving any allowances from parents for their schooling and daily spending (Morgan, 1993) would seem to support this explanation, but this may be an oversimplification. As Marsh (1991) discovered, some students also worked to save money for college and helped their parents with household expenses, although the number was smaller compared to students who worked to have spending money. In a recent study conducted by Ruscoe, Morgan and Peebles (1996), students have also cited other reasons for working part-time and these include maintenance expenses of their cars (repairs, insurance, gas); care of their own children, expenses for their
spouse and for their forthcoming marriage.

In Malaysia, Loo's study (1994) on student's part-time employment in the Klang Valley revealed various reasons for students working part-time. Some of the reasons cited, such as personal expenditure, school expenditure and helping their families, are similar to those reasons given by the American students. Yet, it is interesting to note that only a minority of the students in Loo's study had indicated that they worked because of economic necessity. This contradicted the findings of George's (1991) earlier study on Malaysian child labour, which claimed that a large proportion of children worked because of financial difficulties. Instead, Loo reported that the main reasons the majority of the students (44.6%) worked were actually to gain pocket money for personal expenditure like shopping and entertainment. Only 9.2% of the students worked to help in their family expenses and 18% worked to pay for their school expenditure.

2.3 Part-time Employment and its Effects on Academic Performance

There are two broad theoretical perspectives derived from the literature that offer predictions about the likely effects of part-time employment of school students. These two perspectives are-: (1) the zero-sum model and (2) the developmental model.
Zero-sum model is based on Coleman's (1961) conceptualisation of adolescent society that emphasised peer acceptance and an irresponsible, hedonistic, indifferent approach to academic achievement and the transmission of knowledge. Coleman advocated that adolescents who spend more time on activities outside academic pursuits will lead to less time spent on these academic pursuits. The zero-sum model implies that part-time employment will have negative effects on at least some academic outcomes and these negative effects will be mediated by either time spent on schoolwork or involvement in school (Marsh, 1991).

Developmental model proposed by Holland and Andre (1987) on the other hand suggested that the adolescents should be more greatly involved in the workplace in order to facilitate their transition from adolescence to adulthood. They claimed that the increased involvement would lead to the transmission of knowledge, practical skills, adult perspective and a greater sense of responsibility. This development which is described as character building, is also seen as a necessary correlate for learning to take place in modern economic society.

In order to obtain empirical evidence to test these different perspectives, Steinberg, Greenberger and their colleagues carried out a cross-sectional study on part-time employment of students by using data collected from 531 tenth- and eleventh-grade adolescents in Orange County,
California. Their findings showed that spending time in work place by first-time workers in high school has a generally negative impact on school involvement but no apparent impact on school performance. Of the four school involvement variables – time spent on homework, time spent on extracurricular activities, school enjoyment, and absence from school– three have a negative association with time spent on working. Time spent in the work place is related to a drop in time spent on homework \((B = -.189, F_{[1,136]} = 6.48, p < .05)\) and a decline in school enjoyment, \((B = -.189, F_{[1,136]} = 6.48, p < .05)\). The result also showed a negative relationship between time spent on working with extra-curricular involvement among twelfth but not eleventh graders \((B = .131, F_{[1,137]} = 3.74, P < .10)\). The study however, does not show any effect of working on absence from school nor school performances, as indexed by grade point average (Steinberg et al., 1982).

In an attempt to determine the effects of part-time employment on adolescent’s academic performance, Damico (1984) analysed data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth Labour Market Experience (NLSY). He found some negative effects of work experience on academic performance. He reported that more extensive work involvement is associated with decreased study time and decreased free time at school for some race/sex groups. However, no detrimental effects on class rank were discovered. On the effects of educational completion, very extensive work
involvement (more than 20 hours/week) of white male sophomores and white female juniors was associated with an increase in their dropout rate. Less intensive work involvement (1 – 20 hours/week) of those in most race/sex groups in grade 11 actually appeared to increase rates of high school completion.

In a more recent study, Marsh (1991) investigated the impact of number of hours worked on academic performance by using a sample of 4,000 students drawn from the High School and Beyond (HSB) study. The findings showed that hours worked during high school had significant negative effects on 17 of the 22 academic outcomes, including overall grades and hours spent on homework. However, his examination of summer work experience revealed the effect of limited work experience to be generally favourable.

Cheng (1995) analysed research done during the last 10 years on part-time employment of secondary students in Toronto, Canada. He also found that the effects of part-time work actually depended on the amount of time students spend at work. In comparison with students who worked long hours, students who worked limited hours (up to 15 hours per week) tended to demonstrate superior academic performance. They tended to spend more time on homework and extra-curricular activities and had lower dropout rates. More than 15 to 20 hours a week was associated with negative
Mortimer, Shanahan and Ryu (1993) studied the effects of work on ninth and tenth-grades in the St. Paul, Minnesota area. In contrast to the generally negative findings reported in the study, they found no compelling evidence that employment at higher intensity (more than 20 hours a week) during the first two years of high school increased the risk of poor school attitudes and problem behaviour in school. The result also showed no diminishing time invested in homework or extracurricular activities or led to poor school grades.

Likewise, in a study of 1,800 Kentucky high school students, Ruscoe, Morgan and Peebles (1996) in comparing students who worked with students who did not, they found that the two groups did not differ significantly in their answers to the three questions concerning their academic experience. Nearly two thirds of each group reported they had never been late for their classes and over 90% of each group reported they had never played truant. With regard to GPAs, those who worked reported to have a slightly higher GPA than those who did not work. The workers scored an average GPA of 3.02 (on a 4-point scale) compared to 2.98 for those who did not work. Two exceptions were noted. Those who worked 20 hours per week or more had lower GPAs and those who worked primarily to save for college had higher GPAs. Nevertheless, the finding generally did
not support the popular impression that students experienced school problem as a consequence of working.

This review indicates that research findings regarding the effects of part-time work on academic performance are by no means conclusive. The difference in findings can be attributed to a difference in focus. For example, Steinberg, Greenberger and their colleagues focused on first time employer but the respondents included in Damico's sample were seniors who had working experience. Comparatively, young workers or those who have had little work experience may exhibit some initial difficulties in accommodating the conflicting demands on their time. Older school workers perhaps may quickly learn to adjust their work load and academic schedule so that no detrimental effect would be found on both. This was also implied in Mortimer, Shanahan and Ryu's findings, which indicated that grade and age of the students are important determinants for the impacts of working part-time on academic performance.

Besides, work intensity as measured by the number of hours worked per week is obviously another important factor that determine whether student's working part-time is detrimental to academic performance or not. Generally, these studies showed that extensive work involvement was associated with negative effects of working but less intensive work involvement appeared to bring certain benefits to academic experience.
2.4 Part-time Employment and the Development of Personal Responsibility

Work has long been assumed to have a positive influence on the development of responsibility. For instance, the American's National Commission on Youth (1980) and the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education (1976) had advocated for the earlier and more deliberate integration of adolescents into the workplace. They argued that high schools did not provide opportunities for young people to develop autonomy, initiative or self-reliance. They believed holding a job will teach the adolescent important lessons about dependability, punctuality and self-management and thereby encouraged the development of personal responsibility taking.

A review of related literature on the relationship between part-time employment and the development of personal responsibility had found two research investigations, both studies were reported by Greenberg, Steinberg and their colleagues.

In their earlier longitudinal study of 176 adolescents, Steinberg and his associates (Steinberg, Greenberger, Garduque, Ruggiero, & Vaux, 1982) reported that working was associated with greater personal responsibility (measured by work orientation and self-reliance). They found that the more time youngsters spent in the work place, the more they gained in work
orientation (the ability to complete work tasks and take pride in doing them)(B = .156, F[1,154] = 5.61, p < .05). With respect to the development of self-reliance (the ability to manage themselves), time in the work place was associated with gains for girls but declines for boys, with the declines appearing chiefly among those boys who spent a great deal of time at work.

However, in another more recent longitudinal study, Steinberg, Fegley and Dornbusch (1993) discovered that the findings did not support those in the earlier study. With a bigger sample of approximately 1,800 high school sophomores and juniors, they found that self-reliance was negatively affected by working long hours (more than 20 hour per week)(F[2,937] = 4.05. p < .05).

Due to the inconsistency in the results of these studies, several researchers suggested that the impact of work on adolescents' development and behaviour could be also due to other factors such as the personalities of the workers, the characteristics of the adolescents' job and their workplace (e.g., Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986; Mortimer, Finch, Shanahan & Ryu, 1992).
2.5 Part-time Employment and Deviant Behaviour

Direct evidence about the effect of teenagers working on delinquency is sparse. Evidence from a longitudinal study of birth cohorts born in Racine, Wisconsin, in the years of 1942 and 1949 (Shannon, 1982) suggested that employment, while in high school, was weakly and inconsistently related to delinquency. Using self-reports of delinquent behaviour as the outcome measure, half of the Cohort and Sex comparisons showed negative correlation and half showed a positive correlation with employment. Only one of these comparisons ($r=.18$ for females in the 1942 cohort) reached statistical significance, and it retained its significance when statistical controls were applied. Shannon also reported that young men who commenced full-time work prior to the age of 18 had more police arrests after they started working than did other young men who started working at a later age. However, when statistical controls for pre-existing differences between early and late workers were applied in a multiple regression analysis, age at first job was not significantly related to delinquency.

Less direct evidence concerning the effect of work on delinquency comes from a study of the costs and benefits to adolescent development of early participation in the labour force (Steinberg, Greenberger, Garduque, Ruggiero & Vaux, 1982). The longitudinal portion of this study followed 176 eleventh and twelfth graders of Orange County, California who had never
worked. One year later, 75 of the students reported that they had taken jobs. The results showed increased marijuana use as a function of the amount of time youngsters spent working \((B = .145, F[1, 143] = 4.72, p < .05)\). This relationship was especially strong among twelfth graders \((B = -.153, F[1, 142] = 4.26, p < .05)\). Cigarette use was also affected by working, but the effects varied as a function of social class \((B = .194, F[1, 137] = 4.96, p < .05)\) and grade level \((B = -.253, F[1, 137] = 9.08, p < .01)\). The effects of working on cigarette use were more pronounced among twelfth graders and among youngsters from white and blue-collar (as opposed to professional) families. Working was found to have no impact on alcohol consumption.

In a more recent study by Bachman and Schulenberg (1993) on how part-time work intensity relates to drug use, problem behaviour among high school seniors, their results reported positive correlations between drug use, problem behaviour and work intensity. Using a nationally representative sample of high school seniors, totalling over 70,000 respondents from the classes of 1985 – 1989, Bachman and Schulenberg found a strong bivariate association between hours of work and cigarette use (half-pack smoking). With each increment in hours of work, the prevalence of half-pack smoking rose, starting at about 5%-6% among those who worked 5 hours or less per week and rising to about 19% among those who worked more than 30 hours. Work intensity was found to be strongly and positively related to cocaine use (especially for those who worked more than 30 hours) but the pattern was
slightly weaker for marijuana use (only for those who worked less than 15 hours). The findings also showed some general linkage between employment and hour of work and deviant behaviours such as interpersonal aggression, trouble with police and arguing or fighting with parents. For example, male students working more than 30 hours per week were reported to be twice more aggressive than those working 15 hours or less and they argued and fought more with parents when they worked longer hours (more than 16 hours).

Much of the relevant literature apparently assumes that work intensity is associated with various negative behaviours of student workers. However, certain researchers argued that both work intensity and the correlates might be the result of more fundamental or casually prior "third variable". For example, longitudinal evidence from Mortimer and her colleagues (Mortimer, Finch, Ryu & Shanahan, 1991) indicated that the relationship between work intensity and drug use is partly due to pre-existing differences in substance abuse. This suggested that those factors that contributed to higher levels of substance abuse also contribute to longer hours of part-time work.