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THE DUAL ROLE OF SINGLE PARENT AND PROFESSIONAL: A STUDY OF
GENDER ISSUES AND THE WORK-FAMILY ROLE

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THE DUAL ROLE OF SINGLE PARENT AND PROFESSIONAL:

A STUDY OF GENDER ISSUES AND THE

WORK-FAMILY ROLE

by

Gwenneva Simmons

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APPROVAL PAGE

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This participant hermeneutic study focused on the role

interaction between work and family responsibilities when

one person fulfills the dual role of parent and worker.

Three questions were of primary interest: (a) To what

degree and in what ways do the role of parent and occupa-

tional worker conflict? (b) Is role conflict between that

of parent and worker perceived and experienced differently

by male and female? (c) In what ways and to what degree

does social learning influence role conflict between home

and nonhome roles?

Part of this study involved an analysis of related role

conflict studies. To gain further insight, 4 single parents,

2 males and 2 females, shared their "story" of dual role

enactment in an informal interview. The content of these

interviews was analyzed individually and collectively.

These four persons and other studies indicate that time and

energy demands are role strain factors common to anyone,

male or female, enacting the dual role of work and family.

The degree of role strain and whether it is continuous or

discontinuous seems to depend greatly on the number of

children and their ages and the amount of outside assistance

available. Economic status, job schedule flexibility, and

availability of emotional support were other contributing

factors in the degree of role conflict experienced by these

four persons. Demands on time and energy may be identical and yet be perceived differently by individuals, male and female. The difference in perception does not seem to be only gender, but a matter of social acceptance of gender-based behavior.

This study suggested that potentially women experience greater work-family role strain than do men because typically in the work world they hold subordinate, lower paying, powerless jobs; notwithstanding, they tend to feel personally responsible for efficient management; moreover, society expects females to value nurturance over achievement.

Implications for changes in industry such as flex-time, day care, and job-sharing were noted. Educational recommendations include the development of critical thinking and dialogue on the current status of men and women and a dialogical "problem-solving" educational methodology for the development of an appropriate social vision.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Background

Participation in work and family responsibilities
represent two major social roles of the basic structure of
adult life experience. To the degree that work and family
responsibilities present contradictory demands on us simul-
taneously they can be said to be in "conflict" with each
other. These roles "whose expectations are in some partic-
ulars inconsistent" (Getzels & Guba, 1954, p. 166) can be
the source of stress or tension for individuals fulfilling
the dual role of both worker outside the home and parent.

Juggling of a sort is necessary to meet the demands of
these roles. Competing demands often require that one role
be neglected in the interest of the other. Since both of
these roles, occupational worker and parent, are salient,
the possibility that competing role demands will occur
increases. Therefore, interrole conflict between work and
family responsibilities appears to be a common human exper-
ience.

The focus of this study is the role interaction between
work and family when one person fulfills the dual role of
parent and worker outside the home. I am particularly
interested in the relationships between competing role

demands and issues of gender. Role or interrole conflict has been defined as that which occurs "when one person is required to fill simultaneously two or more roles that present inconsistent, contradictory or even mutually exclusive expectations" (Getzels & Guba, 1954, p. 164). It is this "conflict" between the roles of worker and parent which will give direction to this study.

In my use of the word conflict, I wish only to imply that a dilemma is present and choices must be made when the demands of work and family are such that both role demands cannot be met simultaneously. Words with negative connotations such as strain, stress, overload, tension, and conflict are often limited in their usefulness. The use of such negative words in reference to role interaction may imply that role or interrole conflict is an either/or situation and that the absence of conflict is "positive" and the presence of conflict is "negative." The use of such negative words in connection with fulfilling dual social roles might imply that if a person is not in a dual role conflict, stress, or strain will not exist. Although conflict and stress are negative in the sense that they sometimes represent unpleasant feelings, and perhaps undesirable choices, this does not preclude the potentially positive aspect of such a dilemma. For the purposes of this study role conflict is not viewed as dichotomous. It is neither negative nor positive but is a human phenomenon with potential for either.

Dr. Hans Selye, a leading medical authority on stress, has insisted that any normal activity "can produce considerable stress without causing harmful effects" (Selye, 1974, p. 18) and that the only way to avoid stress is to do nothing. "Complete freedom from stress is death" (p. 20). Dr. Selye has made a distinction between stress which is useful and productive and "distress" which is damaging to one's health. Yet, we have a tendency to believe that stress or conflict is in-and-of itself negative without recognizing the "flip side of the coin" might be potentially positive. Both the negative and the positive are acknowledged in a research participant's response to an inquiry about the "problems" in role interactions of professional couples: "My experience is that the [professional pair] situation is helpful and stimulating in many more ways than it is inhibiting or difficult" (Heckman, Bryson, & Bryson, 1977, p. 329).

Newspapers, periodicals, professional journals, and popular magazines are constantly reminding us of the rapid changes in the family structure and social values. The U.S. Census Bureau which is charged with following such changes and trends in our society is making necessary modifications to its concepts about families. Bernard (1981b) quoted Rawlings (1980, p. 1) as saying that the Bureau is moving toward "the elimination of terminology such as 'head of household' and 'head of family' recognizing that many households and families are no longer organized in accordance with

autocratic principles" (Bernard, 1981b, p. 5). In more and more families, females are either sharing or assuming totally the provider role. Nonemployed wives and mothers are now a statistical minority.

Using the Employment and Training Report of the President (1980) as a source, Bernard reported that in 1979 the proportion of mothers with school-age children reached 59.1% and this figure "was projected to rise to 70.1 percent by 1990" (Bernard, 1981b, p. 5, quoting Smith, 1979a, p. 14). This increase in the number of mothers in the labor force has not been accompanied by any change in the females' responsibilities in the domestic realm and for child care.

> There is increasing concern about the costs to women of their double burden and more and more discussion of ways to mitigate them, including not only such items as flextime, parental leave, industry-support child care facilities and the like, but also more sharing of domestic services and parenting by fathers. Who Will Raise the Children? (Levine, 1976) is no longer an idle question. The answer matters not only to science but also to mothers, fathers, and to children. (Bernard, 1981b, p. 5)

These social circumstances, with the increase in roles overlapping, suggest a need for seeking avenues to make participation in work and family responsibilities "less conflictual." Research in this area could provide additional insight into the "forces which produce interrole conflict as well as factors that contribute to the successful management of that conflict" (Beutell & Greenhaus, 1982, p. 99).

A Selected Review of the Literature

Heckman, Bryson, and Bryson (1977) reported that "inevitably, family and career tend to intrude on each other" (p. 327). In their study of 200 professional couples, almost as many men commented on career versus family conflicts as did women. Richardson (1981) said that "role conflict is a condition of role enactment resulting from and experienced by those combining roles" (p. 18). Role conflict does not appear to be a gender-based experience.

Males balance the "benefits" of a promotion which involves a household move against the "cost" of removing a graduating senior daughter from her school. In very much the same way, females decide if an occupational advancement is worth the costs of being away from their families more. This "benefits versus costs" dilemma between work and family appears to be a common human experience for males and females participating in the dual role of worker and parent. It does not appear to be unique to the female adult life experience. Yet, a selected review of the role conflict literature has revealed an absence in that literature of the study of men experiencing conflict or stress due to their overlapping roles of work and family.

The preponderance of the role conflict literature examines the manner in which professional females enact the dual role of work and family. Beutell and Greenhaus (1982), Garland (1972), Gray (1983), Heckman, Bryson, and Bryson

(1977), Poloma (1972), and Rapoport and Rapoport (1972) focus on the married female professional. The reported presence of conflict varied. The amount of conflict experienced by these women seemed to be related to the degree of salience of their career. However, all the studies noted the felt impact of competing role demands in time and energy on the female as a common experience. Although the husbands' information was included in some of these studies, the focus of the research was on the male's response to the female's enactment of the dual role of family member and professional. There were no questions addressed to the men in these studies as to how they personally integrated their work and family responsibilities.

O'Leary (1976) and Stein and Bailey (1976) explored the female response to occupational settings, focusing on the achievement orientations and barriers to occupational advancement of women. Variables indicating the multiplicity and competing role demands from family and work on women constituted factors which were repeatedly reported in these studies. "Women, because they often must bear primary responsibility for the home and children are more likely than men to face competing demands of their role senders simultaneously" (O'Leary, 1976, p. 327).

By and large, any study of men concerning the overlapping roles of work and family has been to examine their reaction to wives or females in general working outside the

home. "Studies of occupational or job commitment in men generally have ignored possible interactions with family role" (Richardson, 1981, p. 14). Bernard (1976, 1978, 1981a, 1981b), Epstein (1970), Gove (1972, 1980a, 1980b), Janeway (1971), Kanter (1977), and Richardson (1981) in studies of institutional structure and social values pertaining to work and family and their impact on individuals substantiated the commonality of work-family role strain or conflict experienced by females participating in these two realms. Their research and others "indicate that women in comparison to men, are unduly burdened by work in both occupational and family roles" (Richardson, 1981, p. 15). They are in agreement with O'Leary (1976) in her reference to the "double bind" of women in that women are "unable to optimally fulfill the role requirement for the more socially desirable achieving individual and those for the ideal woman simultaneously" (pp. 326-327).

The literature on role conflict has suggested an almost exclusive concern for the female's enactment of the dual role of family member and occupational worker and her attempt to care for her family at the same time she functions in the world of work. The exclusion of the study of males in a dual role has suggested that males are in a different situation even though they, too, participate in both the world of work and family. Is the dual role of family member and worker outside the home more problematic for females than for males?

If so, why? Do men and women encounter adult role conflict between work and family from different perspectives? If so, are the male and female perceptual differences real or imagined? To what degree are these the result of biological, sociological, or anthropological factors?

Some of the research on role conflict has utilized a "deficit or pathological" model. The underlying assumption for this type of research has been that "Women who seek an independent identity outside the home are deviant by the standards of what is normal in the society" (Epstein, 1970, p. 131). It is assumed further, therefore, she will not be able to function normally in a dual role. The implication is that to function well in one role excludes well-being in the other. In this sense, problems tend to be sought by researchers. Heckman, Bryson, and Bryson's questionnaire asked for problems related to being in a professional, dual-career couple. Poloma's report involved the "combining of a deviant and conventional option." This has been even more true when single female parents have been studied (Keith & Schafer, 1982; Orthner, Brown, & Ferguson, 1976). The under-lying assumption has been that this life style is different and, therefore, inadequate. The cultural implication that some action or situation is "not normal" tends to have a self-fulfilling prophecy effect to make that which is implied somehow true in the forthcoming research results.

The limitations of various research models have been addressed to some degree by Yogev (1983). She has indicated, as have Richardson and Bernard, that role conflict perceptions--like social values and family structure--are in a state of flux and change. "The prevalent view of professional and working women in the 1960s was negative, while the contemporary view of the 1970s tends to be more positive" (Yogev, 1983, p. 220). In the 60s, it seemed that women and researchers tended to view home and nonhome roles as mutually exclusive. The home role associated with femininity and the nonhome role with masculinity. Women in the 1960s, who chose a career, to a large degree thought that choice eliminated spouse and parenting roles and vice versa. The 1970s found more women in the paid labor force and a change in societal attitudes as to the feasibility of combining home and nonhome roles. Yogev, Bernard, Beutell and Greenhaus, Gray, and Richardson have suggested that it is time to explore successful resolution rather than just the antecedents and consequences of role conflict.

Research already mentioned has indicated that the additional demands made on the time and energy of females enacting the dual role of worker and parent are factors in the work-family role strain experienced. Bernard (1976) and Gove (1972) connected the high rates of mental illness in married women to the competing role demands of work and family. At the same time, they have emphasized that the dynamics of

role conflict are more complex than simply the addition or accumulation of roles.

Role accumulation as the only reason for role strain in females would imply that to drop a role would eliminate strain, conflict, and/or mental anguish. Gove, pointing to the large number of nonemployed housewives experiencing psychological difficulties, supported his thesis that the lack of multiple social roles does not necessarily reduce mental anguish in females. Bernard (1976) referred to the mental health of housewives as "Public Health Problem Number One" (p. 19). Scanzoni and Fox (1980), in agreement with Gove and Bernard, pointed also to the marriage state rather than the work role as potentially a key factor in women's physical and mental health.

> Comparison of married men and women, regardless of women's employment status, have consistently shown men to be advantaged regarding morbidity, mental health, depression, and various measures of life satisfaction. (Scanzoni & Fox, 1980, p. 75)

The employed woman as a social problem has dominated the studies of work and family role strain up to the present time. It has been indicated that this focus is too narrow.

> A growing body of evidence suggests that unemployment for women may be a bigger problem. Working women are healthier, showing more self-acceptance, satisfaction with life, greater freedom from emotional disturbances, and fewer physical symptoms. (Kanter, 1977, p. 61, citing Feld, 1963)

Tavris and Offir (1977) described woman's dilemma as being caught in a "double bind" or "catch 22" situation:

If she chooses to remain at home, she is susceptible to the "housewife syndrome--feelings of depression and incompetence, and psychosomatic ailments such as insomnia and stomach aches" (p. 226). On the other hand, if she chooses to work outside the home, she is subject to the "working wife" syn-- drome. She will be adding a work role to her family respon- sibilities which will make additional demands on her time and energy resulting in exhaustion, nervous tension, and gen- erally no leisure or social activities. The point seems to be that the fulfillment of the dual role of parent and worker is difficult, in that time and energy are limited; however, the absence of one of these roles does not guarantee the psychological well-being of the female with family responsi- bilities.

In addition to the competing demands on time and energy, the intensity of a career woman's work-family role strain seems to be related to the felt presence or absence of choice in matters of dual role fulfillment and the inconsistency of role expectations. The expressed desire of some women in the dual role capacity is to be afforded similar support to that received by men in their dual role fulfillment.

> I resent the freedom my husband has to give himself fully to his career, to travel to conventions, while I feel more bound to the nest. I do not, however, resent the nest, merely the inequalities of role designation. I like what I do, but resent the fact that I have little choice about it. When the children were small, I cared for them; my husband, on the other hand, "baby sat." Perhaps, that is the essence. (Heckman, Bryson, & Bryson, 1977, p. 328)

In Heckman, Bryson, and Bryson's study, as in Poloma's,
traditional views of woman's roles served in many of the
families to "subordinate" the wife's career to that of her
husband's. Another woman reported:

> In spite of his enthusiasm for my professional develop-
> ment, I have been completely responsible for child care
> and regular domestic-type things. I consider this to
> have been a major detriment to my career--I do not
> object strongly to having these responsibilities, but
> in viewing my husband's attitude toward my professional
> life I find it difficult to live up to his expectations
> in both areas. (Heckman, Bryson, & Bryson, 1977, p. 328)

For the female whose family is of prime interest, role
strain per se would be reduced or perhaps even the idea of
"role conflict" would seem an absurd notion. Work would
simply be an additional activity "added on" to her family
responsibilities and would have no loyalty "tug" of its own.
The female who aspires to a professional career and also a
family is more typical now than in the sixties when women
felt they had an either/or choice, marriage or career (Yogev,
1983). This female with two loyalties is in a more poten-
tially conflictual situation. To succeed in one means not
to succeed in the other.

> It stems not simply from participation in two different
> activity systems whose claims on time allocations are
> incompatible, (but) derives from the fact that the
> values underlying these demands are contradictory:
> professional women are expected to be committed to their
> work "just like men" at the same time as they are
> normatively required to give priority to their family.
> (Yogev, 1983, p. 222, citing Coser & Rokoff, 1971, p. 535)

Status is defined as the social position assigned to an individual based on a collection of rights and duties. Linton distinguishes between ascribed and achieved status:

> Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. They can be predicted and trained for from the moment of birth. The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities. . . . They are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort. (Linton, 1936, p. 158)

In all societies, certain characteristics, ascertainable at birth, are selected as reference points for status by ascription. The culture determines which characteristics are selected. Some universally chosen ones are sex, race, age, and family relationships. Once a series of these reference points are chosen by a culture for purposes of ascription of status, they can be taken to serve to delimit the field of an individual's future participation in that culture. "The majority of the statuses in all social systems are of the ascribed type and those which take care of the ordinary day-to-day business of living are practically always of this type" (Linton, 1936, p. 158).

The achieved statuses in a society allow for personal choice and effort. Typically achieved statuses are those in the occupational world for which one is financially rewarded. These are said to reflect an individual's innate ability, his or her achievement level, and personal decision. Achievement statuses are hierarchical; "climbing the ladder of success" implies upward movement to a higher achieved status.

The higher achieved statuses are the more prestigious and
usually the more economically rewarding ones in a society.
The ideal is to allow people to be positioned according to
ability and desire. The implication is that anyone can "be"
what he or she desires to be, if one works hard enough. In
reality, achieved statuses are associated with ascribed
statuses in our society. Nursing, social work, and elemen-
tary school teaching professions are seen as appropriate
occupations for the female. Law, medicine, the ministry,
and architecture are sex-typed as male professions (Epstein,
1970, p. 153). Personal choice and achievement tend to be
constrained or encouraged by the ascribed status even when
the ideal of achieved status is that possibilities for
achievement are limited only by one's ability to earn it.
For the individual who does not have an equal chance for
development and employment of such talents, psychic insecur-
ity may be the result.

In an ascribed status of "nurturer," the female in
American society is trained in the expressive functions for
society's survival and is encouraged to develop concern for
others. In an ascribed status of "provider" a male is trained
in the instrumental functions to ensure society's produc-
tivity. Bales (1950) in his study of small-group behavior
distinguished between these two types of functions. He
defined expressive behavior:

> showing solidarity, raising the status of others,
> giving help, rewarding, agreeing, concurring, comply-
> ing, understanding, passively accepting. . . .
> These are the kinds of behavior that keep a group
> at peace in contrast to 'instrumental' behavior which
> keeps it at work [underlining Bernard's]. (Bernard,
> 1981a, p. 502 citing Bales)

The expressive and the instrumental behavior are pre-
sumably possible in either males or females (Bem, 1976),
though one is more permissible in the female world and the
other in the male. Since the achieved statuses of our
society are in the "male world," the female's ascribed status
imposed at birth tends to interfere with the attainment of
achieved statuses. The instrumental, not the expressive,
tends to be the behavioral standard of the economic world.
This would seem to influence the dual role fulfillment of
females participating in both the worlds of work and family.

The age at which a woman becomes a mother "is almost a
determinative of all the rest of her life" (Bernard, 1981a,
pp. 165-166). Epstein (1970) argued that "the American
woman faces her major impediment to a career in obligation
she has or feels as a result of her statuses as wife and
mother" (p. 117). While doing research investigation of
females in educational administrative positions, Schmuck
et al. (1981) found that conflict between the family role
versus career was mentioned more than any other strain or
stress. One principal summarized the feelings of other
respondents in this study when she said, "We are not being
fair to young women by telling them that they can do what

homemakers do and have a career besides. It is a physical impossibility" (p. 191). One of Poloma's (1972) respondents, a female physician, mentioned overcoming a "big hurdle" when she accepted the idea that compromise was necessary and that she could not be the "best" doctor and the "best" family member at the same time (p. 194).

Jessie Bernard (1978) in sharing her role juggling of motherhood and a career expressed the importance of work and parenting by saying: "I do not believe that a woman must belie the 'female culture' of home and family in order to validate her professional identity or pay for one identity by denying the other" (p. 323). Bernard's strong ties to her career and its close affiliation to her role of mother were reflected in titling the chapter in her autobiographical book related to her professional work, "My Other Child." Yet in a statement concerning the conflicting demands between her roles of mother and professional sociologist, Bernard suggested the difficulty in maintaining a comfortable balance between the roles: "I deserted my own family to talk to other people about families" (pp. 250-251).

Role conflict, as a human phenomenon, encompasses both a public and private aspect. There is an external input of societal values and structure and an internal (intrapsychic) input from the individual who finds himself or herself in roles demanding more than his or her energy level or time permit, given current structures. Both of these aspects of

role conflict are worthy of exploration. Time spent outside the home decreases the amount of energy and time one has for family responsibilities. Most work settings are structured around the assumption that home responsibilities, especially child care, "will be accomplished by a full-time wife" (Keith & Schafer, 1982, p. 50). When external and internal aspects of interrole conflict are addressed, the issue becomes very complex.

The literature has revealed that work-family strain is often relieved by the female leaving the world of work for a time. This happens even in dual-career families where both husband and wife are in "professions" which require long periods of specialized education and/or training. Rapoport and Rapoport (1972) found that since the parental role is "irrevocable" the professional couples in their study accepted the "inevitable" that women have to bear the brunt of child care and domestic organization (p. 236). For this reason, Poloma (1972) felt that women do not (although working in professions alongside men) "have careers in the same sense as their male counterparts" (p. 189). These studies and Garland's (1972) have reflected the male's salient role of work. Females in these studies, when forced to prioritize, placed family first and tended to leave the occupational world to relieve their work-family strain.

Poloma, in her study of professional women, felt that "from a structural point of view a considerable degree

of role strain is inevitable between woman's 'professional' and 'home' roles" (p. 196). Yet, in the analysis of her study, she felt that "role conflict among professionally employed married women is neither widespread nor very severe" because "when a conflict-ridden situation does occur, the woman's list of priorities with its salient role comes to the rescue to alleviate the problem." The assertion of the women in this study "is strong that in light of our contemporary social structure, the family must come first for a woman" (p. 197). This seems to suggest that if the professional women of Poloma's study did not have the option to "dropout" of the occupational role, the potential for severe role conflict would exist.

The overall suggestion of Poloma's, Garland's, and Rapoport and Rapoport's studies is that it is "ok" for women to work as long as it does not impose new cultural norms on the male within the family institution. In other words, she can work as long as the home support system for the male worker and his children is maintained. Pinar (1983) emphasized the slowly changing social structures and the even more slowly changing cultural norms of society, especially for males: "The conversation of Father may change but not his position at the dinner table" (p. 27).

As already stated the role conflict literature has indicated that work-family role strain is much more prob-lematic for females than it is for males. Scarf (1980)

reported that women with depressive disorders outnumber men
in some studies as much as six to one; in all studies married
women outnumber married men in treatment for psychological
disorders. Gove (1972) and Bernard (1976) believe that the
higher rates of mental illness among women is not because
they are women, and therefore "weak," but because of the con-
flicting role demands placed on women. Scarf observed a
difference in the source of depression in males and females.

> It is around attachment issues, more than any other
> sorts of issues, that depressive episodes in women
> tend to emerge. . . . For men, the depressive motifs
> frequently have to do with work issues, status and
> success difficulties, with "making it" out there in
> the world at large. (Scarf, 1980, pp. 95-96)

Scarf spoke of women "being for others" and men, dif-
fering, "being for self." In agreement with Scarf, Chodorow
(1978) argued that female primary caretakers are experienced
by male and female children differently. The male personal-
ity develops in terms of being different from the female
mother and in denial of relation and connection, while the
female personality develops in attachment and intimacy with
the mother who is "like" herself. Because of this differ-
ence in their worlds, males develop a "positional rights
social orientation" and females develop a "personal respon-
sibility social orientation." The males tend to view situa-
tions in a very linear, hierarchical fashion--valuing separa-
tion from others and independent action; while the females'
personal responsibility view is very global, nonlinear, and

includes a web of relationships; connection, communion, and intimacy are valued.

David Bakan (1966) in The Duality of Human Existence termed the male constellation of feelings, behaviors, thought pattern, actions, and reactions as "agentic" or agency oriented. He termed the female pattern "communal" or integration oriented. Agency is important to the survival of an individual and communion is important to the survival of the group and the participation of the individual in the larger relationship. "The aim of agency is the reduction of tension, whereas the aim of communion is union" (p. 141).

Whether we refer to it as "being for self" (Scarf) or "positional rights" social orientation (Chodorow) or "agentic" (Bakan), that which is recognized as the "masculine" constellation of behavior, thoughts, and feelings manifests itself in American society as self-assertion, mastery and competition by separateness, isolation, aloneness, repression of feelings and intuition. Females are, by and large, allotted through their social learning the "being for others" (Scarf) or "personal responsibility" (Chodorow) or "communal" (Bakan) orientation which manifests itself in communion with others, unity, intimacy, noncontractual cooperation, openness to creative thought, and expression of feelings.

These differing social orientations, males valuing separation and females valuing attachment, have implication for

role conflict between work and family for males and females
to be very different--a difference which is real, not imagined
or simply exaggerated by research studies. "Men sometimes
change their lives more by changing work roles--job, com-
panies, locations--than they or their wives would do by
divorce and remarriage" (Janeway, 1971, p. 223). This coin-
cides with the emphasis our society places on the importance
of work for "men" and family for "women." Orientation to
work and family begins early in life. Epstein (1970) sug-
gested that girls are offered job skills with the idea that
they may need them if they fail in their goals of wife and
mother. Boys are expected to train with a specific job goal
in mind. Men are expected to put demands of their work
first unless the needs of the family reach crisis proportion.
Women are taught that family comes first. A man's masculine
identity is related to his performance in the occupational
world. Very much a part of what it means to be feminine is
tied to family relationships.

Indeed the term role conflict may be a metaphor for
these differing social orientations--male "positional rights"
and the female "personal responsibility" orientation. Men,
in viewing the demands of both work and parenting from a
positional rights stance, would be concerned with what is
objectively fair and rational. For males it would not be
necessary to "do" anything as long as "not doing" ensured
the rights and position of others involved. Prioritizing

role demands from this perspective would be more clear cut;
one or the other role, for whatever reason, would receive
priority. There would be no compelling notion that all
demands must be met—demonstrating a felt separateness.
Women, on the other hand, from a personal responsibility
perspective, would feel compelled to "do" something to ensure
that others are cared for—demonstrating a felt union.

> Women who choose careers react to the cultural expec-
> tations of femininity by trying to prove themselves
> in all spheres. They accept the role expectations
> attached to their female status, feeling that to lack
> any is to deny that they are feminine. (Epstein,
> 1970, p. 32)

Women would be concerned with any acts of omission as well
as commission. They would focus on the limitations of any
particular resolution rather than on the "rightness" of any
resolution. This difference in social orientation could
potentially intensify role conflict for females.

Focus and Significance of this Study

Society has permitted women to enter the work force
or "add" a job to their other job, the family. Even during
times when women entered the work force in large numbers to
replace men involved in the defense of our country, family
responsibilities remained in the hands of women. Recent
changes in societal structure mean "women now clean the
streets, not that men now clean the house" (Tavris & Offir,
p. 230). A married mother in the labor force tends to have
two jobs, family and work. "Women who aspire to a career

do not substitute the work role for the more traditional wife-mother-homemaker one but choose an additional one" (O'Leary, 1976, p. 329 citing Turner, 1964). The married father traditionally has only one job, his work. Wives or females with children do not have a "wife" to support their commitment to a job by relieving them of family responsibilities. Husbands are expected to make sacrifices in devotion to their career. Wives are expected to sacrifice in devotion to their family, which includes husband and his career. Society supports the male in a career while it tends to permit the female to have one, if she can "juggle" the two jobs and survive society's negative labeling and challenge to her femininity. "Our society tells her to put family first and any woman who disagrees has to fight the pattern and face the consequences of playing something of a negative, therefore unpleasant role" (Janeway, 1971, p. 186). Our language indicates support of the male, not the female, in the world of work. Otherwise, why do we use the term career women and not career men? Implied in that usage is a "suggested pretentiousness or hard-boiled insensitivity and rejection of femininity" (Bernard, 1981b, p. 5 citing Helsen, 1972, p. 36).

Men's sexual role and occupational role are synonymous; working and loving men are expected to be autonomous, assertive, and achievement oriented. Women's sexual and family roles demand a different set of characteristics than does

the work world. In the role of wife and mother, women are
expected to be affectionate, unselfish, others-first oriented,
compassionate, and relatively passive. These characteristics
tend not to be the ones rewarded in the world of work. These
gender differences and society's response to them have the
potential to intensify role conflict for females trying to
balance a career and family.

The dilemma of a woman who desired to enact the dual
role of wife and/or parent and professional simultaneously
was vividly pointed out some 37 years ago by sociologist
Mirra Komarovsky.

> The goals set by each role are mutually exclusive,
> and the fundamental personality traits each evokes
> are at points diametrically opposed, so that what are
> assets for one become liabilities for the other, and
> the full realization of one role threatens defeat in
> the other. (Komarovsky, 1946, p. 24)

This dilemma with its structural implications remains a
factor in role conflict for women enacting the dual role of
parent and worker outside the home today. Occupational
achievement and the meeting of family responsibilities,
which implies femininity, are still largely viewed as "two
desirable but mutually exclusive ends. . . . Women face
negative consequences not only in failing but also in suc-
ceeding" (Yogev, 1983, p. 223 citing Horner, 1972, p. 65).

The need for further exploration of this aspect of
work-family strain increases as more and more women enter
the paid labor force in America. The U.S. Bureau of Labor

Statistics, 1981, reported 58.3% of American women are now participants in the labor force. The number of women working with children under 6 years of age has continually increased: 18.6% of married women with children under 6 participated in the labor market in 1960; the figure for 1970 was 30.3%; it was 47.8% in 1981. For divorced women with children under 6, the figure is even higher; the 1981 statistics revealed 65.4% of these women working. The total number of working divorced or separated mothers of children under 18 was 3.4 million in 1981; if we add employed married women with children under 18 to that figure, the number of women working with children under 18 in 1981 is 17.4 million. Another 14.9 million women without children under 18 were also in the labor force that year (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1982-83, p. 382).

In view of the societal changes in the familial structure and the increased participation of females with young children in the labor force, it seems that researchers across the spectrum of disciplines would be interested in the relationship of gender to role conflict between work and family. A major social change in recent years has been the growing phenomenon of single parenthood. Glick (1979) as reported by Wood (1982) projected that, if divorce rate stabilizes at its current level, one-third of all American children under 18 will live with a divorced-single parent by 1990 (Wood, p. 6). The statistics quoted above indicated 3.4 million

separated or divorced working mothers with children under 18 in 1981. This number excludes the growing number of single fathers who have full custodial care of their children. Single father parenthood is definitely on the increase as changing social structures challenge traditional views that "masculinity" and "parenthood" are mutually exclusive. Orthner, Brown, and Ferguson (1976) and Rosenthal and Keshet (1981) indicated that the best estimate is that 10% of the single parent families are headed by a male. Although single fathers with responsibility for their children's care are still very much in the minority at this time, their number is rapidly increasing. This social phenomenon is noted with the burgeoning research on "fathering," and in the change in focus of such research. Most of us presently have in our social network either a single parent father or at least have knowledge of one such person.

Statistics on divorced or widowed men indicate they tend to remarry quickly; the majority remarry within three years. Gove (1972), Bernard (1976), and Scarf, using their own research and others, have pointed out that marriage serves men differently than it does women; married men are physically and mentally in better health than single men whereas the reverse is true for women. "Single women are considerably happier than single men, and their mental health appears to be less impaired by their single status" (Gove, 1972, quoted Bradburn & Caplovitz, 1965, p. 13;

Gurin et al., 1960, pp. 233-234). Single mothers are more satisfied in their worker role than are married mothers (Harrison & Minor, 1982, p. 354). Much has already been said about married women and mental illness and its relationship to competing role demands.

Conclusion

Given these data, it would seem that the single father with full custodial care of his children would have equally as much role strain, if not more than, the single mother with primary care for her children. Neither of them while working outside the home would have a "wife" to take care of home responsibilities. Therefore, it seems their viewpoint while actually managing the dual work-family strain would be invaluable in the search for additional insight into gender differences in perspective and their impact on successful management of role conflict.

As one aspect of this general phenomenon, I have chosen to study issues related to single, custodial parents, male and female, who are currently experiencing work-family role conflict while enacting the dual role of occupational worker and parent. Role conflict definitely seems to be more problematic for females and an acceptable resolution to work-family strain is often for the female to "dropout" of the work force until family responsibilities are lessened. This type of resolution prohibits exploration of adaptation to role

conflict and precludes study of factors which encourage the maintenance of a comfortable balance between the competing role demands of occupation worker and parent. It seems that both male and female single parents, for the most part, would of necessity have to seek ways to "juggle" the roles of parent and worker outside the home because the option to drop out of the work force would not be a viable option for most, regardless of any personal desire to do so. This uniqueness would allow exploration of the influence of family and work structures on making role fulfillment more or less difficult. At the same time the external factors of structure are considered, the personal factors, especially those related to gender difference in social learning and their impact on role conflict management, could be explored. "Problems and solutions do not lie in the hands of individuals alone" (Kanter, 1977, Preface).

Several themes inform the direction of this dissertation: that men and women do approach life with differing social orientations--men with a "positional rights" and women with a "personal responsibility" orientation; that there are "benefits and costs" to both males and females for such an allocation by our sex-gender system; that society does allocate to the female the role of family nurturer and to the male the role of economic provider; that society supports the male in a career and tends not to support the female; that if a female works outside the home,

she tends to have two jobs while the male has only one;
that societal allocation of "feminine" characteristics to the
female makes her "at risk" in the masculine world--she is
consistently taught one set of behaviors and judged by a
different set; that for any change to occur in the current
role conflict dilemma of men and women the structure of the
family and work must allow for it; indeed, they must provide
for it to happen. These concerns could drastically influ-
ence differences in male and female perception of any con-
flict between the roles of work and family.

In the study of this topic, I am not anticipating answers
per se; additional and deeper insight into this human phenom-
enon are desired. I realize that physical sex characteris-
tics and our perceptions of our own body do influence the
development of our personalities; yet, I believe that the
greater impact on our constellation of behaviors, thoughts,
and feelings comes from others' reaction to our gender. Yet,
to explore just the gender differences in social learning
without examining the impact of social structure would be
amiss. I believe Kanter is correct in her analysis of
institutional structures and their impact on an individual's
behavior. The structures of our institutions of work and
family and positions within them create behaviors which may
be classified as "masculine" or "feminine" and have nothing
to do with the gender of the person holding the position.

The amount of power one has, the degree of opportunity for promotion, and the number of other persons like oneself could determine to a large degree behaviors exhibited in the work world (Kanter, 1977). Recognizing the complexity of the topic and the absence of answers per se, I am interested in how single fathers and mothers actually involved in the dual role of parent and occupational worker make meaning of their experiences.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Gender Differences

> Man for the field and woman for the
>   hearth:
> Man for the sword and for the needle
>   she:
> Man with the head and woman with the
>   heart:
> Man to command and woman to obey;
> All else confusion.
>   (Alfred Tennyson, The Princess, 1847)

To the degree that sex-role assignments or ascribed

statuses provide stability and security in a society they

can be useful. When human potentialities are severely

restricted by sex stereotypes they can be harmful.

Bakan (1966) and Macdonald (1981) have noted that the

current sex-gender system of our society has been restrictive

of the development of both males' and females' full humanity.

The Women's Movement in recent years has made us more aware

of some of these gender limitations.

> As women, we have become aware of the fact that we
> are afraid to express our anger, to assert our pref-
> erences, to trust our own judgment, to take control of
> situations. As men, we have become aware of the fact
> that we are afraid to cry, to touch one another, to
> own-up to our fears and weaknesses. (Bem, 1976, p. 50)

These gender differences and possible differences in percep-

tion and management of interrole conflict between work and

family seem to be related to what has been called the issue

of male hegemony in our society. Differences in most instances involve "a factor of inequality--inequality of many kinds of resources, but fundamentally of status and power" (Miller, 1976, p. 3).

The Founding Fathers of our Nation declared "all men are created equal." Yet, the historical situation and the legal statutes which followed clearly indicated "all men" did not include all males, and certainly not females. Serious efforts to change our sex-gender system to a more egalitarian one have persisted since the early days of our country's existence. In 1848, angered by their exclusion from an Anti-Slavery Convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized women in Seneca Falls, New York, to seek recognition of the fact that "men and women are created equal." Some 200 years after the origin of our Nation race, sex, economic status, or creed can not be used to deny any citizen the right to vote or hold office. Yet, through-out these years the legal status of women has differed from that of men. "Men and women have never shared power, priv-ilege, and status on an equal basis" (Tavris & Offir, 1977, p. 3).

Forms of sexual inequality in our society "range from explicit legal statute to informal social pressure" (Rossi, 1976, p. 81). Inequalities are experienced in both the private and public sphere of individual lives. Some of our past and present customs have suggested that women are

possessions of men: (a) a father "gives away" the bride, (b) the female assumption of the male surname at marriage, (c) the legality of wife beating in some states, (d) the legal residence status of the married female and her right to vote restricted to that of her husband's state of residence, and (e) the male designated as the breadwinner and status-giver to the family.

When comparing median income by sex and educational attainment in the years 1974-1979, male high school "dropouts" consistently made more money than females with a 4-year college degree (Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1981, p. 145). In comparing the achieved statuses and income earned of men and women in our society in the years 1939 until 1979, men earned considerably more than women in all occupations. In the professional fields, the female earned during those 40 years 61 to 66 cents for every one dollar made by the male in a similar occupation. When all occupations are considered together, over 10-year time frames, women have made 59 cents for every one dollar earned by men since 1959 (International Journal of Women Studies, $\underline{I}$(2), Mar.-Apr., 1978, pp. 122-124 and Consumer Income Series, No. 129, Current Population Reports, 1979, pp. 266-268).

Exactly how and why male and female differences are sustained is the subject of many speculations. Researchers of the biological determinism persuasion, anthropological

perspective, sociological or learning perspective, and psychoanalytic persuasion have theorized and studied the sex differences, real and imagined, in an attempt to deal with the issue of sex roles and discrimination in individual lives.

Biological determinists tend to argue "that women have been subordinate to men because they are internally programmed for their roles as wives and mothers; their hormones, genes, and reproductive instincts channel and limit their skills and personalities" (Tavris & Offir, 1977, p. 24). Some sociologists and behavioral theorists see the gender differences and sexual inequalities as learned and socially prescribed, "created and perpetuated by institutions, especially work and marriage; by patterns of power and discrimination; and by the economic needs of societies" (Tavris & Offir, p. 25). Some cultural or social anthropologists connect the relationship of gender differences to the entire culture's subsistence. For example, from this view, the early American restrictions on the sexual activities of young girls related to a desire to increase their value at marriage. It was a matter of economics, not morality.

> With this interpretation, one could have predicted that in the United States, as marriage evolved away from being a means of property exchange with women as pawns, and as dowries vanished and the strength of kin groups diminished, the premium on female virginity would fade. As it has. (Tavris & Offir, 1977, p. 254)

Other social anthropologists, in an effort to see the "forest," explore the origination of rules, roles, and

rituals in relationship to a culture's survival, its social relationships, power structure, and environmental setting.

Biological, psychoanalytical, behavioral, sociological, and anthropological perspectives and theories generate questions for each other in the exploration of gender differences. They vary in their chosen unit of analysis: biological, psychoanalytical, and behavioral theorists are concerned with the individual; sociologists are concerned with social roles and the impact of institutional structures; anthropologists are concerned with the culture in its entirety.

> There may be biological and anatomical differences between males and females, but how do these affect personality differences? Personality differences may be learned, but why are boys and girls socialized differently? Boys and girls may learn different lessons as they grow up because their society profits from a division of labor, but why does one society divide the sexes so rigidly and brutally and another less so? (Tavris & Offir, 1977, pp. 239-240)

There is obviously a large degree of overlap within these various disciplines studying sex differences.

Although biological determinists force us to look seriously at biological differences in the sexes and the influence of hormones on behavior, the wide range of behavior exhibited in our society by males and females in role conflict situations does not suggest genetically sex-linked behavior patterns. Researchers' experience with pseudo-hermaphrodites and other atypical gender identity versus gender role situations indicate the power of socialization

over genetically specified gender. These factors suggest that females' more problematic role fulfillment can be attributed to social learning. Therefore, this study of role interaction between work and family includes a study of the issues of gender.

Theoretical Orientation

Two theoretical positions on issues of gender which inform this study are that of Carol Gilligan (1982) as expressed in her book In a Different Voice and that of Nancy Chodorow (1978) as explained in Reproduction of Mothering. In her critique of the masculine bias of the psychoanalytic view of human development, Chodorow attributed the continuing personality differences between the sexes to the fact that universally women are primary caretakers in the early years of a child's life. Because this initial relationship between mother and child is experienced differently by male and female children, basic relational sex differences occur. Gilligan in her challenge that developers of contemporary models of human development have equated maleness with humanness has incorporated Chodorow's work and that of others. She demonstrated that theories of the human development life cycle, using the male model, have failed to account for the experience of women. Her work brings to the forefront key differences in male and female perception, especially the perception of self in relation to others.

Chodorow has viewed the universal reproduction of mothering by women as central to the inequality between the sexes.

> Theoretically, a sex-gender system would be sexually
> egalitarian. . . . Hitherto, however, all sex-gender
> systems have been male dominated. Moreover, every
> sex-gender system has organized society around two and
> only two genders, a sexual division of labor that always
> includes women's mothering, and heterosexual marriage.
> (Chodorow, 1978, p. 9)

She has argued that "the contemporary reproduction of mothering occurs through social-structurally induced psychological processes. It is neither a product of biology nor of intentional role-training" (p. 7). Because women are primary caretakers of both male and female children in their early formative years, males and females develop personalities which differ in respect to their perception of social relationships, independency and interdependency, moral ethics, and general perspective on life.

Regardless of the sex of the infant, the mother-child relationship typically would be one of unity, attachment, caring, and intimacy--a truly unique relationship for the infant child and female caretaker. The infant's total dependence on the mother for physical and psychological survival necessitates that for a time, the female caretaker's identity is the identity of the child.

> An account of the early mother-infant relationship
> in contemporary Western society reveals the overwhelming
> importance of the mother in everyone's psychological
> development, in their sense of self, and in their basic
> relational stance. It reveals that becoming a person
> is the same thing as becoming a person in relationship
> and in social context. (Chodorow, 1978, p. 77)

A female caretaker tends to view an infant of the same gender as "like herself" or even as "an extension of herself"; her response in tone, nuance, touch, and conversation would differ from her response to an infant of the "opposite" sex. An awareness of the "sameness" and "differentness" of gender would increase as the child, female or male, matured--creating ultimately a pulling away of the child from the mother in an effort to establish his or her identity. This separation and individuation process varies greatly between the female and male child.

Sex-role is not in question for the female. She is not trying to establish her "femininity." She is trying not to be her mother or let her mother be her. This struggle for a sense of separateness and independence results in acceptance of her own femininity as like that of her mother. She juggles being "separated from" at the same time she is "attached to." In essence, she remains in connection in an ongoing relationship with her mother but now adds her father to her relational world.

The male child, in contrast, must separate himself from his mother in order, by society's standards, to become "masculine." His sex-role is in question. To achieve this separation from a relationship of intimacy, a young boy must come to devalue those "feminine" qualities of caring and nurturing in his mother and in so doing denies the feminine qualities within himself. It is not so much that he

identifies with his father as it is that he denies an affective connection with his mother.

> Masculine personality, then, comes to be defined
> more in terms of denial of relation and connection
> (and denial of femininity), whereas feminine per-
> sonality comes to include a fundamental definition of
> self in relationship. Thus relational abilities and
> preoccupations [with mother-child issues and female-
> male issues] have been extended in women's development
> and curtailed in men's. Boys and girls experience
> the sexual wishes and fantasies of their oedipal tri-
> angles differently, and thus emerge with differently
> constructed sexual needs and wants. This points to
> boys' preparation for participation in non-relational
> spheres and to girls' greater potential in participation
> in relational spheres. It points also to different
> relational needs and fears in men and women. (Chodorow,
> 1978, pp. 169-170)

Chodorow challenged psychoanalytic theory and its male interpretation of the females' concern for others and its difference from male autonomy. She said the presence of sex differences "does not mean women have 'weaker ego' boundaries than men or are more prone to psychosis. . . . Girls emerge from this period with a basis for 'empathy' built into their primary definition of self in a way that boys do not" (p. 167). Since female identity is not defined by separation, as male identity is, "girls come to experience themselves as less differentiated than boys, as more contin-uous with and related to the external object-world and differently oriented to their inner-object world as well" (Chodorow, p. 167).

The outcome of the individuation process has implica-tions for the adult heterosexual relational structure. Males tend to be content with an exclusive primary bond

relationship. Females, retaining the mother as a primary internal object, tend to form a nonexclusive, second relationship.

> Women's heterosexuality is triangular and requires a third person—a child for its structural and emotional completion. For men, by contrast, the heterosexual relationship alone recreates the early bond to their mother; a child interrupts it. (Chodorow, 1978, p. 207)

Men, whose self is not defined in relationship, suppress their relational capacities and repress relational needs. This is appropriate behavior for the "affect-denying world of alienated work" but is inappropriate for meeting women's needs for intimacy (Chodorow, 1978, p. 207). Often females to complete their triangular emotional structure, in the absence of a child especially, will have a close friend of the same sex. Men tend not to have intimate friends of either gender.

Expanding on Chodorow's analysis of gender relationships, especially dependency, Gilligan related:

> For boys and men, separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential to the development of masculinity. For girls and women, issues of femininity or feminine identity do not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother or on the process of individuation. Since masculinity is defined through separation, while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender is threatened by separation. Thus males tend to have difficulty with relationship, while females tend to have problems with individuation. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 8)

This difference in male and female perception of relationships and their value is demonstrated further in Janet

Lever's (1976) game-playing studies of youngsters, ages 10
or 11. Lever found that girls discontinued a game rather
than disrupt a relationship; boys arbitrated rules, did a
"re-play," or otherwise resolved conflict--but continued
the game (as reported by Gilligan, p. 9).

This indication that rules are very important to young
males supports Chodorow's conclusion that male and female
social orientations differ. Men's social orientation is
one of positional rights; a premise of separation underlies
the hierarchy of rights. Women's social orientation is one
of personal responsibility and a premise of connection under-
lies a web of relationship. Men value autonomy, theirs and
others'. Women value attachment and see all as a part of
the whole. Intimacy threatens the masculine identity. Men
see rules as objective, fair, rational, and nonemotional.
To be separate and apart from others is a challenge to the
feminine gender and therefore rules take second place to
people.

These social orientations of male and female with respect
to the key issues of relationship and dependency influenced
Gilligan's "re-interpretation" of some of Horner's "fear of
success" study responses.

> When "Anne" becomes "John" in Horner's tale of compet-
> itive success and the story is completed by men, fear
> of success tends to disappear. John is considered to
> have played by the rules and won. He has a right to
> feel good about his success. Confirmed in the sense
> of his own identity as separate from those who, compared
> to him, are less competent, his positional sense of

> self is affirmed. For Anne, it is possible that the
> position she could obtain by being at the top of her
> medical school class may not, in fact, be what she
> wants. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 16)

Females with "a heightened perception of the 'other side'

of competitive success," according to Georgia Sassen (1980)

probably decide the costs of competition are not worth the

rewards--rather than their fearing success as Matina Horner

(1972) had found (as reported by Gilligan, p. 15).

In other studies, Gilligan found numerous possibilities

for "misinterpretation" of women's perception and hence

their responses when the contemporary human development

"masculine" models are used. In a study of aggression, pic-

tures were responded to by male and female; again the issue

of sex differences in perception of self and self in rela-

tionship appeared.

> It appears that men and women may experience attach-
> ment and separation in different ways and that each
> sex perceives a danger which the other does not see--
> men in connection and women in separation. (Gilligan,
> 1982, p. 42)

In this study, men perceived pictures where people touched,

or were closer together, or contained more people as more

indicative of violence. Women perceived more violence in

pictures when a person was alone or isolated from other

people.

In Gilligan's studies on concepts of self and morality,

she found:

> The moral imperative that emerges repeatedly in inter-
> views with women is an injunction to care, a responsi-
> bility to discern and alleviate the 'real and

recognizable trouble' of this world. For men, the moral imperative appears rather as an injunction to respect the rights of others and thus protect from interference the rights to life and self-fulfillment. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 100)

The male moral ideology, the ethic of rights, and the female moral ideology, the ethic of care, is reflected in interviews with a male and a female child. In discussion of the same moral decision, Gilligan noted: "Both children are concerned with hurt but construe the problem in different ways--he seeing hurt to arise from the expression of aggression, she from a failure of response" (p. 38). Males see responsibility to others as "not doing" or seeking to limit their interference in the "rights" of others. Females see responsibility as an act of care; it means "doing" what others need to have done, even at the expense of oneself.

Gilligan reported a discussion of a moral dilemma with two youngsters, Karen and Jeff. Both youngsters dealt with the question of exclusion of persons. Jeff looked at the hierarchical ordering and attempted to decide who went first. Karen viewed the situation as a network of persons in relationship and considered who was to be left out. Female moral judgment based on an ethic of care is contextual and is a problem of inclusion rather than one of balancing of claims. Male moral judgment based on an ethic of rights is not so convoluted. Karen tried to decide what could be "done" so that less hurt would result. Jeff more directly decided who had a "right" to be first.

The fact that male values dominate in our society has an impact on the moral reasoning and decision-making processes of males and females. Virginia Woolf (1929) in pointing out this stated, "As a result women come to question the normality of their feelings and to alter their judgments in deference to the opinion of others" (Woolf, p. 76 as cited by Gilligan, p. 16). The two factors of male values dominating and women's typical concern for others make the decision-making process of any type potentially more problematic for females.

Just how much identity and intimacy are fused for women was noted in another of Gilligan's studies where women and men were asked to describe themselves. "All of the women described a relationship, depicting their identity in the connection of future mother, present wife, adopted child, or past lover" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 159). None of these highly successful women used their academic and professional achievements in their self-description. In contrast, men gave clearer more distinct descriptions, "replacing the women's verbs of attachment are adjectives of separation--'intelligent,' 'logical,' 'imaginative,' 'honest,' . . ." (p. 161). A clear reflection once more of the extent of the female "self" being embedded in relationship to others. The men's description reflects a "self" detached and separate from others.

Problems in theory of human development have been cast as problems in women's development. Freud's notes, as quoted

by Chodorow and Gilligan, indicated differences in male and female perceptions of living. Yet he, like Erikson, made notes about these sex differences without accounting for them in his theories. "'For a female,' Erikson (1968) says, 'the sequence is a bit different.' . . . Yet, despite Erikson's observation of sex differences, . . . identity continues to precede intimacy as male experience continues to define his life-cycle conception" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 12). Gilligan noted Kohlberg's claim to the universality of his moral development stages, even though women were not included in his studies. Piaget (1983), too, equated male development with child development. Instead of saying male and female perception differed, he espoused the male as the standard and the female as the deviant from the norm. In reference to moral development, Piaget noted that the legal sense "is far less developed in little girls than in little boys" (Piaget, p. 77, as cited by Gilligan, p. 10).

In our society, it is not easy to say anything is different without also judging one to be either better or worse than the other. Empirical evidence and personal experience suggest that male and female perspectives on living, especially on living and working in relationship, differ. One perspective is not better than the other, just different. Men and women do tend to perceive social reality differently and central to those differences are their experiences of attachment and separation. These differing perceptions

influence all of life, since life is in relationship. The
analyses of Chodorow and Gilligan have suggested that:

> Men and women may speak different languages that
> they assume are the same, using similar words to encode
> disparate experiences of self and social relationships.
> Because these languages share an overlapping moral
> vocabulary, they contain a propensity for systematic
> mistranslation creating misunderstandings which impede
> communication and limit the potential for cooperation
> and care in relationships. At the same time, however,
> these languages articulate with one another in critical
> ways. Just as the language of responsibilities provide
> a weblike imagery of relationships to replace a hier-
> archical ordering that dissolves with the coming of
> equality, so the language of rights underlines the
> importance of including in the network of care not
> only the other but also the self. (Gilligan, 1982,
> p. 173)

There is a need for both an ethic of care, labeled
feminine in our society, and an ethic of justice, labeled
masculine--a need for the consideration of others and a need
for the consideration of self. Inherent in the parent-child
relationship are the experiences of inequality and inter-
connection. In this state of temporary inequality, power
is used to assist the child to his or her own state of
equality. Chodorow has pushed for early primary caretakers
to be male and female. The parent-child relationship gives
rise to both an ethic of justice and an ethic of care--

> the ideals of human relationship--the vision that self
> and others will be treated as of equal worth, that
> despite differences in power, things will be fair;
> the vision that everyone will be responded to and
> included, that no one will be left alone or hurt.
> (Gilligan, 1982, p. 63)

These, ironically, are presently split and one tends to be
designated as sex-appropriate behavior for males and the
other appropriate for females (Bakan, 1966).

Both the agentic or positional rights social orientation, demonstrating a concern for the individual, and the communal or personal responsibility social orientation, demonstrating an awareness that individuals make up the whole, are valuable and necessary to human survival (Bakan, 1966). There is a need for the development of the "masculine" and the "feminine" qualities within each individual regardless of sex (Bem, 1976). Primary parenting by male and female would increase the chances of this being possible. The splitting of one from the other and the hierarchical order of the masculine domination and the feminine subordination have denied each sex its full human development and created alienation, subtle though it may be between the sexes. "These roles have been functional, but for a sex-gender system founded on sexual inequality and not for social survival or free human activity" (Chodorow, 1978, p. 218).

Another theoretical position which informs my frame of reference for this study is that of Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977a, 1977b). In her analysis of one's responses to occupational work, she has maintained that these are structurally, not individually, determined. As such, "responses to work are a function of basic structural issues, such as the constraints imposed by roles and the effects of opportunity, power, and numbers. Attention to these issues would require organizations--not people--to change" (1977a, p. 261).

Kanter has indicated that behaviors at work are created by the institution and are labeled as "masculine" or "feminine"

not because they are sex-determined behaviors but because
they fit a socially identified pattern of what is the sex-
appropriate behavior of one or the other sex. From her
view, behavioral outcomes of persons in the work world are
related to (a) the amount of opportunity one has for upward
mobility to higher achieved statuses within the organization;
(b) the degree of power one has to effect change versus
accountability without the necessary power to make things
happen; and (c) the number of people in the organization of
similar ascribed status like oneself. Minority "tokens"
tend to be treated differently and therefore, respond dif-
ferently. "Rigid, rules minded, controlling, and possessive
styles" of leadership are often attributed to the female
sex, when in reality from Kanter's social structural view-
point, leadership styles of that type are the result of
"bureaucratic powerlessness," not gender (1977a, p. 6).

Kanter, noting the differences in the work world of
women and the work world of men, has pointed out that women's
increasing numbers in the labor force have not resulted in
increased numbers of women in "higher paying and more power-
ful jobs" (1977a, p. 16). She has suggested that the social
structure denies women the chance at such jobs. The ascribed
status of women interferes with the attainment of the more
prestigious and economically rewarding achieved statuses.

> Social structure does not <u>control</u> so much as it <u>limits</u>--
> restricts the range of options, narrows the tools, and
> confronts the individual with a characteristic set of

problems to solve. These problems often come in the form of dilemmas: seemingly unreconcilable pulls that make every choice bear its load of costs as well as benefits. (Kanter, 1977a, p. 252)

The work-family connection traditionally has been viewed differently for employed women than it has for employed men. The "social problem" of employed women would parallel the social problem of unemployed men. Family has been thought to be central to the female's life in much the same way that work has been espoused as central to the male's. Kanter has seen the concept of role conflict or work-family role strain as having potential for linking these systems which have traditionally been assumed as separate and apart from the other. Even when one has acknowledged participating in both worlds, society beliefs and values have encouraged a "pretend as if the other world did not exist" attitude. "Work operates as a dominant constraint on family life as well as a source of economic and personal sustenance" (Kanter, 1977b, p. 21). Family life and relationships within the family do influence decisions one makes about his or her work world.

The analyses of Chodorow, Gilligan, and Kanter, separately and collectively, have implications for making male and female realities in the work and family worlds to be very different, while they tend to be viewed as identical. Prevailing societal practice of viewing the world through men's eyes has implications for the role conflict experienced

by males and females to be perceived differently as they
endeavor to function in the institutions of family and
work.

Chodorow argued that "the sexual division of labor and
women's responsibility for child care are linked to and gen-
erate male dominance" (p. 214). Female primary caretakers
are experienced differently by male and female infants.
The male personality develops in terms of being different
from the female nurturer and in terms of denial of relation
and connection. The female personality develops in attach-
ment and intimacy with a caretaker who is "like" herself.
Because of this difference in social worlds, males tend to
have stunted relational potential and have problems with
intimacy and connection. The female personality tends to
define self in relationship and, hence, to have problems
with separation. These differing social orientations seem
to prepare the male for the nonrelational work world and the
female for the relational domestic sphere.

Gilligan, building on Chodorow's analysis of gender
differences in social orientations, pointed out the "misin-
terpretations" possible when the masculine models of human
development are imposed on the life cycle of the female.
Males when viewing life in relationship would assume separa-
tion and perceive a danger in connection and intimacy.
Females living in relationship would assume connection and
perceive a danger in separation. These differing gender views

result in a male moral ideology, based on a premise of sep-
aration, which is concerned with the earned rights of indi-
viduals, both of self and others. This male ethic of rights
or justice would tend to require a lack of intervention to
allow the rights of self and others to prevail. The female's
ethic of care, based on a premise of connection, may require
some intervention in social situations to ensure the care
and well-being of all concerned. Males with a positional
rights social orientation may live life withholding response
to ensure equality, while females with an ethic of care might
live life "in response" to the perceived needs of others to
ensure equality. The male ethic of rights view of equality
would be hierarchical or positional, while the female per-
sonal responsibility view of equality would be nonlinear
and contextual. Male and female differences in social learn-
ing, according to Gilligan, create different world realities
and different languages for males and females, which are
assumed to be identical.

Given these gender differences, Gilligan emphasized
that the masculine model of human development does not fit
the feminine experience. As a result, flaws in the theories
of the human life cycle have been translated into flaws of
female development. When these gender differences in social
orientations are not recognized and male development is
assumed to be the same as female development, females tend
to be labeled deviant. Chodorow stated that Freud in his

discussion of male-female anatomical difference was not simply concerned with difference but that difference was "equated with relations of superiority and inferiority" (p. 144).

Our current sex-gender system typically places men in charge of the public sphere and women responsible for the private or domestic sphere. Money standards determine the value of men's work and women's work tends to be judged by other than an economic standard. As a consequence, men's work is thought to be more valuable than women's. There is a tendency to think that men "really work" and women "support" men in their endeavors. "Culturally and politically, the public sphere dominates domestic, hence men dominate women" (Chodorow, 1978, p. 10)

Since men socially and politically define the public sphere, the work institution is designed and implemented according to the masculine standard of positional rights. Because of this and other factors, Kanter stressed that the male work world and the female work world are not identical, even though they appear to be the same. The statistics already mentioned demonstrate that a greater percentage of women now work outside the home than remain in the home solely as a wife and mother and that men are consistently paid more than women for comparable work. With this increase in the number of females in the labor market, there has been little or no change in the number of women in higher

status and higher paying jobs. Kanter attributed this absence of a parallel change to the ascribed status of women. She has pointed to the males' positions of power and status and the females' lack of status, power, and opportunity as key factors in gender behavioral differences in the work world.

A common theme of Chodorow, Gilligan, and Kanter is the emphasis on the institutional structures of work and family and their power to exact role requirements of the individual which produce gender differences in personal realities. Each of them has stressed that to affect change in sexual differences and inequalities it is necessary to change the social structure, not individual personalities. "Sexual inequality is itself embedded in and perpetuated by the organization of these institutions, and is not reproduced according to or solely because of the will of individual actors" (Chodorow, 1978, p. 34).

Nature of the Study

This dissertation is designed to gain insight into the degree of work-family role conflict, its causes, its consequences, and its successful resolution and to study the possible influence of the structure of work as outlined by Kanter. Perhaps the structure of work by not providing for change to happen perpetuates the status quo. If as Chodorow has suggested, women have a "personal responsibility" social

orientation and see the world as a web of relationships, perhaps the dual role of parent and occupational worker is experienced differently by them. Perhaps males with a "positional rights" social orientation and their assumption about the separation of persons may perceive and, therefore, experience less conflict in their integration of work and family responsibilities.

More specifically, my dissertation focuses on three broad questions:

1. To what degree and in what ways do the role of parent and occupational worker conflict?

    a. How does the number and age of children and the amount of outside assistance, physical, emotional, and economical, affect conflict?

    b. To what degree does the type of occupation, opportunity for promotion, power versus power-lessness in that job position, relativity of number of other persons like oneself in similar job positions, influence the role conflict?

2. Is role conflict between that of parent and worker perceived and experienced differently by the male and female?

    a. Do males and females speak different languages which they assume to be the same?

    b. Do males encounter and resolve role conflict from a "positional rights" perspective while

females face it from a "personal responsibility"
perspective? Is role conflict deemed stronger
in women due to this difference in social orien-
tation and their desire for intimacy and attach-
ment, rather than separation?

c. Is role conflict another metaphor for the
rights versus responsibility issue?

d. What differences in perception, if any, would
there be in the role "juggling"--for the female
who assumes "connection" and explores the
parameters of separation--for the male who
assumes "separation" and explores the param-
eters of connection and intimacy?

3. In what ways and to what degree does social learning
influence role conflict between home and nonhome
roles?

a. Does the female have "self-doubts" about taking
a stand on commitments--because of the male
standard of autonomy and detachment being a
"higher stage" of development than intimacy
and attachment?

b. Does the male experience societal and/or profes-
sional support or nonsupport when he fills the
typically feminine role as primary nurturing
parent?

c. In prioritizing role demands, are males social-
ized to place work as a top priority---and
females, family?

These questions provided the conceptual lens through which
I have viewed the experiences shared by the single-parent
participants in this study who are presently enacting the
dual role of parent and occupational worker.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Certain studies of role interaction related to work and family roles were reviewed in Chapter I. In that selected review of the literature, the major focus of the different studies and the summation of the research results were discussed. I wish now to address the methodology of these same studies plus the methodology of other related research projects. A review of the methodologies utilized in these studies has given direction to the selection of my research methodology in much the same way that the review of the literature provided direction for the focus of my study.

Review of Methodologies in Related Research

Beutell and Greenhaus (1982), Gray (1983), and Harrison and Minor (1982) explored interrole conflict and coping strategies of females by administering a survey/questionnaire. Timmer (1981) collected survey data from 755 currently married working parents, fathers and mothers. Studies of this type, with a considerable number of respondents, have provided necessary and useful information. Role conflict terminology has been defined and categories of events and behaviors have been determined. These data make it possible to identify an overview of commonalities in causes of

role conflict and some coping behaviors. This effort to reach outward to encompass and articulate the cumulative response of a group as a whole prohibits exploration of an individual view of the human experience. Any uniqueness or individual exceptionality is submerged in the aggregate data. Typically only data of the group are used in the final analysis of all information.

Heckman et al. (1977) used a free-response item questionnaire to survey 200 professional couples as to the problems encountered in both the husband and wife pursuing a career while married. This type of methodology provided more freedom than an either/or forced-choice item questionnaire or survey. Personal comments of explanation by the participants could be made and areas of concern identified which might have been otherwise overlooked by the researchers. The seeking of problems in this study imposed a social problem orientation and in that sense limited the responses to a large degree.

Keith and Schafer (1982), Mendes (1976), Orthner, Brown and Ferguson (1976), and Poloma (1972), in their choice of research methodology, expanded the study of role adjustment and role strain. Although the focus of exploration differed to some degree, these researchers chose to interview a sizable number of persons; the number interviewed in these four studies ranged from 20 single fathers to 53 married professional women. As a result of the structured

interviewing process, it was possible to inquire as to the
life style, problems, and successes in multiple role fulfill-
ment. This information enhanced and added insight to the
specifics of work-family role strain unaddressed in the ques-
tionnaire or survey type study. For example, both Poloma
and Orthner et al. found that any expressed parental con-
cerns by the research participants interviewed were not to
be taken as overall feelings of inadequacy or incompetence
as parents but were situational problems, not continual,
and were not thought to be insurmountable by the respondents.
As a result of this input during the interviewing process,
Poloma made the following observation: "Role conflict must
be seen as being not continuous but discontinuous and should
be viewed in situational terms" (p. 188).

Poloma's observation and similar ones by other research-
ers have suggested a need for in-depth exploration of this
work-family role conflict phenomenon in addition to the
broader, more comprehensive view obtained from large numbers
of persons through survey/questionnaire or structured inter-
view. Timmer directed future researchers of work-family
role conflict to "investigating the relationships among
values, self-identity, behavior, and well-being" (p. 3846-B).
To do what she has suggested requires a different research
methodology with fewer participants.

Harry Keshet (1977) in his study of part-time fathers
utilizing retrospective and time-ordered interviewing of

eight fathers made such an attempt at an in-depth study of
the individual reality as opposed to a group or collective
reality. His research focus was on the process of parental
role development and marital separation. Yet, his research
methodology allowed the participants in his study to share
their experiences in fulfilling the dual role of worker and
parent. Keshet's research suggests the complexity and rich-
ness of the human experience and the value of such a meth-
odology which allows the subject under "study" to tell his
or her "own story" without the restriction of researcher
predetermined terminology and categories of behavior and
events.

These researchers through the use of a methodology
which met the needs of their particular research interest
have each made a contribution, individually and collectively,
to what is known about overlapping social roles. Yet, miss-
ing in the present literature is the lack of illumination of
the texture and richness of the individual human experience
when one fulfills the dual role of parent and occupational
worker. Research emphasis has been that of investigating
separated "parts" of the human experience and in so doing
missing the individual insight as to the meanings attached
to personal role interactions. The methodologies, by and
large, have precluded such "subjective" input and as a result
the facts have been studied apart from their relationship to
the human experience in its entirety.

Also, there has been insufficient research with a methodology which provided for the researcher to be a part of the process of the research. The researcher, like the subject/participant, has been isolated in his or her action by the research design. Researchers have sought to determine by survey/questionnaire or structured interview the facts, events, causes, results, and behaviors of dual role enactment and have then assumed primary responsibility for the assignment of meaning to such experiences. A major component missing in such methodologies has been permission for dialogue between the researcher and participants. The opportunity for participant and researcher to jointly co-create reality and attach meaning to human experiences, past and present, has been minimized by the research methodology. The compilation and the presentation of the "facts" are impersonal and thereby the uniqueness of the individual experience and its personal meaning are lost.

In an effort to move beyond the current role conflict literature and fulfill my own research needs, I sought a methodology which allowed more fully for the portrayal of the flux and many dimensions of the human experience. The central assumption of the methodology of this research, like that of Carol Gilligan, is "that the way people talk about their lives is of significance, that the language they use and the connections they make reveal the world they see and in which they act" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 2). The role conflict

literature reviewed has provided valuable insight into the human phenomenon of dual role enactment and the overlapping, and perhaps conflicting, demands of work and family roles. However, the illumination of the individually lived experience in its uniqueness has been insufficiently researched primarily because the methodology employed in these studies did not provide for such exploration.

A major factor in the methodology selection was the recognition of the significance of the personal involvement of the inquirer/researcher. My interest in work and family dual role enactment by fathers and mothers did not just "happen" but was generated because of who I am and my experiences, past and present, and my own understanding, interpretation, and re-interpretation of those experiences. I wanted a methodology which provided for new avenues of thought and new questions, i.e., a heuristic methodology. Therefore, a methodology was sought which would enlarge the view of role interaction, provide for the subjective nature of the research process, initiate new questions, and generally provide an opportunity "to shed light on what is unique in time and space while at the same time conveying insights that exceed the limits of the situation" (Eisner, 1980, p. 7). A methodology which provided guidelines flexible enough to allow for possible change of direction as the data generated new ideas to be explored rather than being "locked in" to any one paradigm was important to my research interest.

Participant Hermeneutics

To address the issues of concern as outlined in pre-
ceding chapters, it was necessary to select a methodology
which speaks to me and provides for persons sharing in their
own language their thoughts, feelings, reactions, and actions
concerning the enactment of the dual role of parent and
professional. My interest was in the meaning participants
attached to their personal experiences, not just the facts
of causes, consequences, and results when the roles of work
and family overlap or place conflicting demands on them.

Some basic assumptions underlying the research approach
selected are:

1. Human experience cannot be isolated. Living is in
   relationship and is contextual and connected to our
   biological, sociocultural, and private worlds.

2. The concrete everyday human experience is important
   to our realities. Work and family are two major
   social roles in our society dealt with daily by
   most persons.

3. Individuals are "sacred texts." They can tell
   their "own story." They are not to be interrogated.
   Behavior and event in the human experience may be
   the same and the individual meaning assigned to
   that event or behavior be different.

The methodology I have employed to focus on the indi-
vidual perception of the human phenomenon of role conflict is

the method of dialectical hermeneutics which incorporates the basic assumptions mentioned earlier as important to my research interest. This method of inquiry recognizes the dialectical nature of what it means to be human and the dialogue which occurs on a conscious and/or unconscious level to create individual realities. Berger and Kellner (1971), acknowledging the dialogical aspect of the human condition, said: "The socially constructed world must be continually mediated to and actualized by the individual, so that it can become and remain his world" (p. 23).

Harvey Cox (1973) provided an outline of a method of inquiry which manifests a respect for the interiority, both of the participants in the study and the inquirer and the dialogical nature of the human experience. Cox's participant-hermeneutic approach, although not followed literally, has served as a model and provided guidelines for this study:

1. a careful attempt to discover the pre-history of the event or phenomenon studied.

2. a rigorous attempt to learn about the larger setting within which the activity takes place.

3. a thorough observation of the phenomenon itself.

4. a meticulous awareness of the meaning it all has for me. (Cox, 1973, p. 147)

In keeping with the phenomenological tradition, the "inner space" of persons and the dialogue between the inner world of intuition and affect and the outer world of behavior

and event are respected in this dialectical-hermeneutic approach to research. It addresses the issue of how individuals make sense of their life experiences. A broader understanding is sought through careful examination of "the process . . . that constitutes, maintains and modifies a consistent reality that can be meaningfully experienced by individuals" (Berger & Kellner, 1971, p. 23).

This method of inquiry allows for and encourages study of the concrete, everyday human experience and recognizes that "the observer always in part constitutes the scene he observes" (Mehan & Wood, 1975, p. 208). In this approach the inquirer/researcher's prehistory as a person and the influence of one's own horizon on his or her ability to "understand" another are acknowledged. Dilthey addressed this aspect of understanding when he spoke of how "one rediscovers himself in the other person" (Dilthey cited in Palmer, 1969, p. 115). From this view all understanding is considered positional and occurs in constant reference to personal experience.

M. C. Richards and M. Milner, commenting on what constitutes reality in the human experience, expressed these thoughts: "Experience is formed by what comes from within us waking to what comes toward us. It is a co-creation" (Richards, 1966, p. 112). "The substance of experience is what we bring to what we see, without our contribution we see nothing" (Milner, 1957, p. 27). The dialectic nature

of "being" human and creating "reality" as we, participants and inquirer, interact and interpret those experiences, past and present, are key elements of this study. The "process" of doing this research is of more importance than the end product.

The human experience is uniquely original. As such, the human experience and the particulars of it are of immediate interest in this study. A methodological requirement of "this way of working" using the participant-hermeneutic approach is that "it demands a rigorous attention to subtle detail—pace, mood, and the minutiae of expression . . . it proceeds on the assumption that nothing is trivial" (Cox, 1973, p. 148). This includes paying attention to what is spoken as well as what is left unsaid.

Utilizing this method of inquiry, in addition to sharing the individual stories of the participant's life experience of multiple role enactment and the meaning attached to these experiences, I have a responsibility to share "a meticulous awareness of the meaning it all has for me" (Cox, 1974, p. 147). Elaborating further on this co-creating of personal realities, Cox said of the inquirer:

> He will eventually let the story he has heard meet his own story. He will appropriate, question, reject, and accept aspects of what he has seen. He may change his own story in view of what he has learned. Most importantly, however, he will always evaluate provisionally. No final judgments are made. Also, no evaluation at all is made until the question of what it meant to everyone involved, including the observer, is answered. (Cox, 1973, p. 149)

In many ways the participant-hermeneutic approach, as outlined by Cox, parallels the tradition of art. The three functions of art as discussed by Edman (1928) are characteristic of the dialectic-hermeneutic research approach: "intensification, clarification, and interpretation of experience" (p. 29).

> It is one of the chief functions of the artist to render experience arresting by rendering it alive. The artist, be he poet, painter, sculptor, or architect, does something to objects; the poet or novelist does something to events, that compel the eye to stop and find pleasure in beholding, the ear to hear for the sheer sake of listening, the mind to attend for the keen impractical pleasure of discovery or suspense or surprise. (Edman, 1928, p. 17)

Edman emphasized that art has the power to take one places where one has not been before as well as over familiar paths. My intent has been to take the common experience of work-family role strain and deal with it in a way that will enable others to "see" an ordinary happening which might have been missed without my attempt at intensification, clarification, and interpretation.

An artist has this ability to "stop life" long enough for others to see and hear it and to incorporate his or her own interpretation of what that stopped life means. In that fashion, an artist helps others to clarify and interpret their own human experience. This study is an attempt to do that for the role interaction or the overlapping of work and family roles.

> The artistically oriented researcher is interested in making the particular vivid so that its qualities

can be experienced and because he believes that the particular has a contribution to make to the comprehension of what is general. (Eisner, 1980, p. 7)

Robert Henri in The Art Spirit said, "Think solidity as you work. Think of values as giving form, not as spots of light and dark" (1960, p. 257). Although Henri was speaking in a different context than I, his comments about art apply to my desire to be sensitive to all details of the human experience under study and to "learn from" rather than "investigate" it. It is my aim as an interpretive inquirer to learn from the lives of the participants in this study, and to make the particular vivid as a heuristic, perhaps providing insight into the complexity and richness of the human condition.

Eisner in his discussion of the differences between an artistic approach to research and the scientific approach said:

> Artistic approaches to research focus less on behavior than on the experience the individuals are having and the meaning their actions have for others. Just how does one focus on experience and meaning? How does one make sense of what is nonobservable? . . . [another] way is to 'indwell,' to emphathize; that is to imaginatively participate in the experience of another. . . . [this way] banks on the observer's ability to imaginatively project himself into the life of another in order to know what that person is experiencing. It is the context provided by this form of knowing that serves as a major source of understanding for artistic approaches to research. (Eisner, 1980, p. 6)

As has already been indicated, the process of doing this research is of more importance than the final result. It is and has been a process since the origination of the

desire to study in-depth the role interaction of persons enacting the dual role of parent and occupational worker. This study does not have a hypothesis to be tested. It is not intended to be representative of nor generalizable to any population. Highlights of this process were the interactions with persons actually experiencing the human phenomenon of role conflict and who were willing to share their story.

Design of the Study

This study is based on interviews with four single persons who are full-time custodial parents and presently working outside the home. The literature on married women's dual role fulfillment, as has already been indicated, revealed that a common reducer of work-family role strain is for the female to leave her career until the family needs are lessened. Single parents who are responsible for the primary care of their children, emotionally and economically, would typically not have such an option. Professional, single parents, male and female, were selected as participants in this study because of the increased possibility that these single persons would have a loyalty to their professions and also to their children. Therefore, they would have two loyalties "tugging" for time and energy as a minimum in their dual role enactment of work and family responsibilities. Neither the male nor the female single parent has anyone to take over family responsibilities typically expected of a "wife."

The selection of the participants to be interviewed was based more on the availability and willingness to participate than on other criteria. However, a minimum guideline for selection was an employed single parent responsible for his or her child or children without the benefit of any other substitute parent residing in the household. It seemed that single, professional parents are in a unique position to share not only factors which constitute role conflict but also how they as individuals balance or juggle the roles of parent and professional successfully.

An important consideration in the selection of these single parents was for them to have had some time elapsed since the original trauma which resulted in their being single parents, whether by separation, divorce, or death of a spouse. I casually shared with professional colleagues and those in my social network my interests and desire to interview male and female custodial single parents who were employed, preferably in professions. I deliberately avoided seeking single parents through counseling centers because I wanted referral of those who were in "the routine" of dual role enactment. I wanted to avoid those single persons who were initially adjusting to the role of single parent. Persons were sought from the personal or professional networks of everyday life who were without evidence of immediate crisis. Advertising in day care centers and in places where single parents might be, such as Parents Without Partners

meeting places, was not done nor were any self-referrals sought because of the desire not to suggest an "oddity" or "social problem" type of study. Persons referring single parents as potential participants were asked to inform that single parent of my interest in the overlapping roles of work and family and ask permission to give their name to me for further contact.

Two interviews were accomplished with the single parents once they were selected. The initial interview was of shorter duration than the second, with the total interview time approximating 2 1/4 hours. The second interview was taped and transcribed. Location of the actual interviewing and taping was worked out with each individual participant. The importance of having a physical and psychological space that was both private and conducive to easy conversation was a primary consideration in making the actual decision as to time and place of the interviews.

The question as to how much involvement the children of the participants would have in this study was considered. A visit in the home and an introduction to the children might have enhanced my perception of the single parent family but was not necessary to the study. If that seemed possible and convenient for those involved, I availed myself of it, but did not request that of potential participants. However, when an offer was extended to do the interviewing in a participant's home and/or meet the children, I accepted such an invitation out of courtesy.

In order to gain additional insight into this partic-
ular phenomenon of human experience--that of role interaction
between work and family and its relationship to issues of
gender, and to gain experience in interviewing persons
experiencing the dual role, I did a pilot study. In that
initial study, I interviewed one male and one female cur-
rently involved in a multiplicity of life roles. I was
especially interested in the meaning they attached to any
conflicting demands their multiple roles exerted on them
and the language they used to share their experiences and
meaning of those experiences.

The pilot effort was extremely beneficial as a prepara-
tion for the larger study. Some techniques and knowledge
I acquired were (a) the tape recorder variance and opera-
tion, (b) the importance of the initial conversation with
potential participants of the study, (c) the procedure for
obtaining the University Human Subjects Committee's approval
for research with human subjects, (d) variance in the record-
ing quality of different types of tapes, (e) the importance of
sufficient time for re-checking with participants after the
tape was transcribed and interpreted, and (f) some idea of
the volume of information generated in one interview and
the need for careful documentation of details at the time of
occurrence. I was surprised to find how willing people,
busy people, are to share their story. Two people were asked
and both agreed to be interviewed. Once the interviews were

under way, the tape recording of the conversation was for-
gotten by the person being interviewed. I, too, forgot it
temporarily but did occasionally check to ensure that the
tape was moving and had not ended.

A keen awareness as to why this participant-hermentutic
approach to research is often referred to as "action" research
developed in this initial study. Both participants' reac-
tions before and after the interviews suggested that the
interviews and my interest in them as persons had generated
some analyzing of their dual roles. The typist of the tape
transcriptions said of the female's--"I felt like I was
reading my own story." The typist was 12 hours late with
transcription because of conflicting demands of her own
work and family situation. The process of interviewing and
interpreting the information shared in those interviews had
an impact on me. Among other things, I was convinced that
this topic, work-family role strain, for further study was
of deep, vital, personal, and professional interest to me.

The difficulty of doing this type of research was intro-
duced firsthand--as I struggled to enter another's world
and yet remain the researcher and not become a judge or one
who intervenes, as I realized the time involved in just
transcription alone, as I searched for words when restating
or interpreting participants' information, as I depleted my
time and energy at the same time I realized that the "search
for meaning" had literally just begun, as I re-read,

re-thought, and typed, I realized that many "parts" of the whole were missing and faced my own limitations and inadequacies. Although it was immensely time-consuming and at times painfully frustrating, this pilot study produced a new excitement for the larger study. This happened in spite of a keener awareness of the complexity of the topic and my own inadequacies in researching it.

The following questions or exploratory comments were developed as guidelines for the larger study interviewing process. The literal questions were not always used but they provided the nature of the line of questioning. My desire was to have an informal, relaxed, open discussion rather than a formal structured interview.

1. How would you describe yourself? (listen for description as to gender, as a person, as a professional, as a parent, etc.)

2. What constitutes "conflict" between the role of parent and that of professional? (listen for definition of conflict and its relationship to circumstances)

3. Explore the term responsibility. What does it mean? When responsibility to oneself and responsibility to others conflict, how do you choose between these?

4. How, as a male custodial parent, does your role as primary nurturer influence you in your work setting--socially? In what ways do you feel support, non-support from your colleagues, society in general?

5. How, as a female professional, does your professional role affect your role as a mother and vice versa?

6. Tell me about your role as a professional. What influenced your decision to be in this profession? What are your opportunities, restraints, etc.? What part does your single parent role play in those opportunities or restraints?

7. Tell me about how you manage work and family demands? What helps with prioritizing role demands?

8. From whom do you obtain emotional support? (for family role, for professional role, as a person)

9. With demands of work and family, how do you attend to your personal needs?

10. How are the mundane household chores managed?

11. In what way does your family of origin influence your parenting, your professional role?

As participants addressed these questions, concrete examples of the experiences shared, of critical issues mentioned, and the situational contexts of these were sought. Other information deemed important and obtained from the participants was basic demographic information, ages of children, length of time married, time elapsed since marital disruption, and the amount of time, energy, and/or money others provide in helping the participant in the dual role of parent and professional.

These interviews provided a description of how dual role demands of parent and professional are experienced and managed by several people and have provided further insight into the issues of concern as informed by Chodorow, Gilligan, and Kanter. The description and interpretation of each interview is presented separately, followed by an interpretation of the group as a whole. This dissertation concludes with the insights I have gained regarding the larger questions addressed in earlier chapters. In doing this I have been as aware as possible of my own interpretive orientation, as fair as possible in representing the way the participant-informants actually reported their experiences, and as open as possible to the revising and enriching of my own interpretive schema.

The language that I have used to share what was learned from these interviews has an obvious lack of statistical language such as "analysis of variance, validity, regression, or chi-square." The form chosen is not standardized or necessarily literal in translation. What has been sought is "the creation of an evocative form whose meaning is embodied in the shape of what is expressed" (Eisner, 1980, p. 6). Form has been dependent upon what insights were gained. Every effort has been made to present the individual participant's meaning attached to experiences not the "mean" behavior of those interviewed.

In addition to my attempt at "objective analysis," I also relied on my intuition, feeling, and imagination to "indwell" with participants as they shared their story. This attempt "to imaginatively participate in the experience of another" (Eisner, 1980, p. 6) has provided a content unique to this kind of knowing. As a participant-hermeneutic inquirer, I have used my ability to indwell and "exploit the power of form to inform" (Eisner, p. 6) to share a content that perhaps others with a different perspective might miss. This study has been a process, a journey, "an interpretive one in search of meaning" (Eisner, p. 6).

CHAPTER IV

INTERVIEWS

Presentation of the Interviews and Analysis

The human experience is filled with possibilities of serendipity, that ability of finding things unexpectedly. It was in anticipation of such finding that I entered the interviewing phase of my study. Presented here are the "stories" of 4 single parents, 2 females and 2 males, as shared by them from their dual role perspective of parent and professional. The interviews came to be relaxed and informal discussions about the role interaction between work and family responsibilities. All interviews were taped and then transcribed. From these transcriptions, I prepared a write-up of each individual. I gave each participant a copy of his or her written presentation and asked them to respond to it to ensure accuracy of reporting and the privacy of each as an individual.

In the write-up of each participant, I present a brief overview of our initial contact and my perception of the ambience of the interview. Then, I give a capsule version of the person including some basic background information. This is followed by the description of the actual interview; and finally I give a summary of my observations and conclusions of the person's dual role enactment. Following the

presentations of the four interviews individually, I give my interpretation of them collectively as a group.

Jim

An Introduction to Jim

Jim was recommended to me as a potential participant in this study by a friend of his. I spoke with him initially by telephone. The call was at an inconvenient time for Jim; he was on his way out the door when the phone rang. He was running some errands in preparation for a "slumber party" for his 6-year-old daughter that night. Very quickly I told him who had given me his name and of my interest in having single parents share how they maintain a reasonably comfortable balance between work and family. Jim laughed heartily and said, "I don't—I go see my psychologist every day." Jim agreed to be interviewed if I could do it during a certain upcoming week; the children would be gone then to visit their mother, who lived in another state. Since neither of us knew our schedules that far in advance, I offered to call Jim closer to the time specified as convenient; Jim gave me his work phone number and said he could always be reached there.

Further arrangements were made by phone for the formal interview. I agreed to drive to Jim's city of residence— some two hours or so by automobile. His home was selected as the best place for conversation without interruption.

He gave me explicit directions as to how to reach his home once I entered the city.

On a cold, overcast, moisture-ridden day, with some icy spots on the bridges and highways, I drove very cautiously to Jim's home. His directions were excellent, and in fact I was 15 minutes early, even with the relatively bad road conditions. Jim's neighborhood street was tree-lined, and young children and their parents were out for walks or sliding on the icy sidewalks and driveways. I was surprised to see so many young children in this old, established, prestigious residential section. Jim later told me that on his street alone there were 30 children in the 32 homes. I barely had time to catch my breath after the long drive and gather my paraphernalia for recording and notetaking before Jim arrived in the family station wagon.

Introducing ourselves to each other, Jim and I quickly entered his home to escape the cold dampness outside. Jim apologized for the lack of living room furnishings, saying that his wife had just taken the items of furniture which she wanted. I was introduced to each of his three children via a large portrait of each hanging on the living room wall. Jim and I elected to sit on the couch with the tape recorder between us. The family kitty joined us in Jim's lap; petting the cat, Jim leaned back into a relaxed position which he essentially kept, with the exception of phone interruptions, for the next 1 1/2 hours that we talked. Jim is a calm, self-assured man who is an attentive listener.

Jim was the only participant that I was unable to meet personally for an introductory session prior to the formal interview. I had some anxieties about the flow of conversation. I worried for naught; Jim's calmness eased my anxieties and within minutes I felt as if I had known Jim earlier and we were just in need of some "catching up" on details. The interview was punctuated with some chuckles, some outright laughter, some nods of the head, lots of smiles of agreement, and was overall unencumbered by any awkwardness.

Jim, a single parent for 4 months, is in his mid-thirties and is the father of three children ages 9, 6, and 4. The oldest and the youngest are boys and the middle child is a girl. The family resides in the home originally occupied by the family prior to the marital separation 2 years ago. Jim is owner of a Textile Sales and Trading Company. He purchases off-quality products from big textile producers and resells these to smaller companies; he exports a fair amount of the textile products when the market conditions are favorable. Jim's company consists of a work force of three-- Jim, his brother, and a secretary. It is a profitable family business operation.

Jim has eight siblings, four brothers and four sisters. Five of the brothers and sisters reside in a large Southern city in the same neighborhood where they grew up. Jim's mother is 63 and now has her mother, age 95, living with her in the family home where she reared the nine children.

Jim's mother, grandmother, and the five siblings are in a
city some 6 hours away from Jim by automobile, but access to
a private plane makes frequent visits possible. Two other
siblings and their families live in different states, and
another brother resides in the same city as Jim; in spite of
the distance of miles between them, Jim says they have "group
type reunions" and are "all very close."

Jim speaks almost reverently of his family of origin.
He remembers his father, deceased in 1977, as a "very strict
disciplinarian, very authoritative, and very religious." He
contrasts his own parenting style with that of his father's
and says his is "more democratic." The description Jim gave
of his father might lead one to think that some negative
memories might be involved, but this is not the case. Jim
intimated his pride in and respect for his father through-
out our discussion. The childhood which he described growing
up in a family of nine children is fondly remembered. His
experience as a parent has increased his appreciation of his
parents; he said, "It just makes me realize the fine job my
parents did."

Jim shared that his family of origin wasn't wealthy:
"My father didn't have the means to go out and give us lux-
uries that a lot of us have nowadays." He related that he
had learned early the value of a dollar and had always
"helped out" at home with the dishes, cleaning floors, and
making beds. With pride he spoke of the large family

functioning as a unit: "It took a lot of togetherness."
A strong work ethic and Jim's religious home background
influenced his formal schooling. Jim says that "Catholic
schools, Catholic education, and Catholic high schools" were
instrumental in creating family unity. He and his siblings,
according to Jim, learned early that if they wanted something
they had to earn it themselves. He said, "I worked my way
through high school, and of course, worked my way through
college."

Jim was married 9 years before his marriage terminated.
Jim says that his wife grew up on the West Coast and had
never been employed. He indicated that she had moved imme-
diately from her family of origin where she was "well-cared-
for" into their marriage relationship where she was again
"passively dependent."

Jim reported that one of his former wife's goals in life
was to live in a ski resort. In an attempt to help her
achieve this, Jim moved with her and the children to the
Rocky Mountain region 2 1/2 years ago. Jim said this move was
a temporary one, "just for a year--for a break or sabbatical,
a vacation or whatever you want to call it." Jim was able
to do this because his business can be essentially transacted
by phone. He retained his office in this city. Marital
problems were part of the reason for this temporary reloca-
tion westward. While they were there, Jim's wife filed
for divorce. Jim shared that when he married, he married for

life: "I didn't want anything to do with divorce and the children were mine for life." Jim's wife desired to stay in the ski resort area, and he felt he must return to this state to take care of his business. Both parents desired custody of the three children, then ages 7, 4, and 2. In a quick "5-minute hearing" a judge awarded Jim's wife temporary custody.

Jim returned to their home in the South without the children. He traveled back and forth across the States in his attempts to reach an agreeable settlement concerning the children and the estate of their marriage. Jim said, "We couldn't agree on a thing! I mean basically she wanted the children to live out there in _____, a ski resort, with her and I didn't feel that particular type of environment. . . ."

Jim's ensuing court proceedings for permanent custody lasted some 15 months. When Jim spoke of his decision to fight for custody of his children, he stressed the importance of his childhood experiences in a large family. He indicated that he knew of the difficulties involved: "What comes hard to a lot of people is not hard for me because it has always been part of my life. The family unit itself has always been the most important aspect, more so than my business, my church, or anything. My family (of origin) has always been a guiding factor. . . ."

The custody proceedings involved numerous expert witnesses. Jim told of six Ph.D. psychologists, financial experts, character witnesses, and others to total 26 witnesses provided by him to substantiate his claim to custody rights. Both parents and the children submitted to batteries of psychological tests as a family and as individuals, both in the Western state where the children resided with their mother and in the Southern state where their father resided.

Although Jim was finally awarded permanent custody of the three children 4 months ago, he stressed: "I took the course of going to court and was able to come out victorious but being victor in a court battle like that, nobody really wins. It--[pause]. It's hard." The divorce was not finalized at the time of this interview.

Jim sees the value of having expert child guidance available readily; he shared that during his initial separation, when he did not have the children but was preparing for his custody court proceedings, he regularly obtained psychological support and child guidance tips from a local, prominent, clinical child psychologist. Contact with this child specialist has continued and for a time Jim says the family went for group therapy to work through some initial turmoil immediately following their return here. Now Jim goes alone for counseling; he said, "I still see her about every 3 weeks and she works with the children through me."

Of this long-term counseling, educational experience with this child specialist, Jim expressed, "Basically it's a different way of raising children than I was raised." When he detailed his "more democratic and positive" approach to disciplining children, I asked, "And you feel good about that?" With expression he replied, "I do." He indicated his carefulness of speech when talking to the children and admonishing them for any misdeeds. Jim mentioned that in addition to the personal contact with this psychologist, he had done a large amount of reading on parenting and child psychology during the 15-month custody proceedings.

Jim feels that the children have made a good transition from residing with their mother for 15 months to residing with him. Jim has a full-time caretaker, 5 days a week, who assists him with the care of the children. He said, "She is a great organizer. . . . She is wonderful!" He noted that she, too, had been a single parent, rearing six children alone. The children like living here; but Jim added, "They would like their mother to be here as well. They miss her tremendously. But of course, it's her choice to live out there (West) and I have no control over that."

Jim humorously declared that his single parenting has influenced his adult conversation: "I find myself at cocktail parties now talking to a lot more mothers about children than I do with the guys about business." We laughed about his current interest in Dr. Seuss books. He indicated that

men's reporting to him about their reading management and
Wall Street information was not so captivating now.

Jim enjoys his business and appreciates its smallness.
He is not interested in expansion in size of the work force
or volume of products. He said, "It allows me complete
freedom to come and go whenever I want. It's just myself,
my brother, and a secretary. It's not like I'm working for
a corporation."

Interview

A key factor in enabling Jim to meet the needs of three
small children and provide the livelihood for the family is,
according to Jim, his type of work. Of his business he
said, "It allows me more flexibility than most people have
because basically in my job I'm on the phone." He indicated
that he can operate his business from most anywhere; usually
he transacts business from his office located less than
2 miles from his residence but when necessary he conducts it
from his home just as easily. He reported that he typically
works a 6-hour day, 5 days a week; his work day begins
between 9:00 and 9:30. He takes off from noon until 2 o'clock
and then returns to work until 5:00 in the afternoon.

Jim sees organization and structure as necessary to
operating a single-parent household. He said, "If you don't,
you're just lost. You are running around in circles." Part
of that structure for Jim is the regularity of his daily
routine. Jim reports that he rises around 6:15 a.m. and

tends to his personal needs prior to awakening the children at 7:00 a.m. With a chuckle he added, "Then from 7:00-7:50, I'm in a rush." He clarified that by saying further: "Not in a _real_ rush but that's when I get them up and fed and dressed. I do everything in the mornings for the children as far as fixing their breakfast and getting their lunches ready." The two oldest attend school in the immediate neighborhood; they depart, according to Jim, about 7:50 a.m. Then Jim has his youngest son, age four, to get ready for the day; he shared that the two of them then have a special "one-on-one" time which usually involves taking a walk accompanied by the family dog. Jim mentioned that inclement weather is no hindrance to this daily outing. Jim's youngest son attends a preschool, church-related school four mornings a week, so they end their morning outing in time for him to be at school by 9:00.

The above morning schedule is altered somewhat when Jim must take his turn at carpooling. He participates in two carpools for the children's school transportation. Five neighborhood mothers are in a carpool with Jim for the two older children, first and third graders, which means he drives every sixth week in that carpool. The preschoolers' carpool has two mothers besides Jim who take turns driving, which means Jim drives every third day and every third week on a Friday. As Jim shared the details of the two carpool schedules, I asked, "You do have a calendar, don't you? We

laughed together; then he said, "Oh, I couldn't do it without a calendar." Yet, Jim gave no indication of any frustration with what sounds like a rather hectic morning schedule before he departs for his office between 9:00 and 9:15. At one point he remarked, " . . . so there is nothing difficult about that."

The continuity of the children's care is made possible in Jim's absence with a paid caretaker in the home from 8:00 to 5:00 daily. Jim mentioned that the caretaker comes in earlier on days that he is responsible for carpooling the older children. The specialness of this caretaker to Jim was noted in his voice when he described her credentials: "She raised six children herself; her husband left her right after the sixth so she raised all those and educated herself." Jim continued to share that she has a college education and is a "very well-spoken person" and has a "firm" hand with the children. He related that she spends one-half hour with the older children, individually, each afternoon, giving special assistance with their studies. Jim shared that she has her own transportation and is available at other times when he has need of her. He reported that the caretaker has worked in this neighborhood for 20 years and had baby-sat for his family prior to his marital separation on numerous occasions during vacation times.

This caretaker primarily is responsible for the children's well-being and daily housekeeping tasks. Jim hires

another person to do the heavy cleaning once a week. Jim
expressed his willingness to do any kind of housework: "Work
itself is not foreign to me at all. I'll change a bed, do
their clothes, iron, or cook, whatever needs to be done."
Jim stated that his caretaker understood the time involved
in regular housekeeping tasks and says, "She helps me out.
She does all the laundry." According to Jim, the caretaker
does 90-95% of the grocery shopping. He says that she often
shops early in the week and again on Friday so that he will
not need anything in her absence on the weekend. Often, on
Friday she cooks additional meals for Jim and the children;
of these things, Jim said, "It has spoiled me."

Part of the consistency of structure for the children is
the daily routine of eating their evening meal. The care-
taker cooks the meal and serves it; Jim leaves his office
promptly at 5:00 and the family is eating around 5:15. Jim
and the children clean the kitchen together. He described
the procedure: "One will clean the dishes, one will take
off and one will sweep the floor. . . ." Bathtime for the
children follows the kitchen clean-up. While one or two
children bathe, Jim reported: "That's when I try to get in
some time alone with the two older ones, while I help them
with their studies."

Jim reported that bedtime is a special time for him and
the children. He says that is when they talk and share:
"They open up a lot more; they're relaxed and a lot of things

that are bothering them usually come back to them when they lay in bed. . . . I'll talk with them about anything they want to talk about." Jim shared that his oldest son had recently during a time of sharing asked about the reality of Santa Claus. The course Jim chose was an honest one; he indicated he wanted his son to remember an honest answer rather than a temporarily satisfying one.

Jim spoke of willingly limiting his social life during the week to preserve the quality of time with his children: "I lay off all sorts of drinking and socializing parties during the week, it's just not worth it at all to do that. It's almost like trying to lead two lives. It's demanding in the morning, too demanding. . . ." Jim mentioned that occasionally he goes out after the children's needs are met; he added, "It's hard if I don't stay home. I don't like going out during the week because it gets me too far behind with their studies."

Even with the flexibility of his business, the assistance of a full-time caretaker, and organization in both his work and family setting, conflict of role demands between work and family does occur, according to Jim. He shared an example of a luncheon appointment which could enhance his business contacts and a school program at the same hour. He reported that he questions himself about the business influence and then asks: "Or do I spend a tender hour with my little girl?" Jim said that up to now the parenting role

demands normally take precedence. He added, "But I think I will in time to come spend probably more time with the business. . . . I think the time I've given the children is ample plus and I might start taking some of that plus away and just give ample time. [Pause] But then, again, the business hasn't suffered at all from it."

Jim reports that he has always had a knack for making money. He said, "It hasn't been that important to me to work real hard because it (making money) has always come real easy to me so I work less than anybody I know." Jim shared that he has lots of advice from well-meaning business friends as to how he could enlarge his business operation and increase his profits. Of this he said, "It's so simple right now the way it is. I'm making ample money to live on and there's no reason to make ample plus. Because any time pluses are to be made it is probably going to take away from the family. . . ."

Jim explained his putting so much of his energy into parenting in the last 4 months: "I'm doing everything I can do because I see the business doing OK. Now—when I see the business start to slide then I'll concentrate more— I'm going to start shifting that way (toward business) now." Jim mentioned the importance of personal contacts to his business. He says that he has been relying on his brother for the past several months to fill in for him. In that regard, Jim said, "I think I've got the family at least

through the first few months of the transition and have done
an okay job on that--so now I can maybe go out of town a
little more often." Even with his attention and energy
diverted almost solely to his family role demands, Jim
related: "My business is going--right now--I've had one of
the best business quarters I've had in like 2 or 3 years. . . ."

Jim cited not only conflict between work and family role
demands but he also shared how his parenting interferes with
his social life. Although Jim expressed satisfaction and
good feelings about the amount of time devoted to his chil-
dren, he notes the lack of time for personal needs: "It
(social life) almost comes to a standstill." When his work
demands, parenting demands, and his personal needs are all
considered, Jim has not felt that "balance" was possible
during these early transition months: "You wanted to know
how I've balanced. I haven't been balancing very well
because I've been giving too much time to the family to get
them through this stage (transitional move). . . ."

When asked to explore the term responsibility, Jim
responded: "Having the children, it is important and is a
big responsibility; but I feel the responsibility for the
business, it to me is heavier--because it is my livelihood
and the children's livelihood. Everything reverts back on my
little business."

Jim shared the responsibility he felt when his father
died in 1977: "All of a sudden he died and I've got this

sick company that wasn't doing well and he left nothing for my mother and he asked me to take care of her. . . . All of a sudden I had all these people depending on me. It was scary." I asked Jim to say more about the responsibility he felt for his children and the responsibility he felt for his business. He said, "It wasn't a scary feeling when I received custody. It was going to be a load and a heavy one but I learned to take care of the responsibilities (family) one day at a time." Jim viewed the initial business respon- sibilities differently: "Just the psychological responsi- bility was overwhelming. . . ." Jim clarified further, "But with the children, it's literally just one day at a time. It's rather simple if you structure it out."

Jim is aware that outsiders view his job as a single male parent as very difficult, but he says, "It comes easy for me. A lot easier than the business did. Because it's just--I've always been around children and enjoyed it immensely."

Jim, in response to my request to describe himself, hesitated and then answered, "Very energetic. I don't get tired much." He points to his family of origin and says that his mother always had lots of energy and needed it to rear nine children. Jim said, "I find myself doing things that I know a lot of other people wouldn't dare do. The children--each one of them can bring another child over to spend the night and I'll take them all out rollerskating."

He relates that it is just as easy for him to feed six
children as it is three and that company is enjoyed by the
children and rewarding for him.

In response to my asking about the support or non-
support which he feels as a male primary nurturer, he quickly
stated: "I receive a lot of support. . . ." He mentioned
that his eight siblings were always calling and wanting to
do things for him. He especially detailed the immediate
support of his brother who lives in the same city and helps
him in business. He said, "That's been a real big plus,
having him there."

The neighbors were described as very supportive; offers
of food and babysitting services were seen by Jim to be tan-
gible affirmations of his single-parent role. He reported,
"So it's a family environment that exists in the community
and at times I feel like--it's like living in a glass house
because . . . but I feel good about it."

Some changes, though not drastic ones from Jim's view,
have been necessary in Jim's life style since he has assumed
the dual role of primary nurturer and provider. Prior to
the marital separation, Jim mentioned that his work week
involved some 30 to 35 hours. This has not changed much;
Jim spoke of a 6-hour work day, 5 days a week now. But the
time between 12:00 and 2:00 when he used to work out at the
YMCA now is often devoted to running errands or volunteer
participation in school activities. Jim cited his enjoyment

in spending time at the schools: "I work with the classes
a lot. Any time there's a project or field trip, I'll drive
or participate in some way--Christmas parties or walking them
somewhere. . . ."

His children's school work and personal time with his
children have always been important to Jim; he mentioned
that when they were a nuclear family he spent more time with
his children than most fathers did. Now, as a single parent,
Jim says he probably spends twice as much time as most par-
ents. He shared, "I have an Indian Princess program with my
little girl which is just fathers and daughters. _____
(9-year-old son) is in the Cub Scouts. . . ."

Jim mentioned that his willingness to do household
tasks stems from his growing up in a large family. He
reported that he had always felt comfortable in doing house-
hold tasks and did so while married because "I was setting
an example for the children." In the same way, religious
beliefs continue to be modeled for Jim's children; they attend
church regularly as a family. According to Jim immediately
following Mass each Sunday, the children receive religious
instruction.

Jim contrasted his enjoyment of the children now and
prior to the marital disruption: "They give me more pleasure
now; more now than they did when I was married. . . . The
14 or 15 months while I didn't have them--that was very diffi-
cult for me!" He spoke of the marital disruption: "It was

a big awakening for me because I valued the family so much and then all of a sudden my family was gone and I had to do everything I could to reconstruct it." He said of the court proceedings to win custody. "It wasn't the easiest thing to do. Their mother was not an unfit mother and she wanted them with her."

Jim shared other thoughts about families, the work world, and single parenting. He expressed a concern for society as a whole: "I wonder what all of these divorces and marital breakups are going to do to society--what the long-term effect of it is going to be." The emphasis which Jim feels people place on money-making is a contributing factor to disruption of the home. His suggestion: "People ought to stop, slow down and pay more attention to the family as a unit." Jim observed that divorce is not a panacea: "By getting divorced, . . . that might solve a problem but it creates a hell of a lot of others."

Jim thinks that the business world could assist in helping individuals attend to their family needs. He thinks that in business decisions the family is often completely ignored; Jim sees a pretense on the part of businesses that major household moves and excessive travel only affect the employee, not the family. Jim would like to see business organizations seek alternatives in decision-making which give more consideration to the families of the employees involved.

Jim thinks there are advantages for the person who is the primary nurturer for the children, male or female, also to be a breadwinner. He sees this as an advantage in that children learn early about different occupations and would typically be more independent. From his view, a working and also nurturing parent is a better model for children. This model would demonstrate the value of work and how money is earned according to Jim. Some of Jim's feelings about the nonworking mother status are derived from his frequent contacts with neighborhood mothers. Some have expressed to Jim that he is lucky to have his work and wished that they were so lucky. Jim said that although work is stressful, the stress is different from family stress and the change of pace from family to work requires that thoughts and energies be diverted for a time. Jim stated, "That in itself is helpful."

In talking about dating, Jim was nonjudgmental about fathers who choose to bring women into their homes: "It's just my own feeling; I don't want to have women spend the night here right now. . . . I don't think that's a good environment for the children." Jim shared that other than an occasional week night out, he typically dates one of the two weekend nights and sometimes spends Sunday afternoon with a date and the children. One weekend night is usually reserved for doing something with the children. Jim revealed his desire to someday remarry, but at this point in time he says that he isn't pushing nor is he "engaged in dating anyone

right now." Jim shared that his children ask a lot of questions about divorce and his remarrying.

Jim sees a contrast in male and female single-parent dating and the effect on children. Jim views dating for the male single parent in some ways to be healthier for the children involved: "My children don't see many of mine (dates) unless I make it a point for them to see them. . . . I go out, I leave the house to go pick up my date. . . ." On the other hand, Jim says that single mothers would be picked up and returned to their home by their dates. This, from Jim's view, increases the opportunity for children to become involved with the person dated. Jim said of his dating procedure, "It enables me to pick and choose who I want my children to meet." Also, he shared further, that any relationship could be severed without involving the children. Jim thinks that children of divorced parents need special consideration from their dating parents: "If a child is over and over again confronted with relationships that are severed, then he's going to form his own opinion about it."

As a result of his marital disruption and the long custody struggle, Jim thinks he has changed and changed in a positive way. Of this learning and changing experience he said, "It has been a tremendous education for me. I think any experience, especially the bad experiences, you've got to learn something and if you don't you've wasted that. . . ." Jim detailed the changes in his life as a result of his change

in marital status. He says that he (a) is more structured
and organized; (b) is more mature; (c) has a slower life
style; (d) has a better outlook on life; (e) is a better
listener and communicator with people, especially with chil-
dren; (f) has a higher self-esteem; and (g) is less dominant
and aggressive.

Jim also detailed some positive aspects for his chil-
dren. He noted that there are negatives in being children
of divorced parents but there are some positives as well.
Jim sees his children as having an opportunity to mature and
be independent earlier and as having opportunities to travel
extensively as they visit with their mother and their maternal
grandparents on the West Coast. The opportunity to have
special holiday celebrations twice, one in each household,
was also mentioned.

When I commended Jim for his attitude about his parent-
ing role, he responded, "Well, it's a lot of fun. The good
times far outweigh the bad times or hard times." At another
time he said, "I absolutely thank the Lord for letting me
get up every morning and giving me the strength that He
does. . . . I don't waste time. . . . I look forward to
each day and they (children) give me a lot of pleasure."

Jim had some thoughts about the majority of male single
parents being psychologically similar in facing family respon-
sibility. He contrasted the majority of male single parents,
who usually must fight to obtain custody, with single female

parents, who might not wish to be a single parent but who do not have a real choice in the matter, if the husband and father just leaves. Because he did want his children, Jim said, "I accepted it (custody) and learned how to structure it so that it really doesn't seem like much responsibility. It's just a part of life."

When asked about a message to others from his perspective as a single parent in a dual role of nurturer and provider, Jim said, "Just try to be consistent in whatever you do." When I asked him to say more he mentioned that as adults we often fail to <u>listen</u> to and respect the autonomy of children and said, "They are complete, unique, different, individuals and that there is not--even though you try to mold them . . . give them guidelines to live by; they are going to be themselves and all you can do is set an example. . . ."

Analysis

Jim in this interview revealed himself to be a highly integrated person. Values he espoused were substantiated in the events, daily routine, decisions, and situations which Jim shared; his standards of personal integrity, honesty, respect for fellow human beings, moral values, importance of work and family, and religious beliefs were integrated and consistently upheld whether Jim was talking about his work, his family life, or his social life.

Jim's change from a married father to a single father
with sole responsibility for his three children did not change
his life style drastically, in a physical, day-to-day sense.
He still works relatively the same hours each week; he con-
tinues to spend personal time with the children daily; he
still does household tasks; his interest in his children's
activities at school remains active. He has acquired some
additional activities in his single status requiring time
and energy such as the carpooling, taking the children for
any needed medical treatment, and doing the personal shopping
for the children and himself.

On the other hand, Jim's marital disruption and the
resulting fight for personal custody of his three young chil-
dren did change the person, Jim. The pain and loss forced
Jim to come face-to-face with his values and beliefs. That
which he so highly valued, his family, disintegrated. Jim's
values and beliefs were not altered but were made more firm
and were deepened by his trauma. Jim realized how much his
family of origin meant to him and this influenced his intense
desire to recreate similar childhood experiences for his
children. Jim has respected his parents immensely, especially
his father, and an unspoken long-term goal for Jim is for his
children to perceive him as a father with similar loving
respect.

Jim views each life experience, negative or positive,
as a learning experience. This enables him to view situations

somewhat objectively and take from each experience something positive. I was reminded many times as Jim shared of Benjamin Franklin's statement: "Those things that hurt, instruct." Jim is a different person as a result of his personal pain and loss; not different in the sense of outward activities so much as he is a sturdier, more mature, wiser, more secure, more sensitive individual. The experience of marital disruption has changed Jim into a person he probably would not have been without the personal pain and loss.

There are times Jim doesn't feel personally in control or balanced in his dual role as his joking about seeing his psychologist every day suggested. Yet, these feelings are dealt with openly and honestly in matter-of-fact ways, typically with the structure of physical time and energy responsibilities playing a part in the psychological adjustment. Jim's dual role strain is more in terms of time and energy demands than it is psychological; even so, the time and energy demands are handled relatively easily because Jim enjoys children and is energetic.

Jim, as a single father, has increased the time and energy spent on family responsibilities while he has decreased his attention to his work in these initial months. Balance per se has not been possible; Jim, willingly and ungrudgingly, has spent more energy and time on the family needs. This lack of balance is not a problem for Jim; it is "just a fact of life." Balance between work and family responsibilities

isn't necessary for Jim to be content and satisfied. He

sees a time in the future when he may shift more energy, both

psychological and physical, toward his work.

If the business needed more of Jim's energy and time to

survive, I can see Jim putting the necessary energies into

the business at the expense of the family, temporarily, and

being satisfied with the "imbalance" because it would be

necessary to his and the children's livelihood. I would not

expect Jim to shift his energies in favor of work at the

expense of his family just for the sake of making more money,or

being more powerful or prestigious.

Jim feels work to be a heavier psychological responsi-

bility than his family responsibility. Ultimately his

children's well-being and all that he desires for them depend

to a great extent on his success at work. So although he

says he feels the heavier burden from work, the family unit

is still the top priority and holds the greatest value; he

feels the pressure of business because he feels so strongly

about being a responsible parent. His business success,

or lack of success, indirectly affects his children.

Jim is economically in a position to hire additional

assistance with the physical care of his three young children,

but he chooses not to and chooses to do the "work" himself.

This substantiates the importance to him to be directly

involved in parenting, not just to be a parent responsible

for seeing that those young needs are met.

On the other hand, Jim values the consistency of structure for young children and sees a need for someone to assist him with the continuity of "care." The importance to Jim of the children's care is demonstrated in his hiring a highly, qualified, competent, person and designating her as "caretaker" and thereby making a role distinction between that position and that of "housekeeper" who once a week does the heavy household cleaning.

Jim is very much aware of the things which make his dual role of nurturer and provider easier than for some single parents: a competent, caring caretaker; the close proximity of his home, his children's school, and his office; a large supportive family of origin; his owning his business; his type of work; his economic standing and a supportive neighborhood. These factors were mentioned at various times not in any boastful kind of way but as matter-of-fact reality and to indicate the many things which make his dual role enactment idiosyncratic. These many factors are acknowledged but should not minimize the manner in which Jim does comfortably integrate his work and family responsibilities.

Jim not only says he is structured but his actions indicate that he is. He adheres to schedules with firmness. When my initial call was inconvenient and other things needed his attention, Jim politely but firmly explained and our conversation was brief. Our interview was scheduled when the children were away, and there again Jim made it clear

that certain days were convenient for him to do "extra" things. For the formal interview 2 hours were set aside; Jim was a few minutes early and was relaxed and attentive to the details at hand; he was not distracted or rushed to move on at any point. This firmness in organizational structure provides Jim with more flexibility and less frustration than other persons with similar role demands might experience. It contributes to his ability to be calm, relaxed, and attentive to the "here and now."

The fact that Jim is a male nurturing parent for three small children is an "oddity" in our society, and as such Jim lives in a "glass house." The questions and checks on his well-being, the offers of food and baby-sitting services are indications that neighbors, especially women, admire his courage and fortitude and are willing to "help" in his dual role enactment. Jim's caretaker "helps" him and goes beyond her role expectations to make things easier for Jim.

Jim is able to deal with social messages as an individual with choices. He is very much in control of his life and certain social messages about fathering he adheres to intensely; other social expectations, e.g., "make all the money you can," are ignored, without apology; his rejection of society's initial response to his request for custody of his children and the giving of custody, without question, to their mother is another example of his rejecting the "norm."

Jim admits restraints are imposed on his social life.
He also spoke of his long-range desire to remarry. He
accepts any social restraints willingly and in the interest
of the children. He does not view them as detrimental to
him. Nor does he feel any urgency to change things now.

Jim is a perceptive, gentle man. My use of the word
gentle does not imply any lack of strength but indicates a
quality of nonboastful, unpretentious, quiet strength and a
sensitivity to his fellow human beings. He feels comfortable
with every aspect of parenting and although the single parent
role is not without costs he feels confident in his ability
to deal with it. Jim does not expect perfection in life,
and therefore is not disappointed in the lack of perfection.
He accepts life as having difficulties and that enables
him to face the challenges and say: "It's lots of fun. The
good times far outweigh the bad or hard times."

Jim's Response

Jim agreed that I had captured the essence of his single-
parent life with three children and as owner of his business.
He expressed concern that he had contradicted himself in
saying one time that parenting was "easy" for him and in
another saying how "hard" it was to do certain things. I
asked him if there was something he would like changed and
he said, "No, the facts were correct." I assured him that I
saw no contradiction in saying parenting "comes easily" and
then saying certain aspects of parenting were "hard."

Jim said that my analysis from observations and an interview paralleled the two court-ordered evaluations of him by two psychologists. He joked about the speed in which I did my writing and my being less expensive. Jim expressed a desire to have a copy of his presentation.

<center>Joyce</center>

An Introduction to Joyce

I met Joyce for the first time as I was rushing from an initial meeting with one of the other participants in this study. Joyce happened to walk by as the participant and I were walking to my car at a rather rapid pace, because both of us were already late for our next appointment. Joyce was quickly introduced and in the same breath told by the other person that he had just volunteered her as a participant in my study. She responded with a chuckle and an "Oh, really!" After a few amenities, I obtained Joyce's phone number and promised to get back in touch with more details.

Talking later by phone, Joyce and I discussed my interest in her as a potential interviewee in my study. I told her I wanted to hear persons, male and female, relate how they managed the role of parent and that of occupational worker. I shared my feelings about the unique position of the single parent to do this. Perhaps, partly out of her respect for the person who recommended that she participate but mostly because of her interest in the topic of overlapping roles of work and family, Joyce agreed to be interviewed.

Other than by phone, I spoke with Joyce on two different occasions: once over a long lunch in a restaurant and another time over a cup of hot tea in the privacy of her office for a total of over 3 hours. Joyce, a very easy person to converse with, is witty and articulate. We laughed a lot, not hearty laughs of glee, but gentle laughter when we both could see the humor or originality in a situation. Many commonalities between us were discovered, which complemented the original, relaxed, overall feeling of the interviews.

Our conversations were taped and the tapes revealed tremendous conversational noise and laughter in the background of the one in the restaurant. As I listened to that tape, I was surprised that at the time of the actual conversation I had heard none of the background noise. This reveals some of the intensity of our discussion; I was aware of the interruptions by the waitress and manager and occasionally I checked the tape for length and position of the microphone, but as a whole we "tuned out the world" during the actual interviews.

Joyce, a single parent for the past 6 years, is in her mid-forties and is the mother of three children, ages 16, 12, and 10. In those 6 years, the family has physically relocated twice. One of those changes was a major one involving a move from the Mid-West to this Southern state to allow Joyce to pursue her career. She currently holds a near-the-top, educational, administrative position at a relatively small, reputable, private 4-year college.

Joyce was the oldest of three girls, with an age span of 10 years between her and the youngest. Her father was a career military officer, and as a result Joyce's childhood and young adult life were characterized by frequent change and mobility. Joyce reported, "So we traveled a lot." Joyce felt that she was able to "do reasonably well in school" and "didn't have any serious problems as a result of moving." Joyce's mother was traditional in the sense that she did not work outside the home but was said by Joyce to have "lots of interests. . . . It wasn't as though she was a woman who had given her life to her husband and family. In a way she had, but in another way she had developed other interests within that framework. . . ." Joyce remembers her father as "somewhat more accepting" of her than her mother typically was. She feels that her father sometimes reacted to her in a negative way, not because of personal disapproval, but because of the conflictual nature of her relationship with her mother.

Joyce reported that she, at an early age, assumed more family responsibilities than were comfortable for her. She feels she has retained vestiges of the "oldest child syndrome" in that she is competitive and consciously works at resisting an inner message which says, "There is always one more thing you could have done. Couldn't you have gotten an A plus instead of an A?"

One of her early "sorting out" processes which Joyce remembers was when she faced the alcoholism of both parents

and heard and read all the dire predictions for children of alcoholics. This first encounter with statistical facts and stereotypical predictions prompted an early recognition that individual choice is crucial to the outcome of any dilemma. It was then that she declared, "No way! That is not my choice! I have some control."

Contact with her two sisters has been maintained, though not without some lapse in contact and strain in the communication--especially in the years that Joyee has been a single parent. Connection with her family of origin is important both to Joyce and for her children.

Joyce stated that she and her mother were often at odds because she did not "fit" her mother's concept of what a daughter "ought" to be; more specifically, Joyce's temperament did not allow her mother the opportunity to be the mother she felt she "ought" to be. Joyce had this to say about their conflict: "I had to finally see that our relationship was not so much caught up in who she was and who I was but in the values she was stuck with." Joyce obtained a Bachelor's Degree in Chemistry while her mother was asking, "Why do you want to study chemistry? Are there nice husbands to be found in studying chemistry?"

While living in the New England region, Joyce earned a Master's Degree in Counseling in the early 1960s. Three years after the completion of her Master's degree she married, at the age of 24, and again relocated--this time because of

her husband's career as a civil engineer. In her subsequent
job search, she encountered a former college advisor who had
also relocated to a nearby university. In her discussion
with him about possibilities for a job, he advised her to
return to school for her doctorate. He felt this would
enable her to "write her own ticket" in later career years.
Joyce resisted this advice of more graduate work initially,
"probably fearing over-education--outstripping my husband--
I was already ahead by one degree." Joyce, at this time,
wanted her husband to return to school for his Master's, but
this was not his desire, even though he was eligible for edu-
cational benefits as a result of military service. With the
unsolicited help of this college advisor/mentor, Joyce obtained
educational monies and for a period of time she attended
classes as a special student until she made up her mind to
apply for the doctoral program.

When she began the doctoral program, her mother, mother-
in-law, and significant others "guessed that meant there would
be no grandchildren." Influenced by these social pressures
and her own desires, her first child, a daughter, was born
"in the middle of" her doctoral program. Detoured a few
semesters by the birth and care of her daughter and the mis-
carriage of a second child, Joyce graduated in 1970 with a
Ph.D. in Counseling.

In subsequent years, another daughter and a son were born
to Joyce and her husband. When their youngest child was 4,

their 14-year marriage terminated. Joyce spoke of being
"kind of a schizophrenic wife," especially during the years
she was studying for her doctorate. She said, "At home I
was mother and had this little baby and did all those things
and then I'd go to the university and I'd get into all this
other stuff." Joyce worked outside the home all the years of
her marriage. She said that she never talked to her husband
about her work and indicated that he never asked. She
revealed, "He really didn't want to know and in a sense I
tried to hide from him the fact that I was making progress
in each position." She stated that this became more difficult
to do over the years because they remained in the same com-
munity for 15 years. "It became more and more evident what
was going on" (the progress in her work).

Joyce found, as the college mentor/advisor had informed
her, that her educational background, primarily because it
was so rare for women to have doctorates in those years, did
permit her to write her own ticket professionally. The job
she presently holds was the first position she actively
sought in 20 years of employment; at all other times, employ-
ers sought her out and extended offers of work. Joyce
acknowledged that her economic status, educational back-
ground, and professional position in educational administra-
tion are not typical for most single women. There is a sense
of humility, which accompanies her sense of pride, when dis-
cussing the "checkered pattern" and the "patchwork quilt
design" of her professional career.

In changing geographic locations for career purposes, Joyce noted, "If I had been a man, I would have been applauded but since I was a woman I was asked if I knew the laws for taking children out of the state, and how were the children going to manage?" The children have had to deal with their father's absence. Prior to the move South, they lived close to their father and he "dropped by" on the weekends. In the 15 months since the relocation, their father has been to see them one time and they have visited him once.

Joyce's educational, administrative position requires some travel. Her work entails extensive travel for brief periods during the year; Joyce works professionally 50 or more hours weekly; other aspects of her job involve "after-five" and occasional weekend requirements. During the time Joyce is traveling and overnight stays are required, she hires an older, responsible adult to live in with her children. She phones daily to "check in." Otherwise Joyce has sole responsibility for her three children with no help from either her family or her former husband.

Joyce's hand gestures, her eyes, and facial expressions speak as clearly as Joyce does verbally. She is an open, warm, witty, extremely sensitive individual who has a keen insight into the human condition and yet remains sanguine. I agree with Joyce that one of her strengths is an ability to perceive the "bigger picture," especially the interrelationships involved in situations.

Interview

In discussing her initial reaction to being a single parent and also a professional person, Joyce stated, "If there was one thing I didn't want to fail at, it was being a mother and I knew that." Later in our discussion I restated this thought by saying, "Joyce, I heard you saying earlier that being a mother was a top priority and that you do not want to bomb out on that." She interrupted with a chuckle and said, "I don't want to bomb out on my job either."

Because of her intense desire to be a responsible parent, Joyce indicated that initially, with the exception of maintaining her professional work, all other activities were put on hold and her energies were directed to the parenting of three children who were ages 10, 6, and 4 at the time of her divorce. According to Joyce, rewards have been forthcoming for initially making parenting the only activity besides her work and such efforts have "made a difference"; and, from her vantage point, the children "are on their own now; they're back on a much more stable footing." Although her personal activities have been curtailed, ignored, or suppressed to meet the demands of parenting, she reported the absence of any regrets by saying, "If I had taken other people's advice, dated more often, and done a lot of things I love to do and sacrificed my children, I would not have been happy." She went on further to say, "I really almost resent people saying take time for yourself at this point.

I mean there's none at all possible. You can't and do what you want as a mother."

When faced with simultaneous demands from work and family, Joyce reported inconsistent feelings about her ability to enact the dual role of parent and professional. She said, "If I get bogged down with worrying about anything, it's how I'm going to make it really--through raising the children. But not so much--(with a gentle laugh she continued), I don't feel that way today." When responding to my request to share how she "juggles" role demands, she jokingly said, "How do I handle it? Lord, I don't know."

Joyce prefaced discussion of how she balances her dual role demands by saying, "I've been unusually fortunate to be in settings where there is a lot more tolerance. . . . Frankly, I have a position where I can call the shots a little bit. The vast majority of women who are single are not in the position I'm in--by any stretch of the imagination. So I'm very much aware of that."

She stressed the idiosyncratic nature of making decisions in handling the dual responsibilities: "I think how you juggle it is an individual decision. I went through the you-owe-yourself-a-lot-of-time business. You hear people say that all the time. . . . Well, there isn't any (time)! I mean it's as simple as that. There just isn't any." Joyce referred to herself as being pragmatic and says that the process of juggling role demands involves thinking or saying,

"There are things we have to do today and the people involved
in doing them are me and generally my children and--Now, how
are we going to get them done?"

Organization and routine were mentioned, by Joyce, as
key factors in handling her dual role demands. Two calendars
are kept in her office, one for work and one for the family
activities. Constant balancing of time is necessary so that
what is needed next week by Monday at work can be accomplished
without too much interference of the family needs during
the weekend. Both calendars are considered when planning
for work or family. Interested persons tell Joyce that she
expects too much of her children, and she admits, "I do
expect a lot of them but they expect a lot of me and they
get a lot. And the deal is--we work together."

Joyce's children take responsibility for many tasks
which society typically "expects" a mother to do. When her
son joined the Cub Scouts, Joyce was reading the Handbook
and found that "the first thing it said was have your mother
sew these patches on. I thought your mother! Why doesn't
this stupid book start out with--how to sew for boys?" When
Joyce compared her son's crooked and somewhat bigger stitches
on his Scout patches with the other Boy Scouts' at the first
meeting, she thought, "Oh, golly, I should have sewed them
on. This is awful. . . . (then) No way, . . . I did the
right thing." She laughingly shared the probability of some-
one at the Scout meeting thinking about her son being a child

of a single parent and reflecting along this line: "She probably can't sew either." On another occasion, recently, the teacher of one of her children suggested that she, Joyce, did not have to participate in an upcoming bake sale. Joyce assured him that her child was the baker, not she, and that they, as a family, could and would participate without any problem.

Joyce narrated the allocation of household responsibilities among family members and reported "trade-offs" so that time is available for special desires or needs. Cooking time for meals is one conscious change in Joyce's life style. Joyce laughingly shared, "My rule of thumb is--It takes them 10 minutes to eat it, I shouldn't spend more than 15 minutes cooking it." In one family meal situation described by Joyce, reduced cooking time provided the needed extra shopping minutes for shoes. She related, "I used to bake all the bread and all the cookies and cake and all that stuff. We buy store bought bread now."

Decisions like the one to redirect energy and time from cooking to other necessary parenting responsibilities, according to Joyce, do not come easily for her. She pointed to the repeated and sometimes emphatic "talking to herself" necessary to eventually bring about desired change in her behavior. In talking about how she "sorts out the priorities," she said that what "really matters" is that her children's hunger is satisfied with a balanced variety of foods, while

the attractiveness and the home-cooked qualities are not so important when time is of the essence. Joyce related, "So I say to myself, this isn't the year we have homemade bread. We have it once in a while . . . and my kids know I can make it."

Household job allocations in this family excuses no one. At 7, each of Joyce's children could prepare a meal. She said, "We ate a lot of hot dogs and tater tots but they were doing it." Emptying paper trash and cleaning toilet bowls were jobs mentioned as delegated to the very young child. Joyce clearly does not feel her family is atypical: "I brow-beat my kids just like everybody else does. They don't say, 'Oh, let me dust and vacuum.'" When her children become angry with her over chores, she reminds herself that it is not because she is a single parent but because she is teaching them that work, as well as play, is a part of living responsibly. About this she said, "They'd be cross with any parent in the whole world. It's a function of the parent-child relationship."

An extra strain in meeting the demands of both family and work occurs during the time when Joyce must travel exten-sively for brief periods of time. Joyce described what hap-pens when her children pull what she calls the "You're-always-gone routine." Joyce has them, even over the phone, count the days she will be home--the days she will be gone, and they explore the reality together that she is not <u>always</u>

gone. Then, choices as to the use of the time while she is home and while she is away are discussed. This is Joyce's way of stressing to her children their responsibility in managing or controlling situations to determine outcomes. She stressed that she is "up-front" with the children about her time restrictions because of her professional responsibilities.

According to Joyce, limitations in the amount of money available have never been hidden from the children. She thinks of her salary as very adequate and mentioned that when it is compared with other women's salary, it would be at the high end of the scale. Yet, in Joyce's family, like most, there are restrictions and limitations as to where the money is spent. She shared, "It's always a problem." Two of the children share a paper route which requires Joyce to be up early with one or the other child to distribute the papers. Joyce reported the surprise expressed by other mothers when she revealed that she charged the children for the extra gasoline required for the paper route. In keeping with this learning by doing mode of parenting, Joyce detailed how when the monthly bills are paid and requests from the children are forthcoming for dinner out or a movie, the amount of money available for leisure activities is made known to all three of the children and they decide how that amount is spent or not spent. Joyce sees this process as freeing her from the burden of primary responsibility while increasing the financial awareness of her children.

Joyce and her children live in one of the more exclu-
sive residential sections of a relatively large Southern
city. She indicated that matters of economics are often
discussed with her children. Her preteen daughter is obser-
vant and has questioned, "If we had the money would you
buy . . . ? Her mom answered, "Probably not." Or "You don't
believe in name brands, do you?" Joyce expressed a hope
that her answers to these questions and similar ones helped
the children to realize that "We are not poor; we've just
chosen to spend our money differently than other people."

According to Joyce, the activities the children have
after school are more or less accommodated by her leaving
the office early. She reported that when business meetings
are called at the last minute she excuses herself from them,
without explanation, for the amount of time it takes to
respond to her children's needs. Wednesday afternoon of each
week is reserved for family, and barring an emergency business
session Joyce does not transact professional business of any
kind then. The academic setting of which Joyce is a part is
family oriented and the children are often included in
business social affairs. Of her initial job interview for
her current position, Joyce said, "I made it real clear that
I was by myself since they aren't allowed to ask those kinds
of questions anymore. I felt it was fair."

Joyce described her job as one of relatively high
pressure and "lonely" at times. At one point in her career

she mentioned that she considered a position with less pressure and demands. After exploring jobs with less responsibility, she decided that the pressure to produce and the loneliness accompany being able to "call the shots." She declared, at that point, an acceptance of her competitive nature and her liking to be in charge. In coming to terms with that acceptance, she reported acknowledging the earlier times in her life when she had masked her achievement and sublimated her competitiveness. While taking courses toward her doctorate, she told others she was just going to school. Sharing this she said, "So I had really gone undercover then. I didn't ever talk about it." When her degree was announced in the local paper, neighbors and friends expressed shock at the level of the educational degree. Joyce revealed that during her married life she consciously masked her achievements in her profession in deference to her husband.

Joyce spoke honestly about occasionally being almost "immobilized" when either work demands or family physical demands or both were so overwhelming that time and energy were inadequate to meet all the tasks which seemed to demand immediate attention. She said, "Intellectually I don't get discouraged but . . . I don't know whether . . . I don't know where to begin. It kinda crushes in on you. It crushes all the creativity--it crushes the energy." Joyce said that what she finds herself doing when this happens is that she does "all the little stuff, that is peripheral." She shared

further, "I get it down to where it is manageable." She delays or postpones the "big project," whether it is an urgent report for the Board of Trustees or a major household task, until the smaller tasks are accomplished. Once there is a reduction in the number of demands or requirements made on her, Joyce reports a release from her immobility and a restoration of her energy and creativity for the big task at hand.

Joyce laughingly reported her forthrightness in dealing with the children and conflicting role demands and the resulting guilt she feels: "One time, I said--look, let's just get something real straight, your mother was not the daughter her mother wanted, wasn't the wife your father wanted, . . . It would be real handy for me if I could be the mother you thought was o.k." Frank discussions with the children about what it is they need and want in a mother, along with questions posed by Joyce to them about how she compares with the mothers of their friends, force--according to Joyce--a literal change in the dialogue and reduce the verbal "dumping of some of that stuff" by the children at especially stressful times for both her and the children. To avoid "buying into" the negative side of single parenting, Joyce spoke of how she talks to herself about her life as a married mother: "Frankly, life for me as a married person was not all that great. I wouldn't be divorced if it was."

When asked to explore the term responsibility, Joyce explained that to her responsibility was something that could be sometimes shared and sometimes must be faced alone. Her view was that ultimately all intensely personal decisions are made alone "no matter how many people you surround yourself with." Yet, from Joyce's view it is possible to share responsibility. She reflected, "You can say in a situation, this part is something I can deal with; this part is something I need other people to deal with. You can be responsible for overseeing that it all happens but you don't have to do all the work."

In response to my asking how she would describe herself, Joyce said, "I think it goes without saying, I deal fairly direct with relationships--with the children especially. I don't approve of game playing. . . . I deal with things pretty much as they come, not before, not after." In discussing her greatest strength as a parent, she stressed her firmness in handling matters of disciplining her children, even though she said this was neither "easy nor natural" for her. She indicated a strength in her work as an ability to perceive interrelationships, see the "bigger picture," and mentioned a need to confront situations in which communication is unclear. She also added that while this tendency to deal directly with relationships "may be a strength, it isn't always an asset."

Other concerns were mentioned by Joyce and one was the fact that her children had had to adjust to and deal with

the loss of contact with their father, since she and the children had moved to the South from the Mid-West. Joyce said that roofing the house, putting bushes around his home, and curbing the street have been done by her former husband in lieu of his visiting their children. While Joyce was discussing this with them, her youngest blurted out, "You have to remember he doesn't like children so maybe he'll like us better when we're grown." In Joyce's sharing how this conversation progressed, she said that her son stated that he felt his father did love him and that his father's intentions were good.

Joyce expressed disappointment and hurt that her two sisters have not been as supportive of her single-parent role as she would have liked. Holidays are especially difficult. Joyce disclosed, "I do not like being a single parent at holiday time." She had hoped that support from her sisters would be forthcoming in the form of holiday visits after she became a single parent. Several plans for visits were made but were not followed through, much to the disappointment of Joyce and her children. Joyce feels that she is perceived as the "strong one," not only by her sisters but also by some other persons. She queries (but only to herself), "What do I have to do, lie down in the middle of the street or do something really koo-koo before you notice I'm hurting?" To cope with the holiday season, Joyce now makes other plans for her and the children

and includes "a lot of people and a lot of activity." She indicated that the hurt that her sisters are not perceptive of her needs for additional family to be with her during the holidays is not totally removed, but that she has accepted their position--and them; and that now she actively, consciously, plans activities which maximize her chances for positive feelings during holiday seasons.

The need for close friends for emotional support was acknowledged by Joyce. With a note of sadness, she shared that her closest female friends are out-of-state. Phone calls and occasional visits permit contact, but the physical distance precludes frequent sharing and closeness which Joyce indicated that she sorely misses. She is not without support and spoke warmly of those relatively new friends who have given the "gift" of themselves in her behalf. Joyce shared that she does not look to one person for emotional support but endeavors to accept affirmation where she finds it within her professional and personal social network. She had this to say about affirmation, "That pretty much what I've had to do is to accept it where I find it--and say that if I haven't found it that I will continue to look for it, to be open to it, but will not shrivel up because I don't have it. I find it has to be a conscious decision."

Joyce shared some one-line aphorisms or phrases which express some of her views. "One-liners" which have helped her deal with her personal needs, especially her sexuality,

are : (a) One is a whole number; (b) I'm not that desperate,
yet!; (c) Sex is a desire, not a need; and (d) Don't get
laid where you get paid." "One is a whole number" serves
as a frequent reminder to Joyce that she is a complete
person--as she is--without a spouse. She said, "I could,
as some people do, get absolutely fixated on not having a
partner of some sort and that could be all-consuming." The
second one-liner, "I'm not that desperate, yet," heard at a
workshop for singles, is reported as helping Joyce to keep
in mind what it is she needs or wants from a meaningful rela-
tionship and in helping her weigh current situations against
her values and long-term goals. The third one-liner came
to Joyce during the height of the sexual revolution of this
country and while she was married; even so it has directly
influenced her response to contemporary advice to formerly
married persons concerning their sexual life. She feels that
sexual desires can be deferred, as can most things, except
air, food, water, and shelter. In reference to this she
stated, "People are celibate for various reasons. . . . By
golly, there is another point of view." Advice from an
acquaintance, "Don't get laid where you get paid," was
jokingly shared along with "There's no missing the interpre-
tation on that one."

The message of these aphorisms combined with her per-
sonal values as to what constitutes a meaningful relationship
rule out "one night stands." About this she said, "For me,

it's not altogether a morality issue but it's just that
there's no satisfaction in it." A previous meaningful rela-
tionship had introduced for Joyce the necessary commitment
of time and energy required to maintain such a relationship.
She felt, "It was a third job almost. It was such a demand.
A nice demand but nonetheless more than I could handle. . . .
I'm not sure I have <u>anything</u> more to give than what I'm giv-
ing. I'm giving it all."

Aware of the investment it takes to make a relationship
work and aware of the type of relationship she wants, Joyce
said, "If it happens, it happens. If it doesn't, . . . I'm
still going to be a whole person. . . . It sounds so easy
when I say it but it's <u>not</u>. You do a lot of talking . . .
and you fight the stereotypes that are out there--that you
<u>need</u> someone."

The credentials, the business position, her poise, sense
of humor, and self-directed behavior could lead one to believe
that Joyce had always possessed a positive self-image. She
said this is not true. As a young child, as she remembers,
she felt confident in her capabilities, yet that was lost to
her over the years of growing into adulthood. Joyce indi-
cated that the regaining of some measure of self-esteem for
herself has not been without struggle. Some of the events
and thought processes involved in that struggle were shared,
especially those which Joyce remembered as influencing her
approach to integrating her work and family responsibilities.

When asked about her message to the world from her per-

spective of the dual role professional and single parent,

she had this to say:

> You're not a stereotype; you are not a statistic. . . .
> Allow yourself to know what your dreams are, what your
> fantasies are, what your wishes are. But then, figure
> out how you accomplish parts of that within the spec-
> trum of your life.

Analysis

Joyce in this interview revealed herself to be a person

who has made a "conscious decision" to have an internal

locus of control. The discussion revealed the difficulty

for her in changing or refuting some of the social messages

she has received throughout her life. Joyce has dealt

repeatedly with the pressure to do or be as she "ought" in

certain social roles. First, from her mother she heard,

verbally and nonverbally, subtle and not so subtle messages

to be the daughter she ought to be. Second, perhaps her deci-

sion to marry at age 24 was to some degree a response to the

social message that she ought to be a wife--implied that to

be unmarried was to be incomplete or less than a whole per-

son. Third, once married she felt social pressure that she

ought to be a mother. Now as a mother she is still dealing

with social messages as to "how" parenting ought to be

accomplished.

The difficulty she reported in changing the habit of

making bread for the family, at the expense of less sleep

and energy for her, to one of purchasing bread already baked, is an example of her self-discipline and inner strength in dealing with social messages. She acts on her thinking and judgment abilities, not on her emotions. I hasten to add that she is a feeling person; it is just that she consciously overrides her emotions when it seems rational and practical to do so.

Part of the message about her role of a wife was that she needed to be less educated and less successful than her husband, even though this required her "going undercover" to do this. The "schizophrenic" behavior Joyce reported in thinking back to her married life indicated the two worlds of Joyce at that time. Her roles of wife and mother were separated from that of worker and student. She shared that in thinking about it now she is surprised how "natural" it seemed at the time. By not talking to her husband about her work and pretending that she was not progressing in her profession, she compartmentalized her work from her family. There is a sense of urgency in Joyce now to integrate these two worlds as fully as possible. Her efforts at making sure her children understand what it is exactly that she does at work and its importance to her, and to them as a family, is an example of such integration. The tangible evidence of the two calendars, one for work and one for family, lying on her desk and her openness about the demands on her time and energy of both worlds are other examples.

In her role of single parent, Joyce had received repeated advice to take time for herself. She resents this advice because in her words there simply "isn't any time." This resentment suggests an awareness of her need for and perhaps a wish for a little more personal time. Yet, Joyce is realistic in recognizing and acknowledging the dual role demands, especially on her time and energy. She cannot run for exercise every day but she can run Sunday morning, which she does. This is indicative of her pragmatic nature to <u>do</u> some running rather than complain because she cannot run every day.

Joyce is able to delay gratification. She expressed that a new female support network had not been established since her move to this state. There again, she does not complain about the absence of a new support network, but appreciates the infrequent visits and occasional phone calls from friends in her former network. She also has tried to get herself into a way of thinking so that she can accept emotional support from different sources for different aspects of her person and her work. She endeavors to teach her children that to delay gratification does not mean forever. She shared with chuckle, "This isn't the year we have homemade bread." She was speaking, of course, about the absence of homemade bread when time and energy to make it were needed elsewhere; but also it served as a humorous reminder of other "trade-offs" which were temporary and not devastating, although they might seem to be at the moment. Her repeated

conscious decisions to "re-position" herself both physically and mentally seems to have been a major factor in her being able to maintain a reasonably comfortable balance in her dual role demands.

Joyce said when speaking about her forthrightness in dealing with relationships, "While it may be a strength, it isn't always an asset." This suggested an awareness of other persons who have difficulty in understanding and responding to her direct manner. Part of her being up-front in dealing with relationships is in the interest of time and energy. It is difficult for Joyce to live with ambiguity at home and at work primarily because of the cycle of wasted energy, emotional and physical, it perpetuates. Because of her many and varied work and family role demands, Joyce has a sense of urgency about the _wise_ use of time and energy. She recognizes that this style of communicating, while best for her in terms of her intolerance for ambiguity and her distaste for "gameplaying," is unfamiliar and uncomfortable to many people.

Those things which Joyce cannot change she accepts. For Joyce, acceptance does not mean agreement. When she spoke of the lack of visits by the children's father since their move South, there was a sense of her disappointment and hurt. Yet, in discussing this she was frank about the realities, but expressed no bitterness. In her talks with her children to help them deal with their father's absence, she is realistic,

but fair, in her evaluation of why their father does not visit them. She is able to empathize with persons in situations and with different values than her own. She is open and honest about her single-parent household and noted the impossibility of secrecy.

While accepting of things which she cannot change, she refuses to accept passively those things about herself which she feels need changing. She shared the presence of an inner message that keeps her from ever being fully satisfied with her performance. In her work situation when her performance evaluation was less than 100%, but one with which most persons would have been extremely pleased, she told her immediate boss of her personal emphasis on the percentage points not obtained rather than on those which were; then she asked his help in accepting the high evaluation of 98.3% and in stopping the "1.7% stuff" with an explanation of her request as follows, "Because I don't like it and it's unreasonable."

There is an awareness of the difference between her female world and the male world in Joyce's comments about the response she received from others when she took her current professional position and relocated her family some 10 hours away from their previous home. The response received to her major move for her professional promotion involved, "How will the children manage?" She felt that if she had been a man she would have been applauded because of

the increase in salary, prestige, and professional respon-
sibility. Also, when we were discussing her manner of meet-
ing her children's immediate need for transportation at a
time when it conflicted with a last-minute-called business
conference, she indicated that she did not explain her
absence to transport her child. She said, "Men do not
always explain why they are unable to. . . ." She remarked
that women are typically in positions, especially in the work
world, which require that they explain, ask for, and some-
times "beg" for permission to act.

Joyce prefaced her statements about situations which
might be construed as difficult--whether it was a dual role
management of conflicting demands or personal restraints or
hurts--with a statement of how her situation differed from
most single mothers who worked and cared for family at the
same time. These statements were not said to take credit
or brag about her circumstances. They were to point out
her awareness that although her dual role enactment was
sometimes difficult, extremely so at times, there were other
single parents with insufficient money for the family needs
and a lack of job flexibility which made their dual role
enactment more difficult than her own in some ways. Even
though this may be true, it does not minimize Joyce's struggle
to balance her role demands.

Joyce's credentials, educational position, and economic
standing, combined with her poised, confident manner, pre-
sent a different kind of problem for Joyce, in that people

tend to assume that she is "strong" and "all is well."
Therefore, sometimes when she needs affirmation or emo-
tional support it is not forthcoming simply because she
handles her role demands so well and appears not to need
support from others.

Joyce has inconsistent feelings about her work and fam-
ily responsibilities; her role conflict is discontinuous--
sometimes very stressful and at other times not so stressful.
Sometimes she feels she manages the dual role enactment quite
well, and at other times she doesn't feel she manages well
at all. She refuses to waste precious time and energy to
complain about events, situations, or feelings, which are
less than positive. Her approach is to deal with negative
situations and then go on with living. She refuses to let
life events control her and she, through a process of careful
deliberation, seeks to be in control of her life circum-
stances. Joyce practices a philosophy of living which stresses
that choices are available to an individual and that the qual-
ity of life is determined primarily by individual attitude
and personal decision.

Joyce's Response

When Joyce and I spoke by phone to set a time to get
together for her response to this write-up, she spoke of
her curiosity in the report. She mentioned that she had
told parts of her story to others, and it would be interest-
ing to see how I had perceived her dual role enactment.

As Joyce read her write-up, she laughed and said, "I can't believe I said that!" She expressed that it felt like she was reading about another person: "It reads like a case study." She had no suggestions for change and indicated satisfaction in my reporting and in the written picture of her.

Lee

An Introduction to Lee

Lee was recommended to me as a possible participant in this study by a professional colleague. I was given his title, place of employment, a brief history of his time as a single parent, and informed of his personal tendency to go beyond the call of duty to be of assistance to anyone. After two attempts to reach Lee at work by telephone, I finally requested that he call me. He returned my call that evening from his home, primarily because of the respect for the professional colleague who had recommended that I contact him. His opening words were: "I would do most anything for _____. We chatted briefly about the positive attributes of this mutual colleague, after which further conversation about the male and female single parents' enactment of the dual role of parent and occupational worker went nonstop. Both of us seemed to forget we were talking by telephone--long distance.

Lee was curious about my interest in the single parents' view since I was not in that status. I shared my thoughts

about how I saw the single parent to be in a unique position
to provide insight into the integration of work and family
responsibilities. Lee agreed enthusiastically to participate
in the study and jokingly said, "I know more about the topic
than you ever wanted to know." Not only did he agree to
participate, but he proceeded to name person after person,
male and female, in the single-parent status who had sole
responsibility for their children and who were potential
candidates for my study.

We talked about the length of time for an interview and
I asked for a brief introductory session as soon as possible.
The following day was convenient for both of us; and since
he stressed he only had 5 to 10 minutes, I agreed to meet
him between his appointments at his work site.

The following day I met Lee, a tall, slender, effer-
vescent man. The 5 minutes turned into 45, during which time
I obtained some background information, listened carefully
as Lee spoke effusively, took notes furiously, and wished
secretly for my tape recorder. Because of my schedule, we
abruptly ended this conversation and at Lee's suggestion we
agreed to meet at an appointed time the following week at his
home.

It was a cool, clear day in early fall, when I arrived
at Lee's suburban home for the formal interview. Numerous
young people were out in the various driveways and in the
yards playing ball or simply sitting or standing around

enjoying each other and the brisk, fresh air and the calm
of the late afternoon. As I parked my car by the curbside,
a beautiful teenage girl left her circle of friends and
approached me. She introduced herself as Lee's daughter,
Beth; she informed me that her father had called to say he
was going to be a few minutes late. I declined an invita-
tion to go inside, saying I preferred to sit on the front
steps and enjoy the beautiful afternoon. Beth and I exchanged
information about favorite subjects, sports, hobbies, and
leisure activities while we waited for her dad.

Lee arrived and as the three of us entered the foyer, he
and Beth discussed a PTA meeting which they expected to
attend in exactly 1 hour. Beth was asked to prompt her father
as the meeting time drew near. Once we were in the elegantly
furnished living room, an offer of tea or coffee was extended
by Lee. After a refusal of refreshments, I positioned the
tape recorder between the two of us and the discussion began
in earnest. A sense of urgency permeated the hour; it was
as if both of us sensed the insufficiency of our time to
explore the topic and wished to make each second count.

Lee, a single parent for about 5 years, is in his
mid-forties and is the father of one daughter, age 15. Since
his marital disruption, Lee and his daughter have remained
in the family home located within 3 miles of his place of
work. Lee holds a top administrative position at a small,
reputable, church-related, 4-year educational institution in

a relatively large metropolitan city. His current professional plans will require that the family relocate at the end of this school year. He has just accepted the position of Headmaster for an older, established, K-12, church-related school located in a distant state.

Lee was born and reared in the New England region. His parents still reside there. After high school graduation, Lee came South for his undergraduate schooling and graduated from the college for which he currently works in 1961 with a Bachelor's Degree in Economics. He obtained a Master's Degree in Guidance and Counseling the following year from a major university in this state. After this educational experience, Lee had a brief stint of military service during our nation's Cuban crisis; he then returned to this state to teach and to counsel high school youngsters for several years at two different schools, one a conventional high school and one which specialized in the performing arts.

During the time of working in the high school setting, he met his wife and later married her in 1965. She was a student at a nearby university when he met her. Born in the Northeast and schooled in the New England region, she also came South for her initial college work. After his public school teaching experience, Lee joined the administrative staff of his alma mater.

With aspirations to become a college president, Lee returned to night school to work on his doctorate in

educational administration. He completed the course work and had the research for his dissertation accomplished when his wife left the family. The divorce, which followed, terminated their marriage of 13 years. He has held the completion of his dissertation in abeyance since that time and said, "It is my hope that I may get it finished. I may or may not. Of course, the longer you're away from it the colder it gets."

Lee expressed that his inability to finish the dissertation had reduced his college presidency aspirations. He addressed some other occupational social pressures directly related to his single parent status, or more specifically his single status. He shared, "I have also found it has impeded, I think, my career in a number of ways. I'm not angry about that. It's more of a disappointment than anything else. But I think a lot of people in colleges and prep schools are looking for a couple." He explained that although this personally hurt him, "I applaud them for it. I do think it's important for young people to see a husband and wife and a family as a model. . . and I deeply and profoundly regret that I can't be one of those models." He revealed a desire to remarry but stated that he refused to marry just to be a candidate for a desired career position.

Lee spoke at length about the physical kinds of assistance a spouse provides a person in a career position similar to his. He said, "Arms and legs do make a difference." In

fund raising and in making community contacts for the col-
lege, Lee detailed how those extra arms and legs could
assist with note and letter writing, entertaining in the
home, shaking hands, and other tasks related to good public
relations between a college and community.

Lee expressed that the single status was not a deter-
rent to being appointed professor, director of admissions,
or dean of the faculty, but in the higher administrative levels
where entertainment was a business requirement the hostess
dimension was a factor and any single person was handicapped.
He said, "It's not that I'm divorced that they're concerned
about; it's that I'm not remarried."

From Lee's view, men and women are reacting differently
now to the social roles of work and family when marital dis-
ruption occurs. He sees society as being "in a period of
transition." Lee stated that the divorced women he has
encountered tend to feel the need to pursue a career, some-
times at the expense of the family, because they do not wish
to be ever again financially dependent on a man, while the
men, Lee observed, tend to turn from putting primary emphasis
on their work to putting it into their family.

According to Lee, social views on the roles of work and
family have influenced the moral support a single parent
receives. He said, "I think males may get a little advantage
at this point in history. Some folks may assume that we
(male single parents) can't do certain things that a woman

could. And therefore, you might get a little bit more support." Lee qualified this by stating that support offered and/or received has a lot to do with personalities and is very idiosyncratic.

The emotional and social network for Lee is a large one. Many persons, some who live close by and some who live some distance away, offer support of various types and in differing degrees to his family. Lee feels that he is open to receive support and says that he does not hesitate to ask for needed assistance. At the same time, he indicates a real effort on his part to make those whom he asks to feel comfortable saying no. He said, "I've got some others on the list and I'll go on."

At the top of Lee's list of emotional supporters is his daughter, Beth. He related, "I have been overwhelmed by the depth of insight intellectually and the depth of caring emotionally of my daughter." Lee shares with his daughter his intense feelings, whether they are pleasant or unpleasant ones, and feels this open, honest approach is best for the two of them. He feels his sharing makes it easier for her to share personal concerns with him and ask for assistance. He characterized their relationship not only as a parent-child one, but also a friendship. He stressed that their being best friends did not preclude his being father and retaining his adult responsibility in that role.

Lee also receives a lot of emotional support from his parents, even though they reside in a distant state. His mother has provided a continuing female influence for his daughter since her mother's departure. The amount of the long-distance nurturing has decreased as Beth has grown up, but the intensity remains. Lee's mother knows of the "active reserve" of neighbors and friends who continually assist Lee and Beth; she writes notes of appreciation and sends occasional thank-you gifts to them. Lee is very appreciative of his parents' sensitivity; he says that although they do not have a great deal of resources, they have maintained a loving connection via the telephone, mail, and through occasional visits.

In contrast, Beth's maternal grandparents reside in an adjacent state within driving distance, but for reasons unknown to Lee they have not maintained close contact with their granddaughter. Lee refuses to pass judgment on their actions and only expresses disappointment in the absence of a close relationship between Beth and her mother's parents.

Currently, Lee's professional responsibilities include public relations, fund raising, general administration, teaching, academic advising, personal counseling, and college-related community service. He estimates that his work requires some 60 hours away from home weekly. It involves many after-five and weekend engagements since social contact is so important to Lee's primary responsibilities of public

relations and fund raising. Lee's work requires frequent travel but usually not for extended periods of time. Overnight stays, however, are not uncommon. During times when Lee is away from home overnight, he has neighbors next door with whom his daughter, Beth, typically stays. No housekeeper or babysitter is employed.

Discussions with Lee went as I had hoped; it was a sharing of his story rather than my asking questions. My part in the interview was usually an acknowledgment of agreement or a compliment to Lee. He is an effusive, articulate person who seems to have a great respect for persons, all persons regardless of their station in life. He is a helper. He said, "I need to give. I also need to receive and I'm willing to receive."

Interview

In response to my inquiry as to how he maintained a reasonably comfortable balance between his parent role of nurturer and his professional role of provider, Lee said, "I'm not sure you maintain a <u>comfortable</u> balance. . . . You do what you have to do!" Lee reported that his public relations, fund raising, and community service involve numerous after-five hours and often large portions of his weekends. Stressing that fathering was a priority for him, he then shared a specific instance of the past weekend where his work had taken priority over his daughter's need for his time and energy. Recognizing that his work often received large

quantities of his time, he emphasized, "It becomes a quality of time kind of thing."

Lee indicated that because of his job flexibility he can typically adjust his schedule to accommodate Beth's needs for his presence and time. He said, "If--unless it was a critical issue for me for my career--if there were conflicts--for example, if I was simply scheduled to go to a basketball game to show support because athletics is my area, that's not a life or death matter. . . . But if she (Beth) were ill or had a special meeting that night, I would cancel that kind of thing quickly and give priority to her."

Beth is involved in competitive high school athletics and Lee said that he often attended the games played in this city but that he had real difficulty attending those played out-of-town. He mentioned the "juggling" continues for him very often for at-home games. He related, "Sometimes I can come to the first half or the second half but I do get there." Noting the absence of purely personal time, he said, "But it's a balancing act and it sometimes means late hours for me by the time I get to sit down and concentrate on my work." He went on to explain that given a choice, "Often you choose to give up your personal time and look after your child and your job; those are the two big issues."

Even so, Lee related a difference in his parental role demands now, especially on the weekends and those he felt when Beth was 5 years younger. As Beth grows into young

adulthood, Lee said her weekends are more and more occupied with "her own agenda." He stated that often her needs just consist of transportation to and from an event and the psychological assurance that she is dressed appropriately and "looks nice."

Lee indicated that very little money was ever spent on baby-sitting. He reported that Beth was left alone at age 8 or 9. Lee mentioned an intellectual discussion with her in which they both decided that money typically designated for watching her could be re-channeled, if she could make it responsibly without a sitter. He related that in those earlier years when she was alone she had strict instructions not to shower, cook, or do anything which could possibly endanger her safety. Lee shared that to his knowledge Beth had never violated those safety rules. For a time when Beth was younger, Lee said, a room was rented to a college student. This gave Beth company without her feeling "watched or baby-sat" and the rent money was designated for Beth's enrichment activities. Lee felt this satisfied his need for an adult presence with Beth in his absence, and yet the situation was perceived differently by Beth.

In earlier years and now, Lee feels that Beth's dog, a golden retriever, has provided a measure of company as well as protection for her. According to Lee, Beth still has explicit safety precautions in telephone usage and home security to follow when he is not home. He expressed confidence in her willingness to follow these precautions carefully

as she always has done. Now, when both Lee and Beth are
away from home at night on separate engagements, Lee stated
that certain light and door key arrangements for quick entrance
into the house make their return individually more secure.
He reported that his neighborhood has a reputation as a
family place. An awareness of the impact of the neighbor-
hood setting on safety factors is noted when he said, "There's
a big difference in apartment living from tenement living.
. . . There are neighborhoods more or less safe."

Lee, in an effort to avoid giving the impression that
his was a dire existence, said, "A lot of things I do in
business is fun." He explained that civic duties, fund
raising contacts and board meetings involving interesting
community members were also social times, yet business func-
tions. Lee expressed several times that at his level of
responsibility he could control the scheduling of his work
hours to a large degree. He emphasized, "That's a big advan-
tage. If I were a factory worker and the machines were going
from 8:00 until 5:00 it would be a much tougher thing. . . .
It would be very tough to get a lot of things done. . . ."

In addition to his job flexibility, Lee mentioned the
vastness of his social support system as a major asset in
enabling him to juggle simultaneous work and family demands.
Of his work at the high school and college level with young
people and with individuals and organizations in the community,
Lee shared, "You don't realize in life sometimes that you've
built up a bank of good will capital."

Lee narrated past situations where he had been of assistance to an adult or a young person which now were paying dividends in assistance to his daughter with no corresponding request for further assistance from Lee. One older adult whose wife is deceased and whose children are grown is one such person who often takes Beth out to dinner or a special event. Lee referred to this person as part of an "extended family" and said, "We don't have any relatives anywhere near."

In further discussion about the absence of relatives close by, Lee said, "We do rely on friends that are your normal friends but you create a special cadre of friends . . . of other like folks." One such person, also a male single parent, was mentioned as a special friend, and Lee detailed how they "cross-hit" for each other, especially at their children's school functions. This friend and Lee became friends as a result of both of them being in the single-father status with custody of their children.

The telephone and the short distance between his home and work setting according to Lee are central in his dual role management. Lee indicated a reliance on the telephone to stay in touch with Beth. He said, "I tell her, if you need me, call." Lee lives only 3 miles from the college campus on which he works. The short distance is far enough to separate his work from his home but close enough to allow Lee to rush home, if need be, and also return to work with only a very brief time lapse.

Lee's secretary serves a key function for Lee in providing stability of contact between Lee and Beth, day or night. Lee detailed specific help she provides: night or day telephone accessibility to Beth; screening of Beth's telephone calls to the office, often answering questions or giving permission without interrupting Lee; contact with him during business conferences which should not be interrupted, through a predetermined code as to the seriousness of Beth's needs; a place on her desk for special messages either from Beth or about Beth which Lee checks at the end of each day.

According to Lee his work setting is a favorable one for persons who are family oriented. Lee indicated that the scheduling of meetings and assignments of work responsibilities take into consideration individual needs. He said, "Working in a supportive community like _____ makes a big difference." He mentioned the availability of the 24-hour telephone service and the campus security system and said, "People will hunt me down if it's something really important."

Lee says that Beth is often included in work-related social functions with him. She is occasionally invited to bring her books and study while a community civic committee meets in a private home. Sometimes she accepts the invitation and enjoys the refreshments and interaction; at other times she declines. For "after-five" meetings on the college campus, Beth sometimes joins her father; according to him,

she visits the college library, television lounge, snack
bar, or game room. Lee said of this opportunity, "So that
in a way, I've got a nice adjunct plus people know who I
am. . . . She naturally gets paid attention to when she's
there and that would be true of most people's kids at _____,
not just mine. We all like kids and look out for them."

Lee travels for extended periods of time periodically
and his travels often involve entire weekends. He gave this
information as to how he deals with this and his daughter's
teenage transportation needs during his absence: "I might
carpool in a concentrated fashion for 3, 4, or 5 days because
I'm going to . . . (to be away)." In this way he indicated
he tries to build up "good will" so that when he must be
away, Beth has dependable transportation. Lee expressed
appreciation of those who are kind enough to fill-in in his
absence.

For those overnight or several day trips when her father
is out of town, Beth stays regularly with the same next-door
neighbor. There are other homes available as a back-up if
needed. Lee related that for these overnight visits, Beth
has a sleeping bag which accompanies her and keeps her from
being too much of an imposition on their neighbors. In the
morning, she returns home to bathe and dress for the day's
activities. During the times when Lee is away for several
days, he says he prepares multiple sandwiches for his daugh-
ter, without condiments; these plus nourishing, commercially

packed fruits, cookies, puddings, or fresh fruits are available for Beth's school lunches. This procedure is also followed during unusually busy "in-town" weeks.

Lee shared several other techniques for dealing with family-related tasks to maximize time and energy. One was shopping style. He shared that whether he was purchasing items from the drugstore or grocery store, he bought in "massive quantities." This eliminated frequent trips to the store for one or two items. A relatively large supermarket is conveniently located between his work and home; Lee reported that he made quick stops there for perishable items.

Lee told of a change in eating habits since they have been a single parent family. He said, "We don't have the fancy cooking we once had." Grapenuts with yogurt, in its throwaway commercial container, and a glass of orange juice, often, according to Lee, provide a quick but nutritious breakfast; there are few dishes and no waste. Tuna salad, cheese, and fruit in various forms, various canned soups and meats were mentioned as quick foods often eaten. Of some of the foods he said, "Those aren't my favorite things to have by a long shot, but they are quick. . . ." The two-person can size was another item appreciated by the family because it can be divided without leftovers. Lee said, "We don't bother fiddling around with leftovers." Beth is also provided with a home cash reserve for purchasing

home-delivered pizzas or other fast food items when these are desired.

Household tasks are shared by Beth and Lee. Lee said, "We made a decision about that, both in terms of babysitters and housekeeping; we have a fixed income here--comfortable, but not lavish, and if Beth wanted to do enrichment things we need the money not for housekeeping and babysitting but for savings to do those things." Typically, Lee reported, he does the cooking, the dishes, and the laundry. Beth makes the beds, helps with the general housekeeping, and yard work. According to Lee, certain rooms in the home are deliberately not used during the week and this reduces daily chores. Laundry is done twice a week and the clothes may or may not be folded, depending on the time available.

Another change in life style involves changing the bed linen. Lee stressed that in earlier years of single parenting he felt a need to "change sheets three times a week to be a civilized person." Now, he declared, that unless there is an illness or excessive heat, the sheets are changed on the average of twice a month.

Some personal thoughts and concerns, both past and present, were shared by Lee. He mentioned that in the initial years after his wife left, Beth feared that he, too, might leave. To deal with this fear, Lee and the family dog daily walked with Beth down the street to the school bus stop. This custom, though modified, has continued through the

5 years; according to Lee, this is a very important part of
their day. He shared, "We try to start the day and end the
day in a tangible direct way--not just say bye from the
bedroom. I try and actually walk out with Beth and kiss
her goodbye and touch her on the shoulder." A nightly ritual
at Beth's bedtime usually involves 15 to 20 minutes of an
exchange of sharing of the day's activities.

Lee emphasized Beth's part in the willingness of others
to assist their family, especially with transportation. He
described her: "Beth is mature and understanding and coop-
erative and I think people do not mind taking her places.
She knows to say thank you; she is not a problem. . .;
she's ready when they're ready to go and she's ready when
they're ready to come back."

An expressed area of concern for Lee was how to meet
people of the opposite sex. He said, "If I hear one com-
plaint from my single friends, it's how do I meet other
people and am I kind of doomed to the life of quiet despera-
tion? I want to be responsible to my child and I want to
be successful in my career and is that just about going to
consume me so that I don't have time left over to develop
relationships. . . ?"

Lee discussed the difficulties in handling adult sexual
needs in a responsible manner. He indicated his desire to
handle these "in ways that are not destructive to the interest
of my child, in ways that are not criticized by people in the

community or your neighbors, in ways that allow you the

human needs that you have . . . and don't compromise your

professional standing." The practical aspects of family and

work responsibilities and the lack of adequate time to

develop intimate relationships were discussed along with

the influence intimacy has on sexual fulfillment, especially

for females. He indicated that the presence of

moral values which precluded having a woman in the house

overnight essentially dictated "programmed intimacy" within

certain time frames; Lee feels this to be unfair to himself

as well as to the other person involved.

Lee's message from his perspective of the single-parent/

professional dual role was a recommendation to the readers

of this study "to stop and think about where other people are

in life." He discussed this from a professional stance.

He said, "It's important to walk a few miles in the other

fellow's moccasins." He mentioned instances where work

institutions could be more sensitive to and accommodating

of the single-parent status: (a) in the scheduling of work

meetings to remember that the person expected to attend

may also have responsibility for a child's carpool; and

(b) in understanding when an important business session must

be missed, in part or in its totality, because the child of

the worker may also have an important event simultaneously.

A part of Lee's message was personal: "I think one of

the things that's a problem for a lot of us (single parents)

is the loneliness." Lee said that when he was happily
married he had no idea that there were people out there
suffering in the way he had sometimes felt pain and the
loneliness. He stressed that it was an absence of a person
with whom to share the positive--the success at work, a
beautiful sunset, or his child's accomplishment--which both-
ered him the most: "It's the absence of opportunity to share
success more than it is to share the defeats and the prob-
lems." The late evening hours sometimes are especially
difficult for Lee, and it is then he reports an acute aware-
ness of being alone--"when the world falls off and there you
are." "Sometimes," he said, "you wonder where you get your
sustenance. You give in your work; you give to your chil-
dren; and when that's all finished, where do you get some-
thing from?"

Analysis

The change in Lee's marital status, from married to
single, simultaneously changed his career aspirations and
his family life style. An adjustment of his goals and dreams
in both work and family were necessary. As a male single
parent, Lee has had to redefine his role enactment as a
father and as a professional person. Prior to his divorce
Lee was not aware of the difference in the married father
life style and that of a male single parent: "When I was
happily married it never occurred to me that there were

people out there suffering in the way in which sometimes
I have felt that pain and that loneliness."

His professional aspirations have been redefined in
the sense that the absence of a spouse has impeded his upward
mobility. Prior to his divorce, Lee aspired to a college
presidency. That educational position and the one he pres-
ently holds, with its entertainment, public relations aspect,
have built-in social, cultural expectations for the role of
a spouse. The absence of someone to assist with this "hos-
tess dimension" has forced Lee to rethink his job aspirations.
Lee has felt social pressure, in the higher professional
positions to which he has aspired, to be a part of a couple--
so that young people could have a "model" to follow. Lee
agrees with this social dictum that the couple status is a
better model for young people to emulate than the single
status. Because he feels this way, it has been difficult to
accept his single status; this is revealed when he said, "I
deeply and profoundly regret that I can't at this point in
my life be one of those models."

As a single father, Lee has had to assume additional
household tasks and the primary nurturance of his daughter.
These extra demands on his time and energy, plus his profes-
sional role pressures, keep the dual role "balancing act"
in the forefront of his consciousness. He is constantly
aware of his daughter's needs and the demands of his work.
Where Lee once had one job, his professional work, he now has

two, his work and his family. Lee considers his single status as a "problem" to be dealt with as best he can. He has adjusted his life style to accommodate the additional parental demands. Modified expectations of eating style and household tasks have helped Lee with the juggling of his time and energy between his work and family responsibilities. Lee has adjusted logistically, but not emotionally, to his single status.

The absence of "purely personal time" creates additional frustration for Lee since he feels, personally and professionally, a need and a desire to remarry but without the wherewithal, especially the time and energy, to make that happen. He said, "I would like very much to remarry, and I hope that day will come, but it's not anything I see I have control over in any real sense of that term." Lee feels that his dual role enactment requires that he "give and give" and he has a need for an intimate relationship so that he might receive some needed affirmation as a person.

A male, who typically is the one to initiate social contacts, would seem to have more control over relationships, and ultimately remarriage, than a female in a similar situation; however, Lee's dilemma is one of availability and selectivity. Lee says there are few places for singles of similar background to meet and no time to develop relationships once contact is made. He said, "If you're a professor, a teacher, a minister, or whatever and happen to be single,

you don't hang around local bars as a way of making social
contact; but if you don't, where do you meet people? It is
not easy." Lee expressed his desires: "What I need to find are
people who have my level of cultural interests, my level of
economic standing, and my level of social interaction. . . ."
Lee sees commonality in values in social, political, reli-
gious beliefs and cultural traditions as important to inter-
personal relationships. So although Lee would like to
remarry, for personal and professional reasons, he isn't
willing to settle for less in a personal relationship just
to aid and abet his professional ambitions.

Psychologically, Lee's daughter takes first place in
his life but his work often requires the most hours of his
day. Lee recognizes the many after-five hours his work
requires of him are at times when Beth is typically home
alone. He realizes that the hours spent at work after 5:00
often exceed the hours spent at home or with Beth and said:
". . . It becomes a quality of time kind of thing." He
deals with this constantly and said, "You do what you have
to do." He can't always be with Beth when he would like to be
and still do what his job requires. He loves Beth and is
very aware of her needs, yet he also enjoys his work with
people and readily recognizes that it is the source of their
livelihood.

For Lee, physical tasks per se are easily shortened in
the interest of time and efficiency, but those involving

people are more complex and unpredictable. Although he did

not say so, I suspect that he often truly "forgets" the time

because of the intensity of his interactions with people,

work-related or personal. I gather this from my own exper-

ience with him; he always took more time than he legitimately

had and truly desired to be of assistance to me in any way

possible. Lee's intentions and his actions do not always

agree. In regard to his desire to keep Beth informed of

his whereabouts at all times, he said, "I try to let her

know where I am, when I'll be back. I'm not good at that!

I'm terrible about being late and letting things slip and

so forth, but I try my best."

Lee accepts the reality, without evidence of psycholog-

ical struggle, that household tasks must be modified in the

interest of time in the single parent household. He does

not expect to do everything as it used to be done nor does

he feel guilty when adjustments, even those which he does

not like or appreciate, have been necessary. He simply

reported the changes and matter-of-factly said, "That's the

way it is." He reported any initial guilt feeling over his

inability to accomplish household continuity in a way sim-

ilar to his married life style as quickly eradicated. When

speaking of the many short-cuts dealing with cooking, shop-

ping, laundry, and housecleaning, Lee's primary concern is

with speed and efficiency of getting the task done; quality

is often forsaken or clearly given only secondary considera-

tion. In his words, "It is quick." Organization and

routine are important to Lee as he deals with his family and work role demands.

Lee's divorce experience has made him more compassionate in his personal and professional dealing with people. In his work he endeavors to be in tune and sensitive to the family needs of individuals. In his personal life, he is aware that the male single status is a difficult one and that it often differs from the female single parent status. He thinks that society may assist male parents a "little bit" more because it is assumed men can't do certain household things. He is sensitive to the intimacy needs of women in sexual fulfillment and "doesn't feel it fair" to fulfill his physical needs at the expense of the other person.

Lee is blessed with a strong, fully functioning conscience. With this he is satisfied, and he is not willing to compromise his moral values, yet he recognizes the restrictions such a conscience places on him, especially in his interactions with the opposite sex. Lee loves and respects his daughter and accepts that he is a moral model-- not only to her but to others with whom he interacts. These beliefs restrict or prohibit certain behaviors on his part. He does this willingly and ungrudgingly, but not without sacrifice.

Lee prefaced his statements about his dual role management with comments about his situation being different from the person who has 8:00 to 5:00 work hours, with a 30-minute

lunch break. He was not setting himself apart in a proud kind of way; he was simply indicating that his large support network, his family-oriented work setting, and his job hour flexibility made his dual role management easier, even though it was still difficult.

Lee has obviously worked diligently in his profession and in his role as a father. He takes pride in his accomplishments. One of the real pluses for Lee has been the maturity and independence of his daughter, Beth; this can in part be attributed to growing up in a single-parent household.

"Things not said" sometimes can be as important as those "things said." I feel this is possibly the situation for Lee. He has a feeling of satisfaction and accomplishment in his ability to juggle his dual role demands and willingly described in detail how he manages. When he said, "I'm not sure you maintain a comfortable balance," he spoke more or less of the time and energy demands and acknowledged the difficulty of his task. He spoke less about the personal pain and loneliness of the task. When speaking about his mother maintaining a continuing female influence for Beth, Lee's eyes filled with tears and his voice softened. The loss experienced by Lee and his child is still very much with him and perhaps some of the scheduling of one activity after another which require some kind of "doing" on his part is in some measure postponing times for him "when the world falls off and there you are."

Lee is a dynamic individual with tremendous drive and is endowed with an enthusiasm for life, even though he has suffered and continues to suffer extreme personal loss. He searches out the positive in his life and appreciates it sincerely.

Lee's Response

Lee and I had real difficulty meeting personally, so I left the written presentation at his home for his reading with a request that he note any changes desired or inaccuracies so that we might discuss them. When I picked up the write-up, Lee had written a note expressing that my words were both "accurate and sensitive" and had noted the editorial changes which he felt were needed.

The changes were not factual corrections but involved matters of style and some additional clarifying points. I made the changes in quotes which made them grammatically correct. However, I did not make any changes that altered the essence of the original interview.

Martha

An Introduction to Martha

Martha's name came to my attention through one of her friends who has great respect for her as a person and as a single parent. When I tried to reach Martha by phone, her answering machine informed me of her absence and took my

message. Less than 1 hour later, Martha returned my call
with an enthusiasm that is rare at 4:00 o'clock in the
afternoon. I told Martha of my desire to interview her and
inquired about a convenient time for her. Martha indicated
she was free immediately and suggested I come right over to
her home. I was not expecting such a quick response and told
her I would need to rearrange some prior responsibilities.
I promised to call within the hour either to confirm my
coming or to request another appointment time.

Within 15 minutes, Martha and I were facing each other
for the first time as she answered my knock at the side
entrance door of her home. Martha, attractively dressed in
a black wrap-around jumper with a bright red sweater under-
neath, looked fresher than I felt after an already full day.
Two dogs greeted me and after "sniffing me out" returned
lazily to their respective places near a space heater.
Martha beckoned me in and offered refreshments.

Martha's keen sense of humor became evident immediately.
In the midst of stating my interest in hearing her story
rather than my asking specific questions and her responding,
she, while still standing and reaching for her cigarettes,
smiled and quipped, "Oh--I'd hoped you would ask sort-of
yes and no questions--or questions that you fill in the
b-l-a-n-k." We laughed together, which was to be the first
of many times. This comment, I was to discover, was typical
of Martha who shared some somber events and situations in

her life but usually laced them with humor so that they evoked a smile or a laugh or at least did not evoke pathos.

The phone interrupted our conversation a couple of times but the discussion resumed without loss of continuity. Martha is an energetic, easy-to-converse-with person, whose casual, carefree manner set the tone for our time together. In addition to this initial meeting, I met with Martha a second time at 8:30 in the morning, 1 week later, again at her home. Martha had just returned from her daily swim at the YWCA. She initially "dressed on the run" as we talked, but later settled in for a cup of coffee, sausage biscuit, a cigarette, and relaxed conversation. Our total discussion time exceeded 3 hours and was puctuated by Uh-huhs, M'mmm-ms, overlapping words, hand gestures, and laughter.

Martha, a single parent for 18 years, is in her mid-fifties and is the mother of four grown children. Martha's home was purchased shortly after her marital disruption and currently one son, a full-time college student, resides there with her. Martha, formerly an educator, is now a sales representative in private business.

Martha grew up in the Midwest region as one of two children. Her father was a consultant engineer and as such traveled around the country during Martha's childhood helping industries "re-tool" to become more efficient and productive. Martha related that his pay was based on a percentage of the

company profits for the 5 years following the re-tooling so the family "had money constantly coming in." Even during the depression years, Martha remembers that the family had live-in maids who sometimes traveled with them from town to town. Since the family moved as industry needs dictated, Martha reported she attended 16 different elementary schools, 2 junior high schools, and 2 high schools. Martha spoke of these numerous school settings: "Either you knocked people over the head and said, 'Here I am, speak to me' or (you) never had a friend and never did anything." Noting that persons react differently to circumstances, she reported, "My brother became quite a scholar and I became quite social."

Her father died in 1970 and is remembered as "very much a chauvinist." Martha recalls overhearing family discussions about her future female responsibilities of child care, sewing, and cooking. Both parents agreed that a college education was important to Martha as a female but felt it had to be one appropriate for females so that she could "set the tenor of the household, make social contacts, and set the intellectual level of the household." Martha recalls that her father insisted on a certain female-dominated field as a college major and at a certain college so that if she didn't marry and have children she would be competing only with females in the work world. She said of her father, "His daughter _had_ to go to _____ College and _had_ to take Home Economics because that was going to be my life's work."

Remembering her father as a mechanical genius, her mother as very bright, and her brother as a scholar, Martha said of herself in retrospect, "I was the dumb one in the household and was expected . . . if you can't be brilliant you can at least be heal-thy, and help-ful, and hap-py." Restating the emphasis her father placed on her becoming a "good healthy" girl with a "happy disposition," Martha said: "Which isn't bad, but you know--it's quite a downer."

Her mother resides in another Southern state and at 80 years of age is active and is described by Martha as "a very difficult person" who likes to be the center of atten- tion. Martha says that her mother has always compared her with her very bright brother, who is a priest, has his Ph.D., and five children. Martha summed up her mother's attitude this way: "With my mother this is an inherent thing that a female is constantly in competition with males and certainly in competition with other females and is just as worthy as the male perceives her to be." Martha feels that her mother's message to her in various repeated ways has been: "Too bad about you, Martha--woeful failure as a female. . . ."

Of her family of origin, Martha says that there probably wasn't too much physical warmth. She mentioned that she could remember the one time her father hugged her and added that her father was not close to anybody. In a recent visit with her brother, this lack of closeness was discussed and her brother said that in his last years his father had admitted a lack of human relations skills.

Martha attended the Midwestern college of her father's choice and graduated with a B.S. Degree in Home Economics Education. There she met her husband, a college professor, some 8 or 9 years her senior. They had one son; 5 years later a daughter, a son, and another daughter were born in 3 consecutive years. After college, Martha worked professionally as an educator. Her husband had some chronic emotional problems, at one point was suicidal and under psychiatric care. After 14 years, the marriage terminated when the children were around the ages of 6, 7, 8, and 13.

Martha, after many years in an educational, administrative/instructional position in higher education, received a terminating appointment because of lack of tenure. Of the resulting transition which Martha made from education to private business, Martha said, "It was very difficult . . . see, I was 50. No job and 50 years old--you're a glut on the market and female." When I asked about her enjoyment of her new job, she said, "I'm enjoying it all right. There's a lot of anxiety and I'm still very broke."

The dual role of parent and professional for Martha is to a large degree something of the past. Her son, who is residing in the home, has an attic room and a meal ticket at college and comes and goes as he pleases without demand on his mother. The three other children reside in other states; two daughters are on the West Coast and the oldest son lives in the Northeastern region. Martha is very close

to her children, although they are grown and sometimes contact must be by long-distance phone. Martha currently rents rooms to two female college students to supplement her income.

Martha is a highspirited and enthusiastic lady. She is a person to whom numbers are not important. When recalling dates, ages, or numbers per se, Martha continually said, "1969 or '70; 15 or 14; 24 or 25; oh, I don't know!" If someone cares to check the mathematical details as they are related here do not be surprised if they do not add up correctly. This is not any indication of any untruth but just that exact dates and specific numerical details are not remembered by Martha. She laughingly reported: "When I got my divorce my ex-husband, at that very moment when I came down off the stand, said, 'And you couldn't even tell them the correct date we got married!'"

Interview

When I told Martha that I was trying to look at the way single parents actually juggle these roles of parent and provider and somehow or other do it with reasonable balance, Martha laughed and injected, "Or they don't do it with balance. . . . You completely ignore the kids (one week) and the next week you don't let them out of your sight." Seriously, she added, "What you try to do is . . . my favorite saying is: Anything worth doing is worth doing badly." Martha elaborated, "The idea is that you recognize that it

is very much worth your time to raise these kids; it's very
worth doing so you just muddle along and try desperately."

Martha's ex-husband had paid child support for the first
6 years after their divorce but this abruptly ended and in
the remaining years Martha was the sole provider and primary
nurturer of her four children. She alluded to a statement
she had heard in teacher training which had helped her deal
with the multiple demands of work and children. The state-
ment referred to parenting: "You can make a whole lot of
mistakes in child rearing; as long as the child feels loved
you can do anything." Martha joked, "So I kept that one in
mind." She talked of the many things she could not do with
or for her children; then added with a chuckle, "But I told
them I loved them."

In a matter-of-fact manner Martha reported, "Of course,
I had trouble with my children. . . ." She mentioned that
her children were all teenagers in the 1960s and the nation's
social atmosphere among youth in those years contributed to
some of her parenting struggles. At one particular time in
their teenage years when Martha was feeling a lot of guilt
and inadequacy as a mother, she sought help through the
counseling of a priest. Martha remembers what he said as
being "absolutely marvelous" and says his comment remained
with her and thereafter affirmed her parenting skills. Martha
recalls the comment: "Martha, there is absolutely no guar-
antee that _if_ you had known what would be _the_ right thing

to say and do that they would have done any differently from what they did." Martha mentioned that training she had taken to become a leader of community Parent Discussion Groups was personally helpful.

In the initial years of single parenting, Martha recalled how she tried to keep the children's image of their father a positive one regardless of his actions. She described how she reminded the children of their father's love and pointed to the money he sent for food each month--a strategy which eventually backfired when he stopped sending child support after 6 years. The children were then convinced that without that money they would starve. Martha detailed how she reminded the children of their father's birthday and special holidays until one day she reported, "I declared my declaration of independence!" She says she then told the children: "You've got to realize that if he (their father) were here all the time and taking lots of care of you and doing lots of things with you, I'd probably be jealous and probably wouldn't want him to do that. And that he isn't doing it, I don't like that. But you've got to remember that he can't do anything that I would probably like. I divorced him because I didn't like him anymore and I still don't like him and you're going to have to work that out with him." She commented further that at that point in their lives she quit reminding them of special considerations of their father and said, "It's up to you to make a relationship with your father; I can't do it!"

In retrospect, Martha shared the earlier years of single parenting: "You certainly have the children responsible for doing laundry, . . . their own rooms and changing sheets. . . ." She said that she tried to hire household help but quipped, "What maid is going to come in and work in a household of five when she can go and work with a family of two that are neat and clean. They'd look around and that would be it." Martha described the tightness of money and the juggling of chores among the children and herself. Laughingly, she shared the details of numerous family conferences and the resolutions to "do better." She reported, "It was just the typical thing—whose week it was—. . . sometimes they did and sometimes they didn't—and sometimes the schedule worked and sometimes it didn't."

In talking about specifics of her dual role Martha admitted that it was hard to remember all but recalled that "for a while Sunday dinner was practically the only dinner time as such—Sunday after church." She said the children made their own breakfast and that typically everyone was away from home at lunch time during the school year.

Martha and her children relocated to a Southern city to enable her to take an administrative/instructional position at a 4-year college. One of Martha's primary concerns which she recalls was the physical care and safety of the children after school. Martha shared that a neighbor, who had a daughter also 6, offered to keep the youngest child each day

after school; this person refused pay, according to Martha,
and was given small gifts of appreciation. The oldest son,
a teenager, watched the other two children in Martha's
absence.

Martha, in looking back, says that meeting the children's
emotional, attention, and safety needs was the more strenuous
on her. She recalled, "The physical needs were not that
difficult. Oh, it was time consuming to run back and forth
to school for something but. . . ."

Other than the typical time and energy demands of four
active children, Martha reported special situations which
were emotionally and physically draining on her as a mother.
Martha said that her oldest daughter from birth was a sickly
child and often called from school complaining of a stomach
ache, nausea, and weakness; after years of chronic complaints
and a series of doctors and various medical tests, her condi-
tion was finally diagnosed in her teen years as hypoglycemia
and remedied to a large degree with a special diet. Martha
shared that until this physical problem was found, she had
to deal not only with her child's illness but others, includ-
ing physicians, who accused the child of malingering or being
emotionally ill. The youngest daughter, according to Martha,
has had a series of emotional upsets: as a teenager she
became a chemical substance abuser; she saw her first boy-
friend killed in a playful scuffle and one week later tried
to commit suicide; later she underwent treatment for alcohol

abuse. Martha reported that counseling and therapy have helped. She mentioned that although this daughter has recently faced marital disruption, she is doing well and is presently working at a Counseling Center for Family Violence on the West Coast.

Mentioning the flexibility of her work in those years, Martha recalled, "I was thankful that I was in a job where I had some mobility--or freedom--because I was constantly getting phone calls." One of Martha's memories of the tug between career and family demands was of her initial official meeting for the new college personnel when she was called out because one of her sons had fallen and broken his arm.

A work-family conflict situation was recalled by Martha which she thinks probably hindered her future educational career. Martha was scheduled to attend an important meeting with influential people but because the meeting took place at the same time her daughter was experiencing the emotional trauma after the loss of her boyfriend, Martha had to cancel her appearance. She said, "There are times when you simply cannot (leave your family)!"

Martha reported: "What's rather amazing to me is that as much of a shrew as I was--which I am sure I was--you know you get into these yelling, screaming fits with your kids. You get down on their level. They're all very, very, like-- grateful to me. They are very--they think I'm wonderful. It's amazing. They think I have done a very good job and

they tell me so." She added, "There is no doubt that they really love and appreciate me in a way that they don't their father and that's sad."

Martha's educational, administrative/instructional position, which she held for 11 of her 18 years as a single parent, was lost to her because she was denied tenure. She said of the termination of her former position: "It was hard to take." In retrospect, Martha said, "I'd fallen through the cracks, I didn't know how to protect myself." She shared the process of her terminating appointment as a failure to get tenure. She had thought her change to a 12-month administrative/instructional position had removed the need for tenure, although she found out that technically it had not. Martha recalled, "I had not worried about promotions . . . (after process of termination began) I recognized that I should have been saying, promote me." Sharing further she said, "I didn't have the political savvy to toot my own horn well and be alert in the early years that I should have been getting promotions." Martha attributes part of her lack of awareness to the fact that she is female: "It's not knowing. I think women don't think in career terms like they should. At least, I didn't. I've learned a lot." Mentioned also was the feeling that she wasn't viewed as a serious career professional person: "I definitely think that at _____ College they did not consider me a career person. . . . I don't know why. I think a lot of it was

probably in my own attitude." Martha reported, "I wanted
to be the nurturing, helpful person."

Martha contrasted her view as a female single parent in
the previous educational position with that of a male single
parent. She reported her fantasy perception of the male
single as being more interested in "his responsibility . . .
of his responsibility of moving his career on and getting
more and more responsible jobs so that he could have career
security and financial stability." She said, "I wasn't even
thinking! I was _assuming_ that because I did a good job I
would be rewarded. . . ."

In the former educational position Martha had been
responsible for the availability of student services at
certain times. She reported that she had argued and argued
well for expanded services and was able to obtain assistants
so that students could have more uniform service. In her
supervising these assistants, Martha--in retrospect--sees a
problem related to her being female. She said that she
never took credit for helping with the accomplishments of her
assistants: "I made it appear that I didn't do anything, which
is very much like women." According to Martha the result is
that: "The people that you are nurturing and bringing along
aren't even grateful because they don't see you as the
responsible person for their growth and development."

Of her former position Martha noted, "Although I was a
wonderful mentor I did not have a good mentor." She mentioned

that she did not have anyone advising her as to what to do but did have some advice as to what not to do: "I had, 'Martha, don't speak up at these meetings.'" Going further she told of how she was treated as a subordinate by fellow male professionals because of her tendency to "serve" and because she was female. She said, "I was out there running around trying to get along with everybody. . . ." Of this difference in treatment by males and females Martha said: "The idea is that there's that sexual--it's not even harass- ment." She continued to say, however, it was--from her view-- related to men viewing her in a subservient professional position rather than an equal one: "I think they sometimes thought of me as . . . rather than as a professional degreed individual."

Martha described questions and comments made to her by female co-professionals which insinuated sexual involvement with male colleagues. She said further, "Nobody would have accused a male of doing that. . . ." She told of sometimes apologizing to the men involved in the insinuations because of her false answers given in anger. She said, "What they (women) were asking is--Are you lovers? So I told them--Yes. Why not?"

Martha sees her busy single-parenting role as influenc- ing her not being wise politically and professionally: "I think if I hadn't had the children taking up so much of my time along with wanting to date and socialize that I

probably . . . for bright, I'm slow . . . I would have seen
that I needed to get a firm hold on a career."

Martha reported that when she left the educational
setting she became an independent financial consultant under
the umbrella of a private firm. She related that her pay
was based on commission and her sales were extremely good.
Martha further detailed how a new person, younger and male,
became her supervisor and how she was ultimately fired because
of a conflict of personalities: "Finally he just told me
he could not have me around the office." When I asked if
she knew exactly why she was fired she replied, "I don't
know--I certainly must not have been very tactful." She says
now in her new job that she is trying "not to ruffle any
feathers."

When asked to elaborate on how her family of origin
influenced her parenting, Martha detailed those things she
recalled doing consciously and deliberately in response to
the modeling of her parents. She reported that she followed
in her parents' footsteps with an emphasis on religious
training: "I insisted the children and I go to church every
Sunday--come hell or high water. No matter whether we felt
like it or not." She explained that the important thing was
that the children have a religious start and said, "Now, they
can do whatever they want. . . . But as a parent I thought
it essential they get some start."

After further thought Martha added, "I certainly wasn't going to be the disciplinarian my father was. . . . If he said it—that was it!" Chuckling, she shared that her memories of her mother's seductiveness with her boyfriends prompted her to go out of her way to have her children's friends see her as a mother figure and not as their contemporaries. Martha shared that her mother had always been flirtatious and desirous of being the center of attention. She reported that immediately after her father's death her mother began a series of relationships with men; at 80, Martha says, her mother is "still terribly dependent on her boyfriends." She shared a further feeling that her mother has always objected to children because they take the attention from her.

In looking back, Martha shared, "Certainly sexuality and sex were a big—yes, yes—in my household. There was no— it was something you didn't do until you got married, of course, but it was one of the blessings of married life. . . ." Martha disclosed that her strict religious upbringing with the restrictions on premarital sex contributed to her marital problems. She reported, "I don't much value virginity and let my children know that but I don't want them to be promiscuous."

In response to my inquiry about her adult relationship with her father and her remembering the one time he hugged her, Martha related, "I had to learn, I think, to hug people."

I asked, "Has that (the lack of tangible show of affection) made you more affectionate with your children?" She responded, "I don't know." She shared that from her perspective their family had "lots of hugging and telling them I love you." On the other hand, she shared that one of her daughters had said when she married, "Oh, their family is so different from ours--they are so affectionate and hug so much." Martha, laughing, said that her oldest daughter tells as an adult how she disliked being hugged as a child and didn't know why her mother insisted on hugging her.

In response to my request that she explore the term responsibility, Martha said: "Everyone, once in a while, says, 'How wonderful you raised four kids by yourself' . . . and I think--I had no choice! I recognize now that I did have a choice but truthfully, it never occurred to me that I had any choice and that's responsibility!" Martha accounted for the responsibility she felt as an outgrowth of her ethics and morality: "No one could rear my children as well as I could. I didn't do it very well--at least I was trying."

Martha had more to say about children and responsibility. She said, "Not to let them be responsible is insulting to them. It's just an awful thing to say--let me do that for you." One of her sons had recently said in Martha' presence that she wasn't all that good with children--that she treated them like little adults. Of this Martha acknowledged, "That's probably true." She said although she never liked children

en masse she certainly did appreciate and respect young
growing individuals. In disciplining her children and
teaching responsible behavior at any age, Martha said that
she tried to make the corrective discipline be an outgrowth
of whatever the misbehavior was.

Martha had more to say about responsibility: "God's
gift to me is my life and my gift to God will be what I do
with it. It's a thing I was reared on and I find really
very unfair sometime. . . . I have to do more because I
was given more." She laughingly said, "That's that good
ole Puritan ethics kind of stuff and I keep trying not to
buy into that. (pause) Totally." Then she referenced a
recent proposal of marriage and jokingly said, "I'm going to
figure out a way to marry that man and not give anything in
return. . . ." She shared further that she knew many women
who would accept the proposal and not give any thought to
the fact that they didn't care for his company.

I asked Martha if she could make one statement to
the world from her view as a single parent and also a
professional. She gave this some thought and said, "Oh,
I'd like to add money. Money is security." She went on to
say that money would be the most helpful thing and that it
would answer a lot of the problems for one in the dual role
of provider and nurturer: "My experience with other women
is that I see them struggling to bring home the groceries
and working two jobs; and you know, if you could hire a

full-time maid, you could have a job." Martha added that

money would also enhance the opportunity for remarriage:

"I mean money is freedom. Money is real freedom. It gives

you the freedom to do."

When I asked Martha how her emotional needs were met

during the 18 years of single parenting, she responded, "Oh,

I went scurrying around all over the place gathering a little

bit here and a little bit there. . . . I was a joiner. I

couldn't stand to be out there alone. You know--classes and

I'd do this and I'd do that. . . . I have a lot of contin-

uing history in this area with a lot of people." Martha

indicated that she initiated a singles club in this city

several years ago.

Martha remembers her children's initial reaction to her

dating: "They were just perfectly dreadful, horrible to any

male who called me." She shared that she finally gave them

an ultimatum--either they could exhibit acceptable behavior

in the presence of a male friend or not be seen at all.

She felt this gave them an out. She added, "They couldn't

stand to see me with a male."

Martha mentioned that she has had two or three long-term

special relationships. She spoke of her struggle in dealing

with her personal physical needs and modeling for her chil-

dren. She said, "That was the really difficult thing. And

my upbringing was such that you didn't sleep with men you

weren't married to. I was a virgin when I married." Martha

indicated she sought religious counseling in those early years and was told by the counselor that he didn't believe "that God ever said or ever meant for people to be doomed to be celibate because they didn't have a marriage partner." This same priest gave her some guidelines for sexual conduct as a responsible parent. She reported, "The rule has been no overnights in the household for anybody." Martha quickly said that this rule has been broken but not until the children were young adults and then not regularly. She stated, "I didn't go upstairs much and they didn't come down in mine (bedroom) much. . . . I did a lot of coming in late. Now I have all the freedom and wouldn't worry one bit and there's nobody there." Martha mentioned a couple of special intimate male friends with whom there is no sexual intimacy. She observed that women her age who did not marry quickly after the divorce did not seem to get married.

Overall Martha sees the single female parent as being faced with society's stereotypical view of a divorcee. Martha acknowledged that many females are deserving of the reputation of being flirtatious and promiscuous: "Divorcees are often paying too much attention to their own social lives and far too little to their children. . . ." She said that divorced males and females often feel they must prove themselves attractive sexually; she said, "Rejection is so bad. So there is real validity to the bad reputation for the divorcee which makes it hard." Martha feels that the male

has social permission to prove himself sexually attractive while the female does not.

I asked Martha when she really wanted something to happen how did she arrange it. She responded, "I'm a catalyst more than anything else." She gave an example of instigating social interaction when all persons were standing around not knowing "quite how to connect." She explained, "What I want to happen--I pull other people in to do it with me." Martha injected that one thing she wished to happen was to be married: "I would love to be married." She shared more and said, "It's obvious that I don't want to get married to solve my money-making problems. I want to get married for the companionship. I mean I don't want to be an old lady all alone; I guess I wouldn't mind if I had lots of money. It keeps getting back to money." Martha stated emphatically, "But you can't do things without money!" Then she said without interruption, "You can do a lot!" She then proceeded to share all the things you can do without money and then added, "However, it's harder as you get older." Remembering the line of thought, Martha said, "So . . . how do I go about getting myself in the position to meet the right kind of males that would be interesting to me? First of all, I should be very thin. . . . I have been struggling with the battle of the bulge all my life."

When I asked Martha about her goals and aspirations for the future, her voice quivered and her eyes moistened, and

she quietly but firmly said with her sense of humor still intact, "I am trying to earn enough money so I will not be a bag lady in my old age." She went on to explain that her retirement funds had been withdrawn and used. She said, "There are those single women who have worked all the time I have who have retirements, who have tax sheltered annuities, who have put money away. They didn't raise four kids. I just don't have any money."

Martha expressed anger and resentment that her husband was now retired and living in another state. She said, "I've paid all his debts, raised his kids and he's free." She added that although he doesn't have a lot that he does have what he's worked for. She spoke disparagingly of how he quit his college teaching to enter religious training and how he was acclaimed as this wonderful person. In reality, Martha shared, it was then that he ceased paying child support.

Impressed with Martha's high level of self-disclosure with me, a stranger, I said to her, "You're so open with your life. Have you always been that way?" She responded, "I think so. . . . I don't know that being a single parent makes any difference in that respect."

In response to my asking, "How would you describe yourself, Martha?" she responded, "I'm always intrigued with that. One of the things—I find now that people say—she's real smart." She laughed good-naturedly and said, "I am

smart. I am. (pause) She's very social. I'm a good friend." Other descriptions Martha added were open, risk-taker, and eminently trustworthy. She said further, "I like my basically happy nature. I certainly have been depressed at times. I just hate that! I'm--I like to be active. She laughed and in jestful summary said, "Basically a nice, happy, intelligent, young woman--young woman, right?"

Analysis

Martha revealed herself to be a person who does for others at the expense of herself. She has given, and given sacrifically, in her dual role of parent and professional without thought of her needs. Her age, her lack of financial security and job stability, have forced Martha to consider her basic survival needs; this is frightening and unfamiliar thinking to her since it is contrary to the social message she received early in life: Do for others, but do not do for yourself.

She has been a person who has felt responsible for others' well-being. She indicated that when she encountered her single parenting role of four children, she never realized until years later that she had a choice in the situation. The children were her responsibility without question. Martha feels her life is a gift from God and what she does with it is her gift to Him. Although she sees this as "unfair" and fights buying into those Puritan ethics "totally," she still struggles with what she can "give" to others.

Martha's father valued brilliance of mind and the message she received was that she in comparison to her mother, brother, and her father was the "dumb one" of the household. Her brother, because he was a male and males were valued more in the world of that day, was automatically valued in the home. Martha had to "earn" her value. Born a person of worth, Martha was convinced of her unworthiness as she was and was led to believe her value came through her service to others. Her needs were not considered in her college or college major selection, but the needs of others, primarily a future husband and children. She learned to trust and rely on authority figures: her father, her husband, her "bosses." She assumed that if she did her best, she would be taken care of.

As a child she received the message from her father: I'd rather you were a male. If you can't be that--then I'd like you to be brilliant--since you aren't that--then be "healthy, helpful, and happy" so that you can serve others well. From her mother, Martha received the message about what it is to be feminine: Females are not really valuable in and of themselves, but your sexuality can work for you to entice a good man who will encounter the world in your behalf. Your value hinges on your ability to have a good man love you.

Martha accepted the social messages from her father and only in recent years has she begun to seriously challenge them. Others in Martha's life have validated her intellect

so she can now accept the fact that she, too, is bright. Professional experiences have shown her that her healthy, helpful, and happy disposition has invited treatment as a subordinate rather than as an equal.

Martha has struggled to reject the social message that to be feminine is to be seductive; she views this as using or manipulating the other person. May I hasten to add this does not mean Martha isn't sexually attractive or that she doesn't desire to be. But she feels strongly that sexuality is not to be used as a tool or technique to solely enrich or enhance one's own circumstances or situation. Sex to Martha is for mutual enjoyment of two subjects; it is not an object/subject relationship. Perhaps Martha unconsciously resists the thinness of figure and fights "the battle of the bulge" to negate her mother's message of the importance and purpose of female attractiveness.

The concern that she give in a relationship makes it difficult to accept what others have to offer her unconditionally. This struggle is obvious in a recent proposal of marriage from a man who could give her financial security and values her as a person. Yet, she struggles with this decision because she doesn't feel she can give appropriately.

Gradually, Martha has relinquished some of her felt responsibility for the well-being of others as indicated in her story of "her declaration of independence" from her children and their relationship with their father. Her

exclamation of "Wonderful Chapter" in reference to that event in her life suggested the relief she experienced and indicated her refusal to ever again assume such a heavy burden of responsibility.

Because Martha has always cared about others' well-being, she assumed that others would care about her. Her experience professionally has painfully proven otherwise. While she was busy "nurturing" others and unconcerned about her personal career status, others were accepting of her "service" but took care of themselves, not her, professionally.

In a relationship where temporary inequality exists, Martha does well at assisting the subordinate person, whether it is her child, a student, or a professional assistant, to a position of equality with her. The ease in which she does this has prohibited recognition of her efforts professionally. Martha, a female in a male-dominated work world, has not received mentor assistance from others to help her become a professional of equal status, but has felt in numerous instances the efforts of dominants to keep her subservient. Martha learned well how to take care of, defend, and argue for others' benefit. She is a good defender of others, but she is not such a good defender of or for herself. Only in recent years has she seen any need to argue in her own behalf.

Martha is open-minded and able to see both sides of situations. In her loss of the educational position and the job in private business, she pointed out any discriminatory

practices she recognized but matter-of-factly acknowledged her responsibility. An awareness of her independent nature and possible abrasiveness to others in male/female work relationships is noted when she said, "I certainly must have not been very tactful." She is attempting to correct any possible aggressiveness in her new job and said, "I'm trying very hard not to ruffle any feathers."

Relationships and others' opinions of her are important to Martha. When asked to describe herself she began from the point of view of another: "She's real smart. She's very social. I'm a good friend." Since Martha is truly social and loves a crowd, she fears isolation from others. She is especially fearful as she gets older because she sees age as reducing her activities and thus the number of others in her presence. The absence of financial security for her latter years increases her fears because she feels that money would enable her to do things which would assure the presence of others.

Parental demands have consumed the majority of Martha's time and attention. Although she has personal satisfaction and the love and appreciation of her adult children, she is saddened that in our society this accomplishment has no accompanying financial rewards. Martha's parenting efforts probably contributed to her loss of job security and certainly contributed to her financial condition. Martha is angered and resentful that her husband, though equally a

biological parent, has not shared the true costs of parent-
ing--emotionally, physically, or financially.

Martha's high level of self-disclosure possibly has been
costly professionally. Because of her naiveté and trusting
nature, others have been aware of the struggles she has
encountered. Parenting demands consumed lots of her emo-
tional and physical energy and probably contributed to her
not being seen as a serious career person.

Martha has a high level of awareness of the difference
in the male and female worlds. She is a valuable resource
person to other females who are professional career persons.
Her parenting experiences and her parenting philosophy are
worth sharing with others. She is able to articulate the
differences in the male and female world extremely well and
for the most part without rancor.

Martha has a tendency to laugh when she is nervous or
tense. Her wit and teasing quips might give an impression
of superficiality but Martha has learned to laugh in lieu of
crying. She is a sensitive and perceptive individual. She
is a survivor with her sense of humor intact; in the most
serious moments she will inject: "For bright, I'm slow"--or
an equivalent remark and reduce the tension for herself and
any listener. Because of the messages sent to Martha that
she is only valuable given certain conditions, it is difficult
for her to fully accept herself as she is. Martha is an
ingenious lady who is a winner and although she doesn't

always see herself as one, she has learned--and rightly so--
to remind herself daily that she is.

The number and age of Martha's children increased the
time and energy demands and the possibility for conflict with
her professional role demands. This influenced her work
situation in that she "was always getting phone calls."
Martha's type of work and the availability of assistants
enabled her to meet those frequent time-away-from-the-office
parental demands. However, this was and is not without
costs. In Martha's looking back, she remembers specific
situations where the need to be with one or the other child
prevented her from being present at important professional
meetings. Her parenting demands were so heavy that often
her work suffered. At other times Martha, in trying to do
her professional work well, would reduce the attention and
energy directed toward her children. Both role demands were
always in the forefront and constant juggling of role demands
was necessary. The fact that Martha had virtually no physi-
cal, economic, or emotional support available to her made
her work-family role strain more continuous, both psycholog-
ically and physically. Her personal needs were met in the
same way her work and family responsibilities were met--on
a day-to-day basis as time, energy, and circumstances per-
mitted. Martha's social nature sent her "scurrying around"
finding emotional support where it could be found.

Financial restraints and the number of children restricted Martha's opportunity to hire outside assistance with the household chores. These were sometimes done well and sometimes not so well. The conferences of the entire family which Martha reported where everyone resolved to "do better" suggest the difficulties encountered but the accomplishments, too.

Martha said that her parenting and social life as a single parent kept her so busy that she really wasn't aware of the need to have a firm grip on her career. This does not mean that she did not do a good job professionally. Indeed it may mean that she did such a good job of involving others in assisting with her professional assignments that she did not get proper credit for her leadership. Martha's nurturing characteristics served her well in her parenting efforts as evidenced in her children's sincere expression of appreciation of her as a mother. On the other hand, those same characteristics prevented her taking proper care of herself in her professional life. In addition to the time and energy which her parenting efforts required away from her job, her naiveté and concern for others precluded her full awareness of the political reality of the professional world.

This was Martha's story as she recalled her work/family dual role. Some issues were not addressed because she is looking back on past events and not involved in a current day-to-day experience. Also, a primary concern for Martha

is to have financial security in the coming years and her
thinking is influenced by her current financial situation.
Since ultimately Martha lost the professional job which
she held during most of her dual role enactment years, her
recall of work-family role conflicts is fragmented and is
pervaded with her loss of job stability and financial
insecurity.

Martha's Response

Martha and I met again at her home for her reading
and responding to her written presentation. As she read, she
expressed, "Oh, this hurts!" When she finished, she was too
emotional for words for a moment. Finally she said, "How
could I have let myself get in such a pathetic situation?
(another pause) That was very painful to read." I apol-
ogized for initiating the hurt by writing her story and asked
if there were changes or additional information which she
wished. She said that she felt that many of the positive
aspects of her professional life were missing and mentioned
several honors she had received through the years. These
honors were . recognition by professional organizations of
her professional expertise in her field of education and of
her as a leader in the community. I assured her that I was
aware of the image I had recorded, but I felt it was based
on her story as she shared it and not inaccuracy on my part.
Martha and I talked about how her recall of the positive

events was minimized, and understandably so, by an acute
awareness at this point in her life of the lack of financial
security and the seriousness of that. We agreed that at
another time in her life her recall of her story would have
had a different emphasis, probably a more positive one.

Analysis of the Four Interviews

As individual dual role experiences were described by
these four individuals, commonalities and idiosyncrasies
were noted in their integration of work and family responsi-
bilities. Each single-parent family represented here is
uniquely different, yet threads of commonalities underlie
their situations.

All of these single parents are divorced. The trauma
of the divorce varied in intensity and the length of time
elapsed since the marital disruption ranges from 2 years to
18, yet pain and loss are common to each family. The manner
in which they have dealt with their loss has a heroic quality
of personal sacrifice; they have determined to weigh and
balance their choices and rise above negative events and
circumstances, at least in attitude.

As married parents, each of these individuals worked
outside the home. A commitment and loyalty to their work
existed prior to their divorce. As single-parent mothers,
the role demands of home and work responsibilities did not
significantly change. Role demands were reduced somewhat in

that these women dropped one role, that of wife. For the males, the change from married father to single father did entail some change in family responsibilities. The degree of change varied in the two men interviewed, but both previously had focused their energies on their work role. In their single parent status, these men had to divert more energy to their families as primary nurturers of their children. The men previously had one primary role; they now have two, work and family.

Time and energy role strain were common to all four of these parents; they felt multiple demands on their limited amount of time and energy. How they dealt with these demands in the structure and organization of their life styles was idiosyncratic, but the work-family role strain was continuous or discontinuous depending upon the economic resources available, the number and ages of the children, the degree of flexibility the parent had in his or her job, and the amount of assistance from others. In all four families represented here, the income at the time of dual role enactment was above average, and this eased the strain of basic survival needs.

The size of the support network was influential in the degree of work family role conflict experienced by all. The males in this study experienced a large degree of support from their family of origin, while the females did not. Possibly this has nothing to do with the issues of gender but probably is idiosyncratic to the families of origin of men

who would desire and actively seek custody of their children. They would tend to be supportive of the family, nuclear or single parent, male or female parent.

Moreover, the males received a large amount of physical and emotional support from their secretaries, their neighbors (married mothers especially), their colleagues, and friends while the females did not report the same amount of unsolicited assistance. This appears to be related to the notion that society does not expect the male to be responsible for both his work and his family without help, while it tends to expect that of the female. The social messages would probably be different if both the men and women in this study decided to eliminate their work role and concentrate entirely on their parenting role. The women would tend to be supported and the men would probably receive negative messages.

There appears to be a difference in the way these men and women perceive their dual role of work and family. Psychologically, the family is first with all these parents, but in practical reality work is their livelihood. These men and women recognize vividly as single parents the importance of their professional work to ensure their families' well-being. None of these individuals think that balance between work and family responsibilities is possible. They are pragmatic in that they do what has to be done on a day-to-day basis. Sometimes work receives the larger percentage of their time and energy, and sometimes the family is favored;

work-family circumstances are individually considered with
priorities rearranged as necessary. The difference in per-
ception seems to be psychological. The men in the study do
not feel responsible for everything and have modified house-
hold tasks and sought additional help to accommodate their
limited amount of time and energy, while the women in the
study tend to feel pressured to do everything as it "ought"
to be done. Joyce has consciously sought to change unrealis-
tic expectations of herself with some measure of success.
Martha spoke of not being totally responsible but her story
suggests the number of times and ways she has demonstrated
her concern to do all she can possibly do for others. While
the two men did not hesitate to ask for assistance from a
variety of sources, the women tended to do all they could
before they sought assistance, if they sought assistance at
all.

Jim indicated that the greater psychological burden for
him was from his work responsibilities. The family demands
Jim thought of as routine and "a part of life." Lee was not
so explicit; yet, more of his energies and expressed concerns
were work-related. This suggests that these men feel the
greater responsibility for their professional work because
without success there they would fail in society's eyes as a
provider and a father, while the women of this study feel
the greater burden in their dual role to be their parenting
role, because women who are not successful mothers first

are not thought to be successful in our society. Social
messages to the males and females about their parenting and
work roles may be in transition but although for these four
persons the children definitely have top priority, the manner
in which they are seen as first appears to differ for these
men and women. If the men succeed professionally, this
ensures their family's first place. For these women, to
succeed professionally reduces in some measure their per-
ceived adequacy as mothers; the livelihood of their family
depends on their success at work, so they tend to try to do
both jobs equally well, with more psychological role strain
than the men express in this study.

In three of these families, household chores and eating
styles were modified in the interest of time and energy. Jim
could afford to hire a caretaker for his three young children
who also cooked regularly when she was in the home. He
cooked at other times because his work flexibility allowed
him the time and he enjoyed cooking for the children. This
suggests the difference adequate finances or the lack of them
makes in the degree of dual role strain.

In all of these families, there is a conscious effort
to be open and honest in communication, especially between
parent and child. All of those interviewed spoke of the
impact of single parenting on the maturity of their children,
and they unanimously agreed that children of single parents
become independent at an earlier age. All parents saw this

early independence and open communication as positive factors
in their children's lives.

When I asked these individuals to describe themselves,
the response was probably not totally idiosyncratic but was
not clearly related to gender either. All of these parents
included in their descriptions of themselves adjectives which
related to contact with fellow human beings, e.g., good lis-
tener, forthright, sensitive, and good friend; three of them,
the two males and one female, included adjectives of a per-
sonal nature, e.g., bright and energetic. Perhaps their
awareness of relationship to others stems from their common
experience of the broken relationships in the family because
of the marital disruption.

All of these single parents introduced into the inter-
view discussion concern about their sexuality and their
social life. All indicated their personal needs competed
with their work and family demands for time and energy. The
way in which these personal needs were dealt with varied
among the four individuals, but in all instances the per-
sonal needs were last to be given consideration.

All of these parents volunteered information about their
desire to remarry. The reasons given for remarrying hinted
at a difference in gender perception of benefits and costs
of relationship involvement. Joyce explicitly stated that
although she desired an intimate rleationship, she didn't have
anything else to "give." Martha, in her discussion of her

rationale for not accepting a marriage proposal (which would
have resolved her acute lack of financial security) men-
tioned that she could not "give" him the companionship he
deserved. She felt it unethical to receive and not give
appropriately. Lee was more explicit in his expectations of
an intimate relationship: "You wonder where you get your
sustenance. You give in your work; you give to your chil-
dren; and when that's all finished--where do you get something
from." He expressed a need to receive personal affirmation
from another. Jim expressed his desire to remarry without
giving his reasons and I did not probe because I did not
want to put words in his mouth.

Joyce and Martha introduced the topic of a mentor in
the professional world. Joyce received help from a male
mentor in her early professional life and looks back on the
experience in appreciation. She indicated that she did not
realize at the time what a doctorate would mean to her pro-
fessionally; her mentor did and encouraged and even pushed
her to pursue the higher degree. Martha, on the other hand,
says that she did not have a good mentor or at least she was
not aware of or receptive to mentor messages which could
have helped her to be more professionally astute.

Jim and Lee differ in their value of work for personal
prestige and self-esteem, the utilization of money, and
their view of the single status. Jim refutes the social
message to expand his business because of the required

sacrifice of time away from his children. Jim values the quality of care for his children and does not mind paying for an unusually competent caretaker. Lee chose to leave his daughter, at age 8, alone and to spend the money which would typically have gone for a sitter or housekeeper for enrichment activities for his daughter. Lee views his single status as a "problem", while Jim views his as a "situation."

These individuals alluded to many social messages in their stories. The family of origin social messages were especially powerful for all of them. Some messages were identical but were reacted to differently, e.g., Joyce and Martha both received messages related to serving others, especially family. Joyce has consciously refuted this message to some degree and has changed her behavior and psychological well-being as well. Martha refutes this verbally but has been unable to do it physically or psychologically. Jim refutes the message from well-meaning business associates to "expand his business and make more profit" in the interest of more time with his family. Lee has accepted society's dictum that couple status is "better" than the single status and, therefore, he has adjusted physically, but not mentally, to his singleness.

The males in this study are atypical in the flexibility of their professional work and in their economic status. Jim owns his business and is free to come and go as he desires or his family needs dictate. Lee is in a family

oriented educational setting and in an administrative posi-
tion with almost complete freedom to set his own schedule.
Although the fmmales in this study are not in as flexible a
position as were the males, they are still atypical when
compared with most women in similar single parent status.

Ben Franklin said, "Things that hurt instruct." These
persons have experienced extreme personal pain and loss, and
they have learned from their experiences. As a result, I
feel all these persons, male and female, are more sensitive
and responsive to the needs of their fellow human beings.
For this reason, their stories may be idiosyncratic or may
only be comparable to other single-parent households of sim-
ilar economic standing. The reported lack of balance and
inconsistent feelings about their work and family responsi-
bilities do not suggest that they perceive any dual role
conflict to be insurmountable, only difficult. Sometimes it
is more difficult than at other times. Whether or not the
role strain is continuous or discontinuous has a lot to do
with economic status, number and age of children, flexibil-
ity of work situation, and the amount of emotional and physi-
cal assistance available.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This study has focused on the role interaction between work and family responsibilities when one person fulfills the dual role of parent and worker outside the home. Work and family represent two major social roles for most adults, male and female. My interest is both personal and professional. As a mother of three daughters and a person working outside the home, I am keenly aware of the multiple role demands and the necessity of synchronization of work and family responsibilities. In reading the role conflict literature, I noted the predominance in the literature of studies of women experiencing work-family role strain. This absence of studies of men enacting the dual role suggested either a bias in the literature or a different work-family situation for men.

After reading and reflecting on that reading, privately and publicly with friends and colleagues, I determined that three questions were of primary interest to me concerning role or interrole conflict, defined by Getzels and Guba (1954) as that which occurs "when one person is required to fill simultaneously two or more roles that present inconsistent, contradictory or even mutually exclusive expectations"

(p. 164). The questions are these: (a) To what degree and in what ways do the role of parent and occupational worker conflict? (b) Is role conflict between that of parent and worker perceived and experienced differently by male and female? and (c) In what ways and to what degree does social learning influence role conflict between home and non-home roles? To assist in my exploration of these questions, four single parents have shared their story as to what constitutes role conflict between work and family responsibilities and how they have coped with their multiple role demands. My thoughts about role conflict at the beginning of this study, as reflected in Chapters I and II, have been enlarged and deepened: new questions have been generated; some questions have been short-changed in the exploration and others over-emphasized.

Examination of the Issues

Richardson (1981) has said, "Role conflict is a <u>condition</u> [emphasis mine] of role enactment resulting from and experienced by those combining roles" (p. 18). If this is true and I believe it is, then such a condition would not be based on gender but on multiple social roles. Time and energy role demands are role strain factors substantiated in this study and in others. These are common to anyone enacting the dual role of work and family. The degree of role strain and whether it is continuous or discontinuous depends greatly on the number of children and their ages and

the amount of outside assistance available. Younger children
require more physical and emotional care and as the number
of children increases, the demands multiply. The ages between
children and sibling assistance with child care also influ-
ence the intensity of role strain. The availability of
day-to-day physical assistance with meal preparation, laun-
dry, grocery shopping, and general housekeeping are factors
which make multiple role demands more or less conflictual.

Economic status is a major contributing factor in the
degree of role conflict experienced; the availability of
sufficient money for adequate child care, help with household
tasks, meal provision at home or in restaurants, and the
desired social life reduces the role strain considerably.
Sufficient money also reduces the requirement of working
extra hours for overtime pay or working two jobs to make
ends meet. The emotional support available is another key
factor. The presence or absence of emotional support, both
personally and professionally, influences the psychological
role strain of an individual.

The four persons in this study were professional per-
sons prior to becoming parents. They had no social messages
which indicated that the professional life for the female or
that the primary nurturing role for the male was "not ok."
It seems to me that if either of these messages were present
and a single parent were forced into one or the other role,
this would increase their psychological work-family role

strain regardless of their situation. A father who felt strongly that nurturing suggested a lack of masculinity or a mother who felt strongly that she should not be in the work force would be psychologically strained regardless of all other role strain factors.

The two fathers in this study had sought and won custody of their children. In our society, although times are changing and books are being written on how fathers can obtain custody, it is still the exception rather than the rule for the father to be awarded custody of his children when the mother is "fit" and also desires custody. On the other hand, females--single mothers--often have no choice in their parenting. They are expected by society to rear their children regardless of their capability or desire to do so. The availability of public assistance for women with small children indicates this social expectation. The desire or lack of desire to parent, regardless of the difficulties involved, would influence the degree of role strain perceived and the manner in which it is handled. The physical demands on time and energy could be identical and be perceived psychologically differently by individuals, male or female. It would not be a matter of maleness or femaleness but a matter of social acceptance or rejection of what is feminine or masculine behavior.

This study and others substantiate the importance of an occupation with work schedule flexibility as a key factor

in the intensity of role strain. The absence of this flex-
ibility of self-determining work hours might have influenced
the fathers in this study and other single fathers' choice
to seek custody of their children. One of the participants
in this study pointed out, and I agree, that women tradi-
tionally hold jobs which require their asking permission,
explaining their absence from work, or even "begging" for
time off. The statistics quoted in Chapter II indicate the
wide disparities in compensation for jobs of comparable value
and portray a sex-segregated work force: one in which typ-
ically the female is in a subordinate, lower paying position,
with little or no power. The "powerlessness" of such posi-
tions in the work world influence the degree of work-family
role strain experienced by working mothers.

This aspect of "power versus powerlessness" of the occu-
pational position as it pertains to work schedule flexibility
and work-family role strain leads one to reflect on Kanter's
analysis of the influence of the work structure on individual
behavior. The two females in this study alluded to this
aspect: One explicitly stated that she was viewed by her
colleagues as a subordinate and noted her work behavior of
"running around trying to get along with everybody." The
other mentioned that she did not always "explain" her tem-
porary absence from work and noted that men typically do not
explain their absence nor are they expected to do so. This
study connects to Kanter's analysis sufficiently to suggest

further study of the degree of power an occupational position commands and its effect on individual work behavior, whether male or female.

The influence of the opportunity for promotion and its impact on work-family role conflict was noted but in a different sense than I originally planned to examine it. Kanter feels that lack of opportunity for promotion influences work behavior which could be labeled masculine or feminine and have nothing to do with being male or female. In this study, that aspect was insufficiently explored; however, one participant's single-parent family status, from his view, did restrict his chances for professional advancement. This increased this participant's psychological work-family role strain. Another female participant, in retrospect, seemed to feel that her being viewed as a female subordinate and her tendency to "serve" did influence her lack of professional advancement.

I believe that Gilligan and Chodorow are correct in their analyses of men and women having different perspectives of living, especially of living and working in relationship. I also think that it is important to say they differ without saying the male or female perspective is better. My reading, my personal experience, the four parents' stories, and my reflection on all of these have confirmed for me that men and women perceive and experience role work-family strain differently. Time and energy demands discussed by the four

single parents, male and female, were very similar or iden-
tical; the language they used to describe these multiple
role demands utilized the same words: "no time, importance
of structure, routine, organization; do what you have to
do." Yet, as I listened to their story and the meaning
attached to those descriptive words of role conflict on
limited time and energy, I became convinced of the differ-
ence in male and female perception. Again, this did not seem
to have anything to do with biological maleness or femaleness
but everything to do with the social messages of behavior
expected of a male or female.

Chodorow's terms personal responsibility orientation for
females and positional rights social orientation for males
are appropriate to describe this difference in perception.
For the men in this study, there was a definite sense of
"detachment" as they explained the demands on their time
and energy; this detachment was not portrayed in a cold,
negative sense, but in a matter-of-fact, linear sense as
they spoke of their world of work and family. The males
accepted the additional physical household responsibilities
imposed on them by their marital disruption without any
indication that "things" should or ought to be as they once
were; they did not feel personally responsible or guilty when
all household tasks had to be modified to accommodate their
limited time and energy. Yet, the women's tone of voice,
sense of urgency, and report of frustration suggested the

feeling that they felt responsible for making all things go smoothly. Both women in this study addressed this struggle not to assume personal responsibility in many situations. The men did not hesitate to seek physical assistance with tasks, while the women did not indicate that they asked for aid until they had done all they could do and until their time and energy required adjustment in role demands. Even then, they tended to worry because they could not do everything or do everything well. The two men did not feel personally responsible for all tasks.

This study only scratched the surface in exploration of the question of role conflict being stronger or more intense in women because of this personal responsibility social orientation and their desire for intimacy and attachment, rather than separation. The marital status seems to have possibilities for greatly influencing this. The single mothers in this study have faced the realization that intimacy and attachment with their former spouse are no longer possible. The experience of surviving a broken relationship and being forced to be separate and alone could make the perspective of a single mother different from the mother who was married once and remained in that married state. I believe the female's concern for others and the feeling of personal responsibility were demonstrated in the two women of this study. However, the question of their desire for intimacy and their having problems with separation were not explored fully due to the nature of this study.

The question of role conflict being a metaphor for the "rights versus responsibility" issue is still a consideration, but I think it is of lesser importance than some others. There is a personal aspect of role conflict which appears to be more idiosyncratic and related to individual social messages and experiences which help a person, male or female, realize a need for self-preservation. The four parents in this study made personal sacrifice willingly and ungrudgingly. The intensity of role conflict in the women was related to their feeling responsible for others more so than their feeling any "right" to consideration for themselves. Part of work-family role strain, then, may be a metaphor for the rights versus responsibility issue, but after this study I do not think it explains all aspects of conflicting role demands.

Men's masculinity in our society tends to be associated with work performance and achievement, while women's femininity is often tied to their family performance. The male tends not to be accepted as a "good" father unless he is an adequate provider for his family. The female tends not to be accepted as a "good" mother and wife unless she is an adequate nurturer. Thus, the male's role of father is connected to the world of work, and the female's role of mother/wife is confined to the domestic realm. The men and women in this study indicated the importance of their family and work in their lives and none felt that a "balance" between the demands of the two roles was possible. However, there did

seem to be, for the men and women in this study, a difference in the psychological emphasis placed on work and family responsibilities. The men in this study indicated a greater psychological burden related to work, while the women in this study indicated their greater psychological burden related to family responsibilities. The men in this study seemed to be able to alternate their primary emphasis to work or family as the situation required with greater ease than did the women. This suggests to me that the men perceived themselves as "good" fathers by attending to their work demands because success there assured their family's well-being. It further suggests to me that part of the work-family role strain in the mothers was related to their perception of themselves as "good" mothers being separate and apart from their perception of themselves as an occupational worker; therefore the women tended to strive to do both jobs "equally" well more so than did the men. It appears that the juggling between the role demands of work and family would tend to be more psychologically comfortable for men than for women given societal views of masculinity and femininity.

The parent and worker role are both social roles and as such are concepts of our particular society. The social learning and social messages have everything to do with work-family role strain beyond the strictly physical demands on time and energy. However, even in these demands, social experiences are influential in attitude and personality

development and influence the coping with multiple role demands.

The question about the female's tendency to have self-doubts because of the male standard of autonomy and detachment being a "higher stage" of development than intimacy and attachment was not specifically addressed in this study, and no conclusions can be drawn although it remains an important question for future research.

The men in this study, as primary nurturers of their children, reported support in that role in their work world and personal world. The degree of support from professional colleagues seemed to be related to their occupational position and the flexibility of their work schedule. The greater degree of support which the males of this study reported from secretaries, neighbors, and friends adds some credibility to the notion that males tend to receive more support than do females in their dual role enactment. While I can only speculate, this may be connected to society's not "expecting" men to nurture and when men do so they are going above and beyond the call of societal duty. To continue that speculation, if females are expected to nurture, they would not, then, typically receive the unsolicited support. This factor could make the dual role more conflictual for the female.

The structure of our society tends to limit females in their achievement in the work world and penalize them in

various ways when they remain in the work setting. The
ascribed status of women limits their opportunity to reach
the higher occupational achieved statuses. As detailed in
Chapter II, when a female overcomes this hurdle and has a
comparable work position with a male, the salary is typically
lower for females. These factors in combination intensify
work-family role strain for females.

Implications for Industry and Education

Males, such as the ones in this study, who have assumed
parental responsibilities by choice and who are also in
positions of authority and power in the work world, can have
a tremendous impact for needed change in our structures of
work and family. They, by personal experience, testify to
the importance of the work position and its flexibility to
the dual role enactment. This increased personal awareness
of the need for the work structure to acknowledge and accom-
modate an employee's family responsibilities could be instru-
mental in change in work structure. Flex-time, industry-
provided day care adjacent to work facilities, job sharing,
parental leave, consideration of family in work-related
geographic moves, part-time work with prorated benefits,
equal pay and equal opportunity for males and females, and
provision for dialogue with parents as to their special needs
would result in more satisfied and productive workers in
industry.

The majority of women are now working outside the home,
and this number is increasing as the costs of providing food
and shelter exceed the one-income family. To say that women
who work should not have children would mean that only the
very rich or the unemployed poor would be candidates for
child rearing. Children do deserve quality care and adequate
nurturing, and Levine's (1976) question as to <u>Who Will Raise
the Children</u>? is very appropriate today and becoming more so.

Educators, especially, could be instrumental in providing
a setting for the development of critical thinking among our
young people and to encourage dialogue about the current
status of men and women in the family and in the world of
work. Statistical data such as those mentioned in this
study could be injected into such dialogues and thereby
raise the level of awareness of the status quo. The compo-
nents of decision-making could be taught, and an opportunity
for practice provided in simulated situations so that young
people could learn to assess their life events and circum-
stances and determine how to develop some measure of control
over their lives rather than have events and circumstances
control them.

A dialogical "problem-solving" educational methodology
would help in the development of a social vision in which
there would be a raised critical awareness of not only per-
sonal and interpersonal situations but also of societal
structural influences on the individual. Such a curriculum

would require continuous dialogue between student and teacher, both subjects, with the co-intent to both learn more than they presently know. Basic to this view of education is "that it cannot present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people" (Freire, 1983, p. 118). Curriculum content of such an educational process would reflect the students' view of their world and thus recognize man as a historical being. It would emphasize freedom with responsibility rather than conformity to the status quo. Freedom in the sense that Maxine Greene describes in Landscapes of Learning:

> Freedom is the power of vision and the power to choose. It involves the capacity to assess situations in such a way that lacks can be defined, openings identified, and possibilities revealed. It is realized only when action is taken to repair the lacks, to move through the openings, to try to pursue real possibilities. (Greene, 1978, p. 3, cited in Miller, 1980, p. 241)

As educators, we have a responsibility to develop community awareness on various topics. This topic of the overlapping responsibilities of work and family would seem of interest to most adults. The support of community discussion groups, promoting positive aspects of work and family integration, supporting change in structure in both family and work to ensure a more egalitarian situation for males and females. Males have tended to be limited in their "right" to nurture their children and give attention to their family needs; females have tended to be limited in their right to achieve in the work world. Much of the need for therapy,

individual and family, could be eliminated if we, as educators, directed our attention to personalized educational needs and the development of critical thinking in individuals.

Examination of Participant-Hermeneutic Methodology

In Chapter III I made some assertions about the value of a dialectic approach to research of this topic. Those statements have been at the forefront of my mind as the process of research evolved. This study has been as much an examination of the participant-hermeneutic approach to research as it has been an exploration of gender issues and role conflict between work and family. The central assumption of this study has been "that the way people talk about their lives is of significance, that the language they use and the connections they make reveal the world they see and in which they act" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 2). I believed intellectually in this type of research prior to this study because it allowed for the human lived experience to be examined in context, socially, culturally, and personally. Doing this study has reaffirmed for me that the human experience cannot be isolated; we do live in relationship and relationships influence our perception of reality.

Four participants shared their story and had opportunity to clarify it both at the time of discussion and upon reading my write-up and analysis of their situation. This allowed for their attachment of meaning to their experience; at the

same time it freed me to "speculate" in my analysis about
"insights that exceed the limits of the situation" (Eisner,
1980, p. 7). I could speculate knowing that the person
about whom I wrote would have an opportunity to reject my
analysis or confirm all or parts of it. I, the inquirer,
and they, the participants, interpreted and co-created real-
ity. This joint effort provides a different kind of "valid-
ity" than does that obtained by statistical formulas.

I celebrate the opportunity to "learn from" rather than
"investigate" the individual participant's life. This meth-
odology upheld my belief that persons are "sacred texts."
They are capable of telling their own story. Work-family
dual role behavior and events can be identical and yet the
meaning attached to such events and behavior can be differ-
ent. This individualized creation of reality can only be
explored when the methodology allows for it.

This study provided affirmation that the concrete
everyday experience is important to our total realities.
The common human experience is complex, important, and con-
nected to all other aspects of an individual's world. In
sharing the everyday experiences of dealing with their dual
role enactment, these participants helped me to "stop life"
long enough for it to be viewed, and I hope those who
view the stopped portion of these lives will gain insight
into their personal situation or into the human condition.

One must consider the value of the results of such a
study as this. Certainly no predictions or generalization
to any population can be made. Part of its value lies in
the complementarity of the participant-hermeneutic approach
to a quantitative methodology. The research interest deter-
mines the methodology. This study has preserved some unique
aspects of the human experience in a "holistic" and con-
textual manner; aspects which would have been missed in a quan-
titative study on the same topic. One aspect of my study
was to illuminate the individually lived experience and explore
how it provides insight into larger issues of gender and
role conflict. This could not have been accomplished with
the same results utilizing a quantitative method of research.

This approach has been heuristic in the sense that I
had certain expectations of the study, but I was not sur-
prised or disappointed when all those expectations were not
fulfilled. Flexible guidelines gave direction to the study
and yet provided for the uniqueness of the individual's
story to be highlighted. New questions were generated:
other studies have indicated that the single mother is hap-
pier in her dual role enactment than is the married mother.
How does the experience of marital disruption influence the
perception of work and family responsibilities? Is it
because they must rely on work to provide theirs and their
children's livelihood? How is the greater role satisfaction
related to the loss of the role of wife? Other studies have
indicated that married men are happier than single men. Gove

and Bernard relate this to the married status. I would like to explore the differences and similarities in the married father's role and the single father with primary custody of his children. Other studies have mentioned that men tend to remarry earlier after divorce than do women; I am inclined to believe that this is not a simple fact of men being the persons in our society to initiate marriage. Another participant-hermeneutic study could explore the rationale behind remarriage for men and perhaps another to explore why women who do not remarry early in their single-again life tend not to remarry. Still another question relates to the exploration of how males and females differ in their use of "networking" to make their multiple role demands less conflictual. This study suggested that men in their home responsibilities management avail themselves of an exchange of services and skills in the same way other studies have reported men do in the work world.

The real strength of this research approach is also its weakness. The personal involvement of the inquirer in dialogue with the participant to "co-create" reality is a key factor in this process. However, this presents a measure of difficulty. I came to know my four participants quite well. This closeness, as in any relationship, had its risks. My personal reaction to them influenced their story. The enjoyment of the company of each participant varied for me and for different reasons. With another researcher perspectives

and focuses would have been different because of the dialogic relationship between inquirer and participant. Because of my "intimate knowing," I had an ethical dilemma when it was time for me to present to each person my written conception of his or her situation and my analysis of it. I asked myself: Do I gloss over things which might potentially hurt these individuals or do I dare be as honest with them as I believe they have been with me? The value of this kind of study, I am convinced, comes from honest dialogue in this co-creation of realities. I endeavored to word my honest analysis tactfully and subject it to the individual scrutiny of each participant, but not without a measure of anxiety. When a person is allowed to tell his or her "own story," permission is granted to share what they wish. Sometimes I became so engrossed in what an individual was saying that I was not a fully disciplined researcher and failed to inject a question about an issue of concern not discussed by them; therefore, some issues of concern were not discussed by all participants.

In a quantitative study these four participants could have indicated that their family took priority over their work, but only in a qualitative study such as this one could the meaning attached to those claims of family as a top priority be explored, and, at least in these two males and two females, some key gender differences in perspective be discovered. The same is true for the work-family role strain

reported as "very difficult"; when this was explored with participants, they clarified this description with an explanation that it was stressful but not a "problem" which could not be handled successfully. Inconsistent feelings about the dual role enactment in a quantitative study might have been reported as an either/or; but in this study, as in Poloma's, these participants indicated that role strain was situational.

Implication for Me, the Inquirer

This "action" methodology increased my awareness of how much we do live in relationship. I became aware of the change in myself as I interviewed these different individuals; change which had little to do directly with them and yet had everything to do with them. I noted how the flow of the conversation changed from participant to participant, influenced by our individual personalities, but also by my gaining confidence in myself as I moved toward the completion of the interviews. Of this I was not conscious at the time of conversation, but became aware of it as I listened to the tapes and read the transcripts to the taped conversations. Questions which were answered by the participant without prompting by me were in the "context" of their story, while questions which were injected by me into our discussions were influenced by the train of thought at the time the questions were asked.

I realized the influence of my "research education"
when I found myself thinking: Perhaps I should ask each
question of each participant in exactly the same way. I had
to remind myself many times during this research that "the
beauty" of the participant-hermeneutic research was that all
data were valuable because of their uniqueness and idiosyn-
cratic quality. The recognition of the relationship between
the inquirer and participant in this approach acknowledges
that "the observer always in part constitutes the scene he
observes" (Mehan & Wood, 1975, p. 208).

I reaffirm my earlier statement that the "process" of
this research is of more importance than the end product.
It allows for the exploration of the meaning attached to the
individual lived experience and "banks on the observer's
ability to imaginatively project himself into the life of
another in order to know what that person is experiencing"
(Eisner, 1980, p. 6). My attempt at this kind of knowing
and understanding of the meaning behind work-family role
interaction in these four families has not left me unchanged.

Cox accounted for the researcher's personal reality:

> He will eventually let the story he has heard meet his
> own story. He will appropriate, question, reject, and
> accept aspects of what he has seen. He may change his
> own story in view of what he has learned. Most impor-
> tantly, he will always evaluate provisionally. No
> final judgments are made. Also no evaluation at all
> is made until the question of what is meant to everyone
> involved, including the observer is answered. (Cox,
> 1973, p. 149)

I came to realize more clearly as I interacted with
these four persons and reflected on that interaction the

impact of the social message "to put family first" in my dual role enactment. I re-examined my own tendency to be concerned for others and my desire to do all I can to ensure another's well-being. I personally dealt with what Gilligan refers to as the feminine tendency toward qualification and self-doubt.

> Women's deference is rooted not only in their social circumstances but also in the substance of their moral concern. Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care lead women to attend to voices other than their own and to include in their judgment other points of view. (Gilligan, 1979, p. 440)

I had to remind myself during this study as I have at other times in my life: (a) I am not personally responsible for another's situation, and (b) others' support, academically and personally, is important to me but not at the expense of suppression of my own ideas.

The understanding which comes from the participant-hermeneutic research differs from the quantitative research. Dilthey spoke of how "one rediscovers himself in the other person" (Dilthey, cited in Palmer, 1969, p. 115). I discovered myself in these four individuals in this study. Their experiences sometimes paralleled mine. When their experiences were different or their attachment of meaning to that experience differed from mine, I still learned about myself. In some instances, I could readily identify with their feelings and experiences. At other times, I could not do so. This kind of subjective "intuitive knowing" is positional and depends on reference to personal experience.

As I have written this dissertation, I have integrated many of my observations about the personal effect of the research process on me. As I reflect on the entire process, I realize I have a heightened sensitivity to the gender differences built into our society. I am aware of male and female differences over which the individual has little control. By the time he or she is aware of the structurally induced feminine or masculine behavior, all behavior and thoughts are influenced by socialization factors already experienced.

During this process I have discovered my own political naiveté and reaffirmed my belief in the unique value of each individual. The four parents in this study have become a part of me and though time will blur this experience they have been a part of my education about the overlapping roles of work and family and gender issues. To paraphrase Peter L. Berger: I have not arrived at my destination but I am now traveling with a different view.

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