

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In the United States a large number of high school students participate in part-time employment during the school year. Part-time employment is perceived as beneficial for teens (Pickering & Vazsonyi, 2002), and necessary for adolescent development (Finch, Mortimer, & Ryu, 1994). Data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005 indicate that approximately 80% of high school students work at one time or another during high school and approximately 68 % of 16 to 19 year olds were reported to be employed in August, 2005.

Any activity that is widespread and takes a relatively large amount of time is sure to have educational and psycho-social consequences. Yet the empirical literature provides inconsistent and contradictory findings on the costs and benefits of part-time employment (Finch et al., 1994). As a result, there are few guidelines for educators, policymakers, parents and students to follow in making decisions regarding part-time employment. The primary goal of this chapter is to provide the critical analysis of the empirical research on the topic, and to comment on issues that are critical to the effects of part-time work during the school year.

There is a growing body of research on the relationship of part-time work to social, psychological, and educational development of youth. Despite accumulated research results on the effects of part time work on social and educational development of youth, there is continuing concern among sociologists and educational researchers on the effects of adolescent part-time semester employment on school engagement and academic achievement. A number of researchers have pointed out the negative effects of intensity of work experiences on educational and socio-psychological outcomes (Quirk, Keith & Quirk, 2002; Steinberg, 1996; Singh, 1998;

Singh & Ozturk, 2000), while other researchers have found beneficial effects of working for youth (Leventhal, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2001; Mortimer & Johnson, 1998; Mortimer, 2003). Some researchers have suggested that there is no discernable effect of working on such outcomes as grades (Warren, LePore, & Mare, 2000). In view of the inconsistent and somewhat contradictory findings of research, it is evident that the effect of work is far more nuanced and complex than previously understood.

The first part of the chapter is focused on the critique of the current empirical literature on the effects of part-time employment during school, to review the findings, identify the sources of inconsistencies in the empirical literature and critique the methodological issues. Secondly, the summary of findings is grouped according to the outcomes considered; such as the effects on educational, social, psychological and career development.

Although the effect of part-time employment during school year depends upon hours worked, nature of work, working conditions, and demographic characteristics of workers, often the debate seems to be divided on the lines of positive and negative effects of work so that the information that is available to students and parents is not very helpful.

The researcher presented the critical issues that ought to be considered in making decisions regarding employment during school. What is the nature and scope of high school employment? How does part-time employment affect school work, time with family, extracurricular activities?

This study focused on both theoretical and empirical literature on the effects of part-time employment on academic, socio-psychological, and educational outcomes. Four main foci of the research are identified: (a) achievement related outcomes: GPA, class-rank, test

scores; (b) other school-related outcomes: dropping out, attendance, extra and co-curricular activities, home-work and post-secondary plans; (c) relationships with parents and family: time with family, parental monitoring, interaction and activities with family and peers; (d) psycho-social outcomes: self-esteem, socialization in the world of work, and drug and alcohol use.

Strategy for the Selection of Articles

The sources for this reviewed included journal articles, book chapters, conference papers, and electronic publications between 1994 and 2005. ERIC, Educational Full Text, and PsycInfo databases were searched using key descriptors such as achievement, part-time employment, high school learning and working, and consequences of adolescent work. Some cross-referencing was conducted to gather new references.

Only those journal articles published in academic journals were selected. After reviewing 180 abstracts, the studies conducted in other countries, review studies, studies reporting only long-term career development and topics such as local economy were deleted. A group of 150 published articles were reviewed for the purpose of this research review.

After a full review of the selected papers, articles that did not report empirical results and were policy or conceptual papers were grouped together. The final review is based on 85 empirical studies. These studies report the effect of part-time work or part-time work intensity during the school year on academic outcomes, other school related outcomes, family relationships, and psycho-social development outcomes.

Historical and Cultural Context of Work

Working and attending school has emerged from mutually exclusive activities (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986) in the early 1950s to an almost inclusive activity that

is considered the norm for most adolescents. Steinberg (1996) noted that in the early 1950s American adolescents were either workers or students whose lives were “structured around school” (p.165). However, from the mid-1950s to the present time the propensity of high school students’ employment has grown considerably. Compared to other industrialized countries, American adolescents devote a great deal of their time to nonacademic activities. Steinberg listed the main activities as: part-time employment (on average, 15 to 20 hours per week), extracurricular activities (about 15 hours), socializing (about 20 to 25 hours per week), and watching television (about 15 hours per week).

Work and School Engagement

The construct of school engagement implies students’ level of connectedness to school. It is a multifaceted construct and is defined in research literature in three ways (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004): cognitive engagement, emotional engagement, and behavioral engagement. Cognitive engagement denotes tasks involving and related to learning, academic behavior, and school effort. Emotional engagement entails positive forms of conduct towards school administrators, teachers, students, and other school personnel. These include enthusiasm, interest, and optimism. Behavioral components of engagement involve initiation, participation, time, and effort spent on schoolwork, co-curricular, and extra-curricular activities. (Finn, 1991; Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004; Klem & Connell, 2004).

Fredricks et al., (2004) suggested that there should be a clear distinction between cognitive and behavioral effort. Behavioral effort is simply doing what is necessary, while cognitive effort involves learning and mastery of instruction. Learning is not merely required attendance. Students need to be cognitively, emotionally, and socially engaged in school to be

successful learners. Hence, some students are socially involved in school yet they achieve minimum academic achievement (National Research Council, 2003).

Many factors that influence school engagement are beyond the parameters of schools since many adolescents who are disengaged from school come from families and communities that are economically and socially disadvantaged. These students run the risk of dropping out of school, and are usually part of the “at risk” school population (The National Research Council, 2003). Studies have concluded that as grade level increases in high school, motivation and academic engagement declines (Marks, 2000; McDermott, Mordell, & Stolzfus, 2001). It follows that students who work intensely are usually the ones who become engaged in work related activities, become disengaged from school, and ultimately drop out.

Working for pay is merely one of the many activities that occupies the time and attention of high school students. Students also engage in social activities with family and peers; sports (National Research Council, 2003); and internet, television and video activities. Young people are described as having the ability to lead “media-saturated lives” since they spend an average of six and a half hours per day using media (The Kaiser Family Foundation, 2005, Executive Summary, p.6). As a result, schools are perpetually competing for students’ time and engagement.

Employment during high school has been found to be negatively correlated with school engagement, particularly with participation in school-related activities (Marsh & Kleitman, 2005). However, time spent in or out of class is directly related to student achievement (Finn, 1993). Results of The High School Survey of Student Engagement, 2005 (N= 80,904) reported that more than 20% of all participants spent at least 11 hours per week in: working for pay,

watching television, and socializing with friends. For example, 3% of the 9th graders, 6% of the 10th graders, 14% of the 11th graders, and 24% of the 12th graders surveyed spent time working 20 hours or more each week (p.4).

Engagement has been described as a form of social capital since it incorporates the social networks that facilitate bonding (relations among family members and close friends), bridging (relationships among colleagues and distant friends), and linking relationships (relations with persons of influence who can provide resources and connections) (Coleman, 1990).

Students who are fully engaged in school feel a sense of pride and loyalty to school, participate in co-curricular and extracurricular activities, have friends at school, generally pursue their studies with effort and persistence, and do not skip or cut classes (Johnson et. al., 2001; National Research Council, 2003). Yet the problem of causation persists. Does intense part-time employment lead to disengagement from school or does disengagement from school influence students' decision to participate in part-time employment (Steinberg, Fegley, & Dornbusch, 1993)?

Academic, Social Identity and Work Experiences

Adolescence is a critical time in the lives of individuals. It is the period of identity versus identity diffusion and the development of self-concepts (Erikson, 1959). Erikson developed a theory of psychosocial development where he described identity as the manner in which an individual personally organizes his or her biological and psychological paradigms in response to the social environment. Marcia (1993 a) further concluded from his research on identity that students display different types of identity formation and this is done mainly through commitment and exploration.

Adolescent identity is embedded in the development of self-concepts. Adolescents strive for their own standards and beliefs (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Identity may be viewed as academic or social. Hence, students who are fully engaged in school foster a school identity and connectiveness that involves both academic and social engagement (Fredricks et al., 2004). On the other hand, students who become embedded in part-time employment, develop an identity at the place of work which results in reduced involvement, time, and commitment to school (Marsh & Kleitman, 2005) and become disengaged and alienated from school (Fredricks et al., 2004).

Part of adolescents' projection of the future and future identity is their identification with work (Markus et al., 1990, cited in Mortimer, 2003). When some adolescents begin to work intensely they no longer see the relevance of school since they are obtaining skills and money and this perception hastens their departure from adolescent roles and formal schooling (Bachman et al., 2003).

Outcomes Related to Part-time Work

Achievement Related Outcomes of Part-time Work

Achievement related outcomes were operationalized mainly as GPA, class-rank, and standardized test scores. Researchers found varying effects when they studied the academic achievement of high school students who were employed (Barton, 1989; Green & Jaquess, 1987 cited in Steinberg & Cauffman, 1995). Barton (1989) concluded that grades of students who worked less than 20 hours were similar to those of nonworking students. However, students who worked more than 20 hours were associated with lower grades and often indicated their intentions to enter the workforce right after graduation. Barton also found that while absentee

rates were similar for all students who worked less than 25 hours, students who worked 25 hours or excess showed increasing levels of absenteeism.

In addition, to lower grades, part-time employment in excess of 20 hours during the school year was also reported to have negative effects on standardized scores (Singh, 1998). Singh concluded that intense employment did not only result in lower achievement scores, but also in less involvement in school and after school activities. She supported the zero-sum view (Marsh, 1991) that explains why students who work longer hours have less time for academic work, co-curricular-activities, and extracurricular activities.

In one study, negative effects were reported for younger students who worked in excess of 15 hours (Steinberg & Cauffman, 1995). Half of the employed seniors, one-third of juniors and one-fifth of sophomores were reported as working in excess of 20 hours per week which left them little time to be engaged in school (Steinberg, Brown, & Dornbusch, 1996). In addition, Steinberg, (1996) reported that American teenagers spend a great deal of time (20 and 25 hours per week) socializing with friends. He explained that American adolescent socializing was separate and apart from the world of academics. Many adolescents never discuss school when they socialize and this practice also contributes to low academic achievement.

Mortimer (2003) found that there were some benefits to teenage work and concluded that high school students who work as much as half time are better off in many ways than their peers who do not work. However, Singh, (1998) suggested that many parents who consider work to be beneficial might be unaware of the relationship between work hours and school achievement and need to be guided into understanding such a relationship.

Of the studies that concluded negative effects of more than 20 hours of part-time employment, (Berryman & Schneider, 1982; Gottfredson, 1985; Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986; Lewin- Espstein, cited in Steinberg & Cauffman, 1995), many reported that work in excess of 20 hours led to lower GPA. Most of these studies were cross sectional and hence their results did not indicate the causal relationships between part-time work and academic achievement.

The relationship of grade level and work was also reported in the literature. Mortimer, Finch, Dennehy, Lee, and Beebe (1994) indicated that over the high school years adolescents move from mainly informal work in grade 9, to restaurant type work in grade 10 and 11, and to more occupational types of jobs in grade 12 (p. 49). In a similar study, Steinberg (1995) reported that 40% of freshmen, 50% of sophomores, 65% of juniors, and 75% of seniors, as well as 33% of 8th graders work during a school year. This complexity of tasks and percentage of working students increased with grade level.

In a study on the negative effects (lower school performance) of employment on gifted high school students, Beermann (1997) indicated that gifted students did not share many of the ill effects of part-time employment when compared to regular students. However, although all the gifted students employed for more than 20 hours showed a high ability to manage work and school, some who were employed for less than 20 hours each week displayed symptoms of higher stress than non-working students.

With regard to frequency of employment, Oettinger (1999) argued that while modest weekly hours was associated with higher grades within each grade level, being in and out of employment between grade transition was associated with performance decline. Also, extensive school year employment had a negative impact on the achievement of racial minorities

particularly those who initially worked in excess of 20 hours per week during the school year. By contrast, Oettinger also found that summer employment had no adverse effects on students' grades.

Considering course selection, Singh and Ozturk (2000) reported that for students who worked intensely there was a significant negative effect on course work and course selection in mathematics and science. High school students' course selections were often modified by their work intensity. That is, the more hours these students worked, the fewer science and mathematics courses they took or completed. Such selection of courses (e.g. taking fewer advanced courses) also masks the effect of working on school performance.

Warren, LePore, and Mare (2000) in their study of short- and long-term effects of student employment on grades, found no evidence that high school employment had any effects on grades or that grades influenced employment activities. In a further study, Warren (2002) rejected the zero-sum model and proposed a social psychological primary orientation model to explain the relationship between high school student employment and academic outcomes. In fact, Schoenhals, Tienda, and Schneider (1998), concluded that many of the negative effects of employment on academic outcomes are because of pre-existing differences among the youth and not the number of hours they elect to work.

The Relationships of Work to Other School Outcomes

Some studies postulate the effect of work on academic achievement is through some intervening variables as attendance, homework, time on curricular activities and school engagement. Generally, there was a negative effect of work intensity on school-related outcomes such as attendance (Lillydahl, 1990 in Weller, Kelder, Cooper, Basen-Engquist, &

Totolero); time on homework (Mortimer & Shanahan, 1994); selection of courses (Singh, 1998; Singh & Ozturk, 2002); time on extra and co-curricular activities (Berryman & Schneider, 1983; Holland & Andre 1987 cited in Steinberg & Cauffman, 1995; MacArthur, Bedenbaugh, & Leonard, 1990; Steinberg et al., 1988); and post-secondary aspirations (Mihalic & Elliot, 1997; Warren, LePore, & Mare, 2000). Work intensity was also related to dropping out (McNeal, 1997). Lillydahl (1990) in Steinberg and Cauffman, 1995, found evidence to conclude that intensive work led to higher school absenteeism, less time on homework, and lower GPA.

Positive effects were also reported. In a study on adolescent transitions to young adulthood, Levanthal, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn (2001) reported that adolescents who enter the workforce earlier are more likely to complete high school than their peers. One researcher (Mael, Morath & McLellan, 1997) concluded that while adolescent employment had negative effects on academic performance it was positively related to general work performance. Ruhm (1997) postulated that part-time work for low-income adolescents, who experience high levels of family unemployment, was of great significance. For these adolescents, work provided an opportunity for their future employment and for higher social capital and academic aspirations. Whether part-time employment has positive or negative effects is relative to the social context under consideration (Furnham & Thomas, 1994) and these contexts must be examined carefully before drawing conclusions.

Adolescent employment was also found to have positive effects as an alternative to deviant behavior (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986). Newman (1999) found that adolescents in Harlem who took employment at Burger Barn achieved diversion from street violence and drugs, working class status, and obtained the opportunity to practice the work ethic. The adolescents

also learned interview skills, multi-tasking skills, social interaction skills, as well as physical dexterity and endurance which can be transferred to more prestigious occupations.

Many researchers also believed that students who work during high school are more likely to be employed as adults (Carr, Wright, & Brody, 1996; Mortimer, 2003). Levantal, Graber, and Brooks-Gunn (2001) concluded that students who enter the job market early are more likely to complete high school while Mortimer (2003) felt that high school students who work even as much as half time are in many ways better off than students who do not have jobs.

The Relationship of Part-time Work Variables to Family and Social Effects

The results of empirical investigations were found to be inconsistent in this area. In the family arena, some studies found that workers and non-workers were different in family related effects (Fine et al., 1990; Gade & Peterson, cited in Singh & Ozturk, 2000; Peters, 1987; Schill, McCartin, & Meyer, 1985; Steinberg & Cauffman, 1995). Other studies showed no effect of working on quality of family relations and involvement (Steinberg et al., 1982; Steinberg & Dornbusch, cited in Singh & Ozturk, 2000). Some studies reported decreased family time, less influence of parents and a sort of pseudo adult status among workers with less parental monitoring (Mortimer & Shanahan, 1994; Shanahan, Elder, Burchinal, & Conger, 1996)

Inconsistent results have also been found in family conflict. Working adolescents were reported by some researchers as having more frequent disagreements with their parents and disagreements increased with work hours (Mortimer & Shanahan, 1994). Other researchers indicated the highest level of conflict with parents among non-working adolescents (Hardesty & Hirsch, 1992). Nonworking adolescents reported better communication with fathers than non-

workers and high intensity workers reported worse communication with fathers than low intensity and non-workers (Shanahan, Elder, Burchinal, & Conger, 1996).

There were also studies that found positive effects of work on teenagers' relationship with parents, and fewer arguments over money and spending (Greenberger, Steinberg, Vaux, & McAuliffe, 1979; Mortimer & Shanahan, 1994; Phillips & Sandstrom, cited in Steinberg & Cauffman, 1995). The research project conducted by Greenberger and Steinberg (1980) demonstrated the many inconsistencies that can exist between cross sectional and longitudinal designs on any given topic.

Adolescent Spending in Rural and Urban Areas

While it was reported that adolescents spend most of their earnings on consumer items, a different pattern of behavior was observed in rural areas. A study conducted on rural and urban youth (Shanahan, Elder, Burchinal, & Conger, 1996) reported that about one third of adolescents in rural areas saved money, paid school fees, and contributed to family expenses. This indicated that teenagers who reside in rural areas may work for different reasons than youth who live in urban areas.

Work and Gender

Adolescents' experiences in the workplace may differ for males and females (Mortimer, Finch, Owens, & Shanahan, 1990). Mortimer et al., (1990) reported that working females tend to hold positions involving retail, customer services, and child care while working males hold more manual, physical labor intensive jobs, and food service positions. Many males preferred routine, repetitive jobs, public relations jobs, and jobs involving computer training while females try to get positions that may evaluate future careers and develop

mentor relationships with adults. They found that males were more subjected to job stress than females.

The Effects of Work Variables on Psycho-Social Development

The studies reviewed demonstrated that there is compelling evidence, except in the case of gifted students, that intense part-time work has a negative effect on psycho-social functioning; less sleep (Bills, Helms, Elder & Ozcan, 1995), less satisfactory leisure time and time for health related activities (Bachman & Schulenberg, 1986; Mortimer et al., 1996; Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991, cited in Shanahan, Burchinal, & Conger, 1996). The relationship between work hours and indicators of psychosocial development among 4,000 students in grades 10 to 12 was examined. The results indicated that intense work hours among adolescents were associated with depression and psychological problems.

Some maturity and socialization related, and long-term employability benefits were reported (Wright; 1995), as well as valuable growth when conditions and relationships in the workplace are right (Finch, Shanahan, Mortimer, & Ryu, 1991; Mihalic & Elliot, 1977; Stevens, Puchtell, Ryu, & Mortimer, cited in Singh & Ozturk, 2000). Work related variables have also been associated with increased drug and alcohol use (Bachman & Schulenberg, 1993; Greenberger, 1984; Mihalic & Elliott, 1997; Steinberg et al., 1982; cited in Mortimer et al., 1996), as well as delinquency (Gottfredson, 1982 cited in Weller, Kelder, Cooper, Basen-Engquist, & Totolero, 2003).

Also to be included in the debate on the effects of part-time employment must be the occupational hazards and injuries associated with adolescent work. Every year more than 60,000 adolescents are reported to have received treatment at hospital emergency departments for work

related injuries and over 50 teens die from such injuries (Layne, Castillo, Stout, & Cutlip, 1994).

Some Critical Issues in the Research on Employment of Students and its Correlates

The relationship of work and educational and psychological outcomes is more complex than was previously understood. There is the issue of pre-existing differences among workers. This relationship is moderated by the following variables: (a) work intensity as defined by the number of hours worked per week during the school year; (b) type of work, as well as quality of work experience which is a key issue; (c) school-based and supervised work experience; (d) gender, effect on self-esteem, self-reliance may be gender specific.

The relationship of work variables to educational achievement is mediated by certain school-related variables. Work affects school through the mechanism of the following variables: school engagement and embeddedness; time spent on home-work; selection of courses; post-secondary aspirations; involvement in extra and co-curricular activities and parent, family and peer relationships.

The reasons for the inconsistencies in results were found to be: cross-sectional versus longitudinal study designs, use of appropriate control variables in different studies, comparison of workers with non-workers versus effects of work intensity, issue of cause-effect direction-a major concern, pre-existing differences (Steinberg, Fegley, & Dornbusch, 1993) between those who work long hours versus those who either do not work or work fewer hours. Cross-sectional studies present a problem in determining the causal effects of part-time work.

The review of research on the effects of adolescent employment has revealed many negative outcomes. However, the literature demonstrates that the effects of part-time adolescent employment “depends” on many factors and should not be hastily categorized as “good” or

“bad” without considering specific job characteristics (Mortimer & Finch, 1996; Pickering & Vazsonyi, 2002). Since low-intensity work is associated with positive family relations, under certain circumstances work can be beneficial for adolescents and their families. Family seems to play an invaluable role in outcomes for adolescent workers. Pre-existing family differences should also be considered when drawing conclusions about part-time work. It is suggested that “family lays a foundation that employment builds on” (Pickering & Vazsonyi, 2002. p. 213).

Who Works and Why?

Who works? Is work behavior cause or effect of academic behavior? Does work intensify the already bad situation for low achieving students or is it low achievement that causes adolescents to pursue intense work? Many students find it difficult to balance school and work, leading to greater psychological and somatic stress. Many students experience stress beyond their coping skills. In fact, Steinberg, Fegley, and Dornbusch, (1993) concluded that many students who claim to suffer no adverse effects of part-time work take less challenging courses and cheat on tests and assignments in order to cope.

Several methodological issues have arisen from the research on part-time work. Studies conducted by Mortimer, Finch, and Shanahan, cited in Mortimer, 2003 suggested that in addition to conducting more longitudinal studies, researchers need to focus on both negative and positive correlates of part-time work. Most researchers have discussed the negative aspects of adolescent employment but have focused less on the positive attributes. Part-time employment can be beneficial to some high school students.

Another issue is in understanding of the reasons why students work. The reasons why adolescents work have changed considerably over the past three decades. Many researchers have

examined the reasons why high school students work. Initially, students worked because of economic need (Berryman & Schneider, 1982), to fulfill apprenticeship requirements, and as preparation for the work place. Other studies conclude that students no longer work for economic need (Lillydahl, cited in Singh & Ozturk, 2000; Schill, McCartin, & Meyer, 1985). In fact, it is widely reported that consumerism is one of the main reasons why many teenagers work (Berryman & Schneider, 1982; Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986; Lillydahl, 1990; Worley, 1995).

Do employed teens have a particular stereotype? Steinberg, Brown and Dornbusch, 1996, and Johnson and Lino (2000) observed that most adolescents who work are white, middleclass, and suburban. These researchers declared that it is a myth to think that most working teens are poor minorities who need to supplement the family income or are desperately trying to save for a college education. They also suggest that we dismiss the concept that part-time adolescent employment is “a bridge into the adult labor force”, “a sort of modern-day apprenticeship” or that it serves “important economic and educational functions” (p.167). They concluded that adolescents work too many hours simply to satisfy their personal needs and do so in jobs that have little educational benefits and little connection to their intended careers. Bachman and Schulenberg (1993) concluded from their survey of 70,000 high school seniors that students who were not college bound, and who had low GPA tend to work longer hours. This supports the hypothesis that disengaged students are more likely to work longer hours (Steinberg, Brown, & Dornbusch, 1996).

Generally, the consensus is that adolescents use their earnings to purchase wants rather than needs (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986; Lillydahl, 1990; Schill, McCartin, & Meyer, 1985;). Most of the money earned by middle class white teenagers is spent on entertainment and goods

and services related to youth culture. However, some researchers argue (Pickering & Vazsonyi, 2002) that adolescents are a major expense to families and attaining employment helps to offset some of their expenses and at the same time contribute to the family budget.

When considering the cost-benefit of work, the opportunity cost associated with adolescent employment should be taken into account. Would these teens be studying if they were not working? Does volunteer work form any part of adolescent development? The important conclusion from this literature is that work experience of students need to be carefully monitored. Maximizing the educational benefits of students' work experience, while minimizing negative effects, is a challenge for parents, and schools.

Summary

When appropriate control variables are used, work variables produce small to moderate effects on academic performance. Relationship of work intensity and educational outcomes seem curvilinear. Either no effect or a small positive effect of low intensity work but high involvement work, is detrimental to academic achievement.

Benefits for vocational students and for school based and supervised programs were consistently reported. Studies comparing workers with non-workers have generally found no effects but when work intensity is considered, the effects are more visible and negative. However, longitudinal and large sample studies found more negative effects of work intensity on educational and psychosocial outcomes compared to rural, vocational and small size studies. Often the debate on the positive and negative effects of part-time work does not provide students with the multiple effects of employment on educational and psycho-social development.