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WORK AND FAMILY
A STUDY OF EMPLOYED WOMEN AND THE CARE OF THEIR INFANTS

A Dissertation Presented

By

JUDITH G. LISTER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

February 1986

Early Childhood



Judith Gail Lister
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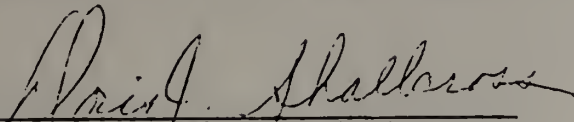
WORK AND FAMILY: A STUDY OF EMPLOYED WOMEN
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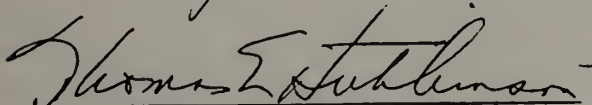
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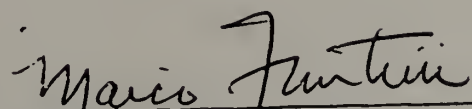
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Jo. and Steve, for their persistent confidence.

Chris, for everything.

Dedicated to the Women
of the study...
who are trying to find
a good way.

ABSTRACT

Work and Family

A Study of Employed Women and the Care of Their Infants

February, 1986

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The purpose of this study was to initiate exploratory research on women who were gainfully employed while parenting their first infants. Emphasis was placed on an increased understanding of variations in the perception of choices and conflicts associated with this dual role. The study sample included nineteen women who had their first children enrolled in two different infant day care centers. A structured set of interview questions was pilot-tested and revised prior to the interviews of the study.

The paradigm for moral development of women proposed by Gilligan (1982) was used in the design of four research questions, twenty-one interview questions and the training session for three objective raters. Interview questions elicited information on the experience of the respondents in relation to considerations, choices, conflicts and feelings associated with the dual role of working and parenting. Objective raters categorized interview transcripts according to descriptions of the stages of moral development. Research analysis addressed commonalities and differences between the respondents in terms of the four research questions.

Findings suggested that the respondents could be grouped according to the orientations towards the responsibility to caring for self and others suggested by the Gilligan paradigm of moral development. In addition, similarities seemed to exist in the reportings of conflicts related to the dual role by the women in the various groups. Emphasis was consistently placed on the necessity of quality infant day care centers. However, differences were found in preferences for employment arrangements. These included options for maternity leaves and part-time jobs. The extent to which respondents felt that they had choices about their employment arrangements also appeared related to the experience of conflicted feelings about the dual role.

Findings were used to suggest areas for future research. A larger sampling of women was proposed with attention paid to variables that included income level, educational background, age, nature of employment, support of spouse/housemate and flexibility of employment and child care options. Similar research on men in the dual role of working and parenting was also suggested.

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C H A P T E R I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Shifts in the perception of sex roles in the United States in the past twenty years have led to critical ramifications for the provision of child care (Bronfenbrenner, 1976, Keniston, 1977, Bane, 1976, Eshleman, 1981, Skolnick, 1979). Historically, the care of pre-school age children has been considered the responsibility of individual families with norms being defined by in-home care provided by a child's mother or family relative (Demos, 1979, Kephart, 1972). The recent social situation, however, has been dramatically different. The Women's Movement, the economic recession, and demographic alterations have contributed to a significant increase in the proportion of women in the work force (Berger & Berger, 1983, Employed Parents and Their Children: A Data Book, 1982). At the same time, a diversity of family structures and a variety of child care arrangements have been generated (White House Conference on Children, 1970, Zigler, 1982). In light of research on the importance of developmental aspects of the early years of children's lives (Kagan, Kearsley, & Zelazo, 1980, Bronfenbrenner, 1971, Clarke-Stewart, 1977, Fraiberg, 1977, White, 1975, Elkind, 1979), these social changes demand reflection on the implications of maternal employment. Such a process was postulated to include attention to the well-being of women, children, families, and society (Berger & Berger, 1983, Voydanoff, 1984, Trebilcot, 1984, Thorne & Yalom, 1982, Caldwell, 1980).

As part of the Women's Movement of the recent decades, feminist leaders have encouraged women to look

beyond their domestic roles and responsibilities to accepting the challenge and benefit of direct involvement with the larger society. The concept of self development was framed in new ways that seemed to place greater emphasis on career than on mothering. The concurrent recession sent women a second broad-base message. While its orientation stressed financial necessity, rather than personal identity development, the impact of the message was similar: leave the home and join the work force. Such social pressures gained further reinforcement from the rise in the divorce rate and the demographic shift in the number of women who were single parent heads of household. The combination of these factors has led to alterations in the roles of women, changes in the composition of the work force, and diversity in the organization of the family.

This situation has caused several dimensions of concern. In terms of the work place, the presence of women in larger proportions has challenged policies and presumptions, as well as organizational structures and cultures, that have been designed for a predominantly male work force (Friedman, 1983). Secondly, the changes in the roles of women have influenced the development of a variety of family structures. Thirdly, maternal employment has raised the possibility of conflict between parenting and working. Such conflict has been a likely occurrence for women who assumed responsibility for working as well as for childrearing and domestic maintenance (Voydanoff, 1984). Finally, the presence of mothers in the work force has led to considerations of the location and nature of care that children receive during working hours (Bronfenbrenner, 1971, Kagan, 1971). Questions related to these concerns have been raised as to the difference between the interactions of young children with their parents versus their interactions with secondary caregivers, and the quality of various settings in terms of a spectrum ranging

from custodial care to developmental care (Kagan et al., 1980).

If it was to be assumed that large numbers of women are going to continue to work, whether by desire or necessity, then the society appeared to be faced with some critical questions. In a broad sense, social values may be addressed. For example, current trends may be viewed as diminishing the value placed on the role of parenting. Similarly, the commitment that the society is willing to make towards the care of children may be questioned. Underlying these questions are basic considerations related to the source of responsibility for child care and the accompanying assignment of authority.

On a more specific level, questions may be posed in reference to how the work place can best adapt to a changing work force and the manner in which such adaptations might assist employees who are parents (Friedman, 1983). At the same time, it appeared equally important to consider the options presently afforded children in the society, and to confront the prerequisites of quality in their care. In light of these concerns, it appeared important to view children within the context of families and to view families within the context of society.

In order to address concerns related to families, employment, and the provision of child care, an emphasis of this study was placed on understanding the experience of working and parenting. Since women continue to assume a predominant responsibility for the care of young children, it appeared particularly important to understand the various orientations and the moral conflicts of women in relation to these roles.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of the experience of women in relation to decisions about working while parenting an infant. Specifically, it addressed the decisions of employed women in relation to working while their first children were infants. Presuming that decisions of this nature are individual and contextual, the study looked at how women viewed their lives in relation to the dual roles of working and parenting.

The major areas addressed by the study are as follows:

- 1.) How do women frame considerations related to working and parenting in their own thinking?
- 2.) How do women perceive and resolve conflicts and choices associated with the dual roles of working and parenting?
- 3.) How do women feel about their decisions to work while their children are infants?
- 4.) How does the birth of a woman's first child influence her thoughts and feelings about working and parenting?

Carol Gilligan's (1982) moral development paradigm was used as a framework for understanding the experiences of women in this area. Attention was paid to the variations and commonalities in the perception of the dual role of working and parenting an infant, in the process of deciding about employment while parenting an infant, and in the subsequent experience of feelings.

Meaning of the Terms

child care-	Protection and supervision of young children by adults. It may range in scope from custodial care (basic needs) to developmental care (attention to child development). Arrangements include individual in-home care or out-of-home care.
dual roles-	The combination of two major occupations of one's time and self expectations. Thus, two predominant descriptions (internal and external) of one's expected behavior.
infant-	A child from birth until approximately eighteen months of age.
infant day care-	Arrangement for the provision of child care for groups of children under approximately eighteen months of age.
moral development-	Stages of growth in terms of one's judgement of the goodness and badness of human action and character.
moral dilemma-	A situation that requires one to choose between two seemingly equally balanced alternatives in regard to the judgement of the goodness and badness of one's actions or character.
primary caregiver-	Person(s) directly responsible for the care of a child; typically a child's parent(s).
role-	The characteristic and expected social behavior of an individual; a function or position.
secondary caregiver-	Child care personnel other than a child's primary caregiver(s), or parents. In general, adults who care for children in their own home, in the home of the child, or in a public or private facility.

Significance of the Study

As an increased proportion of women have entered and remained in the work force during the past two decades, provision of care for young children during the hours of maternal employment has become a critical concern (Bronfenbrenner, 1971, 1976, Fein & Clarke-Stewart, 1973, Kagan, 1971). While professionals in the field of Early Childhood have addressed the characteristics of quality in child care (Kagan et al., 1980, Clarke-Stewart, 1977, Cataldo, 1983), it appeared increasingly important to also understand the adult experience of working and parenting. Therefore, the significance of the study is in its potential to expand the understanding of the ways in which women experience the dual role of working and parenting.

If women are to participate more fully in the work force, then assumptions about the provision of child care may need to be altered. Child care may need to be re-framed in ways that challenge fundamental premises within the society - premises related to sex roles, predisposition for parenting, and assignment of responsibility for the provision of care. Resolution to the demand for child care is likely to be facilitated by a fuller understanding of the conflicts and concerns of parents.

Trends in the work force and the society are likely to cause men, women, and social institutions to experience the shifting of authority and assignment of responsibility for the care of children. Jean Baker Miller (1976) wrote,

...because women's lives have been tied to biology and childrearing, there have been additional major obstacles in the path of gaining economic and social power and authority. Obviously, such role definitions need not keep women from full participation in the world; but to change the situation requires major reorganization of our

institutions and the paths to power in them. (p. 127)

She went on to pose the question,

If we as a human community want children, how does the total society propose to provide for them? How can it provide for them in such a way that women do not have to suffer or forfeit other forms of participation and power? How does society propose to organize so that men can benefit from equal participation in child care? (p. 128)

This dissertation initiated exploratory research in this area. It focused on an increased understanding of women in the dual role of working and parenting. It addressed this topic through attention to the ways in which women experienced changes in sex role expectations within the society and the subsequent influence on their feelings and decisions about working and parenting. Presuming that many women are being confronted with work choices that are different from those of their mothers, it appeared likely that moral dilemmas are inherent to the decision to work while parenting an infant. Thus, attention was paid to the moral development of women in terms of how they made choices and resolved conflicts related to their dual roles. The study was designed as exploratory research so that conclusions could be used to suggest direction and design of future research in the area of working mothers and infant care.

Delimitations of the Study

The study was designed to address one aspect of the area of work and family. It was conducted with women who were both employed and parenting their first children.

However further restrictions, such as age, income level, and nature of employment, were not imposed. This allowed for suggestion of future areas for research, but did not provide for the drawing of conclusions about specific groups of women. The women in the study were selected from a population of parents who had children enrolled in infant/toddler child care programs. All of the members of this population had at least one child whose age was between one and twenty-seven months of age. The study was limited to interviews of working mothers. It was designed in this way in order to allow the analysis of the data to focus on the moral development of women in relation to the dual roles of working and parenting.

Research Design

The study was an analysis of structured in-depth interviews with women who had been simultaneously working and parenting an infant. Prior to the interview, respondents were informed as to why they had been selected for participation in the research. It was requested that they share their thoughts, feelings, and insights about the topic under investigation. Anonymity was assured. An explanation of the reasons why the interview sessions were being tape-recorded was made. This design was intended to allow the interviewer to devote full attention to the communication of the respondents.

The interview sessions commenced with an explanation of the research interests of the interviewer. This was followed by an explanation of the overall process of the interview and the purpose of the study. The interviewer then presented a series of questions by reading them from a printed sheet, and responses were elicited. At the conclusion of the question and answer session, the respondents completed an information

sheet on personal background factors. If the respondents desired to share further information on the subject matter at a later date, they were encouraged to do so in writing or through a follow-up interview session.

Carol Gilligan's (1982) schema for detailing the stages in the development of morality was used as the framework for analyzing the responses of participants to questions posed by the interviewer. Her theory states that women view themselves through a context of human relationship and attachment to others. Thus women judge themselves in terms of the ability to care for others and to be responsive in relationships. Moral dilemmas are created by choices between obligation to self and responsibility to caring for others. Stages suggested by this paradigm reflect the development of an increasingly complex understanding of the relationship between self and others. They trace the development of moral judgement from the concept of selfishness to that of responsibility to self and others. The basic stages of moral development as depicted by this theory are briefly outlined in the following descriptions.

- 1.) Stage 1 thinking that is focused on caring for oneself; the primary consideration in resolving moral dilemmas is the ability to care for one's self interests

- 2.) Transitional stage criticism of one's thinking as being selfish; signifying a new understanding of the connection between self and others and leading to a new concept of responsibility

- 3.) Stage 2 thinking that is focused on caring for others; the primary consideration in resolving moral dilemmas is the ability to care for others

- 4.) Transitional stage exclusion of caring for self in one's thinking causes confusion between the notions of caring and self-sacrifice; confusion over 'goodness'
- 5.) Stage 3 thinking that is focused on understanding the interconnection and interdependency between self and others; the primary consideration in resolving moral dilemmas is the ability to care for both self and others

Following the interview sessions the questions and responses of the women were typed and printed into formal interview transcripts. These transcripts were used during rating sessions with three objective raters. The raters assessed the stage of moral development of each respondent in relation to the material generated by the interview questions. This procedure took place by rating the transcripts according to the stages of moral development delineated by Gilligan. Analysis of the four research questions of the study was conducted by the researcher through the assessment of variations in the experiences of the respondents.

C H A P T E R I I
R E V I E W O F T H E L I T E R A T U R E

Introduction

If the dual role of working and parenting was to be viewed within the context of the present social climate, then it was essential that attention be paid to the changing nature of sexual and family role expectations. Insight into this complex area began with an overview of the predominant trends within the American family. Consideration of work and family roles were viewed in terms of the alteration of social role expectations. Such a perspective traced the development of maternal employment outside of the home, and highlighted the concurrent demand for child care provided by secondary caregivers.

Subsequently, consideration of the implications of widespread maternal employment raised questions about the assignment of responsibility for child care, particularly in the case of very young children. Such questions were framed to include female predisposition for parenting, requirements for enhancement of self-image, and the psychological experience of moral choice and conflict. Various theoretical premises addressed different dimensions of these areas while highlighting the interplay of biology, sociology, psychology, and anthropology in the human experience. Yet a comprehensive theoretical framework for viewing the dual role of working and parenting had not been developed. Understanding of the reasons for women working while parenting an infant and the nature of the experience of that dual role remained open to speculation.

For the purposes of this dissertation, The Review of the Literature was divided into two sections. The first section presents an historical perspective on trends within the American family and the concurrent alteration of role expectations. The second section presents selected areas of theory and research on aspects of the development of women. These theories were selected because of their potential for contributing to the understanding of the demands that the dual role of working and parenting place on women. Together, these two sections provided the groundwork for exploration into this new area of research.

The American Family - An Historical Perspective on Sexual and Family Role Expectations

The state and stability of the American family had been a serious social concern in the past two decades (Bronfenbrenner, 1976b, Keniston, 1977, Bane, 1976). There appeared to be a concensus that certain family norms were in a period of transition (Eshleman, 1981, Skolnick, 1979, Stannard, 1976, Demos, 1979). Causation of this phenomenon was speculated to be related to the effects of post-industrialism and the development of high technology (Toffler, 1980, Naisbitt, 1982).

Prior to a discussion of 'the family' it was important to realize some of the generalizations implied by this terminology. Individual families have varied according to factors such as ethnic background, parental employment and income level, size and membership, and geographical location (Kephart, 1972, Blood, 1972). These characteristics, in combination with individual personalities, have led to unique interaction patterns of

families with institutions. Keller (1979) described this situation by writing,

...it would be well to keep in mind that the family is an abstraction at best, serving as a guide and image of what a particular society considers desirable and appropriate in family relations, not what takes place in actual fact. (p. 69)

In light of these considerations, there appeared to be general patterns in the development of family structures, norms, and work and leisure lifestyles. Of particular concern, for the purposes of this review, were the ramifications of these trends on family role expectations.

Early Stages

Family life in America from the seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century was commonly described in terms of family cohesion (Demos, 1979, Kephart, 1972). William Kephart (1972) summarized family life by writing, "The history of this early period is the history of husband-wife-child teams prevailing over a strange and, in many ways, a crushingly severe environment" (p. 123).

The norms of family life evolved through the demands of a predominantly agrarian society. Demos (1979) wrote, "[The family] was, first and foremost, a community of work...Young and old, male and female, labored together to produce the subsistence on which the whole group depended" (p.42).

A majority of families were composed of two parents and their children. Male and female roles were explicit. "Every farmer was his own carpenter, builder, and repairman... [The role of women] was primarily that of converting the raw materials into usable products...and running the 'infirmary'" (Kephart, 1972, p. 130).

A large number of children was considered advantageous to the family. In a society with few schools and no child-labor laws, children were depended upon as a vital part of the labor force. Boys assisted their fathers in the field, and girls worked alongside their mothers in running the household. High infant and childhood mortality rates and the prevailing attitude that children would be the caretakers of their parents later in life contributed to the desirability of children (Kephart, 1972).

The possibility of other people temporarily joining a nuclear family influenced the family structure and sense of community. Servants, apprentices, dependent strangers, and visiting children were likely to join households for periods of time. The presence of these people was considered a typical part of family organization. Although life expectancy rates were less than in the twentieth century, elderly people were cared for by their children. They were considered as an integral part of the family (Newton, 1976).

The purpose of family life was well-defined. The individual family was the center of education, protection, recreation, health care, food and clothing production, and affection. Family life was also closely tied to religious activities (Eshleman, 1981).

Child care was exclusively based in the home. Young

children were the recipients of care from a range of people, including parents, siblings, grandparents, relatives, and household boarders. Newton (1976) wrote, "Basically, what this means is that homes used to have enough hands to help in times of crisis and to prevent young women from carrying the burden of baby and toddler alone day after day..." (p. 99).

Industrialization

Changes brought about by industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century led to alterations of family structures. Urbanization accompanied industrialization, and many families left their farms to move closer to the factories. For those families, such a dramatic shift in lifestyle caused departure from familiar norms. As the economic center moved from within the family constellation to a position external to the family, shifts began to take place in the underlying purposes of family life (Demos, 1979, Skolnick, 1979).

The effect of this reorganization seemed to have had a dramatic influence on perceptions and expectations of roles within the family. Demos (1979) summarized,

The husband-father undertook an exclusive responsibility for productive labor. He did this in one of a variety of settings well-removed from the home-hearth, in offices, factories, shops, or wherever. So it was that family life was wrenched apart from the world of work - a veritable sea-change in social history. Meanwhile, the wife-mother was expected to confine

herself to domestic activities ... she became the centerpiece in developing a cult of the HOME. (p. 52)

As children became less of an economic asset, the value placed in large families diminished. More attention was paid to the individuality of children and to the manner in which they were raised. The status of children moved to being the hope of the nation's future. In conjunction with this notion, their caregiving was characterized by "unprecedented prolonged and sentimentalized nurturing" (Stannard, 1979, P. 87).

Inherent to these changes in family roles was the speculation that the institution of the family moved from being the source of socio-economic existence to being the source of individuation; from being one with the community to being separate from the larger community (Stannard, 1979). The origins of social institutions to provide health care, education, and police protection appeared to have reinforced this sense of separation (Kephart, 1972, Rodman, 1965).

Perspectives on the implications of this situation for the institution of family varied greatly. Newton (1976) faulted the Industrial Revolution with long-term, destructive effects. "Small and broken families, dependent on the industrial money economy, force some members to work away from home for many hours a week and leave lonely and overstrained people at home" (p. 100).

Demos (1979) cited the possibility of positive and negative side effects. He believed that the family of the industrial era became a refuge from the larger society. As such, it was a protective structure, valued for its emotional support and affectional bondings. The drawback

existed in the resultant pressure on family roles: on men to succeed in the "world at large," on women to maintain a "perfect home," and on children to live virtuous lives that would reward the sacrifices of their parents (p. 53).

Lasch (1980) suggested,

The family did not evolve or decline, it merely adapted itself to changing conditions. As industry and the state took over the economic, educational, and protective work of the family, society at the same time became more impersonal and bureaucratic, thereby necessitating the creation of an intimate, protected space in which personal relations could continue to thrive. (p. 87)

Talcott Parsons (Rodman, 1965) depicted the early twentieth century as the time when family roles became "differentiated" (p. 210). Childhood came to be viewed as an important stage of life, and children were recognized "as distinctive creatures in their own right" (Demos, 1979, p. 52).

During this time period education developed as a social institution. While parents were still responsible for the training of their children in "the skills of living" (Newton, 1976, p. 98), schools grew in responsibility for academic subject matter. This marked the first compulsory group care of young children.

Influence of the Twentieth Century

Developments in the twentieth century influenced the

institution of the family with factors ranging from machinery to interpersonal dynamics. Appliances became available to assist in housework. Women's suffrage drew attention to the social status and educational opportunities for women. War-time economics drew larger proportions of women into the labor force. Architectural designs and central heating systems produced single dwelling homes, with hallways and private bedrooms (Laslett, 1973). And industry encouraged family mobility.

Concurrently, family norms related to marriage and children underwent a series of transitions. As the world of work was removed from the domain of the family, the overall purpose of family life began to shift. For family members who were no longer directly dependent upon each other for the production of food, clothing, and shelter, new emphasis was placed on the quality of interpersonal relationships (Laslett, 1973). Family size also began to decrease. Awareness and availability of birth control early in the twentieth century led to children being viewed as a matter of "choice rather than chance" (Eshleman, 1981, p. 21).

This shift in orientation towards children was reinforced by a change in their economic status. The introduction of child-labor laws and compulsory public education caused the role of children to move from that of economic asset to economic liability (Kephart, 1972, Eshleman, 1981). While many of the former functions of the family were being assumed by social organizations, responsibility for the care of young children remained with the individual family.

Various concerns for child care arose from this situation. Demos (1979) speculated that families became

over-burdened with expectations for "significant personal encounters" (p. 59), a dimension of social experience not assumed by social institutions. Subsequently, by assigning child care to the private domain of individual families, he feared that "we find it hard to care very much or very consistently about other people's children" (p.60). Stannard (1979) developed a different fear. He believed that the family was becoming underburdened by relinquishing its responsibilities to bureaucratic institutions. He stated,

Not the least of [the family's] traditional purposes is to care for the very young and very old. For over a century the American family has been gradually unburdening itself of this responsibility ... We may applaud this development or we may lament it, but on the whole ... we fail to scrutinize, or to provide with adequate support, those expanding institutions that have become the family's surrogate caregivers. (pp.95-96)

The institution of marriage in the twentieth century was also affected by the prevalence of divorce. While considerable attention has been paid to the divorce rate since 1960, a significant rise in divorce also took place early in the century. Both of these time periods generated social concern for the stability of the family, and for the care of children.

The recent divorce rate has led to the recognition of single parenting as a family structure. However, unlike the situation early in the century, single parenting now

exists in a social climate composed of diversified family structures. The report of The White House Conference on The Family in 1970 listed the prevalent family types as: Nuclear family, Dyadic nuclear family, Dual-work family, Single-parent family, Three-generational family, Middle-aged or old-aged couples, Kin network Second-career family, and Institutional family. It went on to list "Emerging experimental structures which affect children": Commune family monogamous, group marriage; Unmarried parent and child family; Unmarried couple and child family; and Homosexual couple and child family (pp.228-229).

Numerous arrangements for child care have been generated during the twentieth century. Variations include public and private kindergartens, private nursery schools, day care centers, and family day care. These settings provide care for infants, toddlers, preschoolers, kindergarteners, and elementary age children.

In conjunction with these changes in family structure and composition, numerous alterations have taken place in terms of role expectations for men and women. Contributing factors to these alterations in the past twenty years include the influence of the Viet Nam War and the post-war era, the Women's Movement, and the economic recession. Related to these dimensions of social change, a significant increase in the proportion of women in the labor force has taken place. In 1980 women composed 41.9% of the labor force and it has been predicted that this proportion will continue to rise throughout the next decade. At the same time, 41.7% of women with children under age 3 were in the labor force in 1980. This was in marked contrast to 17.3% in 1959. This number has been projected to rise as well. (Employed Parents and Their

Children: A Data Book, 1982).

Concerns related to the employment of women, such as the nature of employment, equal opportunity and equity of pay, have emerged in conjunction with these trends. In addition, married women have been likely to be required to balance the demands of two working spouses. And the employment of women with young children has often included timing considerations for child-bearing and arrangements for child care during hours of maternal employment. All of these factors have held potential for contributing to conflicts between the demands of home and work (Kamerman, 1983).

The presence of women in the labor force has influenced men as well (Friedman, 1983a). Related to general shifts of sex roles in the society, some men may have had difficulty accepting the employment of women. This may be particularly so in regard to women with young children. For married men, the probability of an employed spouse has increased, causing the possibility of conflict between the demands of two working spouses and two organizations. Marriages in which both spouses work also have been likely to increase the level of male responsibility for housework (Hoffman, 1974, Rutter, 1982). In families with children, child care concerns may have been more immediate than they are for men with a spouse at home full-time.

Women in the Dual Role of Working and Parenting

A myriad of factors appeared to influence women in the dual role of working and parenting. While research

had addressed the division of labor within the home that is required to accommodate maternal employment, little work had been done to address the maternal experience of working while parenting an infant. In order to build a framework for research in this area, consideration was directed to four areas of research on women that appeared relevant to this subject matter.

One suggestion for an orientation in this realm was made by Carol Gilligan (1982). Her theory on the moral development of women posited a reassessment of moral development with an emphasis placed on the differentiation between male and female perspectives. After studying the interaction between thought and experience, Gilligan suggested that experiences of conflict and choice present moral dilemmas, the resolution of which may yield moral growth. Acknowledging this phenomenon as basic to the human experience, Gilligan elaborated on the different orientations to this process inherent to men and women. In her assessment, men define themselves through separation from others while women do so through attachment to others. Thus, the feminine personality evolves through a sense of a network of connection. In clarifying this difference, Gilligan elaborated on the male and female orientations to moral dilemmas: men assess how to exercise their rights without interfering with the rights of others, while women assess how to behave in a moral way that includes responsibility to self and to others. Women, therefore, view the world through the context of human relationship and the ability to care for others.

While Gilligan did not discuss the realm of women's choices in relation to choices of work and child care, her thinking lent itself as a theoretical orientation to

examine conflicts in this domain. For the employment of mothers of young children may be viewed as creating conflicts between responsibility to self, family, and to the world in general. Mothers pursuing careers for purposes of self enhancement may have encountered the conflict between the commitment to self and the inherent commitment to the care of their children and the well-being of their families. Mothers who have worked predominantly for economic purposes may have confronted a different level of conflict, a conflict between the financial necessity of employment for the livelihood of their families and a desire to be at home caring for their children. In a third construct, mothers who have opted not to work may have experienced conflict between their desire to care for their children and social pressure to care for themselves, and perhaps the larger world, through employment outside of the home. These situations may represent various points on a continuum, and additional conflicts undoubtedly exist at several points in-between. Yet when the dilemma between parenting, working, and self development was viewed in this context, it suggested a new depth of understanding of mothers of young children.

An additional consideration existed in terms of male and female responses to children being placed in the care of secondary caregivers. Since men have typically separated themselves from the primary care of young children, the decision to place their children in a setting outside of the home may have been far easier than it has been for women. It may have offended other sensibilities and opinions, such as their view of self as provider or their judgement that a woman's place is in the home. Yet, the actual separation from the child may have been far

easier. Women, on the other hand, regardless of how well they have rationalized their need to work, may have found it more difficult to feel at ease about placing their children in the care of a strange person.

Finally, if feminists have encouraged women to view self-development as separate from parenting, then a mother who has not felt enhancement from her work may have felt oppressed. For her struggle to work, parent, and pursue additional interests is likely to have been futile. If responsibility for caring for family and children is differentiated from responsibility for caring for herself, then she is likely to have been perpetually caught in moral and psychological conflicts, and unlikely to have discovered resolution.

A second perspective has been developed by Eleanor Maccoby (1974). Her work reviewed the research that has been conducted on sexual differences in the areas of intellect and achievement, social behavior, and the origins of psychological sex differences. While an examination of these areas did not reveal inherent differences between the sexes, there was the suggestion of some differences that could have influenced the role of parenting within a particular society.

In Maccoby's examination of the power relationship between men and women, she mentioned that women have traditionally been more concerned with maintaining a marriage than men have been. According to her, women have been willing to assume primary responsibility for child care and to accept a more submissive position in this society in exchange for economic support, sexual relations, and assistance in the care of children.

These findings may be used to build a case for women

being preferable to men for the care of young children. However, they did not appear to be over-whelmingly convincing in terms of biological and psychological pre-disposition for parenting. They also suggested the need for a more equitable social status structure for men and women. Maccoby addressed this area through her discussion of the development of sex role identity development in children. Rather than trying to train children towards certain sex roles, she suggested that a better alternative would be changing the definitions of 'masculine' and 'feminine' within the society. She elaborated on this notion by writing,

We suggest that societies have the option of minimizing, rather than maximizing, sex differences through their socialization practices. A society could, for example, devote its energies more toward moderating male aggression than toward preparing women to submit to male aggression, or toward encouraging rather than discouraging male nurturance activities. In our view, social institutions and social practices are not merely reflections of the biologically inevitable. A variety of social institutions are viable within the framework set by biology. It is up to human beings to select those that foster the lifestyles they most value. (p.374)

Alice Rossi (1984) also addressed the interplay of biology and sociology by emphasizing the connection between biological predisposition and the manner in which it is played out in the context of social environment. She emphasized that by responding as chameleons to passing social pressures, members of society risked overlooking the

essence of their nature, the fact that they are "male and female animals with genes, glands, bone and flesh occupying an ecological niche of a particular kind in a tiny fragment of time" (1984, p.1). Based on this premise, Rossi developed her theory by emphasizing the interaction between biological processes and sociological contexts. In assessing gender differences, she stressed the importance of studying the interconnections between biological, psychological, and sociocultural processes. She succinctly summarized this phenomenon by writing, "Genes, organisms and environment interpenetrate and mutually determine each other" (p. 11). Rossi also surmized that such a system allowed for tremendous potential for modification and change within social systems.

In the application of this theory to parenting, Rossi depicted the gender differences in both sensory modalities and social and cognitive skills. She wrote that female strengths in sensory modalities lay in the areas of sensitivity to touch, sound, and odor, as well as in fine motor control. In terms of social and cognitive skills, female strengths were in the area of sensitivity to context through the reception of peripheral information and speed of information processing. Men showed sensory modality strengths in visual acuity, while their social and cognitive strengths lay in object manipulation in space. Rossi suggested that these tendencies were inherent to the sexes, and thus were pre-cultural. She cited evidence that these differences were the result of "sex hormones and sex differentiation in neurological organization of the brain" (1984, p. 13). And she concluded that such differences predisposed women to care for children during the nonverbal stage of infancy and prepared men for child care during

older stages that could include rough and tumble play and the teaching of object manipulation. Rossi emphasized that biological predispositions of children are reinforced by psychological qualities and responses of their parents. Thus the social context has power to reinforce or discourage gender differences resultant of biological predisposition.

A fourth area of research was represented by the work of Lois W. Hoffman (1974, 1975, 1979, 1980). In a book co-authored with F. Ivan Nye (1975), she reported a summary of findings on the influence of maternal employment on family life. She admitted to the initial presumption that maternal employment did have an effect on children and family role expectations, and she then addressed the sorting out of contributing variables such as type of work, attitude of the mother, age and sex of the child, work hours, child care arrangements, and maternal social class, education, and family circumstances.

While concluding that work in this area had only begun, Hoffman was able to summarize preliminary findings. In terms of working mothers providing a role model for children, findings suggested that children of working mothers, as opposed to children of non-working mothers, were more likely to view men and women as being engaged in diversified activities. Maternal employment also seemed to affect children's perceptions of the work world both inside and outside the home. It seemed to particularly influence young girls' self-perceptions of their options for the future. Daughters of working mothers tended to see women as involved with activities outside the home (Hartley, 1960), while both male and female children of working mothers were likely to see fewer differences between men

and women than were children raised full-time by their own mothers.

Maternal employment also appeared to affect the division of labor within the home. It was likely to be related to a higher level of paternal involvement in housework, if a father was present in the family (Rutter, 1982). Whereas in homes headed by single women, children were likely to be assigned a greater level of responsibility for household chores. In either case, children of both sexes presumed that as adults they would be employed and that they would share in domestic work.

In summary, Hoffman (1975) wrote,

... the effect of maternal employment was to raise the estimation of one's own sex - that is, each sex added positive traits usually associated with the opposite sex; daughters of working mothers saw women as competent and effective, while sons of working mothers saw men as warm and expressive. (p. 131)

However, it should be noted that this statement was primarily in reference to studies of school-age children, thus excluding reference to considerations of parent-child attachment during the early years. Hoffman did provide caution about the child development risks in situations of maternal deprivation. She also discussed the potential danger of the absence of child supervision, and she speculated as to the need for further research on the long term effects of maternal employment under both favorable and unfavorable circumstances (1975).

A second area of Hoffman's work focused on maternal emotional state in relation to dual roles. Her findings

suggested that job satisfaction, and financial contribution to the family, were likely to have a positive effect on women. In turn, employment that improved a woman's self-esteem was found to enhance her general involvement with her children. This was especially true in comparison to women who were dissatisfied with their work or home full-time when they would have preferred to be working. Similarly, if mothers were unhappy in their work, employment was likely to increase role strain and detract from positive family interactions. Suggestion was made that full and part-time employment held potential for positive effects on mothering if role conflict existed at a minimal level. Hoffman emphasized that the entire area of maternal emotional state was influenced by fatigue level after work and the degree of role conflict between working and parenting. She suggested that full and part-time employment may have significantly different effects in these areas.

Satisfaction with child care arrangements also held potential for contributing to positive maternal emotional state, while dissatisfaction with child care led to increased stress and guilt. Hoffman concluded this section by writing,

Thus the data about the mother's emotional state suggest that the working mother who obtains satisfaction from her work, who has adequate arrangements so that her dual role does not involve undue strain, and who does not feel so guilty that she overcompensates is likely to do quite well and under certain conditions, better than the nonworking mother. (1974, p.142)

C H A P T E R I I I
M E T H O D S A N D P R O C E D U R E S

Introduction

In the past, research related to working mothers has addressed two major areas: 1.) the characteristics of 'quality' child care provided in secondary caregiving settings, and 2.) the division of domestic labor within the home made necessary by maternal employment. However, in light of the rapid rise in the number of women in the labor force it appeared that additional areas of information were also of extreme importance. One of these areas was the development of an understanding of the preferences of women in terms of the provision of child care for young children and the availability of options for combining the roles of working and parenting. While the concept of infant and toddler care was being developed and day care programs for preschool age children were becoming increasingly commonplace, it remained unclear whether women were comfortable with these arrangements or whether they felt compelled to adjust to them.

In recent years mothers of young children may have been in the labor force for a variety of reasons, including career development and financial necessity. They may also have experienced conflict in relation to the choices and decisions that they have made about the care of their children during hours of employment. Given the choice, they may have desired quality child care centers at the location of their work place, or they may have elected longer maternity leaves following child birth. Similarly, they may have preferred options such as flexible benefits

for payment of child care costs or flexible work hours so that they could determine the hours that their children were in secondary child care arrangements. Or they may have placed a priority on work options that allowed for increased responsibility for child care provided by their spouses or the possibility of combining two jobs with shared direct parental care of children. All of these possibilities appeared to be on the horizon and with potential for development at the organizational and community levels. However, no clear and consistent rationale existed for why programs for infants and toddlers in secondary caregiving settings were initiated and how they were being instituted. Similarly, the development of programs did not appear to be based solely on what is developmentally best for children, but rather on what is available and convenient for mothers. Thus it appeared particularly important to understand the variations in the experience of women who were working while parenting infants.

At the same time, research had not systematically explained whether or not there is an inherent conflict in the choices that have to be made by working mothers. Therefore, it was determined that this study would address the area of conflict and choice for women in the dual role of working and parenting an infant. It was designed to examine variations in 1.) the perception of the dual role, 2.) the perception of conflicts related to choices about working and caregiving, and 3.) the ways in which women resolve perceived conflicts.

For the purpose of this study the focus was limited to concerns regarding provision of child care during infancy while the mother was gainfully employed. This

choice was made because 1.) infant care was the newest area of daytime child care arrangements to be developed in the United States, 2.) it was a particularly critical area for women who had been in the labor force prior to pregnancy and who planned to return to the labor force without a major break from employment for purposes of child-rearing, and 3.) the placement of infants in day care had not been widespread and was not yet widely accepted in this country.

Exploratory Research

In order to determine the most appropriate type of research to address the topic under investigation, the researcher conducted a review of research studies on women in the dual role of working and parenting an infant using Hutchinson's (1983) KGM. Due to the limited number of available articles identified, exploratory research appeared to be the most appropriate style of research.

A theoretical orientation for the study was provided by the work of Carol Gilligan (1982). While the work of Gilligan had been directed towards the understanding of female perception of self and decisions about abortion, her theory was applicable to understanding the subjects' perceptions of the conflicts and choices associated with accommodating the dual role of working and parenting and for analyzing the dilemmas posed by such conflicts. Therefore, the interview questions were designed to generate information regarding the moral dilemmas posed by combining these two roles.

Interview Design

In the description of her research strategies, Gilligan (1982) stated that she believed the best way to understand the moral thinking of women was by the assessment of narratives about their individual life experiences. Thus, a structured interview was considered to be the best design for eliciting responses that reflected dimensions of personal thought and feeling. It was also likely that the language of such narratives would include the use of words that represented moral thinking. Attention to the inclusion of these words could yield critical information for the assessment of a woman's stage of moral development. Therefore, it was decided that the respondents would be interviewed using a structured questionnaire.

Development of the interview questions took place over a period of time. Attention was paid to 1.) the overall sequence of the questions, and 2.) the solicitation of information that would address the four major research questions. An initial set of questions was developed and used during the pilot study that preceded the actual research (see Appendix A). Two women were interviewed to assess the feasibility of the questions and the nature of the material gathered.

The pilot study showed that the questions needed extensive revision and clarification. They needed to be more specific, shorter, and to use simpler language. The questions were therefore broken down into smaller components, re-written, and re-organized in order to meet these requirements. Additional questions were also written

to address areas omitted in the pilot study. A review of the pilot study transcripts revealed that the researcher had asked follow-up questions to each of the respondents' answers. This was done in an attempt to gather additional information. However, it was realized that such a practice risked introducing bias by directing the thoughts of the respondents to certain areas. Thus it was determined that it was important that the researcher not ask additional questions. It was also decided that this format would be explained to the respondents prior to the interview so that they would not be confused by the lack of verbal response from the researcher.

The final sequence of the questions focused on four general areas. The first three questions were intended to gather background information on the woman's employment prior to her pregnancy. This appeared to be a comfortable, objective, place to begin. These questions addressed aspects of her life prior to being a parent. The next ten questions elicited information about the development of the woman's sense of self in relation to parenting, and to her experience of the dual role of working and parenting. Following this section, four questions were designed to address the perceptions of the influence of significant others on the decision to work while parenting an infant. The final four questions dealt with the extent to which the availability of quality day care influenced the decisions of the respondents to return to work while the child was an infant. This series of questions concluded by asking the respondent about her perceptions of the ideal arrangement to allow for the combination of work and family. A listing of the interview questions may be found in Appendix B. A division of the interview questions in terms of the research questions they addressed is in Appendix C.

Sample

The sample for this study consisted of nineteen women who were gainfully employed while simultaneously parenting infants who were enrolled in child care programs. The decision to limit the study to women who were parenting their first children was made because it was assumed that the choices and conflicts related to the decision to work while parenting would be new and perhaps still in stages of unrest or resolution. Women with older children, or those who had previously had children in child care arrangements, were not included. This decision was made to ensure that the subjects were dealing with the above mentioned moral dilemma for the first time.

All of the respondents were parents of children enrolled in an infant/toddler child-care program. Since the research was not intended to address differences in maternal response to variations in the style of child care arrangements, the selection of sites was limited to two that provided daytime group care. It was also assumed that poor quality day care was likely to compound any maternal questions or doubts about the dual role under investigation. Therefore, it was decided that the sample would be selected from a population of women who had their children enrolled in a quality child care center. These decisions were made in an attempt to control for the possibility of effects from intervening variables. Criteria for the selection of the sites included high adult-child ratios, consistency of caregivers, health standards, and program emphasis on the developmental needs of young children (Kagan et al., 1980, Cataldo, 1983). However, it was important to note that the selection of

women in these settings may have further defined the population to parents who were able to afford quality child care and who chose to invest in quality child care.

Two child care centers were selected as sites for the study: The Child Development Laboratories at the University of Connecticut, in Storrs, Connecticut, and The Monadnock Community Day Care Center, in Peterborough, New Hampshire. The population from which the first group of respondents was selected consisted of employees of the University of Connecticut and their spouses/housemates, students of the University and their spouses/housemates, and members of the local community. The second group of respondents was selected from a group of parents who had children enrolled in The Monadnock Community Day Care Center and who were employed in the surrounding area. Since this study was designed to be exploratory in nature, the sample was limited to nineteen respondents.

Information on the respondents was collected through the use of a Personal Information Sheet (see Appendix I). Each respondent completed one of these forms at the conclusion of the interview session. Selected information from these sheets is reported in Tables 1, 2, and 3. Table 1 reports age, educational background, personal income level, and household income level for each of the women. Respondents are identified by the number of their interview transcript. These numbers were determined solely by the order of the interviews. The respondents were also grouped in this table according to the stage of moral development in which they were categorized during the rating sessions held by the researcher and three objective raters. This was done in order to allow for comparisons within each stage.

Table 1
Personal Information on the Respondents

Respondent	Rated Stage	Age	Educational Background	Personal Income Level	Combined Household Income Level
1	1	32	college degree	over \$25,000	over \$50,000
10	1	25	high school diploma	\$15,000-\$20,000	\$30,000-\$40,000
11	1	28	college degree	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$20,000-\$30,000
16	1	35	college degree	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$10,000-\$20,000
4	3	36	associates degree	\$15,000-\$20,000	\$40,000-\$50,000
8	3	38	masters degree	\$15,000-\$20,000	\$30,000-\$40,000
12	3	26	college degree	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$20,000-\$30,000
5	4	33	college degree	\$15,000-\$20,000	\$30,000-\$40,000
17	4	20	-	\$5,000	-
2	5	31	masters degree	\$15,000-\$20,000	\$30,000-\$40,000
3	5	28	college degree	\$10,000-\$15,000	\$30,000-\$40,000
7	5	37	doctoral degree	\$20,000-\$25,000	\$40,000-\$50,000
9	5	30	masters degree	\$15,000-\$20,000	\$20,000-\$30,000

Table 1 (Continued)
 Personal Information on the Respondents

Respondent	Rated Stage	Age	Educational Background	Personal Income Level	Combined Household Income Level
13	5	31	college degree, associates degree	\$5,000-\$10,000	\$30,000-\$40,000
15	5	32	college degree	\$15,000-\$20,000	\$40,000-\$50,000
19	5	46	masters degree	-	\$40,000-\$50,000

This table reports that four women were classified in Stage 1, no women were classified in Stage 2, three women were in Stage 3, two women were in Stage 4 and seven women were in Stage 5. Thus the largest group of women were classified in Stage 5. In terms of educational level, all of the respondents who had advanced degrees were classified in Stage 5 except for one women in Stage 3 who had a Masters degree. At the same time, three of the seven women in Stage 5 did not have advanced degrees. Similarities within the groups were not found in terms of age or income levels.

Table 2 reports the reasons that the respondents listed for why they were working while parenting a child under three years of age. Again, the respondents were grouped according to the stage of moral development in which they were classified.

Table 2
Reasons for Working While Parenting

Respondent	Rated Stage	Reasons Listed for Working While Parenting a Child Under Three Years of Age
1	1	1. I need and want the stimulation and intellectual challenge I get from work.
10	1	1. economic factors 2. personal satisfaction 3. to provide my child with things I didn't have as a child
11	1	1. where I work 2. income 3. feelings about myself/my husband's attitude
16	1	1. money 2. need for personal growth
4	3	1. money
8	3	1. money and need to get out of the house to do some constructive activities with other adults
12	3	1. need for money
5	- 4	1. financial
17	4	1. need money to buy clothes, food, medicine, diapers, etc.
2	5	1. financial 2. my own mental well being 3. my child's social development
3	5	1. insurance benefits 2. added income 3. personal satisfaction

Table 2 (Continued)
Reasons for Working While Parenting

Respondent	Rated Stage	Reasons Listed for Working While Parenting a Child Under Three Years of Age
7	5	1. There are no reasons for not working. I have a good job which I enjoy very much.
9	5	1. financial
13	5	1. income 2. type of job (because child with me)
15	5	1. personal fulfillment
19	5	1. my own mental and emotional well-being 2. mental stimulation 3. financial advantages

This information indicates that financial need was a common concern across the groups of women. However, other concerns such as personal stimulation and satisfaction were also listed across the groups. Reasons listed for working while parenting a child under three years old were not clearly associated with the rated stages of moral development of the respondents.

Table 3 reports the groups of people whom the respondents perceived as being supportive of their decision to work while parenting an infant. It lists the categories of people and the number of respondents that indicated support in the categories.

Table 3
Support Systems

Category of Support	Number of Respondents Who Indicated Support in This Category
Spouse/Housemate	16
Your Parents	14
Your In-laws	11
Your Siblings	14
Your Neighbors	9
Child Care Workers	12
Female Friends	15
Male Friends	6
Your Employer	14
Your Co-Workers	14
Your Subordinates	10

In general, the respondents listed a large number of support systems. All of the respondents indicated that their spouses/housemates were support systems, fifteen women listed female friends as support systems and fourteen women listed their parents, siblings, employers and co-workers as support systems. At the same time, only nine women listed their neighbors and only six listed male friends.

Procedures for Data Collection

Once the child care facilities for data collection had been selected, contact was made with the directors of the facilities. The purpose of the research was explained and the names, addresses, and phone numbers of participating families were secured. The director of the center at The University of Connecticut asked that a brief form on the research be submitted to her in order to grant permission for research under the auspices of her program (see Appendix D).

Following this procedure, a letter was sent to each woman (see Appendix E). This letter explained that the study was being conducted with women who were both working and parenting their first children, and that was the reason they had been selected for participation. It inquired if they would be willing to be interviewed. If so, the request was made that they be willing to contribute their time to this important area for research on women. The letter also informed them that the researcher would be calling to see if they were interested in being interviewed, and to set a time and date for the interview session. These phone calls were made at the end of the week in which the letters were sent. All of the women expressed a willingness to be interviewed, and times were set at their convenience.

In Connecticut, seven of the interviews took place in a room of the Human Development Center at the University of Connecticut. Two of the interviews took place in other buildings on the University campus. This was done at the request of the respondents as a result of their time limitations. In New Hampshire, the interviews were held in a conference room at the Monadnock Community Day Care Center. The time of day for the interviews included early morning sessions before the respondents went to work, noon

hour sessions during lunch breaks, and afternoon sessions after work.

The interview sessions commenced with a brief explanation of the nature of the research and the structure of the session. Reasons for the respondent's selection for participation in the study were re-stated, and the nature of exploratory research was summarized. The respondents were also encouraged to ask any questions that they might have. It was explained that the interview would be tape-recorded so that the transcripts could be used during the stages of analysis. The respondents were also told that the interview would consist of twenty-one questions that were already written down. They would be read to the respondent and they would not be followed by extending questions. Thus the respondent should take as much time as she wanted to complete her answer. But when she was done, the interviewer would proceed to the next question. Once the respondent indicated an understanding of this procedure, she was asked to sign a Human Subjects Release Form, as required by the stipulations of the dissertation review process of The School of Education at The University of Massachusetts (see Appendix H). She also was told that she would be asked to complete a Personal Information Sheet at the conclusion of the recorded interview (see Appendix I).

Duration of the sessions was for approximately sixty minutes. At the conclusion of the tape-recorded interview the respondent was asked to complete a Personal Information Sheet (see Appendix I). Respondents were also informed of how they could contact the researcher in the case of wanting to share more information. In some cases informal conversation related to the interview took place before the respondent departed, and several of the women requested information on the findings of the study. A personal

thank-you note was sent to each respondent shortly after the interview sessions.

It was important to note that no formal collection of data was made in relation to the transaction of non-verbal communication during the interview sessions. While the analysis of the interviews was entirely based on the recording of oral language, it was the experience of the researcher that strong modes of non-verbal communication took place as well. Early aspects of interaction between the researcher and the respondent were aimed towards establishing an atmosphere of trust and comfort. This was done in order to elicit as great a level of honest disclosure as possible. The researcher was particularly attuned to the feeling of rapport experienced through non-verbal body language, facial expression and eye contact. A great deal of information, beyond the concrete words, seemed to be relayed through periods of pause and reflection, tone, volume and speed of voice, and a composite of small non-verbal cues. These aspects made a strong impression on the researcher and allowed for the feeling of positive rapport with each of the respondents. It also led to the development of an empathy for each of their life experiences in relation to working and parenting. Subsequently, the researcher was most aware of the omission of this information during the categorization of the transcripts by the objective raters. While the transcripts represented the thoughts of the women, they appeared to lack certain depths of feeling that were communicated through non-verbal statements.

Following the interviews, the tape recordings of the sessions were transcribed and printed. The transcripts were structured by first listing the interview question and then listing the answer of the respondent. This was done in order to facilitate the comparison of answers to

individual questions. The typist accidentally combined questions 9 and 10. Thus only twenty responses were classified during the rating sessions. This did not appear to be a serious problem as the two questions were related to the same subject matter.

Analytic Procedures

The analysis of the data began with the categorization of the transcripts according to the stages of moral development. This procedure took place during two separate rating sessions. An initial session was held for the categorization of the women from the day care center at The University of Connecticut. A subsequent session was held to categorize the respondents from the day care center in New Hampshire. The same procedures were followed for both of the sessions. These procedures will be described in the following section. Because different sets of raters participated in these sessions separate charts will be used to report the findings of the two groups of respondents. Information on the rating session on the respondents from Connecticut will be referred to as Group 1, and information on the rating session on the respondents from New Hampshire will be referred to as Group 2. Following this point the two groups of respondents will be combined to form one group of women who have been categorized according to the rating process. Discussion of the respondents in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 will not distinguish between women in Group 1 and women in Group 2. This distinction was made solely for the purposes of identifying the two rating sessions.

Two men and one woman were selected to be the raters. All three of them had advanced educational degrees, no familiarity with the theory of Carol Gilligan,

and no personal involvement with concerns related to child care. They worked together for an entire day in order to categorize the transcripts according to the stages of moral development identified by Gilligan.

The raters were each provided with a file folder containing an overview of the theoretical stages, a sample of the interview questions, excerpts from the pilot interview questions and responses, and several rating sheets (see Appendices J, D, K, L). Background information on the interests of the researcher in terms of working women and the provision of child care was given in conjunction with a brief overview of the purpose and organization of the study. The theory of Carol Gilligan was summarized and attention was directed to the sheet listing the description of the theoretical stages. While the theory depicts three predominant stages, with two transitional stages in between, it was the decision of the researcher that they be regarded as five separate stages. This was decided upon for the purpose of categorization as it was speculated that the responses of a woman could be predominantly representative of a transitional stage of thinking. Thus the three major stages and the two transitional stages described by Gilligan were referred to in this study as five numbered stages, ranging in their original sequence from number 1 to number 5.

The raters proceeded to ask questions about the stages and to discuss their perceptions of them. After an initial level of understanding of the stages was established, the raters read sample excerpts from the pilot study interviews. They worked with the categorization of individual responses and then looked at several responses in an attempt to assess a range of thoughts. Throughout this process they discussed their insights into what sort

of conflicts might be perceived at the different stages of development and the range of factors that could be influencing the moral development of women who were working while parenting an infant. They worked to establish a balance between gaining a sense of the respondent from the answers and avoiding their own analysis of the answers. They also became aware of the use of moral language, and they learned to recognize key words and phrases. The training session concluded with a discussion of each stage and speculation as to the sort of responses that might be representative of the various stages of development.

Table 4 and Table 5 report the ratings from the training sessions and the percentage of consistency between the ratings. The question numbers refer to the questions used during the Pilot Study (see Appendix K). The numbers used for the ratings refer to the five stages of moral development used in the study (see Appendix J).

Table 4
Ratings from the Training Session for Group 1

Respondent	Question	Stage Ratings	Percentage of Consistency
1	6	4 4 3	56
	7	4 4 4	100
	12	3 3 5	11
	22	1 1 2	56
2	8	4 4 5	56
	13	3 3 3	100
	14	1 1 2	56
	18	5 5 5	100

Table 5
Ratings from the Training Session for Group 2

Respondent	Question	Stage Ratings	Percentage of Consistency
1	24	1 1 2	56
	25	2 2 3	56
	30	2 4 4	11
	31	3 4 4	56
2	17	2 4 4	11
	20	5 5 5	100
	23	3 3 4	56
	35	5 5 5	100

This data reports the percentage of consistency between the ratings on the responses. It also shows that differences existed between the raters in terms of the stage ratings. For two questions the percentage of consistency (11%) was very low. For four questions it was better than fifty percent agreement (56%) and for two questions there was total agreement (100%).

Following this training process, the raters worked to categorize each of the transcripts from the respondents. The raters received individual copies of the transcript being rated and proceeded to use a rating sheet to indicate the stage that they felt each response represented. They also noted reasons for their rating selection and marked key phrases and words within the actual transcript for purposes of discussion. At the conclusion of this process they reviewed the transcripts and rating sheets and then presented the stage of moral development that they each

felt was represented by the transcript. These numbers were recorded on the top of each rating sheet (see Appendix M). After discussion, the raters were able to reach consensus on what they thought the predominant stage of moral development was for each of the respondents in relation to the responses to the interview questions. Table 6 and Table 7 report the stages in which the raters categorized the respondents prior to discussion amongst themselves. Respondents were numbered by the order in which they were interviewed. Ratings, and the percentage of consistency amongst the ratings, were then listed. The numbers used for the ratings refer to the five stages of moral development used in the study (see Appendix J).

Table 6
Ratings on Respondents in Group 1

Respondent	Stage Ratings	Percentage of Consistency
1	5 5 5	100
2	4 4 5	56
3	1 1 1	100
4	5 5 5	100
5	3 3 5	12
6	2 3 3	56
8	1 1 1	100
9	5 5 5	100
10	5 5 5	100
<u>Percentage of consistency across the respondents - 84%</u>		

Table 7
Ratings on Respondents in Group 2

Respondent	Stage Ratings	Percentage of Consistency
11	1 1 1	100
12	1 3 3	56
13	5 5 5	100
15	5 5 5	100
16	1 1 1	100
17	4 4 4	100
19	5 5 5	100

Percentage of consistency across the respondents - 94%

The information in Tables 6 and 7 reports a high percentage of consistency in the ratings on the respondents. In Group 1 there was 84% agreement overall and in Group 2 there was 94% agreement overall. Only one respondent had less than 50% agreement between the ratings (12%). For three respondents the percentage of consistency in ratings was 56% and for twelve of the total sixteen respondents there was total agreement in the stage ratings (100%).

During each of the rating sessions one of the transcripts had to be eliminated because the raters felt that it was impossible to rate. In addition, one of the raters knew a respondent in the second group. So that transcript had to be eliminated as well. These situations

reduced the number of transcripts analyzed for the study from nineteen to sixteen.

Two aspects of this procedure were particularly interesting. First of all the raters felt quite strongly that they were missing large pieces of information by being limited to a typed transcript. They suggested that a meeting with the person would be likely to confirm or negate their suspicions on their rating decisions. They felt that non-verbal messages as well as speech patterns, pauses, and intonations would be invaluable as supplemental material for their rating schemes. Secondly, they found particular rating difficulties in the assessment of whether or not the women viewed the care of their children as part of their adult development or whether they viewed the development of their children as separate from their adult development.

Following the categorization of the women by the objective raters, the transcripts were analyzed by the researcher for differences and commonalities amongst the women at the various stages of moral development. Within each stage of development, women were assessed in terms of both their oral responses to the interview questions and their written responses to questions on the Personal Information Sheets. Thus, analysis addressed the potential contribution of variables in their backgrounds as well as themes within their narratives. Each of the research questions was considered within the context of the various stages of development. Findings from this analysis were used to identify important areas for future research in the area of the dual role of working and parenting an infant.

C H A P T E R I V
DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

Introduction

Research findings suggested that the stages of the moral development of women provided one approach to understanding the maternal experience of working and parenting. Numerous factors contributed to the decision to work while parenting an infant, the combination of which was unique to individual lives. However, commonalities in terms of the perception of commitment to self and to others also appeared to exist between women. A framing of these commonalities through the identification of stages of moral development allowed for a greater understanding of the dilemmas posed by this dual role. It also allowed for an examination of how a woman's stage of moral development may be associated with her experience of working while parenting an infant.

The transcripts were classified on the basis of the women's stages of moral development as reflected in their responses to the interview questions. Therefore, as expected, it became essential to recognize two factors prior to analysis of the transcripts: 1.) a range of variations existed amongst the experiences of individual women who were categorized as being at the same stage, and 2.) the responses of individual women frequently reflected more than one stage of development.

The clarification of these distinctions appeared essential before generalizations could be drawn about individual women or groups of women in the study. It was recognized that women who were categorized as being in the same stage of development could appear to be at various

points on a continuum of development. They also could be in periods of transition into or out of the stage. The raters were able to ascertain a predominant stage for each person. However, the reflections of the women were not bound by the characteristics of those stages.

The following chapter addresses the areas posed by the four research questions of the study. Each question is restated and followed by a discussion of the findings of the research. No transcripts were categorized in Stage 2. Therefore, this stage of development was excluded from the analysis. The discussion will commence with question #1 and then proceed through the following three questions in sequence.

The first research question addressed the perceptions of the respondents in relation to the dual role of working and parenting. Attention was directed to how the respondents viewed each of these roles and the related areas of concern they experienced. Considerations included the importance they attached to their work and maternal roles, the influence of day care in the lives of their children, and the contribution of their spouses/housemates to child care and domestic labor.

Question #1: How do women frame considerations related to working and parenting in their own thinking?

The framing of considerations related to working and parenting reflected the ways in which women perceived the two roles and how they judged the importance of the development of themselves and their children. Women classified as being in Stage 1 primarily spoke of the necessity of their children fitting into their life schemes

of full-time work. They valued their work, intended to continue working on a full-time basis, and emphasized the development of themselves through their work. When asked what she thought working contributed to her life, one woman illustrated this orientation by responding,

I'd say it's the most important part of my life, aside from my very closest friends and my husband. It's a very large part of my life. It gives it a sense of purpose, a structure in my day-to day type routine...

Another woman said,

Makes me a much more interesting person. I tend to let my job become my whole life. It contributes a lot of intellectual stimulation, and challenge. I like to learn new things. I'm not that much of a self starter.

These women felt that their economic contributions to their families were essential to the lifestyles they desired. Thus consideration of not working was associated with alteration of the level of household income and standards of living. One woman expressed this area by stating,

My mother never worked and not that I begrudge them anything, but we couldn't do anything. We couldn't afford to do a lot. And I just especially would like to be able to send him to baseball camp in the summer if he wants to go...or do things that we couldn't do when we were kids. But of course it was a different economic factor...

The women at Stage 1 also cared a great deal about their parental roles. They were pleased to be parents and

placed a great deal of importance on being involved with their children. When asked what parenting contributed to their lives, they shared comments that represented attitudes toward themselves, their spouses, and their children. The comments of one woman in particular reflected an emphasis of concern for herself.

Wow! Well I would say the main thing it contributes to my life is a sense of adventure and excitement. It's always new and always changing and demanding - stretching my limits and understanding of myself...I feel much more fulfilled as a woman, to be a mother...It's a very wonderful thing to be doing...writing songs and being a musician and doing something creative like massage is wonderful too. But this is just much...there's no comparison.

The women at Stage 1 felt that the location of quality day care was the primary consideration in their return to work. They were concerned about the development of their children and were confident that the day care centers they had selected were providing good care. However, unlike the women at the other stages, these women appeared to consider the development of their children as being separate from their own adult development. No doubts were expressed about the influence of full-time day care on their children. When asked her opinion on infant day care, one woman expressed this orientation by stressing its importance for women.

I view it as a very wonderful option for women who need it...I think it's great that women are able to find day care situations for their kids. It

enables them to take care of their needs, whether it's making money or having careers.

Another woman reflected a similar attitude. She stressed the importance of safe quality care and then stated,

Sometimes I wonder if I should feel guilty about leaving my son somewhere. But I don't. I do not think about him at all during the day.

Other considerations expressed by these women included dissatisfaction with the contribution of their spouses to domestic work and child care. All of the women viewed themselves as the primary caregivers for their children and a majority of them felt they were predominantly responsible for domestic work in their homes as well. Desire for more equality with their spouses in these areas was expressed. When asked how her husband contributed to the care of their child, one woman stated,

My husband is gone most of the time because of his job. It gets really hard at times. He does not contribute as much as I thought he would. But he does help out somewhat. He is perfectly capable.

Another woman responded to the same question,

He plays with her and has, over a period of time, learned to care for her primary needs like feeding her and changing her diaper. I think for a long time I took that all on myself and it made him feel left out.

The framing of considerations for women classified in Stage 3 revolved around their concern for the maternal role. They expressed a strong sense of responsibility to be caring for their children and they clearly placed priority on their ability to be good mothers. When asked what parenting contributed to their lives, their responses included the following comments.

Everything. I love it!

Obviously contributes a lot...it's just neat to see how they develop and wait to see their next thing they do or don't do...

In a related way, these women felt that their work roles were of secondary importance to their parental roles. They speculated that part-time employment and day care arrangements would be desirable for both themselves and their children. But their predominant feeling was that the necessity of full-time employment conflicted with their desires to be caring for their children. Work was valued for the adult socialization and stimulation that it provided, and one woman felt that it was important not to be removed from the work force and her career for an extended period of time. But emphasis on the financial necessity of employment was consistently cited as the reason for being employed while their children were infants. When asked what working contributed to her life, one woman said,

Hopefully money. We're doing it so that we can afford one car and a small house. It's not for luxuries. It's so

we can afford to pay the bills and buy food. That's mostly what it contributes.

Another woman said,

Well I enjoy working. I enjoy working with people. I think that if I were not to work at all I would be stuck to really and truly define myself. But naturally it contributes money. That is the main purpose of this whole thing.

These women also emphasized the importance of child development and the related influence of day care in the lives of their children. Many of their considerations focused on the location of quality day care. When asked about her decision to work while her child was an infant, one woman said,

I think probably I would have stayed home for a year if I was getting paid. So I did go back to work. It was a real...somewhat painful to do that. But I knew it had to happen sooner or later. And I think he's being well cared for, so that took a lot of burden off my mind. So I felt O.K. about it. The big thing was to find a place that would take care of him, and I just think that was the big thing so I wouldn't have to worry about him.

Another woman worked in the day care setting in which her child was enrolled. When asked about her concerns in relation to the dual role she said,

I also was concerned about not seeing her enough and knowing how she was doing. I was concerned about leaving her with somebody else. Having her here seemed to solve all those problems. Because I did get to visit and I did get to see her, and I did get to nurse her. So I don't feel like I lost out on a lot of time. I also trust and know the people that work here. It made it easy to leave her, which was a big help. Otherwise, I don't think I could have done it if I wasn't with her.

In response to a question about the influence of quality day care on her decisions about working, a third woman said,

It's hard to know what quality day care is, whether it's a person who I pick to come to my house is a shot in the dark basically. If you couldn't find a reliable place to put your baby, I'm not going to jeopardize my child's physical and mental health because I want to work. If I was not satisfied with my day care situations I would rethink my work options.

Day care was considered primarily in terms of its social value for children. It was perceived as being acceptable on a part-time basis, yet questionable on a full-time basis. This feeling was summarized by one woman when she was asked about the ideal arrangement to assist her in combining work and family.

I think it would be to work either fewer hours a day or fewer days a week, one or the other. But I think the day care setting is good, so I wouldn't want to take him out of it completely.

Especially because he's an only child and he's really the only young child in the family. He doesn't see other little kids in the neighborhood. I think that it is important for him to be with other kids.

Another area of consideration was that of the contribution of their spouses to child care. All of the women in this stage were appreciative of the support they received. However, they tended to view the contribution of their spouses as being inconsistent and less valuable to the children than was their maternal care. When asked how decisions about working and parenting differ for men and women, one woman responded,

Because the woman has to put up with the strain. He goes on vacation, and I can't because he knows that I will be there to take care of her, and she really doesn't miss him too much. I mean she will ask after him, but it's not quite the same as if I were going for a week. Right now, he may be looking for another job, something with a little more money. And he doesn't give too much consideration to where the child care is...His job is so important. He expects to spend time there and if he has to work late, then he does. I give her what she needs. I feel like my mind is divided, and his is not.

The energy demands of the two roles were perceived as being in conflict with each other. Responsibility to each role was experienced as creating a source of fatigue. It also appeared possible that conflicted feelings about full-time employment during the infancy of their children created an additional drain on their energy levels. In

reference to this area, one woman said,

It's been harder physically to do things than I expected. And that she didn't sleep through the night until she was fifteen months old. It was wearing to get up two or three times a night and then be able to function at work. And it's a lot more tiring than I expected.

When asked her concerns about working and parenting at the same time, another woman responded,

That I would have the energy to do both. My husband works at night. Sometimes he works one week first shift and then the next shift. And on weekends he works quite a lot. So just to do everything - to do my job, take care of my home, child, and just some time for me. That's a big problem to find all the time. I wanted to do as much as I could for my child...Trying to figure out how I was going to do all these things was sort of overwhelming.

The women classified in Stage 4 were confused about their level of commitment to themselves and to their children. Prior to the births of their children they had placed priority on their own needs. However, following the births they had discovered the importance that they were attaching to caring for their infants, and in turn to the maternal role. Thus alterations of self-perception appeared to be taking place in regard to the dual role of working and parenting.

Both of these women emphasized that the financial reward of full-time employment was essential for the well-being of their families. However, beyond that commonality their attitudes towards the importance of their

work varied greatly. This may well be attributed to the fact that one woman had her child during high school while the other did so after investing eleven years in a career. When asked what working contributed to their lives, their answers reflected these experiences respectively.

Alone time and time to just be with other people besides my daughter, and just to get out for a while and give me time - plus money.

I think it contributes the feeling of prestige, importance outside the home, a lot of satisfaction in getting things done, being organized, success in supervisory areas. Just a feeling of satisfaction, in general.

The distinguishing characteristic of these women was the lack of a strong desire to become mothers. Both of them recalled their hesitation to have a child and emphasized that the fathers of the children had been the determining factor in their decisions to bear the children. Thus, the positive experience of maternalism was somewhat of a surprise for them. One woman reported her experience of parenting by saying,

It's fun. It's really not that bad. Everybody says, "Oh, it's so tough. You're going to hate it." I really don't. I like it actually. It gives me somebody to talk to and somebody to share things with... Kids make you happy. They're not so bad no matter if they're expected or unexpected. They still make you really happy.

Commonalities of attitude were found in the appreciation of day care. It was viewed as having a positive influence on their children and it was respected for its contribution to child development. This area of opinion was expressed when the women were asked how they viewed infant day care. One woman responded,

It will help the kid develop more into getting used to sharing and playing with other kids instead of just having one person there and having their own toys and their own this and that all the time. Then when they do go over to somebody's house, they are going to be able to play instead of fighting and saying, "That's mine, that's mine." I hate that, it drives me crazy...I like having her at the day care...I think it's good.

Another woman responded to the same question,

I think the facility here is absolutely excellent. It is not that I have that much experience in other situations. But from what experience I do have and from what I've heard, I just can't see my child anywhere else. He's just so happy here and doing so well developmentally and socially, especially. I don't know. I've heard things in say a home situation where the children end up watching T.V. a long time and it's just one primary person taking care of them and they only have so many toys and they get tired of those toys...and I just don't think there is that much of a tendency to be creative as here. So I think I'm very fortunate to have what I have and I'm glad I don't

have to think about other options.

Variations existed in their experience of support from their spouse and housemate. Like the women in Stages 1 and 3, these women viewed themselves as the primary caregivers for their children. However, one of them perceived her spouse as making a significant contribution to domestic labor while the other woman did not. When asked how their spouse/housemate contributed to child care, they commented,

It's pretty structured. When the baby was born we decided who was going to do what for the chores in the house. I think that when we made the decision on how we were going to divide up the tasks most of the child care fell to me while most of the tasks - grocery shopping, cooking, that kind of thing fell to my husband, and that's just the way we divided it up and it's been working very well. He has an excellent relationship with the baby. But in terms of the actual care - changing diapers, baths and all - that's pretty much what I do and it's worked very well.

He sees her on Sundays. He takes her places and does things with her. That's about it. Other than that, he doesn't.

The distinguishing characteristic of the women classified in Stage 5 was their perception of the role of working as being complementary to the role of parenting. While they expressed a strong persuasion that parenting was

their foremost concern, they also emphasized that employment enhanced their ability to be good parents. They valued their participation in both roles and felt that the major consideration was how to best blend them in order to benefit themselves, their spouses/housemate, and their children.

Reasons for wanting stimulating work were reported in three areas: 1.) it enhanced their sense of self worth, 2.) it refreshed them for their return to caring for their children, and 3.) it provided additional income for their families. When asked what working contributed to their lives, responses included,

The first thing that comes to mind is earning money. But in another sense work keeps me busy, work keeps me going. It's a responsibility and I can't imagine myself not working...I'd rather have my house messy and be out and working. It's important to me to work.

I think for myself it was a sense of where I did a good job and I was complimented at work and it was very stimulating mentally. Through my relationship with my daughter, I think it gave me in some respects time away from her. When I came back home I was so excited to see her the trivial things that bother you all day long weren't important. In that respect, it was kind of nice because our time was so limited, you didn't nit-pick. You just enjoyed what you had. I like it because I like working. I like people and I found it quite stimulating and the sense of self worth that being at home all the time doesn't give you.

At the same time, it was critical that the demands of employment not conflict with family responsibilities. This attitude appeared to be related to alterations that some of the women had made in their employment such as part-time work, flexible hours of work, temporary unemployment, and a work place with close proximity to quality child care. When asked if her career plans were influenced by the decision to have a child, one woman said, "I have gone down from working a full day to a five hour day." Another woman said,

I don't feel like I can give all that it took to maintain a good career. I can't give all that and give to my daughter at the same time. I don't have that stamina in me. I just decided I needed to put the career end of it on hold for a while and work more on creating a family. And then after that, go back to the career. I don't know how we can do both of them.

A third woman responded,

My career plans were not influenced at all for having a child...I had a very unique opportunity in that I was able to bring my daughter into the office with me. I came back to work full-time and she was right here. She was a very good baby...She was here in the office with me until she was seven months old. I would have been in a real bind if I had had to put her in a day care center. I could not have done that...but when she was seven months old ...she went part time...and she has been very healthy, happy. I'm very pleased with the way we worked our lives around each other. That's basically what we are doing.

Like the women in the other stages, these women emphasized many positive aspects of the maternal role. When asked what parenting had contributed to their lives, references were readily made to happiness and fulfillment. Yet only at this stage did some of the responses to this question make reference to the interconnection between feelings about working and parenting. This orientation was expressed by the following answers.

Joy. For some reason I'm more confident, even at work. Perhaps it's because I know that it's not my whole life any more, there's something else. If the day goes badly I can look forward to seeing my child. And when I'm busy with her I don't have time to think of anything else. And my husband and I enjoy watching her do different things It's fun!

Everything. My role as a parent is the most important role in my life ... Not just in the caregiving, but in that's ... what validates a person's existence is having a child. This is what gives everyday life and work meaning. Work is not real value in itself as far as I'm concerned, other than to provide you with a means to enhance your life ... It gives me a great balance.

Priority was placed on the location of quality day care centers. In turn, such arrangements were appreciated for their contribution to the care and development of the children. While care provided by secondary caregivers was recognized as being different from parental care, it was

respected as a positive and beneficial factor in the lives of the children. Quality day care was also seen as essential to the willingness of the women to be employed. This feeling of interconnection was expressed when they were asked if the absence of quality day care would have had an influence on decisions about working while their children were infants. One woman responded,

Probably would have. If I didn't have the situation there, if I didn't have such a good place to bring my child I would probably not go to work, would have changed jobs, would have had to do something else because she is my primary concern. She's happy, so I'm happy in this situation.

The contribution of spouses/housemate to domestic work and child care was viewed as being central to the successful combination of the roles of working and parenting. Unlike the other stages, the spouses/housemate of the women in Stage 5 were perceived to be assuming a great deal of responsibility in both of the areas. They were considered to be good caregivers and important to the lives of their children. When asked about this area, several women spoke positively about the contributions of their spouses/housemate. The following answer was typical of these responses.

It's a tremendous influence. If I didn't have the support of my spouse, I think life would be miserable. He's supporting me by thinking it's a good idea, that my decision is right. And he does his share. That makes a very big difference. I'm at peace, there's

harmony in the house. He feeds her. He cleans her. He gets up in the middle of the night. He does everything I do.

Another woman who was involved with national and international travel said,

When I go away on business trips, he takes total care. He takes full responsibility for her, for her discipline as well as her care. In every way, which is really great. I let him do it.

A second dimension of the research addressed the perception and resolution of conflicts and choices. Attention was paid to variations of experience by women in the different stages of moral development. Particular aspects of experience included conflicts and choices in fulfilling the expectations of the working and parental roles, the shared responsibility with spouse/housemate for child care and domestic labor, and the demands on personal energy.

Question #2: How do women perceive and resolve conflicts and choices associated with the dual roles of working and parenting?

Women in Stage 1 did not perceive many conflicts between the two roles under investigation. As long as their children were provided with quality care they felt that it was perfectly acceptable to be employed on a

full-time basis. They felt that they had chosen to have children and had chosen their lifestyles. They also recognized that financial necessity was part of those choices. Reflecting this orientation, one woman said,

I figured out financially while I was pregnant that we could afford a baby. It would have been very tight. I could have gone to work part-time. I would have had to take a demotion. Neither of these appealed to me at all. I really wanted to keep my career. I thought if I had a child people would not think I was the same person. I was scared of that. We bought another house when [my child] was one year old, which narrowed down my options. We need both of our incomes...

Another woman stressed her assumption that she would continue to work after her child's birth by saying,

It wasn't really a decision that had to be reached. It was there. I had been working. It was my job. That's my career. It was just - have a baby - it wasn't too much deciding in that.

Difficulty in locating quality affordable child care posed the only major area of concern regarding the combination of the roles. They had been able to find quality day care for their children and thus they seemed satisfied with their decisions to work while their children were infants. The women shared this area of reflection when asked about concerns related to working while parenting an infant. One woman said,

My first in fact, was how was he going to adjust to not having me here. But there was no problem....Then sending him to day care, it was hard at first because he really didn't want to go.

But he loves it. It is hard to get him not to go now. It's really been good, everything - social development. He's a super smart little guy. If it had been another day care center I'd be a lot more paranoid about leaving him. But being here in the lab, it's such an excellent facility. It's so close. But I really have no second thoughts about leaving him there every morning.

Some additional conflict was posed in terms of the contribution of the spouses to domestic work and child care. For most of the women, resolution to this conflict had not been reached. It appeared to be an on-going source of conflict that the women were dealing with in individual ways.

The women in Stage 3 perceived full-time employment while parenting a young child as a general source of conflict. Their responses suggested that a 'good' mother was one who provided direct care for her child. Thus child care provided by secondary caregivers was suspected as being second rate care, particularly if it was provided on a full-day basis.

For some of the women these feelings were heightened by the persuasion that they had no choice about the necessity of working while their children were infants. One woman expressed this dimension when asked how she reached her decisions about working while her child was an infant.

We really didn't have much of a choice. My husband is real supportive and that helps. He knew that he didn't make enough for me not to work and he knew that taking on a second job wouldn't solve it because he also wanted to be with the child. He's supportive and I think that's the biggest help because we didn't have a choice.

Another woman responded in a similar way when asked if she felt she had choices and options in terms of whether or not she worked while her child was young.

I don't think I've had a whole lot of options. I knew it had to be. The only reason why I took the five months off for a leave of absence was I got paid. Otherwise that would not have happened. And part of that too is that at the time I got pregnant my husband got laid off from his job. So he was out of work for a year...It was just one of those things you had to do. At the time that was the only income for as long as we could see ahead.

However, another woman presented a different perspective on this area. She had made several professional advancements prior to the birth of her child and she had struggled to determine the best way to combine the roles of working and parenting. When asked if her career plans were influenced by her decision to have a child, she explained the choices she had made.

Yes, I think so. I am at a point in my job where it's not terribly challenging. And if I did not have a child I would be looking for something seriously. Whereas now, I'm willing to compromise on pushing myself a little bit more because my job is convenient and close to where my daughter is and I can spend my lunch hour with her. So otherwise I would certainly be looking for something else with a lot more money. So I maybe compromised that way.

Employment was perceived as being essential. Yet its demands on the time and energy of the women was felt to be conflicting with time and energy for child care.

Resolution to conflicts between working and parenting did not appear to have been reached. Rather it seemed that coping mechanisms and rationalizations had been developed.

Another area of conflict was experienced in terms of the influence of full-time day care on the lives of their children. Day care was typically valued for its contribution to the social development of children. Yet a strong preference was expressed for part-time day care. These women experienced conflict about the enrollment of their children in full-time day care and they were somewhat skeptical about it. When asked her opinion of infant day care five years ago and at the present time, one woman said,

I can't say I wouldn't have approved of it. But it would have been my last alternative. And in fact we were offered a place when she was four months old and I put her name on the list before she was born. I wanted to have her in right away. But we couldn't. I thought it looked like an orphanage and I couldn't bring myself to put her in...Now my opinions have changed to some extent...I think it provides a lot of stimulation, if it's a good center...I think it's a good thing.

Energy level was perceived as a third area of conflict. The energy demands of working and parenting were viewed as conflicting with each other. This was particularly so because the women were working full-time, assuming primary responsibility for domestic labor, and providing the majority of the child care at home. Again, resolution to the conflicts related to personal energy levels had not been reached. One woman alluded to this dimension of feeling in discussing the things she respected in her role models for combining working and parenting.

I guess I respect the ability to be able to work and take care of children and be organized. Be able to do it all. It's not easy.

The women in Stage 4 were unique in that they had experienced reservations about the decision to have a child. When asked why they decided to have a child they answered,

I wasn't going to and then the father talked me into it.

My husband and I had been married for eleven years and had never quite been able to make the decision. It never seemed to be the right time and especially on my part. I was feeling very good and fulfilled and not quite sure about it. My husband eventually came to the decision that he felt that he really wanted a child. And since I was still not able to make a decision, I would kind of have to say that he was the overriding force in actually going through with it.

Subsequently these women felt limited options in relation to the financial necessity of full-time employment. When asked if they felt they had choices and options about working while their children were young, one woman said,

Well, when I first had her I was still in school, so I was on welfare and that I really didn't like at all...It was either stop going to school and go back to work and start making some money so things can get better or else stay here and live like this for the rest of my life, which I sure wasn't about to do.

The other woman answered, "No." When asked how she felt over time about her decision to work while her child was an infant, she went on to say,

Well I think there's no question that it is a tremendous burden. And I think that if I had a lot more choices in the situation, if we weren't so restricted financially, I think a part-time position would be desirable.

These feelings, in combination with the discovery of the importance they were attaching to the maternal role, appeared to be causing conflict over the dual role. Confusion was expressed in relation to how one could feel effective and responsible in both roles. These women appeared to be growing in relation to their participation in the dual role. While they had not resolved the conflicts they were experiencing, they were developing an increased understanding of the interconnection between caring for others and themselves.

Women in Stage 5 felt very strongly that the option had been there for them to not work while their children were infants and that they had actively chosen to work. They also seemed to have anticipated potential conflicts and to have dealt with them before they had become major problems. Examples of this included altering the hours of work or the nature of employment and postponing the timing of pregnancy until job security and a maternity leave could be assured.

Some reference was made to conflicting demands on personal energy. However, greater emphasis was placed on the ability to re-design their lives to include their children. These women stressed that working refreshed their energies for child care as opposed to draining them. They stated that they did not want to be at home with an

infant full-time. They perceived that such a situation would not be beneficial for themselves or for their children.

While these women felt a considerable degree of choice in their decisions about working and parenting, they also typically felt the need for a second salary. However, even in this area they were able to recognize the options and choices available to them. This attitude was reflected by the response of one woman when asked if she felt that she had choices and options in terms of whether or not she worked while her child was young. She responded,

The option was there for me to stay home. It would have involved us probably moving and to do something to lower the cost of living. It would have involved a financial strain on our lifestyle. And so the option was for that or working, and unfortunately day care is a big chunk. It's very expensive but it's worth it to me ... financially and for my well-being. I don't think it would have been good for me to be with my daughter all day long. She's wonderful but I couldn't provide the stimulation that she's getting at day care. She's very happy there, and that makes me happy. So when we get together we're both happy ... rather than getting on each other's nerves, which I think would happen if we were home alone all day.

The third area of research addressed the ways that women felt about their decisions related to employment and child care. Attention was paid to the expression of feelings about each of the roles of working and parenting. Emphasis was placed on feelings related to the combination of the roles and reference to feelings of guilt.

Question #3: How do women feel about their decision to work while their children are infants?

The women in Stage 1 were convinced that they had made the right decisions about work and infant care. They expressed no qualms about working while their children were infants and instead chose to express how pleased they were with the contribution of day care to the lives of their children. The addition of children into their lives had allowed them to enjoy being parents without hindering their working lives. They reported feeling content and pleased with their experiences of working and parenting. Their feelings were reflected in the following comments.

I was nervous that people would hold me back. I never doubted that I would go back to work. The good feelings that I had about working have been reinforced.

Another woman said,

...it's my life and nobody's going to sway me one way or the other. The only person that would be able to sway me might be my husband, and he supports my working. It's been a long time since anybody's told me what to do. Let them think what they want to think, I'm too independent.

Women in Stage 3 expressed feelings that were quite contrary to those of the women in Stage 1. Employment provided positive benefits for them in terms of adult socialization and stimulation. Yet when considered in light of the maternal role, it was a source of mixed emotions and guilt. Overall, these women felt that they

should be providing more of the care for their children and that they should be working less. Feelings of guilt appeared to be associated with having to enroll their children in day care while working full-time. One woman expressed this by saying,

I sometimes feel badly in a way because I think that being in nursery school is good for half the day.

The predominant feeling about working and parenting of the women in Stage 4 was that of confusion. They experienced positive feelings in both roles, yet they were not convinced that they had made the best decisions for themselves or for their children. They recognized the value of employment, but had superimposed upon it the discovery of pleasure and fulfillment in the maternal role. The benefit of each role was viewed as separate from the other, causing them to struggle to understand their feelings in both areas. One woman expressed her dilemma of how to be 'good' in both of the roles by saying,

...if I'm going to do something, I want to do it to the best of my ability. I just didn't...the time consideration and the energy...was just to do everything well, to keep up my home and be a good mother to my child, and also be able to fulfill my obligations to my job.

At Stage 5 the women had very positive feelings about their decisions to work while their children were infants. They saw the mutual benefit of employment and quality day care, and they appreciated the ways in which their periods of separation from their children enhanced their reunions. They felt fulfillment from both of their roles and were

convinced that they had made good decisions for the sake of everyone in their families.

This realm of feeling was most strongly expressed when the women were asked about the ideal arrangement to assist them in combining work and family. A majority of them felt that they had an ideal arrangement, as expressed by the following quotes.

I feel like I have it ideally right now. It is because [he's] getting all the stimulation that he needs in that room with love and at the same time I'm able to share it with him. I'm not in a second building, not missing anything. I'm also enjoying my job. I have everything under one roof, which is perfect.

Without spending a lot of thought on that I would just have to say right now my situation is ideal. My child is in a day care now to socialize and that's my only reason for him being here personally. He's enjoying his time, it gives him a break away from home. And I'm working flexible hours, a job that although it's full time, the hours are so flexible that the day time hours taken away from the child are actually part time...So I have to say that I feel I have the ideal situation for raising a child and working right now.

The women who did have some feelings of unrest about the dual role were the women who were working full-time in settings removed from the location of their child care facilities. One of these women expressed her desire for part-time work. Another woman felt that a longer maternity leave and a child care facility at her place of work would have greatly eased her feelings about working while her child was an infant.

The fourth area of research addressed the possibility of alteration of the attitudes of the women about working and parenting following the births of their children. Emphasis was placed on whether or not the employment plans made during pregnancy continued to seem appropriate after the births of the children. Particular attention was paid to the expression of unexpected feelings and changes in the perception of the relative importance of the two roles.

Question #4: How does the birth of a woman's first child influence her thoughts and feelings about working and parenting?

For the women in Stage 1 the birth of their children confirmed their opinions about the importance of their employment and their ability to fulfill both roles. They were convinced of what it would be like prior to the birth experience and they were not swayed to the contrary. They were happy to place their children in secondary care and to return to work. They also felt that they had sufficient time with their children. The experience of working and parenting was much as they had imagined it would be. One woman expressed this attitude when asked how she reached her decision to work while her child was an infant. She said,

I had prepared myself for it. I knew that it wasn't a thing where - I wasn't a housewife and "Now we are going to have a baby, we need extra money, should I go to work part-time?" It wasn't that type of a decision. Like I said, I had my career, and my baby was not going to be an obstacle. The baby was going to be a normal part of our life that we are going to work with. You don't have to work around it, you work with it, and you manage.

The women in Stage 3 appeared to be significantly influenced by the births of their children. The reality of the children had accentuated their feelings of commitment to others and caused new priority to be placed on the importance of the maternal role. While feelings of responsibility to their children truly became dominant, they were accompanied by conflicted feelings about employment. This range of responses had been anticipated. But the births of the children heightened the experience of them. In reflecting on what she felt parenting contributed to her life, one woman said,

I think it makes you not so selfish of a person. It's very interesting teaching a little person things...I think it makes you a more compassionate person, more understanding with adults. With a child they add spice to life.

The women in Stage 4 seemed to have experienced the greatest degree of change of attitude following the births of their children. They had not expected, and seemed unprepared for, the attachment that they felt to their children. Thus they had discovered new aspects for consideration in regard to working and parenting. When asked what parenting contributed to her life, one woman reflected on her growth by commenting,

I think I've matured a lot and certainly can't be selfish. So I think I've grown as a person and it's extremely demanding and very rewarding.

Further understanding of possible reasons for the changes in their perception of the dual role was gained

when these women were asked if the birth of their children had influenced their thinking about working and parenting in unexpected ways. One woman responded,

Yes, it did. You're not sure what's going to happen. I didn't really think about it. I just knew I wanted to be a good parent to her and talk to her about anything and everything and not have her be afraid to come to me.

The other woman reflected about returning to work in relation to the birth of her child by saying,

Before the birth I was prepared for it as much as I could be and I knew that was what I was going to do. Immediately after the birth, it seemed to be impossible and I took three months off and I said, "Well we'll see how I feel in three months." And after three months I was ready to go back. Immediately after the birth I just no way in the world could I go back to work.

When asked if these feelings were unexpected, she went on to say,

Yes, very very unexpected. I felt like I couldn't let anyone else take care of the child, that I wanted to do it and that I could do it in the best way and that it was best for the child for me to do it.

For the most part the women in Stage 5 seemed to have anticipated their attachment to their children and to have weighed the advantages and disadvantages of employment prior to their births. They felt that they had chosen to

work and that they had made good choices because they had sufficient time with their children. The births of their children confirmed their feelings about the importance of the maternal role and allowed them to adhere to the priorities they had set during their pregnancies. When asked if the birth of their children had influenced their thinking about working and parenting in unexpected ways, their responses included the following comments.

After I found a good day care for her, I was looking forward to getting back to work. Having waited so long, everything was thought out ahead of time. There weren't too many surprises.

Good feelings. I never once doubted that that's exactly what I wanted to do. As much as I wanted to be a Mom, I wanted to also continue working.

Satisfaction with the decision to work while parenting an infant was also expressed when women in Stage 5 were asked about the ideal arrangement to allow them to combine work and family. The response of one woman reflected her positive perception of the experience.

It's what I have right now. It's ideal. It's very near home. It's near where my husband works. He comes here and has lunch with her once in awhile. They take very good care of the children, the hours are flexible. I work three days a week...I bring her in when I feel like it and take her out when I want to. And she gets good nutrition and a lot of stimulation and a lot of attention, a lot...and I can observe her without her seeing me observing her, because they have those mirrors...I don't think she's going to be a shy little girl like I was. My husband was too. But she's going to

feel secure, I think. She's moving with a group she loves. And I have a job that's flexible. And my husband works two minutes away. So for us, this is ideal.

In summary, the stages of moral development delineated variations in how the women viewed the responsibility to caring for self and others. In turn, the different orientations in this realm appeared to be associated with how these women made decisions about working while parenting an infant and how they subsequently felt about those decisions.

Women classified in Stage 1 placed priority on their own needs. Thus the decision to work full-time appeared to be relatively easy. Such a hierarchy of needs allowed them to value employment and to not have that aspect of their lives be threatened by the inclusion of an infant. Similarly, they felt most positively about their experience of the dual role. They knew that their needs were being met. Thus there was no reason for feelings or thoughts to the contrary. They found full-time day care to be perfectly acceptable for the daytime care of their children.

The women classified in Stage 3 felt the necessity of employment while their children were infants for differing reasons. However, their concern for caring for others caused them to experience a great deal of conflict in relation to working full-time while their children were infants. They did not feel that secondary care was as good for their children as maternal care. And they did not feel fulfilled by their jobs. Neither role enhanced the other, and resentment seemed to be experienced on many levels. These women thought that they should be with their children a greater percentage of time. Yet they also felt that they

could not control the circumstances of their lives to allow for it. They were working full-time and had infants in day care all day. Therefore the experience of the dual role was one of conflict and guilt.

The women classified in Stage 4 were suspected to have moved through several stages of moral development in relation to the birth of their children and the experience of the dual role. They seemed to have made the decision to work full-time at an earlier stage of moral development. At that time it may have been a relatively easy decision to make. However, since the births of their children they appeared to have changed their perspectives on the relative importance of each role. The seemingly changing nature of their perceptions of the dual role appeared to be influencing their feelings about employment and full-time child care on an on-going basis. It was unclear how and when they would reach resolution to the conflicts that they were experiencing.

The women classified in Stage 5 seemed most aware of their priorities and the importance of caring for both self and others. Their decisions about working while parenting an infant included concerns in both of these realms. In turn, their perceptions of the reasons for their employment appeared to have developed around the understanding of the interconnection between caring for themselves and for their children. They made arrangements for employment and child care that allowed the roles of working and parenting to be mutually enhancing. They understood why they were working while parenting infants and they perceived their employment as being beneficial to their ability to be good parents. Thus the roles were not seen as separate entities to be juggled together. Instead, clarity on the responsibility to caring for self and others was associated with positive feelings about the decision to work while parenting an

infant and confidence about enrolling their children in infant day care programs.

General Findings on the Experience of Working and Parenting

Analysis of the interview transcripts highlighted several areas that contributed to a better understanding of how women experienced the dual role of working and parenting. These areas included the roles of working and parenting, the perception of support received from spouses/housemates and other significant people, and the influence of quality day care. The following section will present an overview of each of these areas. Discussion will address the general findings on the experiences of the women in the study. Again, it must be emphasized that none of these areas existed in isolation from the others. They were all intertwined in unique composites of individual life experiences.

Role of Working

There appeared to be two predominant reasons why the women said they were employed while their children were infants. The first of these was financial benefit for their families. In light of this finding it was important to refer to the research studies of Hoffman (1974) on working mothers. For Hoffman identified a positive correlation between a mother's ability to make a financial contribution to her family and enhancement of self-esteem. From the perspective of Gilligan's (1982) paradigm that underscores the present study, it may be speculated that for some women, whether they were able to verbalize it or not, being able to make a financial contribution may have been a contemporary manifestation of their ability to care

for their families.

Age and work experience may also have played a part in the decision of the women to remain gainfully employed. Older women who had worked for several years may have felt that their ability to generate an income was integral to their sense of self. At the same time, younger women may have always assumed that they would work and that being at home full-time was not an option.

It was important to note that only two women mentioned the high cost of day care. The salaries of the women were greater than the cost of day care, and quality day care was consistently viewed as being requisite to the return to work. However, the decision to place an infant in a day care program also created a significant monthly expense.

The other reason given by the women for working while parenting an infant related to how they felt work benefited their lives. Comments in this area addressed both getting out of their homes and being involved with the stimulation offered by employment. Several women (5) mentioned that they did not like being at home full-time. They reported that after a period of being fully responsible for child care they were anxious to be apart from their children and to re-gain a sense of themselves in the work place. Mention was also made of the desirability of adult company during the day and the importance of being in an environment that did not revolve around the needs and demands of an infant. Several women (8) mentioned that being at work gave them time for themselves and allowed them to feel refreshed when they resumed caring for their infants.

Differences in the feelings of the women towards their work appeared to be associated with the nature of their work and whether or not it was full-time employment.

Women who viewed their work as a valuable aspect of their lives afforded it more importance than did women who did not enjoy their work. Amongst the eleven women who were eager to return to work, an additional difference appeared to exist between the return to full-time versus part-time employment. Four of the women had jobs that were part-time or that had some flexibility of hours. Such an arrangement seemed to contribute to their positive feelings about the dual role; it appeared to lessen the potential for role conflict and contribute less to fatigue levels than did full-time employment. The women in full-time positions either liked their work because of the importance they placed on it or felt conflicted because they did not have enough time for domestic work and their children above and beyond the demands of a full-time job. These findings were similar to those of Hoffman (1975) in research studies that contrasted the experience of mothers who were employed on a part-time basis with those who were employed on a full-time basis.

Role of Parenting

All of the women expressed positive feelings about the role of parenting. Some had difficulty verbalizing what they felt parenting contributed to their lives. Yet all of them expressed excitement about their relationships with the children. Several of the women mentioned that they had not been around young children very much. They were particularly amazed at the rapid growth and development during infancy. They seemed to have gained a new respect for the stage of infancy by having shared in the care of their children. Other women, who had known children, seemed delighted to have their own children and to assume the maternal role.

Support from Spouse/Housemate

Initially all of the women readily indicated that their spouses/housemates supported their decisions to work while parenting an infant and that such support was invaluable to them. During the course of the interviews concerns regarding the nature of that support became apparent. Two of the women indicated that given a choice their spouses/housemates would have preferred that they stay home and care for the children. However, these men were also perceived as recognizing the importance of employment for the women. Other women had spouses/housemates who assumed that they would work after the births of their children. Still other women had discussed the option of not working with their spouses/housemates and felt that a joint decision had been made that the women would continue to be employed while their children were infants. Regardless of these various orientations to the decision, all of the men were perceived by their wives/housemates as being supportive of their assumption of the dual role.

As previously mentioned, the contribution of the spouses/housemates varied in terms of participation in both domestic work and child care. Some participated fully in both areas and others contributed significantly less to direct child care than did their wives/housemates. However, for the most part the women were appreciative rather than critical of paternal involvement.

It was also noted that variations appeared to exist in terms of the willingness of the women to share child care responsibilities with their spouses/housemates. The women in Stage 1 expressed the desire for more paternal involvement, and the women in Stages 3 and 4 seemed to want

a majority of the responsibility for themselves. Only at Stage 5 did there appear to be a mutual understanding of, and desire for, joint responsibility for child care. This understanding not only existed in the abstract, but was put into practice on a daily (and nightly) basis.

When asked if, and why, decisions about working and parenting differ for men and women, the women predominantly felt that there were differences and that they were due to sex role expectations. They attributed this situation to conditioning within the society. Occasional reference was made to the fact that the higher income level of the spouse/housemate seemed to make less domestic contribution acceptable. Yet many of the women pointed to differences in social expectations for men, both in terms of consistent employment during adulthood and reliance upon their spouses/housemates to provide child care.

Influence of Support From Others

The women felt a great deal of support for their decision to work while parenting an infant. When asked to complete the Personal Information Sheet (see Appendix I), they readily checked off several categories of people who provided such support. Occasionally when they did not check a category, explanation was made that the absence of that support was not significant. Such widespread support from others seemed to indicate that they were not experiencing a great deal of opposition to their working while their children were infants.

Influence of Day Care

Although day care was unanimously perceived as having a positive influence on both the children and the family

experience of maternal employment, some women allowed that they accepted that no one could care for their children as well as they could and others mentioned minor misgivings. Many women mentioned that they were particularly appreciative of the quality of care that their children received in light of current concerns in the society about child abuse and the risks of poor day care.

In general, day care was viewed as an enhancement of, rather than a detracting from, early childhood growth and development. Recognition was given to the positive social interactions between children and adults and mention was made of the availability of a wide array of educational materials. In addition, some women suggested that it would be difficult to provide stimulation in their homes equal to that provided by the day care setting.

C H A P T E R V

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The study was designed as exploratory research. Its purpose was to suggest important areas for future research. It initiated research in the area of the moral development of women in relation to the dual role of working and parenting. And it focused on women who had enrolled their children in infant day care programs.

Respondents were rated according to stages of moral development and analysis of interview transcripts addressed variations in the experience of the dual role of working and parenting an infant. As expected, research findings suggested that different orientations did exist in the perception of the responsibility to care for self and others. However, limitations of the study must be stressed in relation to the implications of these findings. The following chapter will describe the delimitations of the research, the significance of the study, and directions for future research.

Delimitations of the Study

While the study was deliberately designed to study the experience of women with children in a certain type of child care setting, the ramifications of this decision also limited its scope. All of the respondents had children enrolled in quality child care centers and reported being pleased with the nature of the secondary care. The study was designed in this way with the expectation that attention could be focused on individual perceptions of

dilemmas related to working and parenting separate from those posed by poor child care arrangements. It was presumed that respondents with children in day care centers of poor quality would be particularly concerned about that aspect of their employment during the infancy of their children. Such concern might therefore add to the complexity of the assessment of differences and commonalities between the women classified in the various stages of moral development. Therefore the study was limited to mothers who had enrolled their children in quality day care centers.

At the same time, the study was limited to women who had selected to place their children in group day care programs. Again, this decision was made in order to create a dimension of commonality of experience amongst the respondents. However, this stipulation limited the discussion of the findings to women who had selected quality group day care arrangements for their infants.

It was particularly important to recognize the limitation imposed by the omission of transcripts classified in Stage 2. It was questioned whether Stage 2 was a separate stage and whether a larger sample would have yielded subjects classified within it. At the same time, it was possible that women in this stage of moral development would be more likely to have their infants in child care arrangements other than the one selected for the study.

It was also important to recognize that the number of respondents classified in Stages 1, 3, and 4 was much smaller than the number of respondents classified in Stage 5 and the related limitations that this occurrence placed on the discussion of the research findings. Possibilities that may be suggested for this finding include the following: 1.) individuals in the population selected for

the study were more likely to be in Stage 5 than in the other stages, 2.) women who were employed while parenting an infant were more likely to be in Stage 5, while women in Stages 1, 2, 3, or 4 might be more likely to be at home while their children were infants, and 3.) women who had been in Stages 1 through 4 had grown in relation to the dilemmas they had perceived in relation to working while parenting an infant and thus at the time of the study appeared to be in Stage 5. The possibility of this third area of speculation was related to the suggestion of Gilligan that the resolution of moral dilemmas yields moral growth. Thus if working while parenting an infant had posed a moral dilemma, it was possible that the respondents had experienced a period of moral growth in relation to being employed after the births of their children.

For the respondents interviewed in Connecticut, the location of the child care facility on-campus insured close proximity of the children to the work place of their mothers. This setting also allowed for the greater likelihood of availability of jobs that were part-time or that had the flexibility of the academic calendar. However, this also limited some of the findings to mother-child relationships that had these advantages.

Income level of the women and their households also limited the findings of the study. While financial need was commonly viewed by the respondents as being critical to the decision to work, the study only addressed the perception of that need within a fairly narrow range of household income. It did not address how that dimension was perceived by women with higher or lower household income levels.

Although the study was not designed to exclude women who were single parents, all of the respondents were living in two-parent households at the time of the placement of

their children in infant day care programs. This situation had a significant influence on the income level of the households, and in turn was likely to have facilitated the ability to pay for quality infant care. In the case of women who were employed on a part-time basis, the contribution of the income of the spouse/housemate was also likely to have allowed for the option of part-time work.

At the same time, the presence of a spouse/housemate influenced the division of domestic labor and the responsibility for child care. These aspects seemed to have a strong influence on how the women felt about their ability to meet the demands of both roles. However, this situation limited the study to the perception of the dual role in two-parent households.

Respondents were selected for the study on the basis of having their only child enrolled in infant day care. This restriction was intended to identify women new to the parenting role and for whom decisions about working and parenting were of recent concern. It also was intended that the women not view their considerations in terms of past experiences with another child. Thus the study did not address how the perception of responsibility to self and others may develop over time and with increased familiarity with the dual role of working and parenting. It was limited to the understanding of women who were in the process of discovering the relationship between their decisions about employment and infant day care and the subsequent experience of the dual role.

A related area of limitation was found in the variations between the ages of the children at the time of the interviews and the ages of the children at the time of maternal return to work. It was possible that the age of the children at these points could have influenced the

reporting of the women in terms of their perceptions of the experience of working while parenting an infant. It was also possible that the changing ages of the children influenced the women's feelings about the dual role. Because the study initiated work in this area it did not address such specifications, and a considerable range in ages of the children at these critical points was found.

Finally, the study was limited by the selection of interview and research questions. Interview questions were designed to elicit a composite of information that would suggest a predominant stage of moral development for each respondent. However, it was realized during the rating sessions that responses to individual questions did not necessarily include information that readily indicated a stage of moral development. Thus it would have been desirable to design a few key questions to elicit responses that would be easily rated according to the stages of moral development. The rating process of transcripts might in turn be greatly facilitated by attention to those selected questions. Such a change would be likely to create a better research design.

Significance of the Research Findings

The significance of the research lies in the understanding of how the stage of a woman's moral development may be associated with her decisions and experiences related to working while parenting an infant. As expected, differentiations in the feeling of responsibility to self and to others appeared central to the ways in which women viewed the choices and conflicts of working and parenting. Similarly, such differentiations also seemed to be associated with how women felt about infant day care. Variations in the preferences for the

ideal way to combine the two roles included availability of quality child care facilities, work options for flexible hours and part-time jobs, and extended maternity leaves.

The findings suggested that the differences in sex role expectations had a major influence on the experience of women in the dual role of working and parenting. This was so not only in terms of feelings about career development and working while parenting an infant, but also in terms of division of domestic labor and responsibility for child care within the home. In this regard a woman's expectations of herself, as well as those she has of her spouse/housemate, may be related to the stage of her moral development. Gilligan suggested that moral development was inextractible from direct experience. In line with this orientation, it may be suggested that the stages of moral development of the respondents may have been associated with several dimensions of their lives such as relationship with spouse/housemate, fulfillment gained through employment, and the availability of child care options. However, the nature of the relationship between the stage of the respondent's moral development and her life circumstances was not entirely clear.

The findings also highlighted the role of maternal financial contribution to the family and suggested that such contribution may enhance one's sense of self through the ability to care for one's family. As women are afforded increased opportunities for gainful employment within the society, they may be increasingly likely to see potential for both self-development and financial gain. Employment opportunities and financial contribution to household are likely to be included as important components of the adult experience of women. However, the intention to be gainfully employed may conflict with the desire to have children or to provide the desired amount of direct

child care. If, as the study suggested, feelings in this area may not be generalized, then it appears particularly important that work and child care options be developed that support variations in parental choice. Such options might include opportunities for flexible benefits, flexible work hours, job sharing, extended maternity and paternity leaves, and child care centers at adult work sites. In this way attention could be paid to the child care preferences of men and women. Social concern could be directed at the provision of quality child care arrangements and the development of strong parent-child relationships.

Another important area of significance was in the perception of alternatives related to working and parenting. Increased understanding of the potential benefits and conflicts associated with working while parenting an infant would be likely to expand the awareness level of women about the design of their adult lives. Attention could be paid to the desire for children, the selection of employment, and the preferred contribution of spouse/housemate to child care and domestic labor. While such a range of considerations cannot be entirely planned or controlled, awareness of them may alert women to concerns and dilemmas related to the combined roles of working and parenting. Women may be provided an increased understanding of the potential benefits and drawbacks of working while parenting an infant and thus be in a more educated position for making related decisions.

The study addressed one of the many implications of the increase in the proportion of women in the work force. It addressed an important dimension of human development and highlighted a concern for the maternal role that is not addressed by emphasis placed on professional involvement and financial concerns. The findings suggested a

relationship between the stage of a woman's moral development and her experience of the dual role of working and parenting. They suggest the need for the alteration of the work place to include attention to the adult development of women and the generation of quality child care options within the society. If women are to truly be afforded equal opportunity, it appears essential that these concerns be addressed and understood.

Future Research

Findings from the study may be used to designate important areas for future work in the field of work and family. This is particularly so in terms of maternal employment and infant child care arrangements. Information gathered from the interviews suggested that critical differences existed in the ways that women viewed working while parenting an infant. Some women (6) preferred returning to work full-time, others (3) preferred extended maternity leaves, and others (7) desired jobs with flexibility of time demands. Various combinations of these categories undoubtedly existed as well. Decisions about employment and arrangements for the care of young children appeared to be especially important areas in relation to the increasing number of women in the labor force. Attention to stages in the moral development of women proposed one theoretical orientation for understanding the considerations and potential dilemmas associated with the placement of children in infant day care programs. It suggested a way to address the relationship between a woman's orientation towards responsibility to self and others and her subsequent experience of the dual role of working and parenting.

Recommendations for further study:

1. Research could address a range of foci that would include attention to women with different personal backgrounds, women in different areas and levels of employment, and women with different experiences of child care arrangements. Attention could be addressed to variations in the perception of dilemmas posed by considerations of working while parenting young children. Such an orientation could also be expanded to include the study of men in many aspects of work, family, and the perception of responsibility towards self and others.

Studies could question whether the moral thinking of women follows patterns related to age, educational background, and perception of support systems. For instance, studies could be conducted on women who have their first children during different age spans. Such research could also take a more comprehensive look at the possible relationship between the stage of a woman's moral development, her educational background, and her level of investment in her work. In a related way this research could address the development of sense of self in relation to employment at different ages. Another study could look at the variations in energy levels of women in different age brackets and examine whether that variable appeared to influence a woman's orientation towards working while parenting an infant. It could also address variations in desired length of maternity leave.

2. Attention could be paid to the possibility of variations in responses in relation to the income levels of respondents. None of the women in this study were from particularly low or high income households, and none of them were sole supporters of their children. This factor

could be addressed in terms of how it may influence the feelings of women about the dual role and preferences for child care arrangements. Groups of women from different income levels could also be studied in terms of their perception of options for child care and how closely tied such perceptions may be to income level. It may be particularly important to question whether women of low-income households feel that they have quality child care options and how such feelings may influence their sense of self and attitudes towards employment.

3. Research studies might question the relationship between decisions about child care and a woman's perception of her work as a career or solely as a means to generate an income. Such a focus would be likely to elicit information about whether or not women derive feelings of self-enhancement from their employment. It would allow attention to be paid to whether or not women feel and value responsibility in caring for others through their work roles. Research in this area could also address the possibility that stages of moral development fluctuate with particular areas of conflict and choice. Similarly, it could study whether certain groups of women do not perceive choices and options in life in general.

4. Research could examine the various orientations of women towards decisions and dilemmas related to working while parenting young children. Groups of subjects might include women who are considering pregnancy, women who are pregnant, women with newborn children and women with children at various stages of early childhood. Such attention could trace commonalities in the experience of women in these groups and attempt to identify critical points in terms of the perception of choices and the experience of conflict. If it was possible to identify critical points, research could be designed to pre- and

post-test the influence of an intervention program. Such a program could be designed to help women identify potential conflicts.

5. Longitudinal studies could assess the growth and moral development of women in relation to working while parenting over an extended period of time. Attention could be addressed to the identification of alterations in the perception of conflicts and choices. By studying the same women over a number of years, factors such as the birth of additional children and alterations in work and child care arrangements could be examined in terms of potential influence on the moral development of the women and related attitudes towards working and parenting.

6. It appeared as though particular attention needed to be placed on the possible influence of variations of experience according to the nature of employment. Differences might be found if women in a wider range of settings were studied. This might be particularly true in business and industry where the availability of part-time jobs, or jobs with flexibility of hours, might be difficult to obtain. Such information might be of particular interest to employers who wanted to attract women to their organizations.

A related area of study could contrast the experience of employed women who have used different forms of secondary child care. For instance, women who had enrolled their children in an on-site program at their place of work could be studied in order to understand potential correlations between nature of child care arrangements and experience of maternal comfort or conflict. It could be questioned whether variations in the child care arrangements impede upon or facilitate a woman's sense of self and stage of moral development.

Another related area of study could examine the

experience of women who have chosen to not work while their children are young. Such a sample could include both women who have definite plans to return to the work place and those who plan to remain at home indefinitely. This group could be studied in terms of the stages of moral development and they also could be contrasted with women who are gainfully employed while their children are young.

7. Research is also needed to increase the understanding of the role of support systems, particularly that of spouses and housemates. Further research could address the various orientations of men in considerations of work and family, in commitment to supporting the decision of their spouse/housemate to work, and in participation in child care. Particular attention could be paid to men who are willing to alter their work lives in conjunction with the decision to have a child. In a similar fashion as the one described above, men could be studied at different ages and stages of their life cycles and optimum times for educational intervention could potentially be determined. In this way the realm of research could be expanded to address how both men and women experience the dual role of working and parenting.

In conclusion, several areas related to the study appeared important for further consideration and speculation. The following list reflects these concerns. They are not areas which the study intended to directly address or areas for which the data can be analyzed. Rather, they are broadbase considerations which appear important in relation to future research.

1. If respondents in a study of this nature do not feel that they have choices about working and parenting at the same time, is it likely that they perceive that dual role as being related to a moral dilemma? In turn, is it

appropriate for a researcher to attempt to assess the stage of a respondent's moral development through questions related to an area which the respondent does not consider to be a moral dilemma?

2. If the same respondents were interviewed about aspects of their lives other than the dual role of working and parenting, would they be classified in the same stages as they would be for that dual role?

3. What is the nature of moral development? Is it an aspect of cognition? Is it appropriate to refer to moral development in terms of 'moral thinking'?

4. What are the sources, or influencing factors, in the development of personal morality? Are intervention programs likely to be effective in this area? If so, what would be the nature of such programs?

5. Is it possible to separate moral judgement from moral behavior? What are the related implications in terms of intervention programs?

The area of affordable quality child care remains a critical issue. In order to address the needs of children and families, it appears particularly important that women be afforded opportunities to work and to parent that are consistent with their perception of self and moral obligation to their children. This study began to define the considerations for understanding this complex area. Through the use of Carol Gilligan's paradigm of moral development, it suggested a theoretical orientation for such an understanding. However, several aspects and dimensions remain in need of further exploration. Thus, future research holds the potential for addressing the critical considerations for creating a more equitable climate for men, women, and children.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
PILOT STUDY RELEASE FORM

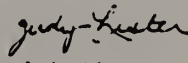
WORK AND FAMILY

This research study has been developed to generate more information about women who are simultaneously working and parenting a young child. It is designed around the analysis of interviews with several women. Information that is collected from these interviews, and from the Personal Information Sheets, will remain entirely confidential. At no time will your name be used or associated with your responses.

Your honesty during the interview will be appreciated. If there are questions that you would prefer not to answer, please let me know. At the same time, if there is additional information that you would like to share, please let me know that as well. If at any time you would like to discontinue your participation in the research, you are free to do so. I also will be happy to discuss my findings with you at the conclusion of the study.

I look forward to working with you on this project, and I appreciate your willingness to be a part of it. I especially appreciate your taking the time to talk with me. Thank-you in advance for your time and energy!

Sincerely,


Judy Lister

I am aware of the terms of the above statement and I agree to participate in this research on women in relation to working and parenting. I also grant permission for this information to be used in the writing of future publications.

(Please print name)

(Signature)

(Date)

APPENDIX B
PILOT STUDY PERSONAL INFORMATION SHEET

PERSONAL INFORMATION SHEET

The following information may be used in the analysis of the interviews on working and parenting. It will remain entirely confidential at all times. Your responses to all of the questions will be appreciated. However, if there are questions that you would prefer not to answer, please leave them blank. To complete the questions, place a mark by the category that is most appropriate for you. A line has been included for questions that require you to write in an answer. Thank-you!

- 1.) What was your position in your family? _____
- _____ oldest child
 - _____ middle child
 - _____ youngest child
 - _____ only child
 - _____ other, please specify: _____
- 2.) Did your mother work before you were enrolled in school? _____ yes _____ no
- 3.) If yes, did she do so by choice? _____ yes _____ no
- What was the nature of her work? _____
- 4.) What was the educational level of your mother? _____
- _____ High School degree
 - _____ College degree
 - _____ post-college degree
 - _____ other, please specify: _____
- 5.) What is the nature of your present employment? _____
- 6.) What was the nature of your employment prior to the birth of your child?
 _____ same _____ different, please specify: _____
- 7.) Do you have specific goals or plans for the future of your work? _____
- 8.) Do you plan to have more children? _____ yes _____ no _____ undecided
- 9.) What is your educational background? _____
- _____ High School degree
 - _____ Associates degree
 - _____ College degree
 - _____ Masters degree
 - _____ Doctoral degree
 - _____ other, please specify: _____
- 10.) Your present age: _____ Present age of your child _____
- 11.) What was the age of your child when you returned to work? _____
- 12.) What is your marital status? _____
- 13.) Is there another significant person in your life with whom you form a household?
 _____ yes _____ no
- 14.) What is the age of your spouse/housemate? _____

14.) What is the educational background of your spouse/housemate? High School degree
 College degree
 post-college degree

15.) What is the nature of employment of your spouse/housemate? _____

16.) Your present income level:

- \$5,000 - \$10,000
- \$10,000 - \$15,000
- \$15,000 - \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$25,000
- over \$25,000

Your household income level:

- \$5,000 - \$10,000
- \$10,000 - \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$30,000
- \$30,000 - \$40,000
- \$40,000 - \$50,000
- over \$50,000

17.) Religious affiliation of the family that you grew up in: _____

18.) Present religious affiliation: _____

19.) Please indicate the categories of people whom you feel support your decision to work and parent.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> spouse/housemate | <input type="checkbox"/> female friends |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your parents | <input type="checkbox"/> male friends |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your in-laws | <input type="checkbox"/> your employer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> your co-workers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> your neighbors | <input type="checkbox"/> your subordinates |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other, please specify: _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> child care workers |

20.) Additional information:

APPENDIX C
PILOT STUDY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

AppendixInterview Questions

- 1.) How would you describe the development of your career; the decisions that you have made related to your work and its role in your life?
 - 2.) Similarly, how would you describe the development of your ideas in relation to having a child while you continued to work?
 - 3.) How would you compare and contrast your thoughts about parenting and working before and after your child was born?
 - 4.) Did you anticipate the thoughts and feelings that you encountered after the birth of your child when you were confronted with returning to work?
 - 5.) In your own thoughts, how do you frame the conflicts, or choices, related to your working and the care of your child? How do you resolve, or cope, with them?
 - 6.) How have your ideas developed in relation to the care of your child while you work? What are your reactions to the idea of infant day care?
 - 7.) If you were to talk with other women who want to both work and parent a child, what information would you want to share with them?
 - 8.) What would you have wanted other people to tell you before you had a child, before you decided to work while your child was an infant, and before you decided to place your child in an infant care program?
-
- 9.) Did your mother work? What influence has that had on you?
 - 10.) Do you have the support of a spouse in your decision to work while parenting a young child? What influence does that have on you?
 - 11.) Are there other support systems that have been of help to you in your considerations and decisions?
 - 12.) If you were to imagine an idea arrangement to assist you in combining work and family, what would its key components be?

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Appendix A - Interview questions

- 1.) How would you briefly describe the development of your career?
- 2.) What do you think working contributes to your life?
- 3.) Were your career plans influenced by your decision to have a child?
If so, how?
- 4.) Can you identify the steps in your thinking about the decision to work while your child was an infant?
- 5.) Do you feel that you have had choices and options in terms of whether or not you work while your child is young?
If so, what were they?
- 6.) Did you plan your pregnancy?
- 7.) Why did you decide to have a baby at this time?
- 8.) While you were deciding about working and parenting an infant at the same time, what were your concerns? Have they changed?
- 9.) How did you reach your decisions about working while your child was an infant?
- 10.) Can you trace how you have felt about those decisions over time?
- 11.) Did you imagine yourself as a working parent before your child was born?
Has that image changed?
If so, how?
- 12.) Before the birth of your baby, what were your feelings about returning to work?
Have those feelings changed? If so, how?
Did the experience of your child's birth influence your thinking about working and parenting in unexpected ways?
- 13.) What do you feel parenting contributes to your life?
- 14.) Have you had role models for combining working and parenting?
Are there particular things about their lives that you respect?
- 15.) How do the most significant people in your life feel about your working while you have a young child?
What influence do their feelings have on you?
- 16.) Do you have the support of a spouse/housemate in your decision to work while you have a young child?
What influence does that have on you?
How does your spouse/housemate contribute to the care of your child?
- 17.) Do you think the decisions about parenting and working differ for men and women? If so, how?
Why do you think this is so?

- 18.) If someone had asked you five years ago how you felt about infant day care, what would you have said?
Has that opinion changed?
If so, how do you view it today?
- 19.) Did the availability of quality day care influence your decisions about having a child?
- 20.) If quality day care were not available, would it have had an influence on your decisions about working while your child was an infant?
- 21.) If you could have the ideal arrangement to assist you in combining work and family, what would it be?
Why would it be ideal?

APPENDIX E
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AS CATEGORIZED BY
AREAS OF THE RESEARCH

I. How do women frame considerations related to working and parenting in their own thinking?

2. What do you think working contributes to your life?
3. Were your career plans influenced by your decision to have a child?
4. Can you identify steps in your thinking about the decision to work while your child was an infant?
5. Do you feel you have had choices and options in terms of whether or not you work while your child is young?
If so, what were they?
6. Did you plan your pregnancy?
7. Why did you decide to have a baby at this time?
13. What do you feel parenting contributes to your life?
16. Do you have the support of a spouse/housemate in your decision to work while you have a young child?
What influence does that have on you?
How does your spouse/housemate contribute to the care of your child?
18. If someone had asked you five years ago how you felt about infant day care, what would you have said?
Has that opinion changed?
If so, how do you view it today?

II. How do women perceive and resolve conflicts and choices associated with the dual role of working and parenting?

3. Were your career plans influenced by your decision to have a child?
If so, how?

4. Can you identify steps in your thinking about the decision to work while our child was an infant?
8. While you were deciding about working and parenting an infant at the same time, what were your concerns? Have they changed?
9. How did you reach your decisions about working while your child was an infant?
10. Can you trace how you have felt about those decisions over time?
19. Did the availability of quality day care influence your decisions about having a child?
20. If quality day care were not available, would it have had an influence on your decisions about working while your child was an infant?

III. How do women feel about their decisions to work while their children are infants?

5. Do you feel that you have had choices and options in terms of whether or not you work while your child is young?
If so, what were they?
9. How did you reach your decisions about working while your child was an infant?
10. Can you trace how you have felt about those decisions over time?
14. Have you had role models for combining working and parenting?
Are there particular things about their lives that you respect?
21. If you could have the ideal arrangement to assist you in combining work and family, what would it be?
Why would it be ideal?

IV. How does the birth of a woman's first child influence her thoughts and feelings about working and parenting?

11. Did you imagine yourself as a working parent before your child was born?
Has that image changed?
If so, how?
12. Before the birth of your baby, what were your feelings about returning to work?
Have those feelings changed?
If so, how?
Did the experience of your child's birth influence your thinking about working and parenting in unexpected ways?
13. What do you feel parenting contributes to your life?
21. If you could have the ideal arrangement to assist you in combining work and family, what would it be?
Why would it be ideal?

APPENDIX F

APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

Child Development Laboratories

U-117

RESEARCH APPLICATION PACKAGE

1. Complete both the "Application for Research" and the "Parent Permission form in duplicate (xerox copies are acceptable).
2. Submit to: Child Development Laboratories
U-117
or deliver to: Human Development Center
Office 116 Phone 486-2865 or 486-4490
3. Applications are reviewed on the FIRST and THIRD Tuesday of each month. Deadlines are imposed on projects starting each semester.
Fall deadline - November 15th
Spring deadline - April 15th
Summer deadline - June 30th
4. One copy of the "Application for Research" will be returned to you indicating approval or denial. If the project is approved, one copy of the "Parent Permission" form will be returned for copying and distributing.
5. "Parent Permission" forms are to be mailed to parents or left in individual children's boxes at the Child Labs when approved.
6. Signed "Parent Permission" forms must be returned to the Child Development Laboratories. Researchers must check with individual classroom teachers to determine which children's forms have been returned before proceeding with project.
7. If approval is granted contact the Child Development Laboratories immediately to schedule research rooms and complete any details that may be requested by the Child Labs.

IT IS THE RESEARCHERS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE DUPLICATING AND DISTRIBUTING SERVICES OF ALL MATERIALS.

Child Development Laboratories
U-117

APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH

Researcher Judy Lister Major Department Early Childhood
Address & Phone HOC 104 Faculty Sponsor _____
486-3372

Brief description of project: I plan to interview working women who have a child enrolled in the Infant/Toddler program.

Number of children and ages of children needed _____

Other requirements of subjects (sex, etc.)
Working women who have their first child enrolled in the Infant/Toddler program.
Describe exact procedures, including time estimates and project duration

I will meet with each woman for approximately one hour to conduct a structured interview related to the dual roles of working and parenting. I plan to complete the interviews during the month of October.
Define ANY reinforcements used.

Expected completion date: November 1, 1984

For CDL use only

Application Approved _____ Denied _____
Parental Permission Form approved: Yes _____ No _____
Date to begin: _____
CDL Research Code Number _____

APPENDIX G
LETTERS SENT TO THE RESPONDENTS

September 24, 1984

Dear

I am currently involved with a study on working women who have their first child in an Infant/Toddler program. I have chosen the Child Labs at the University of Connecticut as the location for conducting interviews for my research. Since your child is currently enrolled in the Infant/Toddler program, I would be interested in meeting with you and interviewing you for approximately an hour.

Through this study I hope to gain a better understanding of the concerns of women who are both working and parenting. I hope that you will agree to be a part of it as I feel that it is an extremely important topic. I will certainly be willing to share my findings with you at the conclusion of the study.

I would like to conduct the interviews at the Human Development Center at a time that is convenient for you. And I would like to schedule them during the weeks of October 1 and October 8. I will call you by the end of this week to discuss this project with you. If you would like to participate, we can set a date for the interview. I will look forward to talking with you.

Sincerely,

Judy Lister

April 12, 1985

Dear

I am currently involved with a study on working women who have their first child in an Infant/Toddler program. The Monadnock Community Day Care Center is one of the sites that I have selected for conducting interviews, and Julie Tams has referred your name to me. Since your child has been enrolled in the Infant/Toddler program, I would be interested in talking with you.

Through this study I hope to gain a better understanding of the concerns of women who are both working and parenting. I hope that you will agree to be a part of it as I feel that it is an extremely important topic. I will certainly be willing to share my findings with you at the conclusion of the study.

I would like to hold the interviews at the Monadnock Community Day Care Center at a time that is convenient for you. I'll plan to call you next week to discuss this project with you. If you would like to participate, we can set a date for the interview. I will look forward to talking with you.

Sincerely,

Judy Lister

APPENDIX H
HUMAN SUBJECTS RELEASE FORM

WORK AND FAMILY

This research study has been developed to generate more information about women who are simultaneously working and parenting a young child. It is designed around the analysis of interviews with several women. Information that is collected from these interviews, and from the Personal Information Sheets, will remain entirely confidential. At no time will your name be used or associated with your responses.

Your honesty during the interview will be appreciated. If there are questions that you would prefer not to answer, please let me know. At the same time, if there is additional information that you would like to share with me, please let me know that as well. I also will be happy to discuss my findings with you at the conclusion of the study.

I look forward to working with you on this project, and I appreciate your willingness to be a part of it. I especially appreciate your taking the time to talk with me. Thank-you in advance for your time and energy!

Sincerely,



Judy Lister

I agree to participate in this research on women in relation to working and parenting. I also grant permission for this information to be used in the writing of future publications.

(Please print name)

(Signature)

(Date)

APPENDIX I
PERSONAL INFORMATION SHEET

PERSONAL INFORMATION SHEET

The following information may be used in the analysis of the interviews on working and parenting. It will remain entirely confidential at all times. Your responses to all of the questions will be appreciated. However, if there are questions that you would prefer not to answer, please leave them blank. To complete the questions, place a mark by the category that is most appropriate for you. A line has been included for questions that require you to write in an answer. Thank-you!

- 1.) What was your position in your family? _____
 _____ oldest child
 _____ middle child
 _____ youngest child
 _____ only child
 _____ other, please specify: _____
- 2.) Did your mother work before you were enrolled in school? _____ yes _____ no
 If yes, did she do so by choice? _____ yes _____ no
 What was the nature of her work? _____
- 3.) What was the educational level of your mother? _____
 _____ high school diploma
 _____ associates degree
 _____ college degree
 _____ masters degree
 _____ doctoral degree
 _____ other, please specify: _____
- 4.) What is the nature of your present employment? _____
- 5.) What was the nature of your employment prior to the birth of your child?
 _____ same _____ different, please specify: _____
- 6.) Do you have specific goals or plans for the future of your work? _____

- 7.) Do you plan to have more children? _____ yes _____ no _____ undecided
- 8.) What is your educational background? _____
 _____ high school diploma
 _____ associates degree
 _____ college degree
 _____ masters degree
 _____ doctoral degree
 _____ other, please specify: _____
- 9.) Your present age: _____ Present age of your child _____
- 10.) What was the age of your child when you returned to work? _____
- 11.) What is your marital status? _____
- 12.) Is there another significant person in your life with whom you form a household?
 _____ yes _____ no
- 13.) What is the age of your spouse/housemate? _____

14.) What is the educational background of your spouse/housemate? _____ high school diploma
 _____ associates degree
 _____ college degree
 _____ masters degree
 _____ doctoral degree
 _____ other, please specify _____

15.) What is the nature of employment of your spouse/housemate? _____

16.) Your present income level:		Your household income level:	
_____ \$5,000 - \$10,000		_____ \$5,000 - \$10,000	
_____ \$10,000 - \$15,000		_____ \$10,000 - \$20,000	
_____ \$15,000 - \$20,000		_____ \$20,000 - \$30,000	
_____ \$20,000 - \$25,000		_____ \$30,000 - \$40,000	
_____ over \$25,000		_____ \$40,000 - \$50,000	
		_____ over \$50,000	

17.) Religious affiliation of the family in which you grew up: _____

18.) Present religious affiliation: _____

19.) Who was primarily responsible for your care when you were preschool age?

20.) What do you feel are your major reasons for working while your child is under three years old?

21.) Please indicate the categories of people whom you feel support your decision to work and parent?

_____ spouse/housemate	_____ female friends
_____ your parents	_____ male friends
_____ your in-laws	_____ your employer
_____ your siblings	_____ your co-workers
_____ your neighbors	_____ your subordinates
_____ child care workers	_____ others, please specify: _____

APPENDIX J
STAGES OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Stages of Moral Development

- 1.) - thinking that is focused on caring for oneself; the primary consideration in resolving moral dilemmas is the ability to care for one's self interests
- 2.) - criticism of one's thinking as being selfish, signifying a new understanding of the connection between self and others and leading to a new concept of responsibility
- 3.) - thinking that is focused on caring for others; the primary consideration in resolving moral dilemmas is the ability to care for others
- 4.) - exclusion of caring for self in one's thinking causes confusion between the notions of caring and self-sacrifice; confusion over 'goodness'
- 5.) - thinking that is focused on understanding the interconnection and interdependency between self and others; the primary consideration in resolving moral dilemmas is the ability to care for both self and others

APPENDIX K

EXCERPTS FROM THE PILOT STUDY TRANSCRIPTS
USED DURING THE RATING SESSIONS

Excerpts from Training Session 1 - Respondent 1

6. How would you compare your thoughts about parenting and working before and after your child was born?

"I think before he was born, we had talked about it at length that if we were going to do this, we were going to have a child that for at least three years that I would stay home and just because of all the research on three years, it's kind of a critical time. I think that's changed because I see that as long as he's getting good care taking....He's with somebody that he's comfortable with, that I'm comfortable with also, that it's kind of what I said before, He's not going to miss out on some mothering even though I'm going to miss out on it. So that kind of freed me up a little bit. It's still hard. Part of it, there's some guilt, there's also some sadness in going back to work and leaving. Somebody else is going to hear his first sentence, maybe. I'll just have to accept that when it comes along. Does that answer what you asked me?"

7. Yes, I think it did. Just going off a little bit, can you describe that guilt?

"It's like, "Okay, I decided, I waited long enough to have a baby," and I was going to do that, I should be unselfish enough to stay with him until he goes back to school. That's my mother saying that, too. Which I didn't realize. Because my mother did that. She says, "I didn't go to work until you girls were in school," and then she went to school with us. I'm sure that's where that's coming from and the "shoulds", you should do that."

12. Do you hold "shoulds" for yourself?

"I'm holding a very big should for myself right now. Now that I'm working, I can see myself falling into that "Super Mom" track of "I've got to get up in the morning, I've got to get all the beds made," I've got to do everything as if I weren't working, but I've still got to get him ready and myself ready to get out the door by 7:30 and I felt compelled tonight and not just because you were coming for supper, I felt compelled that I had to get home and get supper ready and do that kind of thing. Which is...may last a week or two...(Ha Ha). But right now, I'm feeling like I've got to do the thing about the "Super Mom", I've got to do it all, I've got to take care of the house, and him, and do my job too. I'm not sure why. I'm not sure who I'm trying to prove that to. I was thinking about it today. This morning as I was running around picking up the house, get him his breakfast and doing all the little motherly things and the house could never be until those domestic things...and gearing up to go to work too. Second, it's like accomplishments, and "okay, I've got the beds made, and I got the dishwasher loaded before I left, and there were no dirty dishes left in the sink," which isn't really me. I mean, I can go without the house being picked up, if I'm home. I never would have thought I would have fallen into that. (Ha Ha) Which is why I'm hiring a housekeeper or a cleaning lady, I don't want to worry about it."

22. If you were to talk with other women who want to work and parent a child, what information would you want to share with them?

"I would think what's going to have to happen is I'm going to have to become more organized. With time."

Excerpts from Training Session 1 - Respondent 2

8. And when you said "contributing", what do you feel contributing to

"To the growth of other people, I think I'm making a contribution to society through teaching, it's not only that but I get reward. I feel rewarded by that. Going into a new job, it was a real challenge and to feel like, "hey, I can do it," I need that. Attacking a problem and feeling like I can solve that problem and a problem in something other than the home. And sharing experiences and being in the world with other people. I need other people too.

13. How do think of the development of your work in relation to the development of your life?

"I can't separate it from the fact that I have a family now. Definitely, when I make decisions about work, think about work, I always consider the time, my availability to my family and I'm really committed to that. I'm at the point where I feel okay about working, I feel fine about working, but there are limits on that. I'm not yet ready to say...in that I can feel fine about that because I say, "Well, I'm only working 185 days a year." I get out at a decent time. I still have a few hours a day with my child. My spouse too, but I thinking more of the child and there aren't many jobs other than teaching that allow that. So, I consider that all the time and until I feel like is at an age where she doesn't maybe need me as much or ...You know that might not happen until she's 18! I probably won't make a change that has me gone more than I'm already gone. Maybe in High School, I really don't know. I feel a real committment to that for this segment of my life."

14. So your sense of yourself is tied in with both things?

Sure, but I also know I need to be happy in my job. My fear, real fear is what happens when I no longer can be much rewards professionally through teaching. It's scary.

18. How would you contrast your thought about parenting and working before and after your child was born? It's sort of on the same idea.

"I feel better now. It was about working. Much more secure about it. Even though I knew all along when I was pregnant that I was planning to go back to work, I'm much more confident that it can work and a child can... it can be a positive experience for the family. I think for me, until I actually went to work, over a period of time, I didn't really, was a little insecure about what the results might be. And I'll never know. But I feel now that, as I said before, she's happy, she's growing, she's developing and but it's almost like...Even though I work. But the proof is in her. For me, I didn't know that. Until it happened."

Excerpts from Training Session 2 - Respondent 1

24. I'm just wondering how you would define what would feel like selfishness to you?

"Well, when I want to read a book and he wants my attention, there's sometimes when I think, "Damn it, leave me alone until I finish the chapter."

25. How do you deal with that within yourself, I guess?

"What I end up doing is doing a real dialogue in my head. "Now Debbie, he's only little once..." and do that whole thing of...what I usually end up doing is putting down the book and playing with him and doing what he wants. But I have to do the dialogue."

30. Can you recall from those times what sorts of things you talked about and what was particularly helpful? Particularly in terms of having left careers or being out of it for awhile.

"One thing that I want to say that doesn't relate to that, that I'm thinking of is that I can remember thinking of very clearly, feeling very smug and self-satisfied that I was staying home and some of these other people had to go back after six weeks, three months or whatever, and it was even their choosing, some of them, it was like circumstances just made it, they had to go back or

they would have left their job or whatever. I can remember feeling very righteous, maybe? I was staying home with my child or whatever."

31. So, I guess what I want to get at, how did that influence your sense of self?

"I would say that it made me feel really good, but because I was being consistent with my views as a mother. I was staying home and being a full-time mom....."

Because why, why would that.....

"I don't know, I mean I have not analyzed it, all of sudden it was something that you said that popped into my head and I can really remember thinking, "Tsk, Tsk, going off and leaving a little baby, how could they, and I'm not."

Excerpts from Training Session 2 - Respondent 2

17. And not even in relation to your career, the importance of having a child in your life?

"Okay, well, it something that I have always wanted. I really...I don't feel that she is my whole life by any means but I feel like if I hadn't had a child, I would have missed something really really important. That my life somehow wouldn't have been complete. It would be a real loss. And also, in terms of the timing, I think its hard sometimes to have a child particularly with work and still have time for yourself. It's really frustrating when you think, "Give me two minutes to wash my hair, go to the bathroom or anything," but I try to rationalize that by saying, "Okay, I had how many years, I waited until I was older, I said waited, it happened when I was older," and so I had many years as an adult where I had those that time to myself and I will have again. So it's like a slice out of my life of many years, but there certainly are sacrifices, but in the overall picture, it's worth every bit of it."

20. When you say that your working was a positive influence on the family, what do you mean by that.

"I feel better about myself, and therefore I'm more pleasant to be around. I'm more patient. I feel satisfied. I come home many times and say, "Gee, I really do need to work, I like this, I this, I that." And even when I'm not working this summer, I can say, I know why I work! And I believe that, really strongly now."

23. Could you elaborate your feelings?

"When I was actually going back to work? Well, guilt is the big one and that maybe I was wondering if I was abandoning this little thing. I didn't worry that the sitter wouldn't take care of her. I felt certainly that she was in good hands, but would anybody give the kind of time and attention that I was willing to give her. I think that was the big question. And the guilt, "The Good Mother", more than "would I be missing things"."

35. If you were to imagine an ideal arrangement to assist you in combining work and family, what would its key components be? Is that clear?

"Yes, I think it would be great to have a quality daycare situation right on the premises, right where one of us worked. That wasn't outrageously expensive and that coincided exactly with one of our work schedules so that you don't have to go out of your way and you could see the child during the day, if you wanted. And, that's one option. Another one might be: part time work, not have to worry about made three days a week or four even. Not as full time. Financial part, that's a part of it. I don't deny that I like being able to buy books for her, toys, clothes, she doesn't need lots of what she has, but that's part of the fun. You need money to do that. That would really be helpful."

APPENDIX L
SAMPLE RATING SHEET

Rating Sheet

Transcript number -

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						

APPENDIX M
RATING SHEETS

Rating Sheet

⑤

Transcript number - #/

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3			✓			
4		✓	✓			
5				✓		
6		✓				✓
7		✓				✓
8		✓				✓
9		✓				
10		✓				
11						✓
12						✓
13						✓
14						✓
15						✓
16						✓
17						✓
18						✓
19						
20						✓

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number - #/

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1						
2		X				
3		X				
4					X	
5				X		
6				X		
7						X
8						X
9	similar to #1					X
10	?					X
11						X
(12)	Important answer					X
13	balance sheet to the					X
14						X
15	balance interdependence					X
16						X
(17)	was substituted Important					X
18	choice option + made offer					X
19						X
(20)	... out of					X

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number - /

Stages •

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3			✓			
4	? necessity not met					
5			✓			
6						✓
7						✓
8						✓
9				✓		
10	?	✓				
11	?					✓
12						✓
13						✓
14						✓
15						✓
16						✓
17	self comes through ?					✓
18						✓
19						
20						✓

Rating Sheet

(4)

Transcript number - #2

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3		✓				
4		✓				
5		✓				
6	Planned pregnancy					✓
7				✓	Deferred to husband	
8				✓	No Cate of Sij Sahli obligation	
9				✓		
10		Based on earlier responses				
11			✓	→		
12			✓	→		
13						
14			✓	→		
15						✓
16						✓
17					✓	→
18						✓
19				✓		
20				✓	→	

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - 2

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	_____					
2						
3	decision choice	X				
4	had to work		X			
5				X		
6				X		
(7)	others decided					X
(8)				X		
(9)	Most important				X	
10	Decided planned				X	
11	shows stages shows where now					X
12						X
13	_____				X	
14	contentment					X
15	worked well:					X
16	happy contented					X
17	" " happens of other					X
18	controlled change					X
19	ben. i. col					X
(20)	Ideal happy time ... not isolating				✓	

Rating Sheet

(4)

Transcript number - 2

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3			✓			
4		✓				
5		✓				
6						✓
7	other oriented multiple not in control				✓	✓
8	?			✓	✓	✓
9	planning ?			✓	✓	
10		✓				
11	lots of I's, though					✓
12					✓	
13		✓				
14	?				✓	✓
15						✓
16						✓
17					✓	✓
18						✓
19				✓		
20					✓	✓

Rating Sheet

(1)

Transcript number - #3

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3						✓
4	Could be ? 1 or 5 Not sure info					
5					✓	✓
6						✓
7	?					
8						✓
9	Could be 1 or 5					
10						✓
11	Could be 1 or 5					
12						✓
13						✓
14	or maybe 1					✓
15					Some cases ✓ ✓ Argentina & Mexico	
16						✓
17						✓
18						✓
19						✓
20	Could be 1					✓

Rating Sheet

(1)

Transcript number - 3

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1						
2						
3	?					
4	?					
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10	-?					
11						
12						
13						
14	?					
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						

Rating Sheet

①

Transcript number - 3

Stages		1	2	3	4	5
Questions						
1	—					
2	self oriented	✓				
3	happy w/ decision					✓
4	"I"	✓				
5				✓		
6						✓
7	guilt.		✓			
8	concerned					✓
9	content w/ decision					✓
10	not resolved				✓	
11	"I"	✓				
12	- best. fun -					✓
13	pleased w/ decen				✓	✓
14	quit confusion reinhis hobby				✓	
15	hard. ?		✓	✓		
16	majority present	✓	✓	✓		
17	?			✓		
18	not in control			✓		
19	pillb		✓			
20	guilt. eccentric	✓	✓			

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - #4

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1						✓ <i>Satis</i>
2						✓
3						✓ <i>Ch</i>
4					✓ →	
5					✓ →	
6						✓
7					<i>Unsure of the answer</i>	✓ ?
8			✓			
9						✓
10					✓	
11						✓
12						✓ <i>Heads for child</i>
13	?					
14						✓ <i>Heads for child</i>
15						✓
16						✓ <i>Heads for child</i>
17					✓	
18						✓
19						✓
20						✓

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number 4

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1						
2						X
3	decision					X
4	confusion					X
5	choice				X	
6	"					/
7	stages					/
8					X	
9	Willing					X
10	but					X
11	not enough					/
12	INFO					X
13	—					
14	—					
15						X
16						X
17	?					X
18						X
19						X
20						X

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - 44

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	happy					✓
2	"enjoy"					✓
3	decision planned conscientious					✓
4	guilt starting to enter		✗		✓	
5	some ab abstinence there				✓	
6						✓
7	hard but has rewards for them					✓
8	? mainly by central			✓		
9	"I", "I", "I"	✗				✓
10		✗				✓
11	resolved	✓				✓
12						✓
13	—					
14						✓
15	peace harmony					✓
16	happy with trade off's					✓
17				✓		
18	concern for toddler			✓		
19	resourceful					✓
20						✓

Rating Sheet

Victim

(3)

Transcript number #5

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	Sense of obligation "Had to"			✓		
2					↘	
3	Self-class	✓				
4	lot of worry		✓			
5	Sub			✓		
6						✓
7	Very doubtful			✓		
8	Overwhelming			✓	✓	
9			✓			
10				✓		
11			✓	→		
12	Either	✓				✓
13	?					
14	Very self centered	✓				
15			✓			
16				✓		
17		✓	→			
18		✓				
19		✓	→	→		
20				✓		

Rating Sheet

(3)

Transcript number - 5

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	—					
2	?	1		x		
3	?					
4					x	
5		x				
6	choice?					
7	We want			x		
8					x	
9	ask me now				x	
10			x			
11			x			
12					x	
13	—					
14					x	
15			x			
16			x			
17	confusion				x	
18		x				
19	I hope				x	
20						

5

Transcript number - 5

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	job not career	✓				
2	lots of IF statements	✓				
3	it's okay kiddo + job.					✓
4	mutually beneficially				4	✓
5	?			✓		
6						✓
7	dealing w/ biological clock					✓
8	I have to be happy ... kiddo is happy				✓	
9	?	✓		✓		
10	happy issue resolved					✓
11	resolved to situation					✓
12	fun					✓
13						✓
14					✓	✓
15						✓
16		✓				
17					✓	✓
18	I prioritize	✓				
19	sacrifice			✓		
20	I cheat	✓				

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	<i>Don't want to grade</i>					
2	<i>maybe</i>	✓				
3						✓
4		✓				
5		✓				
6					✓	
7					✓	
8				✓		
9			<i>1st time</i> ✓		<i>3rd time</i> ✓	
10					✓	
11					✓	
12					✓	
13					✓	
14				✓ →		
15				✓		
16				✓		
17						✓
18						✓
19					✓	⊗
20				✓ →		

Rating Sheet

(2)

Transcript number - 6

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	—					
2		X				
3		X				
4			X			
5		X				
6	Why Schanes		X			
7	dilemma on a society	X		⊗		
8	tradeoffs		X			
9	Happy now					X
10					X	
11			X			
12						X
13				X		
14			X			
15			X			
16					X	
17						X
18	—					
19					X	
20						

Rating Sheet

3

Transcript number - 6

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	"I"	✓				
2	self orientated	✓				
3					✓	
4	happy w trade off w martyr			✓		✓
5	?		✓			
6	apprehension				✓	
7	"I" new experience !!	✓				
8	martyr dom ??			✓		
9	wordy ?			✓		
10	confessing -		✓		✓	
11	self centered!	✓				
12	"I" ?				✓	
13	anything for her	✓				
14	2 → 4 changes		✓		✓	
15	martyr			✓		
16	shoulds			✓		
17				✓		
18				✓		
19				✓		
20					✓	

Rating Sheet

(1)

Transcript number - #8

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	Decision	✓				✓
2	Could be either	✓				✓
3					✓	
4		✓				
5	Spoiled?	✓				
6		✓				
7		✓				
8		✓				
9		1st ✓	2nd ✓			
10		✓	→	→		
11	"obstacle"	✓	→			✓
12		✓				
13	?					
14		✓				
15	Based on other responses but could be 5 also	✓				✓
16		✓				
17				✓		
18			✓			
19	?					
20					✓	

Rating Sheet

(1)

Transcript number - 8

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	—					
2		X				
3						X
4		X				
5		X				
6				X		
7		X				
8						X
9				X		
10		X				
11						X
12						
13	—					
14		X				
15						X
16		X				
17						X
18						X
19	—					
20						

Rating Sheet

①

Transcript number - 8

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3	kiddo happy I happy				✓	
4		✓				
5		✓				
6		✓				
7		✓				
8				✓		
9		✓			✓	
10	mostly			✓		✓
11	"you message"					✓
12					✓	
13	—					
14		✓				
15	buzzy though					✓
16					✓	
17			✓			
18				✓		
19	—					
20	?		2			

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - #9

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	_____					
2		✓				
3		✓				
4		✓				
5		✓				
6	?					
7		✓				
8		✓				
9	?					
10	?					
11				✓		
12				✓		
13	?					
14						✓
15						✓
16	?					
17					✓ →	
18						✓
19						✓
20	?					

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - 9

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	—					
2		X				
3			X			
4	Control?	X				
5		X				
6	—					
7		X				
8					X	
9	—					
10					X	
11			X			X
12			X			X
13	—					
14						X
15						X
16						X
17						X
18						X
19						X
20						X

Rating Sheet

⑤ | Transcript number - 9

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	me, ego, strong	✓				
2					✓	
3		✓				
4	?					
5		✓				
6	-					
7	?	✓				
8	Exceeds above all			✓		
9	-					
10				✓		
11				✓	→	✓
12						✓
13	-					
14						✓
15						✓
16						✓
17						✓
18						✓
19				✓		
20		✓				

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number #10

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	?					
2	Income	✓				
3	?					
4					✓	
5					✓	
6	?					
7						✓
8					✓	
9		✓				
10		✓ →				✓
11					✓ →	
12						✓
13						✓
14						✓
15	Could be either	✓				✓
16	King ?					
17					✓	
18						✓
19				✓		
20						✓

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number - 10

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	—					
2		X				
3	—					
4						X
5						X
6	—					
7						X
8						X
9	<u>Confusing</u>					
10						X
11						X
12						X
13						X
14						X
15						X
16						X
17						
18						X
19						X
20						X

Rating Sheet

⑤

Transcript number - 10

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3						✓
4					✓	
5	?	✓				✓
6	-					
7						✓
8						✓
9	-					
10						✓
11						✓
12						✓
13						✓
14						✓
15						✓
16		✓				✓
17	quilt		✓			
18					✓	
19						✓
20						✓

Rating Sheet

maybe 5 but... (1) based on responses only

Transcript number - 11

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2	has own interests	✓				
3		✓				
4	interested in child; welfare also					✓
5	Concern 5 → 1 unsure which	✓				✓
6						✓
7	Resp- to her phyp urges	✓				
8	"I don't want to have to miss work"	✓				
9	mentions why he interests	✓				
10	Concern for herself	✓				
11		✓				
12						✓
13	—					
14	—					✓
15		✓				
16	—					
17		✓				
18		✓				
19		✓				
20		✓				

Rating Sheet

①

Transcript number - / /

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3	Cora's about her child but concerned about herself	✓		✓		
4				✓		
5		✓				
6						✓
7		⊖				
8		✓				
9		✓				
10		✓				
11?						
12						✓
13						
14						✓
15		✓				
16						✓
17				✓		✓
18		✓				
19				✓		
..						✓

Rating Sheet

(1)

Transcript number - #11

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	I statements	✓				
2	(may)	✓				
3	I, for me		✓			
4	Some th) choice quilt?					✓
5					✓	
6						✓
7	"I" inspite of husband	✓				
8	transitional quilt		✓		?	
9	stump at 4 (me) then → 5 plan, etc.	✓				?
10	me-all toward me	✓				
11	other oriented toward the end -parents					✓
12	happy balanced					✓
13	?	✓				
14						✓
15	all for me, not child	✓				
16	SKIP ?					
17	resolved the conflict					✓
18	re)		✓			
19	choice - reduced					✓
20	balanced					✓

Rating Sheet

① or ③

③

Transcript number 12

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2	Has to work			✓		
3		✓				
4	Many "shoulds"			✓		
5	Hard to			✓		
6						✓
7		✓				
8		✓				
9				✓		
10					✓	
11		✓				
12		✓				
13				✓		
14						
15		✓				
16		✓				
17	Have to's			✓		
18	—					
19				✓		
20		✓				

Rating Sheet

3

Transcript number - 12

Stages

Questions	1	2	3	4	5
1	✓				
2			✓		
3	✓				
4			✓		
5			✓		
6					✓
7			✓		✓
8	✓				
9					✓
10	✓				
11	✓				
12			✓		
13					✓
14	✓				
15	✓				
16			✓		
17			✓		
18			✓		
19	✓		✓		

Rating Sheet

(1)

Transcript number. 12

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3		✓				
4		✓				
5		✓				
6						✓
7	some plans					✓
8		✓				
9						✓
10						✓
11		✓				
12						✓
13						✓
14						✓
15		✓				
16				✓		
17	the way it is!					✓
18	uneasy					✓
19			✓			
20		✓				

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number - 13

Stages

Questions	1	2	3	4	5
1	✓				
2	✓				
3	✓				
4					✓
5			✓		
6					
7	?				
8	✓				
9	✓		✓		
10			✓		
11					✓
12					✓
13					✓
14					✓
15					✓
16					✓
17					✓
18					✓
19					✓
20					

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number - 13

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3		✓				
4					✓	
5		✓				
6						✓
7		✓				
8		✓				
9		✓				
10		✓				
11						✓
12						✓
13						✓
14	—					
15	—					
16				✓		
17						✓
18						✓
19						✓
--	—					

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - #13

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2	me	✓				
3		✓				
4	self , others					✓
5						✓
6						✓
7	That's the way it is!					✓
8						✓
9						✓
10						✓
11	some doubts					✓
12						✓
13						✓
14						✓
15						✓
16	?					✓
17						✓
18	?					✓
19						✓
20						✓

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number - 15

Stages

Questions	1	2	3	4	5
1	✓				
2					✓
3			✓		
4	✓				
5	✓				
6					✓
7	✓				
8	✓				
9	✓				
10	✓				
11	✓	→	✓	→	✓
12					✓
13			✓		
14			✓		
15					✓
16					✓
17			✓	→	✓
18	✓				
19			✓		
..					✓

Rating Sheet

5

Transcript number - 15

Stages

Questions	1	2	3	4	5
1	✓				
2					✓
3			✓		
4	✓				
5	✓				
6					✓
7	✓		✓		
8			✓		
9		✓			
10					✓
11		✓	✓		
12			✓		
13		✓			
14					✓
15					✓
16					✓
17					✓
18			✓		
19			✓		
--					✓

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - #15

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	"the way it is" no choice	✓				
2		✓				
3				✓		
4	self oriented	✓				
5			✓			
6						✓
7	"we"					✓
8					✓	
9				✓		
10	resolved conflicts					✓
11			✓			
12				✓		
13						✓
14			✓			
15					✓	
16						✓
17				✓		
18						✓
19					✓	
--						

Rating Sheet

① thought uncertain

Transcript number - 16

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3		✓				
4	Had to work			✓		
5	markydom			✓		
6	—					
7		✓				
8		✓				
9		✓				
10				✓		
11				✓ → ✓		
12		✓				
13		✓				
14						✓
15					✓	
16	—					
17		✓				
18	—					
19		✓				
20		✓				

Rating Sheet

①

Transcript number - 16

Stages

Questions	1	2	3	4	5
1	✓				
2	✓				
3	✓				
4	✓				
5			✓		
6	✓				
7	✓				
8	✓				
9	✓				
10	✓		✓		
11			✓		
12	✓				
13	✓				
14					✓
15			✓		
16					✓
17	✓				
18	✓				
19	✓				

Rating Sheet

(1)

Transcript number - 16

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2		✓				
3		✓				
4	confusion?				✓	
5	no choice	✓				
6		✓				
7		✓				
8	conflict - entering		✓			
9	me	✓				
10		✓				
11	superficially = 5	✓				
12	"my" fulfills role as woman	✓				
13	"assert!"	✓				
14	I need					✓
15	uneasy - beginning to cope for others		✓			
16	that's SKIP the way it is					✓
17		✓				
18		✓				
19	confusion	✓				
20	madness			✓		

Rating Sheet

(4)

Transcript number 17

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	Needs to work not enjoying			✓		
2		✓				
3	Had to			✓		
4						
5		✓				
6	No answer					
7						✓
8					✓	
9						✓
10		✓				
11			✓			
12		✓				✓
13						✓
14		✓				
15	?			✓		
16		✓				
17						✓
18	?	✓				
19		✓				
..		✓				

Rating Sheet

Stages

4

Transcript number - 17

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1						
2		1		✓		
3		1				
4						
5		3				
6						
7						
8		3(5)			✓	
9		5				
10		1				
11	6th 1-5	5				
12		5				
13		4				
14		3				
15		3				
16		1				
17		5				
18		1				
19		1				

Rating Sheet

(4)

Transcript number - #17

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	me oriented	✓				
2	alone time	✓				
3	"F, F, I"	✓				
4	skip					
5	maybe done			✓		
6	?	✓				
7				✓		
8	concerned about kids					✓
9	conscious choice					✓
10	focused on self	✓				
11					✓	
12	trade offs r all set					✓
13				✓		
14	?		✓			
15				✓		
16	me oriented response	✓				
17	"good"					✓
18		✓				
19		✓				
--				✓		

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - 19

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1	all involved about Cancer	✓				
2	moved from 1 → 5, now concerned - family					✓
3					✓	
4	clearly has expressed - stages 1-3					✓
5	—					
6						✓
7						✓
8					✓	
9						✓
10	Moving over time			✓ → ✓ →		✓ (circled)
11	—					
12						✓
13						✓
14						✓
15						✓
16	—					
17				✓ →		✓
18				✓		
19				✓		
20						

Rating Sheet

(5)

Transcript number - 19

Stages

Questions		1	2	3	4	5
1		✓				
2						
3				✓		✓
4						✓
5						✓
6						✓
7						✓
8					✓	
9						✓
10						✓
11						✓
12						✓
13				✓		
14						✓
15						✓
16						✓
17						✓
18					✓	
19					✓	
20						

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