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FRANK, EDITH A.

EMPLOYMENT, HOMEMAKING, AND MARRIED WOMEN: THE  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONALITY STYLES, LIFE PATTERNS, AND  
MOODS

*City University of New York*

PH.D.

1980

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EMPLOYMENT, HOMEMAKING, AND MARRIED WOMEN: THE  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONALITY STYLES, LIFE PATTERNS,  
AND MOODS

by

EDITH A. FRANK

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate  
Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfill-  
ment of the requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy, The City Univer-  
sity of New York.

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April 30, 1980  
date

Alden E. Wessman

Chairman of Examining Committee

May 1, 1980  
date

Martin L. Hoffner  
Executive Officer

Dr. Alden E. Wessman

Dr. Florence Denmark

Dr. Gerald Handel

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

## ABSTRACT

Employment, Homemaking, and Married Women:  
The Relationship Between Personality Styles, Life Patterns,  
and Moods

by

Edith A. Frank

Chairman: Professor Alden Wessman

This study explored the relationships between life pattern, personality style and reported mood among middle class married women with children. Recently, more women have been adding employment commitments to their traditional roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers. The result has been greater variation in life patterns, ranging from the conventional nonemployed "primary" homemaker pattern to one combining full-time employment with family responsibilities. Research on personality style has suggested that there may be individual differences in the extent to which agentic traits (e.g. assertiveness, independence) or communal traits (e.g. nurturance, empathy) predominate; some women, moreover, have an androgynous personality style, involving a balance of agentic and communal traits.

The present study hypothesized that women whose life patterns emphasized employment commitments would tend to have

higher agency scores, while those whose life patterns centered around home and children would tend to be high communion scorers. The flexibility of the androgynous personality was expected to facilitate optimal adaptation to either life pattern. In addition, it was anticipated that self-reports of general happiness and certain other affective experiences would reflect the correspondence between personality style and life pattern.

Method. Subjects were 43 middle class married women, 30 to 45 years old; all had children under 18. A group of 14 nonemployed "primary" homemakers was compared to a group of 18 mothers employed full-time; a third group of 11 homemakers with significant part-time involvements was included in some analyses.

Information and feelings about life pattern choice were elicited in individual interviews. The Block & Stapp (Note 1) Q-sort instrument, yielding agency, communion and androgyny scores, was also administered. Subjects later used a revised version of the Wessman & Ricks (1966) Personal Feeling Scales to report their affective fluctuations every evening for 21 days.

Results. A measure of general happiness level was obtained from subjects' responses to Personal Feeling Scale 11, Elation vs. Depression; a composite life pattern satisfaction score was derived from subjects' interview responses.

As predicted, women in the three employment status groups did not differ significantly in general happiness

level or life pattern satisfaction, and these two variables were significantly correlated. Contrary to predictions, there was no relationship between androgyny and happiness level, but the anticipated positive correlation was found between androgyny and life pattern satisfaction for both primary homemakers and full-time employed subjects.

Predictions about the relationships between agency, communion and life pattern were only partially supported: full-time employed subjects had significantly higher agency scores, but there was no relationship between their agency and life pattern satisfaction scores. Among primary homemakers, communion scores were nonsignificantly higher, and, most unexpectedly, agency scores were positively related to life pattern satisfaction. Personal Feeling Scale responses partially reflected these relationships between personality style and life pattern, but were not statistically significant.

As predicted, there was a significant correlation between general happiness and Personal Competence for agentic women, and between general happiness and Closeness & Warmth for communal women. Although conclusive evidence was not available, case study analyses suggested that employed and nonemployed homemakers may face different constellations of problems centering around self-image and identity.

In a period of changing roles and expectations, the present study focused on the interface between married women's personality styles and their satisfaction with different life

patterns. Participants' responses suggested that a variety of life patterns may be potentially fulfilling for different women, depending upon the individuals' own values, moods, and personality styles, and upon the family contexts in which they function.

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## Chapter 1

### RESEARCH PROBLEM AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### Introduction

This study compares women who differ with regard to the amount of importance they grant work and family obligations in their lives. Certain research has suggested that the integration of work and family responsibilities is more complex for most women than for men because of the traditional expectation that women, regardless of their other pursuits, assume primary responsibility for homemaking and childrearing functions within a family (Dickey, 1974). Thus, most women who view full-time employment as a relatively permanent part of their life patterns must either be willing to undertake the equivalent of two full-time jobs or be prepared to redefine radically the way in which childrearing and homemaking functions are to be fulfilled in their families.

Contemporary women differ widely in the extent to which they organize their lives around family responsibilities and formal employment, and they probably differ, as well, in the extent to which their attitudes and values concerning work-family roles are consistent with the realities of their life patterns. It would be expected that both adequate and inadequate personality integration could be found among women adopting any particular life pattern. However, it does seem plausible that women whose lives can be contrasted according

to a family versus work dimension might, because of the different skills required by each, vary in the extent to which they manifest personality traits like assertiveness, independence, or nurturance. Thus, inquiry regarding the existence of specific personality differences between work- and family-oriented women is one of the foci of the present study. In addition, this research seeks to discover whether or not certain general capacities to organize one's own life instrumentally and to experience close relatedness with others tends to differentiate happy from unhappy women, regardless of life pattern. These two capacities or modes of being have traditionally been associated with masculinity and femininity respectively. The present study hypothesizes that both capacities are present in emotionally healthy individuals of either sex.

The research literature most relevant to the present investigation falls into three main categories. The first of these focuses on women's life patterns and, in particular, on the relative prominence of formal employment and homemaking responsibilities in the lives of married women with children. This includes studies of career orientation in women, of the dual career family, and of the nature of the full-time homemaker's experience.

The second relevant area involves theories of female personality style and development, in which personality variables considered more characteristic of women than men

have been described and explained. These theoretical formulations lead to implications regarding the kind of life pattern that one would expect to be satisfying to women. However, certain recent work has suggested that personality variance along sex-linked lines may not be as consistent as had been generally assumed. In this context, particular attention has been paid to the work of Block (1973) on the agency-communion dichotomy, since it is through this theoretical framework that the motivational structures of subjects in the present study are considered.

The third area reviewed here involves empirical research on mood. In these studies, measures of average levels of happiness and other moods have been related to a variety of different affective experiences, to overall variability or stability of mood, and to other aspects of psychological functioning (Wessman & Ricks 1966). It is hoped that this work can be fruitfully extended by considering mood patterns of women in the context of other information about their life patterns, particularly about the ways in which they have integrated work and family responsibilities in their lives.

## Women's Life Patterns: Career & Family

### Career Orientation in Women

Helson's (1972) review of early research on career orientation in women has pointed out the extent to which a "deviance" model has been emphasized in the literature. That is, high vocational interest among women was generally attributed, often with minimal empirical verification, to efforts to compensate for inadequacies in the interpersonal sphere. In contrast, more recent studies of career development in women have suggested that traditional-interpersonal and innovative-career orientations are not mutually exclusive (Gump, 1972; Tangri, 1972). Rather than focus on the contradictory aspects of the two orientations, recent research goals have involved defining and elaborating on those aspects of career choice that operate in unique ways for females (Almquist & Angrist, 1970; Kriger, 1972; Psathas, 1968).

Psathas (1968) noted several factors influencing occupational choice which seemed to operate differently for women than for men. In particular, social mobility for women was generally accomplished via their husbands' rather than their own careers, and women's career choices were often influenced by the opportunity different work settings provided for meeting suitable men. For the most part, Psathas viewed women's career development as limited by the values and incomes of the men they married as well as by the

ages at which they married and began their families. Tangri's (1972) empirical data supported this to the extent that career innovative and traditional women in her sample were found to have been involved with men whose values differed regarding the appropriateness of careers for women. However, she interpreted this finding to imply that the women had chosen different kinds of men in accordance with their other life goals, rather than that they had limited their life goals in terms of the men they had found.

The opportunity to choose whether or not one wants to work was for Kriger (1972) the primary factor differentiating female from male career development. Comparing homemakers, women in female-dominated occupations (FDO), and women in male-dominated occupations (MDO), she found that homemakers were distinguishable from the other two in having come from homes perceived as overprotective and restrictive, rather than permissive and accepting. Assuming that highly restrictive and overprotective homes generate high affiliative needs in offspring, Kriger contended that these women had selected homemaking as the most effective way to fulfill such needs, in contrast to men from such homes, who would have been expected to select altruistic professions. Thus, her findings suggested that for women, parental childrearing was unrelated to specific occupational choice, but only to the more primary decision of whether or not to work. In contrast, level of achievement strivings in Kriger's female subjects was related

to specific occupational choice, as well as to the general work versus no-work decision, with MDO's scoring highest and homemakers scoring lowest. The absence of correlation between achievement motivation and perception of parental control was interpreted as indicating that the relationship between childrearing and achievement motivation is complex, and as yet unclear. It should be noted that all Kriger's subjects were married women with children, and that they viewed themselves as homemakers in addition to any vocational pursuits.

While the choice of whether or not to work is one which social convention has granted to women, it is likely that this has been a genuine choice only for women in certain socioeconomic circumstances. Thus, lower class women have often lacked the option to refuse paid employment, although they have been affected, no doubt, by their awareness of the social convention which assigned breadwinning responsibilities to the male. Furthermore, even among women from more favorable socioeconomic backgrounds, like those of most college students, recent research has suggested that larger numbers of women have begun planning to and eventually will work outside the home at some point during their lives (Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971). As a result, many researchers have begun to think that the work versus no-work decision is less relevant to understanding

career development in women than a focus on variations in the extent of career commitments among women (Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Eyde, 1968; Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Tangri, 1972).

Studies on the extent of career commitment in college women have frequently relied on paper and pencil measures of subjects' work values and plans for employment despite anticipated marital and parenting responsibilities (Eyde, 1968; Almquist and Angrist, 1970). Another common measure of female career development has been participation (or intended participation) in male-dominated rather than female-dominated vocations; since "innovative" fields have tended to be more competitive and demanding, career choices along these lines have been viewed as reflecting a higher level of career aspiration (Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Kriger, 1972; Tangri, 1972). Sobol (1974) found that among married employed women, commitment to work could best be measured by the interrelationship between the women's future work plans and their reasons for working. "Accomplishers" and "financial workers" were differentiated in this way, with the former reflecting a more achievement-oriented, career-committed motivational pattern. Among nonemployed married women, the most important variable for future work commitment seemed to be work experience since marriage, with recent, post-marriage employment experience most facilitative of future work plans. Bailyn's (1970) measure of career commitment in highly educated women in-

volved both the personal satisfaction they derived from working and their ideological commitment to the concept of careers for women.

Research findings on women's career commitment have converged in suggesting that career salient women, rather than replacing traditional feminine goals with more masculine ones, seem to be enlarging the sphere of feminine pursuits to include a career focus (Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Tangri, 1972). Thus, career salient college women did not differ from others in their heterosexual dating patterns, nor in the frequency with which they planned marriage and childbearing, although there was some indication that they planned to delay marriage and childbearing slightly. Similarly, their relationships to their parents, when compared with those of less career salient women, were not marked by any exceptional conflictual situations, although there were indications of greater cognitive distance from both parents by college age. In general, career-oriented women were found to be more influenced by professional role models with whom they had come in contact, to be more likely to have had working or well-educated mothers, and to be more likely than their more traditional counterparts to have had varied part-time work experience prior to graduation from college.

Consistent with the above trends was the work of Gump (1972), in which women were classified as self- or other-oriented on the basis of a paper and pencil measure of general

concepts of appropriate female activities. Self-orientation tended to coincide with the presence of more clearly delineated career plans, but Gump found no significant relationship between self-orientation and ego strength as measured by Barron's Ego Strength scale. Although women in the two groups did not differ in happiness level or valuing of heterosexual relationships, self-oriented women manifested greater realism in their planning with regard to both social and vocational pursuits.

Hennig's (1973) research on highly achieving female executives suggested that a "special child syndrome" associated with only or first-born status and a very supportive relationship with both parents underlay the "pioneering" career paths of women in her sample. This only or first-born status among exclusively female siblings, combined with a warm, encouraging relationship with a competent, achieving parent figure, has characterized the childhoods of many other career women studied (Lozoff, 1973; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). There has been conflicting evidence, however, about the identity of the critical parental figure and the role of early familial tensions in the life histories of professional women.

Among older women, career success tended to be preceded by close relationships with fathers who encouraged independent achievement, irrespective of conventional sex-role stereotypes (Hennig, 1973). Recent findings, however, have pointed to a strong correlation between career commitment in

daughters and the educational level and labor force participation of their mothers (Hoffman, 1973; Tangri, 1972). Moreover, Rapoport and Rapoport (1976) found an optimal level of familial tension and a supportive relationship with any parent-figure (including an older sibling or grandparent) to characterize the developmental years of career women in their sample. Some of these differences in the literature may have resulted from changes in the social climate at the time that different groups of subjects were growing up; in that case, additional changes in the familial antecedents of career involved women would be expected in the future as a result of the increasing social acceptance of female career commitment, and consequent restructuring of family relationships and increased availability of employed women as role models.

In considering the recent work on female career development, the early image of the career woman as maladjusted, overcompensatory and masculine-identified does not seem to be substantiated (Helson, 1972; Kanter, 1978). Rather, career-oriented women seem to be integrating educational and vocational plans with more traditional priorities of heterosexual dating, marriage, and parenting, and tend to view themselves as homemakers (or future homemakers) in addition to their other pursuits. The ways in which career-oriented women find the time and energy to develop themselves professionally while fulfilling traditional homemaking and parenting roles has recently become an important research focus.

Although most men can participate easily in both interpersonal-familial and career pursuits, the greater burden for child-rearing and homemaking responsibilities which women are expected to assume makes simultaneous full-time occupational involvement considerably more difficult for them.

One consequence of the dual responsibilities faced by most women has been an employment history somewhat different from that of the typical male worker. Extensive research with an educated British sample indicated that married women's career patterns, in contrast to those of men, tended to be characterized by relatively long periods of interrupted and part-time work (Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971). In the United States, even among professional women holding more-or-less full-time positions, women's levels of professional involvement have tended to be below those of typical career-committed males in the same field (Poloma and Garland, 1971). Other researchers found that professional women's employment patterns were most influenced by their professional qualifications and family situations; moreover, there was an inverse relationship between these factors, with more highly qualified women tending to have fewer children (Bailyn, 1973; Helmstrom, 1972).

### Dual Career Families

Studies of dual worker families have attempted to explore the relationship between employment and family commitments in the lives of married, working women. Intensive

qualitative research has generally focused on the families of educated, professional women, who were most likely to have strong personal as well as financial reasons for their employment involvement (Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971; Helmstrom, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). While there were some indications that outside work has had positive emotional significance for other groups of women as well (Gronseth, 1975; Kanter, 1978), the pattern of work-family priorities and personal satisfactions may be somewhat different for women in less skilled positions (Nye, 1974). In view of the present research focus on middle class women, primary attention has been paid to the studies based on educated professional samples--that is, to studies of the dual career family.

In a case study analysis of twenty dual career couples and seven "traditional" controls, Helmstrom (1972) identified three social obstacles to the comfortable integration of career and family life for professional women: the inflexibility of the occupational structure, the isolation of the nuclear family, and the implicit assumption that the husband's achievements should take precedence over those of the wife. The result was that married women in her sample assumed ultimate responsibility for insuring their children's well-being, running the household, and facilitating their husband's career development, in addition to trying to pursue their own careers. Moreover, the occupational structure in which they

not to the same extent that her husband's were considered) in relation to major family decisions like relocation or vacation time. In these families, husbands tended to provide more assistance with homemaking tasks, but ultimate responsibility in that sphere remained with the wives. Despite the apparent inequities between the spouses in both kinds of families, many women appeared satisfied to sacrifice conventional career development for homemaking responsibilities and interesting employment. They described themselves as incorporating the "best of two worlds" (Poloma and Garland, 1971 p. 538), and expressed appreciation for being able to select employment they enjoyed without primary concern about their ability to support the family.

While Poloma and Garland (1971) were skeptical of their professional subjects' willingness to sacrifice conventional career aspirations, other researchers have emphasized the potential advantages of redefining social conventions surrounding both homemaking responsibility and career commitment if women are to be better able to integrate both in their lives (Bailyn, 1970, 1973; Helmstrom, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Current social conventions have created dilemmas for dual career couples in the following areas: work overload, normative expectations, personal identity, network demands, and role cycling (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Work overload has been an immediate outcome of the isolated nuclear family, the absence of reliable community resources to assist with homemaking and child care, and cur-

rent occupational expectations regarding successful worker performance. Social norms concerning the relative prominence of employment and family roles for males and females, conventional behavioral expectations of friends and relatives, and sex-linked self-expectations incorporated during early stages of identity formation have contributed to the psychological stresses experienced by both spouses in dual career families. However, dual career couples in their sample appeared willing to struggle with these potential stresses in exchange for a more egalitarian life pattern for both spouses.

Some rewards which participating couples reported from their dual career life patterns included the personal fulfillment of the wives, opportunities for collegueship and collaboration between spouses, shared involvement in child care, and increased personal gratifications from parenting (Helmstrom, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). In most cases, the families' standards of living were positively affected as well, although this advantage tended to be downplayed by the couples themselves, perhaps because the interrelationship between the concept of masculinity and the primary breadwinner function continued to be a sensitive issue for them (Bernard, 1974b; Helmstrom, 1972; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Other research has suggested several potential benefits to children, marital relationships, and women of the dual worker family structure, particularly if facilitative social adaptations in the occupational and domestic spheres

are made. Even under existing social conditions, children of employed professional mothers have tended to receive greater parental encouragement for independent development and achievement, to have more direct involvement with their fathers, and to learn from their parents' sharing of responsibilities that both mutual cooperation and personal achievement were valued (Hoffman, 1973; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Moreover, maternal employment has been shown to correlate positively with daughters' achievement patterns and, among middle class samples, with the social-emotional development of sons (Kanter, 1978). Although maternal guilt about employment has occasionally resulted in parental overindulgence among professional women (Hoffman, 1973), maternal employment seemed to mitigate against possessive overinvolvement with children, which often characterized highly educated full-time homemakers (Bernard, 1974b; Birnbaum, 1975; Helmstrom, 1972).

Research exploring the impact of wives' employment on marital happiness suggested differential effects for lower and middle class families, with marital stress tending to be greater among lower class couples when the wife was employed; Nye (1974) concluded that marital happiness in middle class families was unaffected by the wife's employment status. In professional families, Helmstrom (1972) found that competitiveness between spouses could occur whether or not the wife was employed, that husbands of employed women were more likely than their wives to experience such feelings, and that

husbands' competitive feelings were in proportion to their confidence in their own career development. Birnbaum's (1975) talented female sample experienced greater marital satisfaction when wives were employed, while British women with noncontinuous career patterns reported higher levels of marital happiness than either continuous-career or nonwork-oriented women (Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971). There was some evidence that marital happiness may be influenced by the interaction between each spouse's attitude to employment-family priorities (Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971), with highest levels of marital happiness among career-integrated women and career satisfied, but family-oriented men (Bailyn, 1970; Ridley, 1973).

The impact of employment upon working women themselves has appeared to be positive, despite the social obstacles with which such women have been confronted. Employed women reported greater feelings of self-confidence and personal competence, and displayed better physical health and fewer psychosomatic and psychotic symptoms than their nonemployed counterparts (Bernard, 1974b; Nye, 1974). Moreover, among well-educated samples, working women experienced greater satisfaction with their daily work, more pleasure in time spent with children and spouses, and less anxiety about their competence as mothers, despite some anxiety and guilt about the adequacy of available child care substitutes (Bernard, 1974b; Birnbaum, 1975; Nye 1974). The fact that married wo-

men with children were more likely to prefer a continuous career pattern than women who were not yet mothers may indicate that the joys of full-time motherhood were quickly outlived once the reality of consistent, daily child care had been experienced (Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971). In contrast to traditional housewives, employed women were more influential in family financial decision-making, while power in childrearing and domestic matters tended to be more evenly shared with their husbands (Bahr, 1974).

Although several of the research trends described above may have reflected some unusual a priori psychological strength among the married women who chose to combine motherhood and formal employment, it is more probable that there was an interactive relationship between those women's personal characteristics and their life experiences in employment and familial spheres. One focus of the present research is on the nature of the interface between the psychological characteristics and adult life patterns of married women with children.

#### Full-Time Homemaker Life Patterns

While there has been tremendous variability in the extent of women's work involvements in recent years, the position of homemaker has been consistently assigned to them upon marriage. This status is one for which a woman need have no formal training or qualifications, and, in this culture, it has been automatically ascribed to the female marriage partner

regardless of her personal characteristics, skills, or proclivities (Bernard, 1974a, 1974b; Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a). Research on the integration of homemaking responsibilities in the life patterns of married women who simultaneously maintained formal jobs was discussed in the preceding section on dual career families. The focus in this section is on studies of women who withdrew from formal employment involvement and adopted a full-time homemaker life pattern.

Although the term "homemaker" has begun to replace that of "housewife" in an effort to emphasize the position's potential for creative functioning, most research published during the 1970's was based on interviews with women who continued to identify themselves with the older title (Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a, 1974b). Moreover, Oakley (1974a, 1974b) has suggested that the recent emphasis on creative housewifery, or homemaking, obscures the fact that housework, as a full-time job, lacks the intrinsic challenges and stimulations of many other kinds of work. In view of both these considerations, the terms "housewife" and "homemaker" have been used interchangeably in the present work.

Lopata's (1971) extensive interviews with housewives led her to describe the full-time homemaker's experience as involving four stages: becoming a housewife, the expanding circle, the full house plateau, and the shrinking circle. In her sample, the initial stage of housewifery generally coincided with the women's marriages, since primary responsibility

for housekeeping was traditionally assigned to them at that time. The expanding circle stage, marked by the birth of the first child, involved the initial adaptation to motherhood and the continuing adjustment to the increasing demands of additional babies. Several researchers found this period to involve more significant changes for women than the initial post-marital period, because of the withdrawal from formal employment and the shift to a full-time homemaking focus (Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a). The full house plateau, after all children were born, was a period when the housewives' responsibilities became stabilized, and their focus often shifted toward the surrounding community in which their children were increasingly involved.

Lopata (1971) found that the shrinking circle stage, as the children grew up and left home, was marked for some women by increased participation in nonfamilial self-expressive activities including education, formal employment, and volunteer work. For others, however, a sense of loss, depression and emptiness predominated until a gradual adaptation and shift toward nonfamilial pursuits occurred. Weissman and Paykel (1974) found that this transitional, "empty nest" period tended to be associated with the occurrence of clinical depression in full-time housewives who lacked interests outside the family sphere.

A unique aspect of the full-time homemaker's experience was that her primary work lay outside the realm of formal

employment, although she functioned in a society where social recognition and financial remuneration were tied to labor market affiliation (Bernard, 1974a, 1974b; Lopata, 1971). Lopata pointed out that the position of housewife lacked many characteristics generally associated with formal jobs: "It has no organized social circle which judges performance ... no specific pay scale, and no measurement against other performers." (p. 139). The nature of the work, moreover, was described by British housewives as comparable to assembly line work in terms of its monotony, fragmentation, and time pressures (Oakley, 1947a, 1974b). Most of the tasks involved in homemaking and mothering were considered to require very low levels of skill, when status scores for such tasks, as components of formal occupations, were examined (Bernard, 1974b). Oakley (1974b) found an interrelationship between this occupational ranking and self-esteem among the housewives in her sample.

Despite the assumption that they would devote the major portion of their adult lives to full-time homemaking, most middle class housewives reported an absence of formal preparation for that life pattern; their schooling had been focused on abstract thinking and rational problem solving, they had elected no coursework in skills related to homemaking or child-rearing, and they had received virtually no direct instruction in these areas from their families of orientation (Lopata, 1971). Their reluctance to undertake formal educational prepa-

ration for their presumed "life's work" may have been a reflection of the low social status and absence of financial remuneration associated with the position of housewife. Oakley (1974a) has pointed to the conflicting socialization pressures faced by middle class girls and women: to develop their potential as individuals via intellectual and occupational achievement, and to maintain a socially-defined feminine gender identity via nonachievement and emphasis on marriage, motherhood and full-time homemaking. Perhaps as a result, the middle class housewives sampled were more likely to assume a detached attitude toward housework and focus on their functioning as wives and mothers, while the working class women tended to identify with the housework itself as the essence of their role. However, despite class differences in attitude toward housewifery, there were no class differences in overall level of satisfaction with the position of housewife, and few women found it highly satisfying (Oakley, 1974a).

Part of the difficulty associated with the position of housewife seemed to lie in the fact that, in contrast to the achieved status of a formal occupation, the housewife role was assigned to women by virtue of their relationship to their husbands. As an ascribed status, homemaking has tended to receive little or no social recognition when adequately performed, but significant negative sanctions when performance is not deemed satisfactory (Darley, 1976). The absence of financial remuneration for task performance may have been experienced

as an additional negative sanction by some, particularly by the full-time homemaker whose entire work experience has occurred outside the labor market, but whose education, prior employment, and continued consumer functioning may highlight the interaction between labor, income, and power in contemporary society (Bernard, 1974b; Frieze, Parsons, Johnson, Ruble, and Zellman, 1978). This is supported by Oakley's (1974b) finding that enjoyment of prior paid employment was inversely related to satisfaction with full-time homemaking among housewives in her sample.

The mothering component of the full-time homemaker's responsibility shares many of the characteristics described above; it, too, has been generally undertaken without prior training, and negative performance is likely to receive more immediate notice than successful functioning (Bernard, 1974b; Lopata, 1971). Pre-childbearing employment and housekeeping experiences have tended to orient women toward planned, measurable task completion, and research with British and American housewives found most of them very unprepared for the highly flexible emotional responsiveness required by the full-time mothering role (Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a). Moreover, among middle class mothers sampled, childrearing was generally considered more crucial than other homemaking responsibilities, and inadequacy in this area was believed to have dire consequences for child development. If withdrawal from formal employment had not already occurred, the demands of child care

usually required it, and often restricted women's informal social contacts as well. Thus, women with little or no prior preparation found themselves essentially alone to face the awesome responsibility of raising physically and emotionally healthy children (Bernard, 1974b; Lopata, 1971).

Although middle class, educated housewives tended to view their mothering responsibilities as the most important component of their homemaking roles, there were few clear-cut guidelines for successful childrearing techniques (Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a). Instead, mothers were deluged with contradictory "scientific" prescriptions that were often difficult to implement in the context of their daily interaction with their own children. Feelings of confidence and self-esteem in relation to parenting responsibilities were difficult to maintain, when neither prior training nor current theories were adequate guides for women in this critical role (Bernard, 1974b; Birnbaum, 1975; Lopata, 1971). In addition, cross-cultural research has suggested that positive mother-child interaction may be particularly difficult to sustain in the relatively isolated, totally child-oriented milieu of the typical primary homemaker (Bernard, 1974b; Oakley, 1974a). While some women may be able to function effectively in this setting, most women seemed to require the variation and stimulation of other kinds of responsibilities and social contacts in order to be optimally responsive to their children.

Im emphasizing the difficulties faced by full-time

mothers, the intrinsic satisfactions which many women have experienced as a result of their opportunities for extensive interaction with their children should not be overlooked. Other potential advantages of the primary homemaker life pattern include relative autonomy in fulfilling responsibilities, opportunities for involvement in creative handiwork, and the potential for developing a flexible life pattern incorporating a range of activities within and outside the home (Frieze, et al., 1978; Lopata, 1971). Lopata (1971) found that the absence of a formalized external structure within which responsibilities were to be fulfilled allowed the self-confident, innovative homemakers--at least during stages when their children's demands were less continuous--to dispense efficiently with routine housekeeping tasks and focus on developing creative roles for themselves in relation to their families' emotional development and to needs in the surrounding community. These women used the role of housewife to provide "a base for building a many-faceted life...defining homemaking as extending into the community, mothering as using all the societal facilities to expand the world of the young..." (Lopata, 1971, p. 373). From another perspective, Oakley (1974a) noted that some women who lacked a sense of competence and self-sufficiency found the relatively sheltered, self-monitored homemaker life pattern more comfortable and fulfilling than the formal occupational world.

While the position of housewife was satisfying for the

women described above, many others were unable to utilize its opportunities for expanded personal development or community service (Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a). Optimal performance in a life pattern marked by the absence of external, formal structure required initiative, self-direction, and an innovative achievement style, characteristics not generally encouraged by these women's educational and prior employment experiences. Moreover, although modern appliances and declining family sizes had been reducing the amount of physical labor in housekeeping and shortening the period when children required continuous attention, most housewives continued to view homemaking and child care as their primary purpose in life (Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a). Lopata described these women as "uncrystallized" in the face of changes in the nature of their ascribed roles and increasing opportunities to more actively direct their lives; they were moderately skillful in meeting their family obligations and curious about the possibilities for self-expression and achievement in other areas, but reluctant to actually move beyond the family sphere. For many housewives, it seemed that "though their lives are working out as expected" there was an "inexplicable sense of failure and disappointment, of having been left behind." (Birnbaum, 1971, p. 184, cited by Bernard, 1974b).

Thus, the full-time homemaker's role, as it has been conventionally defined, may be personally limiting and potentially stressful because of several factors; these include

the emotional demands of full-time mothering, the menial and repetitive nature of most housekeeping tasks, and the relative isolation and lack of recognition for successful performance (Bernard, 1974b; Frieze, et al, 1978; Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a, 1974b). In addition, technological and demographic changes have been altering the responsibilities traditionally associated with homemaking so that it may no longer be sufficiently demanding to justify a permanent commitment from most women. Research has suggested that those best able to respond to these changes by shifting from a permanent family-predominant perspective and acknowledging the significance of other involvements in their lives have been most successful in maintaining a sense of purpose and self-worth throughout their life spans (Birnbaum, 1975; Lopata, 1971; Weissman, and Paykel, 1974).

## Theories of Female Personality Style

The earlier discussion of career orientation in women has made it clear that women's employment decisions cannot be viewed in precisely the same terms as those of men. In particular, it seems that fuller understanding of career development in women must include consideration of the ways in which work aspirations are integrated with more traditional social expectations regarding the role of women in the family. In this context, theoretical formulations of feminine personality style become relevant because of their implications regarding the appropriateness of certain of the social roles and life styles assumed by women in our culture.

### Sex-typing as an Inevitable Developmental Process

Three comprehensive psychological theories by which motivation to comply with sex-differentiated social roles has been explained are the psychoanalytic, the cognitive-developmental, and the social-learning viewpoints. Of these, only the social-learning position has explained sex-typed behaviors as resulting solely from variations in the socialization experiences of males and females rather than from innate personality proclivities that differentiate the sexes (Mischel, 1966). The social-learning view of the development of sex differences would require for its verification that the existence of clear-cut differences in reinforcement history

be demonstrated for men and women in societies where basic sex differences in adult behavior are prevalent. Although such consistent differences have not been empirically established except in certain very limited spheres like toy and clothing preferences (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974), the fact that reinforcement contingencies may be experienced on numerous overt and covert levels and that valid operational definitions of key personality traits have been difficult to determine suggests that methodological difficulties may be partly responsible for the limited empirical verification of this position. It should be noted that similar limitations have been encountered in the empirical verification of the psychoanalytic and cognitive-development positions.

Both the psychoanalytic and the cognitive-developmental positions have viewed a certain amount of sex-typing as the inevitable outcome of normal developmental processes, most notably the process of identification (Bronfenbrenner, 1960; Kohlberg, 1966). However, the antecedents of this identification process have been defined quite differently by these two schools of thought. The cognitive-developmental viewpoint, based on a Piagetian model, has posited a nonsexual primary drive for competency or effectance--manifested by spontaneous efforts to explore, manipulate, and thereby cognitively understand the self and the environment--as the basic determinant of an individual's attitudes and behavior at any given developmental level. A continuous interaction

is assumed to occur between an individual's existing cognitive structures and the availability of additional environment input. This input is processed in terms of the individual's current cognitive level, but that processing might, in turn, facilitate a shift toward a more advanced cognitive stage.

The cognitive-developmental model has viewed identification with like-sex individuals and eventually with the like-sex parent as an inevitable outgrowth of certain basic cognitive functions including the need to understand how one fits into the social environment and the tendency to value both those that are like the self and those that are powerful as a means of enhancing self-esteem (Kohlberg, 1966; Kohlberg and Zigler, 1967). For boys, this is seen as involving a fairly continuous shift from focusing on the mother as primary caretaker to valuing and eventually identifying with males in general and with the father in particular as those most similar to the self and most powerful. It is considered inevitable that young children of both sexes, because of the immaturity of their cognitive development, go through a stage in which the male sex, by virtue of the superior physical strength and social position with which it has been associated, is regarded as the more powerful, irrespective of the actual characteristics of and relationships between the children's own parents. For girls, therefore, the like-sex identification process is complicated at certain stages by the conflict be-

tween the tendency to value the like-self and the tendency to value the powerful. As a result, girls are initially expected to join boys in the shift toward masculine interests in the pre- and early-school years, and only later to assume a clear-cut identification with the mother. While the assumption that this kind of like-sex identification is inevitable to the developmental process carries with it the expectation of certain levels of sex-typing in normal adult personality, Kohlberg has also pointed out that, as individuals acquire more sophisticated levels of cognitive processing in adolescence and adulthood, gender identity may be differentiated from rigid adherence to sex-typed norms, thereby enabling people to show greater involvement in cross-sexed interests and activities.

The psychoanalytic formulation of the development of sex differences has also emphasized the role of identification with the same-sex parent in the process of personality development (Bronfenbrenner, 1960; Freud, 1925). However, the classical psychoanalyst has conceived of the antecedents of this identification process as stemming from the biological differences in the sexual organs of males and females. An inevitable link is assumed to exist between genital structure and "normal" or "legitimate" sexual aims and objects. Furthermore, the nature of the biological differences between the sexes is viewed as the primary determinant both of the motivation to relinquish "illegitimate" sexual aims and objects and of the consistency and intensity with which iden-

tification with the same-sex parent is established. In both these arenas, the female child is considered to be at a developmental disadvantage because she has to alter not only the object but also the aim of her sexual drives, and because she is less vulnerable to the intense castration fear that provides the male with clear-cut motivation to relinquish the Oedipal object and develop a strong identification with the same-sex parent.

According to orthodox psychoanalytic thinking, those women who have successfully completed the normal developmental course would be expected to function in a way that is consistent with their "biological natures," that is, to be nurturant and unassertive, seeking self-fulfillment through attachment to a man and children rather than through their own accomplishments (Freud, 1925). Women are, furthermore, considered to be capable of less advanced superego development than men, because their parental identification is based on a more diffuse anaclitic attachment to the primary caretaker rather than on an intense castration fear and identification with an aggressive object. However, empirical research cited by Bronfenbrenner (1960) has failed to support this and has suggested, instead, that for both sexes greater superego development has accompanied anaclitic identification based on feared withdrawal of love, while the harsh discipline motivating identification with the aggressor has tended to result in emulation of aggressive behavior rather than in the develop-

ment of guilt mechanisms.

In more recent work on female personality style and development, there has been some movement away from the rigid biological determinism of the orthodox Freudian formulation. However, there has remained a general adherence to a basic psychodynamic orientation, in which the quality rather than the content of the child's interaction with his social environment is viewed as a major determinant of adult personality style. Several researchers have continued to maintain that innate differences between the sexes, although not necessarily the precise ones defined by orthodox theory, play a predominant role in the developmental process that ensues. However, the emphasis on innate sex differences has tended increasingly to be combined with an awareness of the impact of socialization for the development of sex-typed adult behaviors. Moreover, while many writers still postulate an essentially positive and inevitable relationship between "female" personality style and traditional female social roles (Bardwick, 1971; Bernstein, 1979; Guttman, 1965; Erikson, 1968; Menaker, 1969), several have begun to question the inevitability of this interrelationship and the consequences of unidimensional sex-role socialization for overall personality integration (Bem, 1975; Block, J., Van der Lipp, and Block, J.H., 1973; Block, 1973; Broverman, 1972; Cohen, 1966; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1975; Stapp, 1976).

Those researchers who have continued to focus on under-

lying relationships between innate biological differences, sex role socialization, and female personality style include Bardwick (1971), Bernstein (1979), Erikson (1968), Guttman (1965), and Menaker (1979). Bardwick (1971) has concluded that innate sex differences in aggressiveness and activity level exist and form the basis for different patterns of parent-child interaction for male and female children. It is these patterns which, in turn, have led to differences in personality style between adult men and women. That is, the greater aggressiveness and activity levels of male children have resulted in relatively conflict-laden relationships with their parents, thereby forcing them to turn away from their parents at a younger age and to develop independent mechanisms for impulse control and internal sources of self-esteem and reinforcement. In contrast, the relatively conflict-free relationship of girls with their parents has enabled females to remain dependent upon others to a much greater extent for approval, limit-setting and protection. This, combined with their unique biological role in reproduction, has resulted in the development of interpersonally-oriented, dependent modes of coping, which are well-suited to a husband- and child-centered life style. Bardwick has acknowledged that some capacity for independent thinking and/or achievement may also be important for healthy women, especially because our society has valued independent masculine kinds of achievement more than accomplishments in traditional feminine spheres. However,

Bardwick has suggested that such achievement strivings have, in most instances, been successfully worked around primary family obligations to the extent that they were not entirely fulfilled within the family sphere.

The experimental literature has lent some support to Bardwick's thesis that boys experience a more conflict-laden relationship to their parents than girls, in that boys were found to have been subjected to greater parental control and discipline than girls (Block, 1973; Emmerich, 1962; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Block (1973), like Bardwick, has viewed these differences in parent-child interaction as important factors in the development of different personality styles between the sexes. In contrast to Bardwick, however, Block has placed greater emphasis on the differences in parental attitudes toward the two sexes, rather than innate differences between male and female children, as the primary source of the different interaction patterns that have evolved.

Guttman's (1965) position is consistent with that of Bardwick in its emphasis on the basic compatibility between female personality style and the social role women have been expected to assume, although he emphasizes the role of social rather than biological differences. Guttman has described human development as a dialectical process in which increasing ego mastery is achieved in the context of specific environmental demands, so that a personality configuration adapted to a specific socio-cultural milieu results. The social

function of women has revolved largely around the maintenance of a home for those close to her in the context of a relatively familiar, enclosed, and predictable community; the roles men have had to assume have involved coping in the less predictable working world, among relative strangers, where concern with self-interest was the key to survival. Guttman pointed to the presence of sex differences in the formal qualities of TAT responses to support his concept of sex-differentiated styles of ego functioning adapted to the contrasting environments of adult men and women.

Erik Erikson (1968) also asserted that normal female personality style is closely related to mothering and homemaking functions, but emphasized an underlying psychosexual basis for this relationship. Both personality and social role were viewed by him as normal outcomes of a basically feminine orientation to inner space, an orientation ultimately derived from the distinctive nature of female reproductive-genital functioning. He proposed that a woman's identity stems primarily from the identity of the individual most close to her and that her active involvement in this is limited to the process of selecting the kind of man around whom to base her life. Bernstein (1979) agreed that biologically based psychosexual differences between male and female infants are an important component, particularly for females, of identification with the like-sex parent and establishment of gender identity. Gender identity, however, is considered

only one component of identity synthesis; such synthesis is not inevitably unidimensional, and, in fact, the repression of assertive, autonomous traits in women may be maladaptive in the context of contemporary life patterns. Under favorable circumstances, Bernstein suggested that fathers might also be important objects of identification for their daughters, facilitating the development of more independent, instrumental traits in women.

Menaker's (1979) modified psychoanalytic position resembles Bernstein's in that gender identity is viewed as the result of early affective identification with the like-sex parent, but is not defined by a person's actions, nor in conventional unidimensional terms. That is, as long as an individual does not maintain rigid internalized connections between particular behaviors and social stereotypes of masculinity and femininity, she (or he) may be free to engage in a broad range of behaviors. Menaker has implied that marriage and motherhood are inevitable components of a woman's psychological identity, but asserted that other kinds of pursuits and achievements are not incompatible with that identity. A woman's ability to integrate other roles into her life--or even the quality of her psychological functioning in the roles of wife and mother--were believed to stem primarily from the nature of her early parental identifications, particularly with her mother. The social pressures for sex-role conformity which she encounters as an adult have a psychological impact

on her only to the extent that they trigger associations with those early developmental experiences and the resultant internalized standards.

Although the foregoing writers have tended to postulate a fair amount of congruence between "normal" female personality structure and the traditional female life pattern, several did suggest that a more multidimensional focus in female personality development might be healthier. Other researchers have been more emphatic about the relationship between culture and sex-typing, and about possible negative consequences of strong cultural sex-typing for overall personality integration in women. In this context, Cohen (1966) has cited clinical examples in which severe emotional turmoil was experienced by individuals largely because their basic temperamental styles ran counter to their culturally-acquired sex-role expectations, thereby impeding the development of a positive self-image. Her clinical experience also indicated that personality development based on rigid conformity to sex-role stereotypes at the expense of recognizing and developing other aspects of the self tended to result in shallow and functionally limited adult personality styles. This is consistent with the empirical results of Wessman and Ricks (1966) regarding the stereotyped character styles of affectively stable male and female subjects.

The study by Neugarten and Guttman (1968) of changes in sex-role concepts with age has further supported the idea

that sex-typing may involve denial of aspects of the self; they found elderly adults more willing than younger people to perceive domineering traits in women and passive traits in men. This was interpreted as a tendency to counterbalance the previous sex-typed boundaries subjects had been forced to maintain in youth and middle age. Longitudinal research on adulthood and aging has shown that for some women a life style based on conformity to sex-role expectations led to considerable frustration, while a shift into a job-focused life style at middle age was accompanied by more successful personal adjustment (Maas and Kuypers, 1974). This work also indicated that the unidimensional homemaker-parent role which women were traditionally encouraged to assume, by virtue of its lack of diversity, left those women for whom it had been gratifying very vulnerable to stress later on, when children left home and husbands died. The more diversified male social roles in which work, leisure, and family interests were integrated made loss in any single arena less likely to be experienced as devastating.

Broverman, I.K., Vogel, Broverman, D.M., Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972) have addressed themselves directly to the issue of the prevalence of sex-linked expectations in our society and the values attached to particular sex-linked traits. They found significant consistency among individuals differing in age, sex, marital status, and education regarding both the specific personality traits believed to

differentiate the sexes and the social desirability attributed to these traits. A considerably larger proportion of masculine- than of feminine-identified traits were valued highly by subjects of both sexes; furthermore, there was greater acceptance of male incorporation of the few positively valued feminine traits, while the numerous positively valued masculine traits were viewed as unacceptable for women. Most notable perhaps, because of these individuals' potential influence on both clinical work and theory building in the area of female personality development, were the responses of male and female mental health professionals. Their ratings of "healthy adult men" and "healthy adults, sex unspecified" were closely correlated, while "healthy adult women" were viewed as significantly different from the sex unspecified standard in that a large number of less desirable personality traits were attributed to them. Broverman et al. (1972) also measured individual differences in sex-typed self-concepts, which were found to correlate with specific sex-role relevant life experiences both in childhood (maternal employment) and in adulthood (family size). The authors interpreted this as indicating that life experience may play an important role in the acquisition of sex-role stereotypes and sex-typed self-concepts.

### The Concept of Psychological Androgyny

The work of Broverman, et al. has clearly demonstrated that only a limited number of socially valued personality

traits have been deemed appropriate for women in this culture. Such a limitation might be expected to have a negative impact on other aspects of women's psychological functioning, and several studies have lent support to this thesis. High sex-typing in women has been found to correlate with high anxiety, low self-esteem and low social acceptance (Bem, 1974; Block, 1973; Block, et al., 1973; Spence, et al. 1975; Stapp, 1976), and the performance of highly sex-typed females was very limited on experimental tasks requiring traditionally masculine and on experimental tasks requiring traditionally feminine skills (Bem, 1974). Greater intellectual development has been correlated with cross sex-typing for individuals of either gender (Maccoby, 1966), and the highest levels of moral reasoning have been found among men and women with androgynous (a balance of masculine and feminine) personality styles (Block, 1973).

Several explanations for the lower psychological functioning of highly sex-typed females have been posited. Bem (1974) viewed traits connoted by the terms "masculine" and "feminine" as essentially situation-appropriate rather than person-appropriate; thus, androgynous individuals incorporating both kinds of traits would be optimally adaptive in the widest range of situations, in contrast to more sex-typed individuals who would be situationally limited. Empirical research has been partially supportive of this position, in that androgynous individuals have tended to perform most

effectively on task and personality-related indices (Bem, 1974; Block, 1973; Block, et al., 1973; Spence et al., 1975; Stapp, 1976). "Feminine" individuals, however, have tended to function at even lower levels than "masculine" ones, which Block has attributed to the greater restrictiveness in social definitions of femininity. She found that women rated high on measures of both sex-typing and conventional socialization for impulse control were somewhat anxious and inhibited, in contrast to their male counterparts who were confident and optimistic, as well as responsible (Block, 1973). Cultural sex-typing for males appears to permit the development of assertiveness and independence; this, when counterbalanced by explicit socialization for impulse control and consideration of others, results in a reasonably well-integrated adult personality. Female sex-typing, however, seems to converge with explicit socialization pressures, thereby narrowing the range within which women can comfortably function. Thus, women who scored low on femininity measures, although high on explicit socialization, were rated as more relaxed than the corresponding high femininity scorers; moreover, the greatest levels of independent achievement, if at the cost of interpersonal relatedness, were accomplished by women scoring low on both femininity and socialization measures.

The process by which androgynous development or unidimensional sex-typing occurs has also been explored by several researchers. Stapp (1976) found that high levels of parental

encouragement, praise, and affection were most strongly associated with high levels of self-esteem and with an androgynous personality style among male and female college students. Moreover, those constructive parental behaviors tended to occur more frequently when one or both parents were androgynous, as well. Unidimensional sex-typing tended to occur when at least one parent had been highly sex-typed, and students in this group were characterized by intermediate levels of psychological functioning. Lowest levels of self-esteem were found among undifferentiated students, that is, those having few positive attributes associated with either masculine or feminine styles. These individuals tended to have come from families where one or both parents were undifferentiated as well, and to have received the lowest levels of parental praise, affection, and encouragement.

Based upon information about the early history of subjects in their sample, Block et al. (1973) have suggested that the relationship between identification and sex-typing may operate differently in different kinds of families. In relatively stable families, conventional sex-typing should result from identification with traditionally sex-typed parents, while an androgynous identification with the positive aspects of both parents should occur when parents are not prototypical sex-role exemplifiers. In highly conflict-laden families, conventional sex-typing should develop in complementary reactivity to a highly sex-typed parent of the opposite sex, while

deviant sex-typing might result from emulation of the opposite sex parent combined with counteridentificatory differentiation from the like-sex parent.

In a separate publication, J.H. Block (1973) has further explored the development of sex-typed personality traits using Bakan's (1966) concepts of agency and communion. These "fundamental modalities," which Bakan believed to be characteristic of all life, involve on the one hand agentic strivings for survival, protection, self-enhancement, and personal gratification, and on the other hand a communal sense of being at one with others, a part of a larger whole. More specifically, Block described Bakan's definition of agency as "concerned with the organism as an individual" and manifesting itself in "self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion" (Block, 1973, p. 515). She summarized Bakan's definition of communion as "descriptive of the individual organism as it exists in some larger organism of which it is a part" and manifesting itself in "the sense of being at one with other organisms" (Block, 1973, p. 515). Bakan's own writing provided greater elaboration of these concepts:

Agency manifests itself in the formation of separations; communion in the lack of separations. Agency manifests itself in isolation, alienation and aloneness; communion in contact, openness and union. Agency manifests itself in the urge to master; communion in noncontractual cooperation. Agency manifests itself in repression of thought, feeling and impulse; communion in the lack and removal of repression. (Bakan, 1966, p. 15)

It should be noted that Bakan's work was based upon a

broad psycho-philosophical perspective, while Block and the present writer sought to understand agentic and communal personality traits in the context of a developmental psychological framework. In the latter context, certain aspects of Bakan's distinction between agency and communion seem somewhat oversimplified to the present writer. In particular, Bakan's equations of agency with unilateral repression and of communion with total absence of repression appear inconsistent with the other manifestations of agency and communion he described. From the perspective of current developmental theory, it seems more consistent to regard agency as involving the repression of impulses, affects, and ideas associated with fear, dependency, and emotional concern for others and to regard communion as involving the repression (or perhaps neutralization) of impulses, affects, and ideas associated with anger, aggressiveness, and mastery.

Despite certain implicit discrepancies between Bakan's definitions of agency and communion and current developmental theory in psychology, Bakan's emphasis upon the importance of overcoming the split between agency and communion, of trying to "mitigate agency with communion" (1966, p. 14) suggests a relevant extension of psychological theories of personality. While agency and communion correspond roughly to stereotyped ideas of masculinity and femininity respectively, Block has concurred with Bakan's assertion that both modes must be integrated within each individual in order for optimal individual

and social development to occur. (Studies offering empirical support for this thesis were cited earlier in this chapter.) The process by which such androgynous integration might occur has been posited by Block to be consistent with current psychodynamically based developmental principles.

Block's (1973) formulation of the development of gender identity as a result of differential socialization pressures toward expression of agentic and communal traits was based upon the developmental model elaborated by Loevinger (1966 and 1970, cited by Block, 1973). In this model, during the first few years of life children of both sexes are motivated primarily by immature, self-centered, agentic strivings, even as they are learning to identify themselves and others with the gender label "boy" or "girl." Greatest responsiveness to the impact of differential sex-role socialization begins during the conformity stage, when the manifestation of communal traits, with a corresponding decrease in assertive and aggressive behavior, characterizes little girls; little boys continue in assertive, adventuresome directions, although with greater inhibition of nurturance-arousing affective expression. In the two subsequent periods of conscientiousness and autonomy, socially acquired aspects of gender identity are re-evaluated in the context first of internalized moral standards, and later of individualistic needs and strivings. The integrative stage, for those who achieve it, involves a rebalancing of agentic and communal trends in terms of the issues raised

during the two previous stages. Block has equated optimal personality development with the possession of sufficient security about one's gender identity to permit performance of any behaviors consistent with the self, even if such behaviors are defined by the culture as "unmanly" or "unwomanly."

Research based on the concepts of agency and communion has been described at some length because these formulations provide the primary framework through which personality development of subjects in the current study has been considered. In particular, assumptions about the relationship between androgynous personality development and optimal psychological functioning have been explored in the context of several life pattern options. The concepts of agency and communion are used both as a vehicle for understanding dichotomous trends in personality development in response to realities of our contemporary culture, and as a framework within which healthy personality development might eventually be defined in a more integrated way.

## Mood Studies of Women

Implicit in most discussions of male and female personality styles (Freud, 1925; Bardwick, 1971; Kohlberg, 1966; Mischel, 1966) has been the assumption that normal development, and therefore psychological health, involves being comfortable engaging primarily in behaviors deemed sex-appropriate by the culture. In view of the negative evaluation which mental health professionals have given to much that they simultaneously defined as normal feminine behavior, a measure of female psychological functioning based on self-reports of personal satisfaction-dissatisfaction was considered preferable to exclusive reliance on professional judgments regarding the extent to which a woman's functioning corresponds to some hypothetical standard.

Phenomenological mood studies suggest one dimension along which an individual's experience of his/her own functioning and life style might be assessed. Jacobsen (1957) has defined mood as a generalized affective state or "coloring" through which an individual tends to perceive the self and surroundings during the period that the mood predominates. Mood fluctuation has been viewed as a potentially normal, adaptive process, in that the generalized quality of moods, by allowing gradual energy discharge, may facilitate eventual redirection of object cathexis along more appropriate lines. Among normal individuals, some recognition of the subjective

quality of mood states is expected, but mood fluctuations correspond in large measure to fluctuations in positive and negative reality-qualities of such people's lives. It is only when the reality-distorting property of a mood tends to predominate, that the resultant extreme and often prolonged affective experiences have been considered pathological. However, while the clinical literature has granted some recognition to the constructive aspects of moods (Freud, 1917; Jacobsen, 1957), it has remained for other researchers to focus on mood fluctuations within the normal range and, specifically, on positive affective states.

In several early studies which measured "normal" subjects' mood changes over time, self-reports of subjects were generally characterized by a predominance of positive over negative moods, a positive correlation between work productivity and pleasurable affective states, and varying degrees of periodicity in individual mood patterns (Wessman, 1979; Wessman and Ricks, 1966). Wessman and Ricks cited other studies, these based on single-instance ratings of hedonic level, which yielded similar results. Thus, positive correlations were obtained between happiness and serious, stable, social, and work activities, while unhappiness was correlated with neuroticism, excessive fearfulness, and impulsivity. Major areas of difference between happy and unhappy subjects were found to lie in the tendency of unhappy subjects to be self-preoccupied and less able to cope with problems areas in

their lives. There was also some evidence for the existence of a culturally accepted range within which happiness level should be expressed, which may have influenced subjects' self-reports.

In order to more fully explore the interrelationships among a variety of affective experiences, Wessman and Ricks (1966) developed the Personal Feeling Scales. These consisted of sixteen different scales, each dealing with a particular kind of feeling or mood such as elation-depression, fullness-emptiness of life, satisfaction-dissatisfaction with work, and companionship-isolation. Each scale contained ten statements which provided a continuum from extremely negative to extremely positive experiences in connection with the particular affective dimension. Subjects were asked to record a daily peak, trough, and average level on each scale over a period of six weeks. In this way, it was hoped that the various dimensions which underlie mood states could be differentiated and that distinctive configurations or patterns of feeling characterizing different individuals or subject groups might emerge.

Subjects' responses to the Personal Feeling Scales corroborated prior findings regarding the predominance of avowed happiness over unhappiness, but yielded little rhythmicity in individual mood patterns, except for a slight lowering of mood among females at the onset of menstruation (Wessman, 1979; Wessman and Ricks, 1966). There was an independent

relationship between average hedonic level and daily variability of mood, with more stable individuals manifesting more complex interrelationships among different affective states and reporting less extreme peaks and troughs of feeling. When generally happy and generally unhappy subjects were compared, the average mood levels of the former were found to be influenced by their daily peak feelings, whereas mood levels of unhappy subjects were more influenced by daily troughs. Furthermore, for happy subjects, highest moods were associated with high energy and relatedness to others, whereas for unhappy subjects, mood fluctuations tended to accompany variations in personal moral judgment and anxiety level.

Wessman and Ricks found some distinguishing characteristics in mood patterns of female subjects, although these were considered less important than the similarities between the sexes in the extent to which feelings of fullness of life, receptivity, and sociability were associated with personal happiness. The major difference between the sexes was that love and personal moral judgment scales were more strongly related to happiness in men while freedom from anxiety played a greater role in happiness for women. When male and female responses to Q-sort actual and ideal self-image ratings were compared, happier individuals of either sex were found to value a wider range of traits, including interpersonal involvement, than unhappy individuals, whose narrow ideal self-images revolved around themes of academic excellence and work

orientation. Among women in particular, the contrast between ideal self-descriptions of happy and unhappy individuals was striking, whereas some interpersonal orientation was reflected in ideal self-descriptions of unhappy men, and interest in work shared a place with interpersonal relatedness in the ideal self-descriptions of happy men. It should be noted that between-sex comparisons with these data were limited by the fact that fewer Personal Feeling Scales and slightly different Q-sort items were administered to female than to male subjects.

When happy and unhappy women were compared with one another, sociability and interpersonal relationships were found to be most relevant to the mood levels of the former, while positive moods in unhappy women were characterized by freedom from anxious and self-reproachful feelings (Wessman and Ricks, 1966). Somewhat unexpected was the finding that generally unhappy women during relatively elated periods appeared to have greater self-esteem, as measured by consistency between actual and ideal self-image, than their generally happier counterparts. While this might have been a function of the narrow range within which unhappy women defined their ideal selves, it is also possible that the happier female subjects, who appeared to be better socialized to the culturally approved feminine goals of interpersonal relatedness, felt somewhat uncertain about themselves because they had not yet settled into their permanent social roles of wife

and mother. Wessman, Ricks, and McIlvaine (1960) pointed out that among female subjects, the lowering of self-concept in depression involved downward shifts primarily in interpersonal and introceptive items; they suggested that these women's moods may have been affected by their ideas about the extent to which they were fulfilling their socially-acquired standards of femininity. In contrast, double-instance administration of the Personal Feeling Scales to a different group of college women approximately seven years after the Wessman and Ricks study yielded no differences in average happiness level between self- and other-oriented subjects (Gump, 1972). This might have been a reflection of subsequent social trends toward greater flexibility and variation in defining appropriate female roles.

Other research with the Personal Feeling Scales has further extended earlier implications that generally positive affective experiences can be expected to coincide with other aspects of constructive psychological functioning. Thus, Gurman (1972) found a significant positive relationship between the hedonic level and therapeutically facilitative functioning of psychotherapists, although a subsequent analysis (Gurman, 1973) in which high and low facilitative therapists were differentiated maintained this relationship for only the low facilitative group. When mood levels of disturbed (hospitalized) and non-disturbed women were compared, it was found that mood variability was characteristic of both healthy and disturbed subjects, but the moods of disturbed women differed in both degree and kind from those of the nondisturbed (Reinhardt, 1963). Among other things nondis-

turbed women reported higher moods than disturbed women at both peak and average levels, and their records were characterized by more frequent peak than nadir experiences.

Balkin (1968) administered the Personal Feeling Scales to women who had successfully completed psychotherapy, women who had been accepted for and were waiting to begin psychotherapy, and women who had never sought nor felt the need for psychotherapy. All subjects were lower middle and middle class married women; most had children and many were employed on a part-time basis. Mood levels of subjects in the completed-therapy and non-therapy groups closely matched one another and were significantly higher than mood levels of subjects in the awaiting-therapy group. That is, subjects who had completed what they defined as a successful psychotherapy experience felt better in many ways than those who were seeking treatment, and they reported feelings comparable to those reported by people who had never felt the need for treatment. Since only successful outcome post-therapy subjects were selected and pre-post therapy measures on the same subjects were not obtained, this research has not been viewed as a measure of the effects of psychotherapy. It has, however, highlighted the possible relevance of self-reported feelings in understanding both general psychological functioning and patient experiences of psychotherapy.

On the basis of the previously cited empirical work, it seems that the affective experiences measured by the Personal

Feeling Scales provide an important dimension through which psychological functioning might be understood. It was anticipated that these scales might serve as a meaningful indicator of the adaptations made by women in the present research to the life patterns they had chosen.

## Present Research Focus and Hypotheses

It should be clear from the preceding review of the literature that the relationship between female personality development and life style choice is highly complex. The present research deals primarily with those aspects of women's life patterns which pertain to the relative importance of work and family responsibilities in their lives. An effort has been made to understand these in the context of the general psychological functioning of the subjects, including their affective states, their attitudes toward work and family, and the relative predominance of agentic and communal traits in their personalities.

A major stimulus for this research was the investigator's discomfort with the widespread tendency among both mental health professionals and laymen to offer prescriptive generalizations about healthy personality styles and appropriate roles for women. Whether the conventional stereotype of the "feminine" traditional homemaker or the radical antithesis of the "militant" ambitious career woman, such prescriptions overlook the range of individual differences among women and the potential variety of life patterns through which these differences might be effectively expressed.

The primary focus of the present research was on two female life patterns--the primary homemaker and the full-time employed wife-mother; the research goal was to explore

the ways in which both might be positive, constructive adjustment patterns. These patterns were viewed in the context of the potential variability in "normal" personality style, with an emphasis on the interface between personality style and life pattern. Toward this end, general happiness level and the relative significance of nurturant/interpersonally supportive (communal) and instrumental/environmentally manipulative (agentic) tendencies were examined as potentially relevant in understanding differential satisfaction with primary homemaker and full-time employment roles. The following relationships among these personality variables and role patterns were tentatively hypothesized (the designation PFS in hypotheses 3 and 4 refers to the Personal Feeling Scales described more fully in Chapter 2):

1. General happiness level

- a. General happiness level will not differentiate primary homemaker and full-time employed women as long as both groups of women report comparable levels of satisfaction with their homemaking- and employment-focused life patterns respectively.

- b. There will be a positive relationship between women's general happiness level and their level of reported satisfaction with their homemaking- and employment-focused life patterns respectively.

- c. There will be a positive relationship between women's general happiness level and an androgynous personality style (balanced expression of agentic and communal traits).

2. Personality style and life pattern satisfaction

a. Full-time employed women who report relative satisfaction with their employment commitments will be more likely to be agentic or androgynous than communal.

b. Primary homemaker women who report relative satisfaction with their homemaker focus will be more likely to be communal or androgynous than agentic.

3. Employment status and general affective patterning

a. For primary homemakers, general happiness level will correlate more strongly with experiences of interpersonal relatedness (PFS 3 and 4) than with experiences of personal competence and control (PFS 8).

b. For full-time employed women, general happiness level will correlate more strongly with experiences of personal competence and control (PFS 8) than with experiences of interpersonal relatedness (PFS 3 and 4).

4. Personality style and general affective patterning

a. For communal women, general happiness level will tend to correlate more strongly with feelings of interpersonal relatedness (PFS 3 and 4) than with experiences of personal competence and control.

b. For agentic women, general happiness level will tend to correlate more strongly with experiences of personal competence and control (PFS 8) than with experiences of interpersonal relatedness.

## Chapter 2

### RESEARCH METHODS

#### Subjects

Subjects in this study were female adults between 30 and 45 years of age. As much as possible, subject selection was restricted to women who were either working full-time or not employed at all. (The reason that all subjects did not conform to this criterion will be explained more fully in the section on recruitment procedures, pp. 66-67.) All participants were from middle or upper-middle class families, married to men employed in full-time positions, and mothers of at least one child under 18 living in the home. These selection criteria were established in order to minimize the effects of sheer financial necessity and thereby to increase the likelihood that differences in employment status of the women sampled would correspond to differences in their life pattern preferences, attitudes, and personality characteristics.

## Research Instruments

### Agency/Androgyny/Communion Q-Sort

A Q-sort instrument, consisting of 63 adjectives, was developed by Block and Stapp (Note 1) to provide definitions of agency, communion, and androgyny that would be less dependent than existing measures upon cultural biases about the nature of sex differences. The concept of agency refers to those aspects of personality functioning which deal with active mastery of the environment for the purposes of survival, protection, self-enhancement, and personal gratification. The concept of communion, in contrast, refers to those aspects of personality functioning which involve genuine concern for and empathic relatedness to people, the capacity to experience a sense of being at one with others. The third concept, androgyny, involves an integrated balance of agentic and communal traits within a single individual.

The Block and Stapp criterion adjective sorts for these three concepts can be found in Appendix A and provided the basis for evaluating the Q-sort responses of the women in the present study. The criterion norms were established by Block and Stapp on the basis of Q-sorts provided by 24 researchers, who had been instructed to describe in turn the hypothetical agentic, communal, and androgynous person. Relatively high mean levels of agreement among descriptions of each type were found: .63, .75, and .72 for agency, communion, and

androgyny respectively. Criterion definitions of each personality style were then obtained by compositing the descriptions, with each composite having a reliability of .98.

### Work/Homemaker Attitude Scales

These attitude measures (see Appendix B) were designed for this study and consist of work and homemaking attitude statements derived in part from those found by Haring (1973) to differentiate work-oriented from nonwork-oriented welfare mothers. However, Haring's original statements were modified and expanded considerably to reflect the attitudes of middle class women, whose options are broader than the choice between work and welfare. The present instrument sought to explore women's attitudes toward work and homemaking in terms of the personal commitment to each that participants believed would be most rewarding for them. Participants' responses to this measure were considered exploratory data and were examined to determine whether or not they were consistently related to other research variables.

The Attitude Toward Work scale consisted of a series of six descriptive statements about attitudes toward the role which women felt that work should play in their lives. The viewpoints reflected in these statements ranged from regarding full-time employment as an essential source of personal satisfaction and financial support to portraying work as a relatively unpleasant alternative to be selected only when other financial resources--e.g. a spouse's income--are lacking.

The Attitude Toward Homemaking scale was a series of six descriptive statements about the role women felt homemaking should have in their lives. It included attitudes ranging from a view of motherhood and homemaking as a woman's primary source of satisfaction in life to a view of homemaking and parenting as only one aspect of life, often involving more frustration than gratification.

It was hoped that consensual criterion rankings of the work and homemaking attitude statements might be obtained by having a large pool of naive women serve as judges. Thus, a group of 17 women ranging in age from 19 to 39, with the majority between 22 and 29, were asked to rank the work and homemaker statements separately from most to least work- or homemaker-committed respectively. While an ordering of the mean ranks assigned to each statement of the relevant dimension did correspond with the ordering anticipated by the experimenter, several of the mean differences between statements were too close to justify considering them part of an equal-interval scale. As a result, the statements were reworded by the experimenter and presented to six mental health professionals for discussion of the underlying conceptual dimensions and further revision. The orderings of the Attitude Toward Work and the Attitude Toward Homemaking items in Appendix B represent the consensual rankings of these six mental health professionals and the experimenter, and can be considered to approximate equal-interval scales.

It was decided that the work and homemaking statements would be scaled and administered separately, despite the expectation that the significance of work and homemaking may tend to be inversely related for many women. In this way, the measure should also be sensitive to the attitudes of those women who are affected by both the contemporary emphasis on professional advancement for women and the traditional emphasis on motherhood and homemaking for women.

### Personal Feeling Scales

The Personal Feeling Scales, as originally developed by Wessman and Ricks (1966), consisted of 16 unidimensional scales, each dealing with a distinct, fairly specific kind of feeling or mood, to which subjects responded daily for a six-week period. In the present study, daily responses for a three week period were obtained from participants.

A revised version of eleven scales was used in this investigation. Four of the original scales were dropped entirely, both because they appeared only tangentially relevant to the issues under consideration and because research since 1966 has shown them to have little consistent relationship to other scales in the group. Four other scales were significantly reworded, combined with one another, and elaborated so as to result in two scales corresponding to the concepts of agency and communion respectively, and a third scale dealing with feelings of acceptance by others. These new Personal Feeling self-report scales were developed because it was

anticipated that the other measure of agency, communion, and androgyny in the present study--the Block and Stapp (Note 1) Q-sort procedure--might tap a relatively intellectualized component of self-concept. It was hoped that, through the Personal Feeling Scales, the more affective component involved in experiencing oneself as instrumental and/or interpersonally related might be measured. No androgyny scale was devised, since it was assumed that women's feelings on the agency and communion scales could occur relatively independently of one another, so that an androgynous personality style would be reflected in high scores on both scales simultaneously. The only other major revision of the Personal Feeling Scales involved the Personal Moral Judgment scale, which was adapted to include uncertainty about one's moral standards; it was expected that such uncertainty might be relevant to many women seeking to expand beyond the homemaker role. (A copy of the revised 11 scales can be found in Appendix C.)

The basic format of the original Personal Feeling Scales was retained in these revisions. That is, for each mood or feeling scale, a series of ten descriptive statements was provided; these formed a continuum ranging from extremely negative to extremely positive experiences with regard to that mood or feeling. Subjects recorded the numbers of the statements on each scale which best reflected their average feelings that day, and the numbers which best reflected their highest and lowest feelings during the day. The Elation vs.

Depression scale of this instrument was a measure of day-to-day happiness level. Women's responses to the different scales were intercorrelated to discover distinctive affective patterns among different subject groups.

## Procedures

### Recruitment of Subjects

Since the research design required considerable personal contact with the experimenter and a significant time commitment from participants, it was necessary to approach potential subjects via a network of personal referrals. A suburban civic organization, whose president was friendly with a colleague of the investigator, provided an initial subject pool, and many of these participants suggested other women outside the organization as additional subjects. Although the experimenter asked that referrals be limited to women who were either employed full-time or not employed at all, misinformation on the part of the referring individuals sometimes resulted in invitations to women who were employed part-time and/or extremely active in community affairs.

The investigator contacted each potential participant by telephone, identified herself and the woman by whom she had been referred, briefly described the research goal and procedures, and asked if the woman were willing to participate. The research goal was described to potential participants as an effort to "understand the different ways in which women may organize their lives--around family responsibilities, employment if they have jobs, and any other activities or interests." Women were told that participation would involve a personal interview of one to two hours, including

time to fill out certain paper and pencil measures, and the completion of a personal mood record every evening for a three week period after the interview. The experimenter also promised to send each participant a written summary of the outcome of the research. Appointments for a personal interview were made with all women who agreed to take part in the study.

### Interview

The experimenter interviewed each participant individually to get information about her educational background, her past and present employment experiences (if any), her home-making responsibilities, and any other important activities or involvements in her life. Questions focused on her own and her family's feelings about the different areas of involvement in her life, the specific ways in which she organized her time and established priorities, and her expectations about the direction her life would take in the future. A semi-structured interview format was followed, and the specific items which formed the basis of the interviews have been included in Appendix D: Initial Interview Employed and Initial Interview Nonemployed schedules. The same general areas were covered with all subjects except that the questions regarding current employment (numbers 1, 2, 4, and 5 of the Employed schedule) were omitted for the nonworking women.

Interviews were scheduled at the convenience of each

participant; the majority were held in the women's homes although a few preferred to meet at their places of business. In many instances, family members were at home and the interviewer had an opportunity to observe family interaction before and after the interview. For the most part, however, the investigator was alone with the subject during the actual interview and subsequent administration of other research instruments. Some notes were recorded during the interview and a detailed written reconstruction--including as much verbatim material as possible--was prepared within 24 hours of the conclusion of the interview. A total of 65 women were interviewed, although only women who completed all experimental measures were considered in the data analysis.

#### Administration of Research Instruments

At the end of the formal interview process, the other research instruments were administered to the participant in order of decreasing difficulty, to minimize the effects of fatigue. The entire in-person procedure, including the interview and administration of other instruments, ranged from 1 to 2½ hours, with most women requiring 1½ to 2 hours.

The first instrument administered to participants was the agency/communion/androgyny Q-sort (Block and Stapp, Note 1). Subjects were given a printed Q-sort grid, on which 63 adjectives were listed in random order; they were asked to rate each adjective on a seven point scale ranging from -3

(not at all characteristic of me) to +3 (very characteristic of me). Frequency restrictions were imposed on the use of rating categories to insure a normally distributed response pattern. Appendix A includes a copy of this Q-sort grid.

After completing the Q-sort grids, women were asked to read through the six Attitude Toward Work statements and check off the one most reflective of the role which they would ideally want work to assume in their lives. Subjects then repeated this process with the six Attitude Toward Homemaking statements (see Appendix B).

Before concluding the contact, each participant was given the Personal Feeling Scales packet, answer sheets, and stamped return envelopes. She was asked to read the instructions on the packet cover sheet and to look over the answer sheets. (Copies of the packet and answer sheet are in Appendix C.) The instructions requested that subjects read through each mood scale every night before retiring, and record on the appropriate answer sheet the numbers of the statements describing their highest, lowest, and average feelings that day on the affect represented by each scale. The experimenter reviewed these instructions with each subject and answered any questions.

Participants were provided with three return envelopes, so that seven answer sheets could be returned to the experimenter at the end of each of the three weeks. If the first envelope was not returned within two weeks of the interview

date, the investigator followed up by telephone to ask the subject what had happened. All subjects contacted in this way agreed to begin the scales immediately, if they had not already done so. Approximately half of this group did eventually submit complete mood records, and the remainder were dropped from the study.

## Chapter 3

### RESULTS

#### Overall Sample Characteristics

Sixty-five women agreed to participate in this study and were interviewed by the experimenter. A total of 43 followed through by completing three weeks of daily mood records, and it is only those women who were included in the data analysis and discussion of results; all references to the research sample refer to this group.

All of the women in this study were married for the first time, and the children discussed in the interview were natural children from their present marriages. Approximately 3/4 of the women sampled had small families (under 3 children), with 1/4 having only 1 child; the two largest families consisted of 6 and 7 children respectively. The children of participants ranged in age from 5½ months to 16 years.

Eighty-two percent of the sample had completed at least a bachelor's degree, and all subjects were high school graduates. A majority of their husbands held graduate degrees, although 7% had not gone beyond a high school education, and another 8% had never completed college. The husbands' occupations ranged from skilled trades to professions requiring extensive graduate training.

### Employment Status Groups

At the time of the interviews, 23 of the women were employed in paid positions; the remaining 20 were not employed. Eighteen of the employed women were assigned to the Employed Group, Group 1, on the basis of the following criteria:

1 - paid permanent employment involving 30 or more hours per week (including travel time) at the time of the interview, and

2 - consistent work identification, indicated by a continuous work history, or an interrupted work history with a return to the same field, or an interrupted work history and significant commitment to a new field, including relevant re-education and/or a minimum of two years of continuous employment in the new field by the time of the interview.

One-third of the women classified as Group 1 had work histories which conformed to a continuous pattern; that is, their employment had been interrupted only briefly (under one year) with the birth of each child, and definite plans for resumption of employment (e.g. an official leave of absence) had been made at the outset of each interruption. The remaining 2/3 of this group consisted of women whose careers had been interrupted for 1½ years or longer and whose "time out" periods had involved uncertainty about whether or when paid employment would be resumed. The length of the "time

out" period for these women ranged from 1½ to 17 years, with a mean of 6.3 years. Three of the interrupted patterns involved a career change (including a reeducation period), and three others involved a delayed career orientation, since the pre-childbearing employment experiences had been very short and unfocused.

Fourteen of the nonemployed subjects were assigned to the Primary Homemaker Group, Group 3. Life patterns of women in this group at the time of the interview were characterized by:

1 - majority of time spent in the home and/or on activities directly serving children and family, and

2 - less than 15 hours (or 2 full days) per week spent on activities unrelated to the home and family.

Most of the women in Group 3 had been employed in permanent, full-time positions prior to the birth of their first babies, and several had held occasional part-time positions, generally in response to financial pressures, since becoming mothers. Three women had never worked in a full-time permanent position, and one had continued in a full-time professional job for a year after her baby's birth before deciding to adopt a full-time homemaker life pattern. Women in this group were less likely than those in Group 1 to have advanced educationally beyond the bachelor's degree or to have been employed in (nonteaching) professional-level positions prior to childbearing.

The remaining 11 women who participated fully in this study did not fit clearly into either the Employed or Primary Homemaker Groups. These women were placed together in a separate group, Group 2, because their overall life patterns seemed to combine elements of both Group 1 and Group 3 patterns. The six nonemployed members of this group were women who had significant nonfamilial involvements which resulted in some modification of certain homemaking and family responsibilities. The nonfamilial commitments of these women ranged from serving as president of a local civic organization to writing a manuscript with the hope of eventual publication, but in all cases they involved a significant expenditure of time and energy, generally exceeding 20 hours per week. Five employed women were also placed in Group 2 because their career commitments were considerably more limited than those of the Group 1 women; three of the Group 2 employed women were working in part-time positions, and the remaining two, though employed full-time, were very unsure about how much longer they would remain employed and what kind of work commitment, if any, they might have in the future.

Educationally and occupationally, women in Group 2 resembled those in Group 3 in that only one woman had advanced beyond the baccalaureate level and their occupations prior to childbearing were concentrated in the semi-professional and teaching (below college) areas. However, this group was more homogeneous regarding educational level and pre-childbearing

occupations than either Groups 1 or 3; all but one member were college graduates and all but one had worked in teaching or semi-professional positions prior to becoming mothers. There was also a greater concentration of upper middle class families in this group and no lower middle class families. This relative homogeneity may have been a spurious consequence of the limited group size, but may also be a reflection of the kind of financial circumstances that permit and the kind of cultural-educational background that encourages mothers to seek significant, often nonremunerative, outside involvements.

When various demographic characteristics of women in the three employment status groups were compared, chi-square tests indicated no significant differences in age, religion, socioeconomic status, number of children, education and occupation of husband, and number of years in present (employed or non-employed) status. However, women in Group 1 were significantly more likely to have completed graduate degrees and to have been employed (even prior to childbearing) in nonteaching professional-level positions. Although the three groups were not significantly distinguishable by family size, women in Group 3 were significantly more likely to have had more younger children (under 9 years of age) at the time of the interview. Table 1 summarizes these differences in Wife's Education and Age of Oldest Child.

TABLE 1

Chi-Square Comparisons of Wife's Education and Age of  
Oldest Child by Employment Status Group

Education	Wife's Education (percentages)		
	1	2	3
H.S. graduate	11.1	0.0	0.0
Post H.S./some college	11.1	0.0	28.6
College graduate	16.7	90.9*	35.7
Some post-bachelors	16.7	0.0	21.4
Graduate degree	44.4*	9.1	14.3

Chi-square = 22.3    d.f. = 8    p = .004

Age of Oldest Child  
(percentages)

Age of Oldest Child	Group		
	1	2	3
2.5 - 5.9 years	5.6	36.4	42.9*
6 - 8.9 years	0.0	13.2	35.7*
9 - 11.9 years	16.7	18.2	7.1
Over 12 years	33.3	13.2	0.0
Not applicable (only one child)	44.4	9.1	14.3

Chi-square = 20.94    d.f. = 8    p = .007

## General Pattern of Subject Responses

### Interview Variables

To permit some quantitative analysis of the psychologically relevant areas explored during the interviews, interview protocols were examined to identify those issues which recurred in discussions with all or most subjects. In general these issues involved women's perceptions of the responsibilities they were expected to assume at home and outside (this included external demands and internalized standards), their perceptions of the kinds of assistance their husbands provided in helping them to fulfill their responsibilities, their perceptions of the practical impact of their outside commitments on husbands and children, and their perceptions of their families' feelings about their (the subjects') overall commitments and consequent fulfillments of family responsibilities. Other significant areas covered included: subjects' feelings about their present homemaking and (where applicable) employment/nonfamilial responsibilities, their feelings about present or former nonemployed periods, and their feelings about the perceived support or opposition from their husbands for their nonfamilial pursuits.

After areas common to all or most protocols were identified, a five point ordinal rating scale was developed for each relevant variable. The scale for each variable consisted of five descriptive statements which formed a continuum ranging

from extremely negative (0) to extremely positive (4) feelings or perceptions with regard to the affect or perceived condition to which that variable referred. Rating scales were reviewed for clarity and unidimensionality by colleagues of the investigator, and revisions were made where necessary. Table 2 lists the variables that were used in the final data analysis; complete rating scales for each of these variables may be found in Appendix E.

Scoring was done by the investigator, who reviewed the interview protocol of each participant and assigned her a score of 0 to 4 on each of the scaled variables. A score of 9 was arbitrarily assigned to any scale that was irrelevant for a particular subject (e.g. nonemployed women could not be rated on Feelings about Present Job); the score of 9 was not included in computations. The midpoint score of 2 was used when strong, contradictory feelings or conditions had been described by the subject on that dimension.

Chi-square tests indicated that women in the three employment status groups differed significantly on two of the coded variables: Feelings about Nonwork Periods and Attitude toward Mothering in Relation to Significant Work Commitment. Women in Group 1 reported more unhappiness during their nonemployed periods and expressed stronger convictions that growing children do not need their mother's full-time attention to develop normally. Table 3 below summarizes the distribution of scores on these two variables.

TABLE 2

Interview Variables

- Feelings about Domestic Responsibilities
- Initial Adjustment to Mothering
- Feelings about Mothering Responsibilities
- Attitude Toward Mothering in Relation to Significant Work Commitment
- Description of Husband's Participation in Homemaking/Child Care
- Feelings about Husband's Participation in Homemaking/Child Care
- Feelings about Nonwork Periods
- Future Work Plans
- \*Mother Availability to Children as a Result of Work (present)
- \*Description of Husband's Responses to Wife's Work
- \*Feelings about Present Job
- \*Feelings about Integration of Work and Family Responsibilities
- \*\*Extent of Out-of-Home Involvements
- \*\*Feelings about Out-of-Home Involvements

\*variable on which only employed women were rated  
\*\*variable on which only women in Groups 2 and 3 were rated

TABLE 3

Chi-Square Comparisons of Subjects' Feelings About Nonwork  
Periods and Attitude Toward Mothering in Relation to  
Significant Work Commitment by Employment Status Groups

Feelings About Nonwork		Feelings About Nonwork Periods (percentages)		
		Group		
		1	2	3
"Angry and resentful"	0	33.3*	9.1	0.0
"Confined and restless"	1	44.4*	9.1	28.6
"Unsure"	2	16.7	18.2	28.6
"Mixed feelings"	3	5.6	36.4	21.4
"Enjoyable"	4	0.0	27.3	21.4

Chi-square = 17.32 d.f. = 8 p = .03

Attitude Toward Mothering		Attitude Toward Mothering in Relation to Significant Work Commitment (percentages)		
		Group		
		1	2	3
"Mother essential-- must be home"	0	0.0	18.2	28.6*
"Mother essential only with young kids"	1	22.2	36.4	50.0*
"Not sure if mother is essential"	2	27.8	18.2	0.0
"Parent substitute prob- ably OK"	3	33.3	18.2	0.0
"Parent substitute definitely OK"	4	16.7	9.1	21.4

Chi-square = 15.6 d.f. = 8 p = .05

Other interview variables which approached significance but did not achieve the requisite .05 confidence level were Feelings about Mothering, Initial Adjustment to Mothering, Husband's Participation in Homemaking, and Feelings about Husband's Participation in Homemaking. Predictably, Group 1 women reported greater difficulties with Initial Adjustment to Mothering, but present Feelings about Mothering seemed to be more positive among women in Groups 1 and 2 than among the primary homemakers in Group 3. Thus, in this sample, it appeared that women who had extensive opportunities for self-development away from home tended to experience more overt gratification from the limited time spent with their children, whereas those who were at home all day (and who tended to have larger numbers of younger children) were more likely to feel drained by or casually accepting of their mothering responsibilities.

Variables dealing with women's descriptions of and feelings about their husbands' involvement in homemaking and child care suggest that husbands of women in Group 3 assumed fewer domestic responsibilities, but that these women tended to be casually accepting of or reasonably satisfied with whatever assistance their husbands provided. Women in Groups 1 and 2 tended to receive greater levels of assistance from their husbands; however, these women seemed less likely to accept their husbands' domestic involvement with neutrality, and instead expressed more explicit appreciation of or dissatis-

faction with their husbands' levels of participation. Moreover, the correlation between women's descriptions of their husbands' domestic participation and women's feelings about husbands' participation was weaker for Group 1 than for Group 3 women, which may have been a reflection of certain working women's greater expectations for domestic assistance and greater tendency to be dissatisfied with only moderate or reluctant cooperation from their husbands (Group 1: Pearson's  $r$  for Husband's Participation in Homemaking and Feelings about Husband's Participation in Homemaking = .4055,  $p$  = .095; Group 3: Pearson's  $r$  for Husband's Participation in Homemaking and Feelings about Husband's Participation in Homemaking = .7622,  $p$  = .002). It must be recalled, however, that although the data suggested certain possible relationships between employment status and feelings about mothering, husband's participation in homemaking, and feelings about husband's participation in homemaking which might merit further exploration, with one exception none of the relationships described above achieved statistical significance in this sample.

#### Life Pattern Satisfaction Variable

This variable sought to measure women's overall satisfaction with their present life patterns as employed mothers or primary homemakers. Although all Group 1 (employed) women in the present sample also assumed homemaking responsibilities, they were differentiated from Group 3 women by virtue of the prominence of nonfamilial, employment responsibi-

lities in their lives. Thus, it was their feelings about their employment situations and their abilities to integrate these with their homemaking responsibilities that seemed most relevant to their overall satisfaction with their lives as working mothers. For Group 3 women, in contrast, activities tended to be centered in or near home, so that feelings about domestic responsibilities and about opportunities for limited participation in nonfamilial self-developmental activities (e.g. volunteer work, hobbies) seemed most prominent for satisfaction with the primary homemaker life pattern.

Life pattern satisfaction scores for Groups 1 and 3 were derived from women's ratings on the two interview rating scales most relevant to the employment and homemaking dimensions of their respective life patterns. For women in Group 1, participants' ratings on the two scales Feelings about Present Job and Feelings about Integration of Work and Family Responsibilities were summed to obtain the life pattern satisfaction score. For women in Group 3, life pattern satisfaction scores were obtained by summing subjects' ratings on the scales for Feelings about Domestic Responsibilities and Feelings about Outside Activities. Life pattern satisfaction scores for women in Group 2 were derived by adding the mean of the two homemaker relevant scale scores (Feelings about Domestic Responsibilities and Feelings About Outside Activities) to the mean of the two work relevant scale scores (Feelings about Present Job and Feelings about Integration of Work and

Family Responsibilities). Since each interview scale had a maximum score of 4, life pattern satisfaction scores had an upper limit of 8.

Mean life pattern satisfaction scores were 5.78, 5.55, and 4.86 for Groups 1, 2, and 3 respectively. A one-way analysis of variance and contrast coefficient matrix indicated no significant difference between these means. Since the life pattern satisfaction score was based on inferences from the interview protocols, its relationship to subjects' self-perceptions of their life pattern satisfaction is uncertain. However, Pearson's correlation coefficients were computed for life pattern satisfaction and mean peak, average, and trough scores on Personal Feelings Scale (PFS) 11, Elation vs. Depression. Since PFS 11 was a self-report measure, the significant positive correlation between life pattern satisfaction and both peak ( $r = .37$ ,  $p = .007$ ) and average ( $r = .27$ ,  $p = .04$ ) hedonic levels provided some confirmation of the validity of the life pattern satisfaction scores.

#### Work/Homemaker Attitude Scales

The descriptive statements making up the separate Attitude Toward Work and Attitude Toward Homemaking scales were ordered along a continuum from most negative to most positive with regard to work and homemaking respectively. Each statement was assigned a numerical value from 1 to 6, corresponding to its ordinal placement along that continuum. The two

statements selected by each subject as most representative of her ideal work and homemaker roles respectively were entered into the data base by their corresponding numerical values.

A comparison of women in the three employment status groups with regard to the ideal role they believed work should play in their lives indicated that Group 1 women were more likely to express a preference for a significant full-time work commitment in their lives (statement 6). Although these differences fell slightly short of statistical significance (chi square = 12.25; d.f. = 6, p = .057), 61% of Group 1 women selected work statement 6 in contrast to 27% and 14% of the women in Groups 2 and 3 respectively. Responses of this sample suggested, moreover, that certain items on the Attitude Toward Work scale may be irrelevant for some groups of middle class suburban married mothers. Thus, no participants selected items 1 or 2, in which the concept of paid employment was rejected entirely or acknowledged only on a temporary basis if required by sheer financial necessity. Apparently, even nonemployed women seemed to feel that they should have paid work experiences during some period(s) in their lives, and that these experiences should not be motivated solely by financial concerns.

Responses to the Attitude Toward Homemaking scale suggested that women in this sample tended not to acknowledge the primary homemaker role as their exclusive source of satisfaction. The highest item selected on this scale was

statement 4: "to stay pretty much at home with my children while they need me, but pursuing some other interests and activities as well--with home and family of primary importance to me but also needing other sources of satisfaction." The lowest item on this scale, in which homemaking and child care are considered sufficiently unrewarding to justify childless life styles, was also omitted by all subjects. Thus, the range of responses on this scale was limited to statements 2, 3, and 4.

A chi-square test comparing women in the three employment status groups indicated statistically significant differences in item selection on the Attitude Toward Homemaking scale (chi square = 17.64, d.f. = 4, p = .002). Predictably, Group 3 women most often selected statement 4, while Group 1 women omitted statement 4 entirely and were most likely to express the desire for a fully equal partnership with their spouses regarding homemaking and childrearing, allowing them as much leeway as their spouses for nonfamilial full-time commitments (statement 2).

#### Agency/Communion/Androgyny Q-sort

The first 12 items of the Block and Stapp (Note 1) criterion sorts for agency, communion, and androgyny were used as the basis for scoring subjects' Q-sort responses, and will hereafter be referred to respectively as the agency, communion, and androgyny standards (see Appendix A). The 12 adjective

limit was selected because it resulted in no adjective duplication between the agency and communion standards and because the corresponding first 12 adjectives of the androgyny criterion sort included a fairly even balance of adjectives from the agency and communion standards (4 and 6 adjectives respectively), as well as 2 additional adjectives not included in either of the other standards.

Subjects had rated the 63 Q-sort adjectives, using a forced frequency scale that ranged from -3 (not at all characteristic of me) to +3 (highly characteristic of me). These self-ratings were converted to a positive number scale from 1 to 7 by adding the constant +4 to each of the original numerical designations. Agency, communion, and androgyny scores were derived for each woman by separately totalling the converted values of her self-ratings on the adjectives corresponding to the agency, communion, and androgyny standards respectively. Thus, all subjects had three Q-sort scores, each with a hypothetical range of 50 points (23 to 73). In actuality, scores across all subjects ranged from a low of 34 to a high of 67, with Q agency scores ranging from 34 to 60, Q communion scores from 38 to 63, and Q androgyny scores from 42 to 67. Mean agency, communion, and androgyny scores for women in the three employment status groups were computed and appear in Table 4.

Predictably, the mean Q agency score was highest for Group 1 and lowest for Group 3, while the inverse was true of

TABLE 4

Mean Agency, Communion, and Androgyny Scores  
by Employment Status Group

Q-Sort Scales	Group		
	1	2	3
Q Agency	51.78*	48.73	45.43
Q Communion	52.89	55.00	56.36
Q Androgyny	57.39	57.91	55.36

One-Way Analysis of Variance: Q Agency

$F = 3.57$   $d.f. = 42$   $p = .04$

Q Agency:  
Contrast Coefficient Matrix

Contrasts	Employment Status Group			Pooled Variance Estimate		
	1	2	3	t	d.f.	p
1	1.0	0.0	-1.0	2.67	40.0	.01*
2	1.0	-1.0	0.0	1.20	40.0	.24
3	0.0	1.0	-1.0	1.22	40.0	.23
4	1.0	-0.5	-0.5	2.72	40.0	.03*
5	0.5	0.5	-1.0	2.20	40.0	.03*

the mean Q communion score. However, when analyses of variance were performed and contrast coefficient matrices obtained for these data, only the mean difference in Q agency scores between Groups 1 and 3 was found to be statistically significant ( $t = 2.67$ ,  $d.f. = 40$ ,  $p = .01$ ).

In most of the data analysis, statistical tests utilizing women's actual scores for agency, communion, and androgyny were appropriate. However, because certain research hypotheses required that women be classified as communal or agentic, cut-off scores to permit such categorization of subjects were developed. The following factors were considered in establishing these cut-off scores: the nature of the relationship between Q agency, Q communion, and employment status group; the distribution of agency scores among Group 1 women and of communion scores among Group 3 women; the interrelationship between Q agency and Q communion scores of individual subjects. Women with Q agency scores equal to or greater than 54 and Q communion scores under 55 were classified as agentic; women with Q communion scores greater than or equal to 55 and Q agency scores under 54 were classified as communal. Based upon these criteria, there were 13 agentic women in this sample, 23 communal women, and 7 women who could not be used in analyses requiring this differentiation because both their Q agency and Q communion scores fell above or below cut-off scores. There were nine women from Group 1 and two from Group 3 who were defined as agentic; of the women

classified as communal, ten were from Group 3, six from Group 2 and six from Group 1.

### Personal Feeling Scales

Complete mood scale records for each subject consisted of 63 scores on each of the eleven Personal Feeling Scales: daily peak, average, and trough scores on each scale for 21 days. Thirty of the 65 women interviewed returned complete records with no missing data. An additional 13 subjects submitted usable records with only minor omissions. Of this group, four were missing only one nightly report for one scale, six were missing one to two nights on each scale (i.e. generally complete records for 19 or 20 rather than 21 days), one had missed three nights of records because of illness requiring heavy sedation, and two others had missed several nights for one or two specific scales only. The single scale which was most often omitted in the mood records was #5, Love and Intimacy. Based on the records submitted, mean peak, average, and trough scores were computed for each subject on each scale over the 21 day period, resulting in 33 mean mood scale scores per subject for use in subsequent data analysis.

The Elation vs. Depression scale, number 11 of this instrument, was considered a measure of the general happiness level of each subject. The overall sample mean of the daily average scores on this scale was 5.5, midway between "feeling pretty good, O.K." (rank #5) and "feeling very good and

cheerful" (rank #6). This is consistent with earlier findings among "normal," nonclinical samples, in which self-descriptions of general happiness level tended to be positive (Wessman, 1979; Wessman and Ricks, 1966). The standard deviation of the mean daily averages of each subject may be considered a measure of subjects' day to day mood variability; women in this sample had standard deviations ranging from .40 to 1.64.

Analyses of variance were performed comparing peak, average and trough means of women in Groups 1, 2, and 3 for each mood scale. Significant differences between groups were found only for peak and average scores on scale 6, Tranquility vs. Anxiety. Those scores are summarized in Table 5. A contrast coefficient matrix for the peak scores indicated that while the difference between Groups 1 and 3 approached significance, the significant difference lay between Groups 1 and 2, with Group 1 women most anxious and Group 2 women most tranquil. When average scores were analyzed via a contrast coefficient matrix, this significant difference between Groups 1 and 2 was again upheld. The higher anxiety level of Group 1 women may have been related to the multiplicity of responsibilities they faced at home and at work, and is discussed in greater detail when qualitative results are explored. A similar relationship which did not quite achieve statistical significance was suggested for mean peak and average scores on Personal Feeling Scale 10, Energy vs. Fatigue.

TABLE 5

Personal Feeling Scale 6, Tranquility vs. Anxiety,  
by Employment Status Group

Employment Status Group	Mean Scores on Tranquility vs. Anxiety	
	Peak	Average
1	6.40	5.15
2	7.01	5.69
3	6.88	5.42
<u>F</u> = 3.42		<u>F</u> = 3.23
<u>d.f.</u> = 42		<u>d.f.</u> = 42
<u>p</u> = .04		<u>p</u> = .05

Contrast	Contrast Coefficient Matrix			Separate Variance Estimates					
	1	Group 2	3	<u>t</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>p</u>
1	1.0	0.0	-1.0	-1.82	29.1	.079	-1.24	29.5	.224
2	1.0	-1.0	0.0	-2.32	26.3	.009	-2.86	27.0	.008
3	0.0	1.0	-1.0	.59	20.8	.565	1.46	22.5	.159

The present research focused primarily on subjects' general mood level over the 21 day period rather than on mood variability. It was initially expected that the mean of the average daily ratings on each scale would provide the most meaningful indicator of general mood level along the dimension measured by that scale. When preliminary comparisons were run against all three measures of each Personal Feeling Scale, however, it appeared that statistically significant differences occurred most often with the peak ratings. The same operations performed with average ratings tended to be significant or approaching significance only when peak ratings were significant. Since the present research hypotheses were concerned largely with conditions under which more positive affective levels are experienced, and since earlier research findings (Rheinhardt, 1968; Wessman, 1979; Wessman and Ricks, 1966) indicated a positive association between peak and average mood ratings among generally happy sample populations, peak scores may have been relevant differentiators for the present sample. In all cases, however, both peak and average means have been reported and the relative statistical significance of each for the comparison in question has been explicitly stated.

## Quantitative Findings: Initial Hypotheses

### General Happiness Level

A major goal of this research involved an investigation of women's general psychological adjustment in relation to certain personality characteristics and life patterns.

Elation vs. Depression, scale 11 of the Personal Feeling Scales, had been found to coincide with other aspects of constructive psychological functioning (Balkin, 1968; Gurman, 1972, 1973; Reinhardt, 1968). For this reason, it was viewed as a viable measure in the investigation of the interrelationships posited by the first group of hypotheses.

The first area of focus was the relationship between general happiness level as an indicator of overall psychological functioning and work/homemaker life pattern. It was anticipated that a multiplicity of life patterns could be consistent with generally positive psychological adjustment and that there was no single "ideal" female life pattern. For the present purposes, alternative life patterns were represented and limited by the three employment status groups described earlier. It was generally predicted that members of the three employment status groups would not differ significantly in mean Elation vs. Depression scores, and that women would tend to be equally happy regardless of employment status.

Prior to testing this hypothesis, it was necessary to

ascertain that women in the three employment status groups experienced comparable levels of satisfaction with the work/homemaker dimensions of their life patterns. That is, if women in these groups were not equally satisfied with their employment status, comparable levels of overall happiness between groups would be less likely to occur, and differences between groups in happiness might have resulted either from poor "fit" between individual personality style and role demands in that life pattern or from intrinsic differences in the gratifications associated with each life pattern. Original subject selection had been restricted to middle class married women whose husbands were working full-time, in an effort to insure that women's employment status patterns were choices and therefore more likely to involve satisfaction with the corresponding life pattern. However, an analysis of variance comparing women in the three groups on life pattern satisfaction was performed to confirm this assumption; it yielded no significant differences in composite life pattern satisfaction scores among women in the three employment status groups.

The initial hypothesis was then tested by running an analysis of covariance in order to differentiate between the effects on general happiness level of employment status group and of life pattern satisfaction experienced by women in relation to their respective employment statuses. Women in Groups 1, 2, and 3 were compared in three separate analyses of covariance using mean peak, average, and trough scores

respectively on Personal Feeling Scale #11, with life pattern satisfaction as the covariate. In all three analyses, there was no significant difference between groups in overall happiness level; however, the covariate life pattern satisfaction measure was highly significant ( $p = .007$ ) for peak hedonic levels and approached significance ( $p = .068$ ) for average hedonic levels. Thus, for this sample, it was not employment status per se but life pattern satisfaction in relation to employment status that seemed to contribute to peak and average measures of overall happiness level. These data suggest that women can be equally happy in any of the three employment status patterns studied, as long as they experience satisfaction in their respective work/homemaker roles. A summary of the findings for peak and average happiness level appears in Table 6.

The second area of focus in the initial group of hypotheses involved the relationship between women's satisfaction with the employment or homemaking dimensions of their life patterns and general happiness level. The results of the analysis of covariance described above suggested that life pattern satisfaction would contribute significantly to general happiness level. This relationship was tested directly by computing the Pearson's correlation coefficient between the composite life pattern satisfaction score and mean peak, average and trough scores respectively on Personal Feeling Scale (PFS) 11. For both peak and average scores, these

TABLE 6

Analysis of Covariance: Elation vs. Depression (PFS 11)  
by Employment Status Group with  
Covariate Life Pattern Satisfaction

## PFS 11 - Peak

Main effects: group	<u>F</u> = .706	<u>d.f.</u> = 2	<u>p</u> = .50
Covariate: life pattern satisfaction	<u>F</u> = 8.17	<u>d.f.</u> = 1	<u>p</u> = .007

## PFS 11 - Average

Main effects: group	<u>F</u> = .465	<u>d.f.</u> = 2	<u>p</u> = .632
Covariate: life pattern satisfaction	<u>F</u> = 3.51	<u>d.f.</u> = 1	<u>p</u> = .068

correlations were significant, confirming the hypothesis of a positive relationship between general happiness level and life pattern satisfaction. These correlations may be found in Table 7.

The third area of focus in the initial group of hypotheses involved the relationship between personality style and general happiness level. In the present study, two major dimensions of personality style were explored: the active, instrumental dimension defined by the term agency and the empathic, interpersonally receptive dimension defined by the term communion. An individual's personality style may involve the predominance of either of the above dimensions, or may reflect a flexible, balanced expression of characteristics associated with both dimensions, which would constitute an androgynous personality style. It was anticipated that different life patterns and their consequent role demands would rely more heavily on one or the other of the personality dimensions described above, so that the interrelationship between employment status, role satisfaction, and overall happiness would be affected by a woman's personality style. These issues were explored directly in the second and third groups of hypotheses.

Although a predominantly agentic or communal personality style was expected to be more or less adaptive in relation to a person's specific life pattern and was expected therefore to be associated with high levels of general happiness for

TABLE 7

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients: Elation vs. Depression  
(PFS 11) and Life Pattern Satisfaction  
(Peak, Average, and Trough PFS Values)

PFS 11	Life Pattern Satisfaction	
peak	$\underline{r} = .3707^*$	$\underline{p} = .007$
average	$\underline{r} = .2670^*$	$\underline{p} = .042$
trough	$\underline{r} = .1760$	$\underline{p} = .129$

individuals in certain situations, it was also hypothesized that an androgynous personality style, by virtue of its flexibility and integration of multiple aspects of psychological functioning, would be most consistently related to high levels of general happiness. To test this hypothesis, a multiple correlation matrix was obtained consisting of Pearson's correlation coefficients for the relationships between subjects' mean peak, average, and trough hedonic levels (PFS 11) and subjects' agency, communion, and androgyny Q-sort scores, irrespective of employment status group. None of these correlations was significant. Thus, there was no evidence in these data to support the hypothesis that an androgynous personality style would correlate more strongly than a unidimensional style with general happiness level.

#### Personality Style and Life Pattern Satisfaction

The second group of hypotheses under consideration involved the interrelationship between communal, agentic, or androgynous personality styles and differential satisfaction with work or homemaker life patterns. Underlying these hypotheses was the assumption that the conditions and expectations experienced by employed mothers and primary homemakers were highly divergent so that different kinds of personality styles would be optimally adaptive to each life pattern.

It was anticipated that the jobs of highly employment involved women (Group 1) would tend to provide clear-cut,

visible opportunities for demonstrating competence, and socially recognizable outlets for the expression of active organizational and assertive tendencies. The homemaking responsibilities of these women and certain aspects of their employment functions (the latter varying with the nature of the occupation) would require nurturant and empathic responding as well, but their employed life patterns would involve numerous conditions conducive to the expression of agentic aspects of their personalities.

The life pattern of the primary homemaker, in contrast, would focus largely on the emotional and developmental needs of other family members rather than on self-development. The physical maintenance functions performed by most homemakers (cleaning, food preparation, etc.) would require organizational skill and an active interchange with the physical (and often with the social) environment. However, successful performance in these areas would tend to occur in relative isolation from a "colleague" support group, to bring with it little recognition or social status, and to be generally regarded as a facilitating condition for the achievement activities of other family members rather than as an accomplishment of the homemaker. Moreover, it was expected that interpersonally facilitative functions would provide a major component of the primary homemaker's role, a component receiving more social recognition and prestige, but in a general sense only, since these activities also occur in relative isolation from a

nonfamilial "colleague" support group. This component, in its concern for the healthy emotional development of children and the maintenance of a psychologically satisfying marital relationship, would involve considerable emphasis on interpersonally supportive social behaviors.

Thus, the primary homemaker, especially while her children are young, should have many opportunities to express emotionally nurturant, empathic, communal aspects of her personality. When successful as an interpersonal facilitator, she may experience significant feelings of closeness, warmth, and belonging in relation to other family members, particularly young children who are most frequently in need of and available for this kind of relating.

In view of the differential opportunities for expression of agentic and communal traits in the employed and primary homemaker life patterns, it was hypothesized that employment-involved women (Group 1) would experience greater life pattern satisfaction if they had strong agentic personality traits, while primary homemakers (Group 3) would experience greater life pattern satisfaction if they were more communal in style. Since it had also been hypothesized that an androgynous style would tend to be the most psychologically well-balanced, and since both employed and primary homemaker patterns require some blending (though in differing proportions) of agentic and communal characteristics, it was also expected that high life pattern satisfaction with either pattern might be associated

with androgynous personality traits. No relationship between personality style, life pattern satisfaction and employment status was hypothesized for Group 2 women, because their ambiguous status provided little basis for predicting which aspects of their life patterns or personality functioning would be most salient.

For women in Group 1, the relationship between life pattern satisfaction and personality style was examined by computing three Pearson correlation coefficients between each woman's life pattern satisfaction score and her Q-sort scores for agency, androgyny, and communion respectively. It had been predicted that the first two correlation coefficients, but not the third, would be significant and positive.

In fact, the only significant correlation for Group 1 women was between life pattern satisfaction and androgyny ( $r = .456$ ,  $p = .03$ ); neither unidimensional series of personality characteristics was significantly related to life pattern satisfaction for employed subjects in this sample. Thus, these data provide only partial support for the hypothesis about the relationship between life pattern satisfaction and personality style among highly employment involved women. That is, there seems to be a positive association between life pattern satisfaction and androgynous personality characteristics, but not between life pattern satisfaction and more consistently agentic traits. An earlier analysis did provide some evidence for the existence of a positive

association between employment status and agency: a one-way analysis of variance and contrast coefficient matrix indicated that Group 1 women had significantly higher mean Q agency scores than Group 3 women (these data appear in Table 4). This relationship, however, was not upheld when variability in life pattern satisfaction within the group of employed women was introduced.

To test the hypothesis about the interrelationship between personality style and life pattern satisfaction among primary homemakers (Group 3), three Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between these women's life pattern satisfaction scores and their Q-sort scores for agency, communion, and androgyny respectively. In this case, significant positive correlations between life pattern satisfaction and communion and between life pattern satisfaction and androgyny would have been consistent with the hypothesis.

For primary homemakers, the only predicted relationship which was supported by the data was the association between life pattern satisfaction and androgyny ( $r = .528$ ,  $p = .03$ ), which is the relationship that was upheld for employed women as well. Thus, it appears that a blending of communal and agentic characteristics may be conducive to high life pattern satisfaction within either a primary homemaker or an employed life pattern.

The correlations for Group 3 women between life pattern satisfaction and communion and between life pattern satisfac-

tion and agency were not consistent with the research hypotheses. These data indicate no significant relationship between life pattern satisfaction and communal traits, but a significant positive relationship between life pattern satisfaction and agentic traits ( $r = .575$ ,  $p = .02$ ) among primary homemakers. The latter finding is in direct contradiction of the original hypothesis. Thus, it appears that women who tended to acknowledge higher levels of active, instrumental personal characteristics (relatively high agency and androgyny scorers) were more satisfied in the primary homemaker life pattern than were women who described themselves as predominantly communal.

In trying to understand the unexpected finding above, it may be useful to recall that the agency/communion/androgyny Q-sort is a self-perception measure and that most of the items making up the agency standard (see Appendix A) would have been traditionally viewed as unfeminine. As a result, subjects' willingness to acknowledge in themselves strong traits associated with agentic styles may have been in part a reflection of the extent to which they had developed ego-syntonic outlets for the expression of such traits. Particularly among the primary homemakers, whose life patterns were less likely to provide readily identifiable sources of satisfaction for agentic behaviors, there may have tended to be less awareness of agentic characteristics of the self; the exceptions might have been those women whose lives did

contain opportunities for socially recognizable active mastery experiences, experiences which may have simultaneously facilitated overall life pattern satisfaction. Some support for this explanation was found by correlating scores of primary homemakers on the interview variable Extent of Outside Activities with their Q agency, Q androgyny, and Q communion scores respectively. Significant correlations resulting from the first comparison only ( $r = .485$ ,  $p = .039$ ) suggested that women who found the primary homemaker role most gratifying were those who had developed socially acceptable outlets for agentic traits. While many of those outlets may have been ostensibly in the service of the family (e.g. political activism to influence local educational policy in their children's schools), such involvements often permitted regular interaction with a "colleague" peer group from whom they could receive recognition for demonstrable organizational skills and general competency.

It is recognized that the above explanation is tentative at best and, furthermore, that it introduces a "social approval" component to the understanding of agentic aspects of personality functioning. Responses of women in the present sample have suggested that maintenance of a rigid conceptual dichotomy between agency as individualism and communion as social orientation may be inappropriate, since social standards influence the kinds of instrumental behaviors that are regarded as genuine personal accomplish-

ments or achievements; moreover, the quality of interpersonal relating (particularly early in development) may affect the expression, acknowledgment and ego-syntonicity of various aspects of the self, including some of those aspects that have been defined as agentic. These issues are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

### Employment Status and General Affective Patterning

The third group of hypotheses centered around the interrelationship between a woman's employment status and her general affective patterning. Because of the differences between highly employment-involved and primary homemaker life patterns described in the previous section, it was predicted that there would be differences in the relative frequency with which particular kinds of gratifying affective experiences might occur for women in each life pattern. That is, employed women would tend to have more objective, socially recognized accomplishments as a result of their instrumental and organizing behaviors; such achievements might lead to affective experiences of themselves as highly competent and able to control and direct their own lives. Gratifying affective experiences of primary homemakers, in contrast, would be more likely to consist of feelings of empathy, warmth, and close personal sharing with others, as a result of the primary importance of their interper-

sonally facilitative roles in their families.

To the extent that assertions about the differential experiences of employed mothers and primary homemakers are valid, a corresponding affective differentiation might be expected so that the general happiness level of women within each life pattern would be most responsive to the other positive affects most frequently available to them. That is, for employed women (Group 1), general happiness level would be more strongly associated with feelings of personal competence and control than with general feelings of interpersonal relatedness, and the reverse pattern would be true for primary homemakers (Group 3). Affective patterning of Group 2 women was not considered in these hypotheses because of the ambiguous nature of that life pattern with regard to the relative saliency of employment and homemaker role functioning.

In order to test the assumptions involved in this group of hypotheses, women's scores on the Personal Feeling Scales (PFS) most reflective of the affective experiences described above were examined in relation to their scores on PFS 11, Elation vs. Depression. The Personal Feeling Scales most reflective of general feelings of interpersonal relatedness are PFS 3, Interpersonal Acceptance vs. Isolation, and PFS 4, Closeness and Warmth with Others; PFS 5, Love and Intimacy, was not considered in this analysis because of its

highly specific focus on the marital relationship, and the relative inaccessibility (due to their employment responsibilities) of most spouses during the average "working" day of the primary homemaker. The Personal Feeling Scale most reflective of general feelings of personal competence and control over the direction of one's life is PFS 3, Personal Competence and Control. The items comprising these three scales and PFS 11 may be found in Appendix E. Separate Pearson correlation coefficients and intercorrelation matrices for Groups 1 and 3 respectively were then obtained between mean peak and average scores on PFS 3, 4, 8, and 11.

For Group 1 women, the correlations between peak scores on PFS 11 and peak scores on PFS 3, 4, and 8 respectively were .4152 ( $p = .09$ ), .5843 ( $p = .01$ ), and .7145 ( $p = .001$ ); correlations between average scores on these measures were .5957 ( $p = .009$ ), .6436 ( $p = .004$ ), and .7334 ( $p = .001$ ). While the absolute values of these correlations were in the predicted direction--that is, feelings of personal competence and control seemed to be associated more strongly than general feelings of interpersonal relatedness with average hedonic level--all but one of these associations were statistically significant, probably as a result of the generally high interdependence among all the PFS scales (Wessman and Ricks, 1966). Thus, a test of significance

between dependent correlations was required to determine whether the higher absolute values of the respective correlations between peak and average scores on PFS 8 and 11 were sufficiently great to confirm the hypothesis that general happiness level of employed women is more strongly related to feelings of personal competence and control than to general feelings of interpersonal relatedness.

A one-tailed t-test of significance between dependent correlations (Cohen and Cohen, 1975) was performed comparing peak and average score correlations between PFS 3 and 11 to those correlations for PFS 8 and 11; this resulted in significant t scores of 2.564 (d.f. = 15, p = .01) and 1.437 (d.f. = 15, p = .05) for correlation comparisons based on peak and average scores respectively. However, the differences in the correlations between PFS 4 and 11 and those between PFS 8 and 11, though in the predicted direction, were not statistically significant when correlations based on peak or average scores were compared. Thus, the hypothesized relationship between general happiness level and experiences of personal competence and control for Group 1 women was only partially supported by these data.

The correlations for Group 3 women between peak scores on PFS 11 and PFS 3, 4, and 8 respectively were .6407 (p = .01), .8441 (p = .001), and .8376 (p = .001); correlations

between average scores on these measures were .5637 ( $p = .04$ ), .8435 ( $p = .001$ ), and .8890 ( $p = .001$ ). All of these correlations were statistically significant beyond the .05 level. Moreover, while the relatively high absolute values of the correlations between PFS 11 and PFS 4 were in the predicted direction, the absolute values of the correlations between PFS 11 and PFS 8 and between PFS 11 and PFS 3 were inconsistent with the research hypothesis. In order to determine whether the differences among these correlations were worthy of further consideration, a t-test of significance between dependent correlations was again performed (Cohen and Cohen, 1975).

Using PFS average ratings, the correlation between PFS 3 and 11 was significantly lower than the correlation between PFS 8 and 11 ( $t = 2.46$ ,  $d.f. = 11$ ,  $p = .05$  two-tailed).<sup>1</sup> The correlations between PFS 8 and 11 and those between PFS 4 and 11 were not significantly different from one another when correlations based on peak or average scores were compared. These findings do not confirm the hypothesis that experiences

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<sup>1</sup>The difference between the correlation for peak scores of PFS 3 and 11 and PFS 8 and 11 were significant at the .05 level for one-tailed values, but not for two-tailed values of  $t$ . This significance must be disregarded since the one-tailed significance test is relevant only for differences that occur in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, which was not the case for these correlations.

of interpersonal relatedness, in contrast to experiences of personal competence and control, were more prominent for the general happiness level of primary homemakers. The unexpected discrepancy in the relative prominence of PFS 3 and PFS 4 for general happiness among primary homemakers may merit further investigation. It appears that PFS 3 may be less reflective of the dimension of interpersonal relatedness relevant to the "normal" primary homemaker's experience than PFS 4. Moreover, the greater absolute values of and absence of significant differences between the correlations of PFS 4 and 11 and the correlations of PFS 8 and 11 raise the possibility that general happiness for primary homemakers might be contingent upon both experiences of interpersonal relatedness and experiences of personal competence and control. This was also suggested by the unexpected positive correlation between Q agency and life pattern satisfaction for primary homemakers, which was described earlier.

It should be noted that a comparison of the respective correlations in Groups 1 and 3 for peak and average scores between PFS 11 and PFS 3, 4, and 8 found all correlations for Group 3, with the exception of the average scores between PFS 11 and PFS 3, to be higher than the respective correlations for Group 1. However, Fisher's  $z^1$  transformation to test for significant differences between independent correlations (Cohen and Cohen, 1975) indicated that these differences were not statistically significant. In any event, it is the

differential pattern of correlations within each group that seems most relevant for understanding differences in affective patterning between the employed mothers and primary homemakers in this sample.

### Personality Style and General Affective Patterning

The final group of hypotheses focussed on the interrelationship between agentic and communal personality styles and general affective patterning. Agentic and communal personality styles can be differentiated by the relative predominance of highly contrasting personality traits. As a result, the kinds of affective experiences that would contribute most to general happiness level were expected to be different for agentic and communal women. No predictions were made about the nature of affective patterning for androgynous women, however, because the bi-dimensionality implied by the concept of androgyny provided no basis for attributing differential saliency to particular components of these women's affective experiences.

The concept of agency refers to a personality style oriented primarily toward active mastery of the environment for purposes of survival, protection, self-enhancement, self-gratification, and intrinsic satisfaction in achievement. Thus, it was hypothesized that general happiness level in agentic women would be most strongly related to their experiences of themselves as competent and able to direct their own lives. The concept of communion, in contrast, refers to

a personality style oriented primarily toward genuine concern for and empathic relatedness with others. General happiness level in communal women therefore was expected to be most strongly related to their experiences of interpersonal closeness, warmth, and connectedness.

Women's scores on the Block and Stapp (Note 1) Q-sort measure for agency, communion, and androgyny formed the basis for identifying agentic and communal women in this sample. (The adjectives which made up the standards for agency and communion used to score subjects' Q-sort responses are in Appendix A.) A woman was classified as agentic if her agency score was 54 or higher and her communion score was under 55. She was classified as communal if her communion score was 55 or higher and her agency score was under 54. According to these criteria, there were thirteen women in the agentic group and twenty-three in the communal group. Seven women were excluded from this analysis because their scores for agency and communion were both above or below the established cut-offs.

Women's general affective patterning was measured by their responses on the Personal Feeling Scales. The scale most closely related to the instrumental dimension hypothesized as primary to agentic women was PFS 8, Personal Competence and Control; those most similar to the interpersonal relatedness dimension of communal women were PFS 3, Interpersonal Acceptance vs. Isolation, and PFS 4, Closeness and

Warmth with Others. As in the previous analyses, PFS 11, Elation vs. Depression, was used as the measure of general happiness level. Separate Pearson correlation coefficients and intercorrelation matrices for agentic and communal women respectively were obtained between mean peak and average scores on PFS 3, 4, 8, and 11.

For agentic women, the correlations between peak scores on PFS 11 and peak scores on PFS 3, 4, and 8 respectively were .3672 ( $p = .22$ ), .4580 ( $p = .12$ ), and .8122 ( $p = .001$ ); correlations between average scores on these measures were .5976 ( $p = .03$ ), .5097 ( $p = .08$ ), and .8447 ( $p = .001$ ). The absolute values of all these correlations were in the predicted direction; that is, feelings of personal competence and control seem to be more prominent than experiences of interpersonal relatedness to general happiness level of agentic women. Moreover, when the peak responses were examined, it was only the predicted correlation between PFS 3 and 11 that achieved statistical significance. However, two of the three correlations using average responses were statistically significant (PFS 8 and 11, PFS 3 and 11), and all PFS scales tend to be highly intercorrelated (Wessman and Ricks, 1966). Therefore a t-test of significance comparing dependent correlations (Cohen and Cohen, 1975) was performed to determine whether the higher absolute values of the correlations between PFS 8 and 11 were sufficiently great to confirm the hypothesis that general happiness level for agentic women is

more strongly related to feelings of personal competence and control than to feelings of interpersonal relatedness. The results indicated that for both peak and average PFS values, the correlations between PFS 8 and 11 were significantly greater at the .01 level than the respective correlations between PFS 4 and 11 and PFS 3 and 11 (Table 8 summarizes these correlations and t values). These data are consistent with the hypothesis that feelings of personal competence and control are more prominent than feelings of interpersonal relatedness for the general happiness level of agentic women.

The correlations for communal women between peak scores on PFS 11 and PFS 3, 4, and 8 respectively were .6396 ( $p = .001$ ), .8570 ( $p = .001$ ), and .6968 ( $p = .001$ ); correlations between average scores on these measures were .7192 ( $p = .001$ ), .8547 ( $p = .001$ ), and .7209 ( $p = .001$ ) respectively. In both cases, the relatively high absolute values of the correlations between PFS 4 and 11 are consistent with the research hypotheses, but the fact that the correlations between PFS 3 and 11 are smaller than the respective correlations between PFS 3 and 11 was unexpected. Moreover, all six correlations were highly statistically significant despite differences in the absolute values of the correlations.

In order to evaluate the differences among the above correlations, t-tests of significant differences between dependent correlations were performed (Cohen and Cohen, 1975). The results of these tests indicated no significant difference

TABLE 8

Agentic Women: Comparison of Pearson Correlation Coefficients for PFS 8 and 11, PFS 3 and 11, PFS 4 and 11, (Dependent Correlations, Peak and Average PFS Values)

Pearson Correlation Coefficients		
PFS Correlations	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>
3 & 11		
Peak	.3672	.22
Average	.5976	.03
4 & 11		
Peak	.4580	.12
Average	.5097	.03
8 & 11		
Peak	.8122	.007
Average	.8447	.007

Significance Tests (t) Between Dependent Correlations

Correlations Compared	<u>t</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>p</u>
PFS 3 & 11 and PFS 4 & 11			
Peak	2.379	10	.01
Average	2.606	10	.01
PFS 8 & 11 and PFS 3 & 11			
Peak	3.772	10	.01
Average	2.947	10	.01

Note: PFS 11 Elation vs. Depression  
 PFS 8 Personal Competence and Control  
 PFS 3 Interpersonal Acceptance vs. Isolation  
 PFS 4 Closeness and Warmth with Others

in the correlations between PFS 11 and 3 and those between PFS 11 and 8, using peak or average PFS values. However, for both peak and average PFS values, the correlation between PFS 11 and 4 was significantly higher than the correlation between PFS 11 and 8 ( $t$  peak scores = 1.766, d.f. = 20,  $p$  = .01;  $t$  average scores = 1.62, d.f. = 20,  $p$  = .01).

These data seem to offer partial support for the research hypothesis; that is, for communal women, one measure of interpersonal relatedness (PFS 4) was more significantly related than experiences of personal competence and control to general happiness level. The reason that the second measure of interpersonal relatedness, PFS 3, was less prominent is unclear; the fact that this measure was also less significant than PFS 4 for the general happiness level of primary homemakers suggests that it may be generally less relevant to the issues under consideration in the present study.

When the peak and average correlations obtained for agentic women between PFS 11 and scales 3, 4, and 8 were compared to the respective correlations obtained for communal women, the correlations between PFS 8 and 11 appeared stronger among agentic women and those between PFS 3 and 11 and PFS 4 and 11 appeared stronger for communal women. Those contrasts are summarized in Table 9.

However, Fisher's  $z^1$  transformation for significant differences between independent correlations (Cohen and Cohen, 1975) indicated that the correlations between PFS 4 and 11 for

TABLE 9

Agentic & Communal Women: Pearson's Correlation Coefficients  
for PFS 11 and PFS 3, 4, and 8 Respectively  
(Independent Correlations, Peak and Average PFS Values)

PFS Correlations	Agentic Women		Communal Women	
	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>
<b>Peak Values</b>				
11 & 3	.3672	.001	.6396 <sup>1</sup>	.001
11 & 4	.4580	.001	.8570 <sup>2</sup>	.001
11 & 8	.8122 <sup>1</sup>	.001	.6968	.001
<b>Average Values</b>				
11 & 3	.5916	.001	.7192 <sup>1</sup>	.001
11 & 4	.5097	.001	.8547 <sup>2</sup>	.001
11 & 8	.8447 <sup>1</sup>	.001	.7209	.001

Notes

1. Higher than corresponding correlation in other group
2. Significantly higher than corresponding correlation for agentic women: peak,  $z = 2.04$ ,  $p = .02$ ; average,  $z = 1.83$ ,  $p = .03$

PFS 11 - Elation vs. Depression  
PFS 3 - Interpersonal Acceptance vs. Isolation  
PFS 4 - Closeness and Warmth with Others  
PFS 8 - Personal Competence and Control

agentic and communal women respectively were the only ones that differed to a statistically significant extent (peak scores:  $\underline{z} = 2.04$ ,  $\underline{p} = .02$ ; average scores:  $\underline{z} = 1.33$ ,  $\underline{p} = .03$ ). While this relationship adds some support to the notion of differential affective experiences between communal and agentic women, it is the patterning of affective experiences within each group, explored in the preceding analyses, that is more relevant for the present hypotheses.

## Qualitative Results

A careful review of the interview protocols of participants in this study pointed to several recurrent themes. The content through which these themes were expressed varied with subjects' employment status at the time of the interview. However, prominent issues for most women involved the definition and fulfillment of responsibilities associated with their current life patterns, and the interrelationship between the social significance attached to these responsibilities and maintenance of a sense of self-confidence and personal worth.

In the discussion which follows, nonemployed and employed women were described separately. Themes associated with nonemployed women were derived from those subjects who considered themselves to be in a nonemployed period, including women from Group 2 who had minimal or no paid employment involvements at the time of the interview; themes associated with employed women were derived from those who considered themselves to be working mothers, including some from Group 2 who were employed on a substantial part-time basis. References to the overall satisfaction of women described in this section were based upon a combination of their self-ratings on Elation vs. Depression (PFS 11) and their composite life pattern satisfaction scores (derived ultimately from interviewer inferences

prior to seeing the Personal Feeling Scale records). Those selected for detailed discussion had consistent ratings on both measures, provided examples of relatively satisfied and dissatisfied women of each employment status, and produced interview material illustrative of the differential themes characterizing employed and nonemployed women in this sample.

### Nonemployed Women

In restricting the research sample to a middle class population, it had been expected that subjects' employment status would reflect choice, and therefore personal preference, rather than necessity. For the nonemployed mothers, however, this expectation was only partially fulfilled. While these women without exception expressed a preference for having children and being mothers rather than a childless life style, there was considerable variation in their acknowledged preference for and satisfaction with their life patterns as nonemployed mothers. The nature of the responsibilities involved in this life pattern and the social status associated with it both seemed relevant to understanding many women's ambivalent feelings about their situations.

The basis on which participants had selected a nonemployed life pattern may have contributed to this ambivalence. Women in this sample seemed to uniformly accept the traditional assumption that a couple's decision to have a child required that a woman be prepared to assume primary responsibility for

meeting the child's physical and emotional-developmental needs, either directly or via delegation; the man, in contrast, was expected to assume primary financial responsibility for the family. Only two women indicated that their families had ever considered alternative patterns for the distribution of responsibilities, but added that those alternatives had never been seriously contemplated, ostensibly because of the large discrepancy between their own and their husbands' earning powers. As a result, women who opted for nonemployed status as a way of fulfilling their responsibilities to their children did so for one or more of the following reasons:

1. They believed that parent substitutes could not provide sufficiently positive caretaking for their children, that the decision to have children brought with it the obligation for them to remain at home; these women varied in the extent to which they also expressed overt satisfaction with their primary homemaker status versus mere relief from guilt feelings associated with the idea of leaving their children for a paying job.

2. They had lost (or never experienced) real satisfaction from their prechildbearing occupations and were unsure what kind of work (or even if paid employment) would be gratifying for them; the decision to fulfill all their mothering responsibilities directly rather than through a combination of direct contact and delegation was largely a function

of uncertainty about where else they wished to devote their energies and/or the financial restrictions imposed by the need to pay for retraining and child care simultaneously if they were to resume work.

"Children Need Full-Time Mothers." Women falling into the first category described above were unequivocal about the nature of their responsibilities to their children. They did differ from one another regarding the precise age at which they thought their full-time mothering services would no longer be required; however, all agreed that, for optimal development, their children would need an extended period of full-time mothering. Mrs. A, one of the subjects who seemed able to accept this responsibility relatively easily, had been a full-time educator for 9 years before giving birth to her first child at the age of 34; her daughters were 5 and 7 at the time of the interview. Mrs. A seemed to experience a great deal of pleasure from interacting with her children, in addition to being intellectually convinced that her availability to them was necessary for their psychological well-being. Moreover, she actively differentiated between child care and homemaking aspects of her responsibilities, assigning clear priority to the former: "At this point, that [child care] is my most important activity...I'm a professional mother, my role is primarily with the children, not the house." Although her homemaking responsibilities allowed her minimal time for non-familial activities defined by her as self-developing, she

did devote substantial time to local political activities which she perceived as directly pertinent to her children's future educational status. These activities seemed to enable her to interact with adult peers and receive recognition from them for competent, instrumental performance. When questioned, it was clear that, in addition to its relevance for her children, she derived personal satisfaction from this involvement: "When things go well, it's very gratifying. I can see where it could get to be an ego trip. If my children were older, I could see even more involvement, but not now...it takes up too much time."

Although Mrs. A seemed relatively comfortable with the primary homemaker pattern she had structured for herself--one in which interaction with her children and involvement in family-relevant community affairs were prominent--she nonetheless expressed some ambivalence about certain aspects of her nonemployed status: "I haven't really resolved it...it has to be done and it is my responsibility because I chose this role, this life style...I think because housekeeping has such bad public relations...I hate being called a housewife; I'm not married to a house." This was a woman who held a masters degree in her field and whose prechildbearing employment experience had involved program coordination and in-service training as well as direct teaching. The limited social recognition she was receiving as a homemaker, in contrast to the prestige of her former status as a competent

professional, may have also contributed to her resentment of the "poor public relations" associated with homemaking. Moreover, despite the gratification she received from voluntary political activities, she responded adamantly to a question about her future goals for herself with plans to return to a paid position in her field: "I certainly won't go back to a volunteer job."

Another woman who seemed relatively comfortable with her nonemployed status was more explicit about the other, non-familial satisfactions available to her as a result of her current life pattern. Mrs. B was a college graduate who had held responsible full-time social service positions for seven years before the birth of her first child; her children were 3 and 6½ at the time of the interview. The extent of Mrs. B's involvement in and acknowledged personal gratification from participation in local community affairs caused her to be placed in Group 2, rather than with the primary homemakers. However, her life pattern was structured to facilitate accessibility to her children, with whom she obviously enjoyed interacting. Her community involvements were planned around her children's school schedules and/or the children accompanied her to meetings and other events whenever possible. Despite the gratification she experienced from nonfamilial activities, she expressed a commitment to limiting these (whether paid or nonpaid) to positions with flexible hours, so that she would not be an "absent parent."

Mrs. B derived significant satisfaction from her non-employed status because of the nature of her relationship with her children and because of the community activities in which she was involved. She viewed the latter as both a significant contribution to the community and a source of personal satisfaction:

I believe people have no right to expect anything if they're unwilling to work for it. You must put back into the community from which you take so much...For me, financial reward has nothing to do with the significance of any activity. When I began my first job at the settlement house, I was amazed that they paid me for something I enjoyed so much...If not for financial pressures, I'd probably never work again, but would increase my community involvements as my children needed me less.

While many of the nonemployed women interviewed experienced considerable gratification from their nonpaid, volunteer activities, Mrs. B was unique in the extent to which she was able to equate the satisfaction derived from nonpaid and paid work experiences, despite the financial remuneration and generally greater social recognition associated with the latter.

The aspect of her nonemployed status with which Mrs. B was overtly dissatisfied involved her responsibility for routine housekeeping tasks. Although she reported that the decision to begin a family and to shift from employed to non-employed status had been made mutually with her husband, she experienced an immediate change in her husband's behavior once she stopped working: "As long as I was working, he did

his fair share of the housework. As soon as I stopped working, he stopped helping." By the time of the interview, she had come to experience these tasks as intrinsically unsatisfying: "I neglect great areas because I'm not willing to give it all my time...it's hard to get things done with the kids around; it's so much more fun to play with them than to clean up, especially since they mess things up as fast as I clean." Moreover, her husband's lack of participation in homemaking, combined with his complaints about her lax housekeeping standards were a major source of discomfort for her: "I get a lot of satisfaction from outside work and feel respected there; I feel very frustrated about my 'home' work because I feel my husband doesn't respect my role here." This women was able to articulate her resentment, and tried to consciously separate her self-esteem from her perception of her husband's evaluation of her. Nonetheless, she attributed the intensity of her dissatisfaction with housekeeping chores to her husband's attitudes, in contrast to her community involvements and parenting responsibilities, for which she experienced respect and/or appreciation from others.

The theme of perceived appreciation and respect for their work--from the general community, from their families, and from themselves--recurred frequently in women's descriptions of their feelings about their roles as homemakers or employed mothers. The primary homemakers who believed that their children required their full-time attention, who got pleasure from

interacting with their children, and who were able to find some nonfamilial outlets for personal development, interaction with peers, and social recognition, found their nonemployed life patterns reasonably comfortable, at least while their children were young. Thus Mrs. A and Mrs. B seemed relatively satisfied with their lives on the basis of both the interviewer's impressions and their own responses to the Elation vs. Depression scale (# 11) of the Personal Feeling Scales. A third woman, who shared the same convictions about the importance of full-time mothering for young children, but who did not appear to experience significant pleasure from interacting with her child and who allowed herself only limited nonfamilial outlets for personal development, was considerably less happy with her situation.

This woman, Mrs. C, had been a full-time teacher of older children for over 10 years prior to having a child. She held a masters degree in her field, had enjoyed her work, and was hoping to resume full-time teaching once her daughter was old enough to begin elementary school. At the time of the interview, her daughter was 3 years old and Mrs. C had not worked for almost four years. She described her daughter as "unpredictable, demanding, and clingy" and herself as "confined" by her homemaking role; yet she believed it would be "unfair" to her daughter to return to work until the child was in the first grade. As a primary homemaker, she was very serious and conscientious about all housekeeping, as well as child

care responsibilities: "I make it [homemaking] demanding by high housekeeping standards; I like everything just so..."

Although she was very serious about her homemaking responsibilities, Mrs. C reported little satisfaction from this aspect of her life pattern. It was only from her involvement in community organizations that she acknowledged real gratification, but she severely restricted her participation in these activities because of her perceived responsibility to her daughter: "I can't predict how demanding she'll be of my time...if I sit down here to do the work, I just don't know if she'll be in here interrupting me." This woman had apparently experienced considerable satisfaction from functioning in a competent, professional role with older children: "I originally thought I wanted first grade, but I found I didn't like it...I can joke around with older kids." Once she had a young child of her own, however, she accepted the primary homemaker role unquestioningly; she performed all homemaking tasks herself and matter-of-factly described her husband as "very gracious about babysitting [for their child], as long as it's not more than one evening a week." In addition, she applied very high standards of performance to all components of this role, and at times seemed to find these components to be contradictory, particularly when her daughter's emotional needs interfered with efficient house-keeping.

Mrs C's efforts to respond conscientiously to the conflicting homemaking demands left her with minimal time or energy for the one aspect of her nonemployed life pattern that she found most gratifying--participation in community organizations, where she could utilize her instrumental skills in the context of a supportive "colleague" peer group. Although she had chosen the primary homemaker role, her "choice" did not reflect a satisfying life pattern for her, but a perceived obligation to her daughter. This kind of "choice" was described explicitly by another subject, who said, "I can't wait till the kids are old enough so I can go back to work...but I know I'd really feel guilty if I went to work now and left them with somebody. It's a real conflict." Despite the acknowledged conflict between her actual and ideal life patterns, however, this other subject had recently begun regular participation in several social/recreational activities and appeared to be generally satisfied on the basis of both interviewer ratings and mood records.

"I'm Not Sure What Else I Want To Do." While the women described above differed in the extent to which they derived satisfaction from their nonemployed status, they shared the common conviction that their children required their more-or-less full-time attention, a conviction which provided justification for tolerating the less gratifying aspects of their nonemployed life patterns. Several other subjects, however, were less confident that their nonemployed status was crucial

for their children's well-being. One of these women, Mrs. D, had dropped out of college and worked full-time in various white collar positions until she married at the age of 26. Because of her age, she and her husband had agreed to begin a family soon after, and later to have Mrs. D return to college and prepare for more stimulating employment than she had previously been involved in. At the time of the interview, Mrs. D had been unemployed for approximately eight years, and her children were 4 and 7. Her younger son's anticipated entry into kindergarten the following fall was accompanied by her own plans to resume full-time study at that time. Although unsure of the field in which she wished eventually to work, her goal was to have a "high paying job so I can hire a housekeeper to do all the chores I hate."

Mrs. D expressed little positive feeling about the housekeeping or child care aspects of her primary homemaker life pattern. She disliked most housekeeping chores and described herself as fairly "relaxed," in contrast to her earlier conscientiousness in keeping up with them: "My husband has given up on trying to reform me. When it really gets to him, he gripes or does it himself; I do things when they get to me." Her children, however, seemed more demanding than when they were younger: "As infants they stayed home and slept a lot; now I have a lot of schedules to juggle, with school and nursery car pools." Mrs. D's major sources of gratification during the nonemployed years were her art work (she had a

studio in her home and had been active in a local gallery) and her participation in a local community organization. She had been less involved with art recently, but reported that her best moods seemed to coincide with periods of active organizational work, and her lowest dips with periods of low involvement immediately following a "high work" period. Although Mrs. D appeared to experience minimal gratification from the family responsibilities of her primary homemaker life pattern, she was relatively satisfied at the time of the interview, probably because of her other involvements and her anticipated plans for returning to school.

Mrs. D attributed many of the dissatisfying aspects of her life pattern over the previous eight years to her own earlier socialization. She was confident that, had she been trained for a high-paying position before having children, she would have been employed full-time by the time of the interview. Although she might have taken off a year with the birth of each child, "I definitely feel they're old enough now and would probably be better off without me around all the time." This awareness of the significance of nonfamilial sources of gratification in her life, however, developed only after she was an adult in her mid-twenties. Upon graduating from high school, she had seen no reason to begin college, because she assumed she would soon marry and become a housewife. Still unmarried by her early twenties, she had begun to see greater value in educational and career planning, but

experienced difficulty supporting herself while attending college. Thus, she found herself in the primary homemaker life pattern that she no longer felt she wanted, when she gave birth to her first child at 28.

Mrs. E was another participant who was not very comfortable in her primary homemaker life pattern. Although she initially described her life pattern choice in terms of her convictions about her children's needs, further discussion indicated an underlying uncertainty about what she really wanted to do with her own life:

I really do feel that it's very important for me to raise my own children, so I really don't resent it at all, and yet I resent it terribly...sometimes I question whether or not spending less time with them would have made any difference in what they're like; up until this year, it's been very difficult...I'm just starting to undergo a change now, to feel there's nobody to blame for my situation but me. If there's going to be a change in my life--and there has to be--I have to change.

The change to which she referred involved finding an occupational direction, about which she had begun some very tentative planning by the time of the interview. Mrs. E. had taught for a few years in a private junior high school before her first child was born; her two children were 3½ and 4½ at the time of the interview. Although she described her teaching experience as basically satisfying, she did not expect to return to it and felt that she had never actually chosen a career: "I think it's really typical of my upbringing and generation. I was a liberal arts major first, and when I'd come home for vacations, my parents would say, 'What will

you do with a liberal arts degree?'...They really talked me into teaching."

This woman was one of the unhappiest of the primary homemaker group, along with Mrs. C described earlier. Mrs. E felt that her life centered around meeting other people's (family members') needs, and that she had little time in which to do anything for herself. Moreover, she acknowledged that she had difficulty constructively utilizing whatever time remained: "I've tried to find important things to do in organizations, but I can't get interested in anything." Although Mrs. E insisted that what would satisfy her would be "getting paid for what I do," she indicated at other times that the nature of her future work would be much more important to her than the amount of financial remuneration. By the time of the interview, Mrs. E had begun grappling with her need to take some responsibility for the direction of her life, but was still very uncertain about what kind of involvements would be gratifying for her. Though she had initially presented her current life pattern as a choice based on convictions about her critical role in her children's development, she concluded the interview with numerous questions about how the other primary homemakers in my sample felt about their situations: "Are they any happier if they think they should be here [at home]?"

Summary: The Nonemployed Mother's Experience. Child care and housekeeping responsibilities provided a major focus for all the nonemployed mothers in this sample. There were large differences, however, in the extent to which these women were able to become engaged in activities that went beyond their family responsibilities. For the most part, the women who succeeded in reaching beyond the boundaries of home and children seemed to experience greater satisfaction with their life patterns. Participation in "outside activities"--whether organizational work, graduate school, creative projects, or social recreation--contributed strongly to these women's sense of self-importance and personal accomplishment during their nonemployed periods. Moreover, real enjoyment of the opportunities which their nonemployed status gave them for extensive interaction with their children tended also to be enhanced by their involvement in outside activities. Thus, spontaneous expressions of pleasure about spending time with their children were virtually absent among women with minimal alternate sources of gratification, whereas the comments of a very active woman from Group 2 seemed to reflect the feelings of many of the more organizationally involved mothers: "I really enjoy being a mother at this stage, and home life... of course, I have other activities...If it were a 100% job, if all I did was stay home and keep house, I wouldn't like it; but since I do get out, I really enjoy it."

Many women in this sample described difficulties in

experiencing direct gratification from their homemaking responsibilities as a result of both the nature of the tasks and the social status afforded the homemaker role. Predictably, the housekeeping tasks were considered least rewarding, eliciting comments like "It's so endless, never finished," "It's tiring in a way, cause it's a job you have from early morning till late at night," "I don't mind the children so much, but cleaning, washing dishes, having to cook three meals a day." An employed subject, reflecting back on her nonemployed period, seemed to have summarized many women's feelings about having housekeeping tasks as their primary responsibility in life: "It was more work than working; I just can't see housework as an accomplishment...You're constantly repeating, you was a dish just to dirty it all over again."

While child care responsibilities offered more potential areas for emotional gratification, many primary homemakers found it difficult to deal with their children's continuous demands, as well: "Just taking a shower becomes a major project, and no matter what else they were doing, as soon as I go into the shower, everybody else is in the bathroom with me--my son, my daughter, the dog. There's no privacy." Frequently, a responsive orientation to their children's emotional needs required very different behaviors from mothers than those most conducive to efficient completion of housekeeping chores. For the most part, nonemployed wo-

men who seemed happiest were those who could overlook routine housekeeping tasks (to the extent that paid domestic help was not feasible) in the interests of emotional responsiveness to their children and self-development via outside activities. Among many women, moreover, self-development activities seemed to be a prerequisite for consistent experiences of real pleasure from interaction with their children, although such experiences were not an inevitable outcome of involvement in outside activities.

In addition to the frustrations inherent in many of the responsibilities which nonemployed women faced in their primary, full-time "jobs," these women tended to experience their work as undervalued by immediate family members and/or society in general. Several women complained that, during arguments with their husbands, they were accused of staying home all day and doing nothing; discussions of returning to a formal job were met with comments like "What would you want to do that for? Now you can run off and play tennis whenever you want." Many subjects simultaneously experienced their primary activities as oriented exclusively toward meeting others' needs and as virtually invisible to those they were trying to "serve."

Despite some overt criticism of their husbands' attitudes and of the generally poor "public relations" associated with homemaking tasks, many nonemployed women appeared to have been affected by such attitudes. In particular, those with limited

or less satisfying prechildbearing work experience and uncertainty about future work goals seemed to have difficulty maintaining self-esteem. It is likely that the publicity on the part of the women's movement had also contributed to the difficulty certain women were experiencing in respecting their own roles as primary homemakers. Several women described themselves as being unable to "handle" the demands of a formal job on top of their homemaking responsibilities, and spoke in awed tones of women who did manage both. Among many who did not express such feelings explicitly, there was a vague discomfort associated with their comments about the homemaking role: "The homemaking job doesn't have the pressure of answering to a boss...maybe that's why you lose motivation...there's nobody to answer to except yourself." One primary homemaker, who had left a responsible business position when her son was 1½ years old and who was reasonably confident of eventually resuming work in her field, was able to articulate a distinction between homemaking and formal employment that seemed to underlie the attitudes of many other women as well: "I'm not sure in five years time I'd be happy with this--spending all my time doing what I used to think weren't important things to do. I guess I need to feel I'm contributing to something."

While involvement in outside activities allowed many nonemployed women to feel they were achieving and contributing in some way, these accomplishments also received minimal social recognition beyond the group of co-participants in the

particular organization. Thus, most women tended to view them as very important outlets during their nonemployment years, but essentially as "something to do while small kids make it impossible to do anything else." Even among women who had made volunteer work into a virtually full-time commitment, there was a tendency to feel they would "outgrow" this involvement and need to move on eventually to formal employment. A woman in Group 2, who was still intensely involved in volunteer commitments, responded to a question about future employment plans as follows:

If you'd asked a year ago, I'd say definitely not, not ever, but now I expect I will...I suppose it's that I want to do more with my life than just live and die for my family, and that's the end...I used to think I'd be content just to take courses or something, just out of interest, but I don't think that would be satisfying enough.

Whether these women will in fact follow through on prospective employment plans is a separate issue beyond the scope of this study, but many did seem to experience difficulty maintaining a sense of personal importance and self-worth from their non-employed status.

### Employed Women

Employed women in this sample fell into two groups: those who had maintained a continuous career involvement while having children, and those who had interrupted or delayed their career development in order to raise their families. Along with the nonemployed mothers studied, these women also

accepted the assumption that a couple's decision to have a child required that the wife be prepared to assume primary responsibility, either directly or through delegation, for child care. While their husbands' formal jobs were seen as inextricably tied to their roles as responsible family members--breadwinners--the women's own jobs were perceived primarily as in the service of personal, developmental needs, even when the resulting income had a significant impact on the family's standard of living. Thus, with the exception of one or two uncertain women in Group 2, all of the employed women interviewed had actively chosen the working role, and most tended to enjoy their specific jobs as well.

For the majority of subjects, major issues associated with their status as employed mothers involved the work overload resulting from their dual responsibilities. In addition, there were often feelings of guilt stemming from general social, familial and internalized concepts of the importance of full-time mothering for child development. Since their employment was not viewed as a significant contribution to the family's welfare, it became a potential interference with mothering responsibilities, or at best a necessary outlet to facilitate more psychologically responsive interaction with their children during nonworking hours. Those whose interrupted work histories had resulted in extended nonemployed periods were able to describe clearly many of the contrasts between full-time homemaking and formal employment in terms

that had been suggested more indirectly by participants still involved in a nonemployed life pattern: achievement, social status, self-respect, personal confidence.

Interrupted Employment Pattern. One of the women with an interrupted employment history was Mrs. F, who elaborated readily on the frustrations she had experienced as a primary homemaker:

Well, years ago you weren't supposed to say you didn't like to be home; you were supposed to love the baby immediately. Nobody told you the baby did nothing all day long. I was very bored; I missed work...Maybe it takes management to get it all done--meals, cleaning, wash--but it's always the same routine and never does anyone say, "Hey, you washed that floor great!"...in the 20's it didn't bother me so much, but when I turned 30, it drove me wild! I wasn't Marie, nobody called me Marie, I was Larry's mother or Bob's wife, and "Mrs. F can you do this for Larry's school?" but nobody asked me to do something for me.

These feelings of frustration had prompted Mrs. F to resume full-time employment four years earlier, when she was 31 and her youngest child was nine. The F's were a lower middle class family, and Mr. F's response to his wife's employment plans had been, "Do whatever you want, as long as the house runs as if you were at home." For a long time, she regarded this as "our bargain," asked no help from him, and experienced considerable anxiety whenever her job resulted in any disruption of their household routine. Gradually, her husband began to offer some assistance and eventually took over one of her major tasks: marketing. With her husband's cooperation and the increasing involvement of her children

in housekeeping chores, she became much more relaxed about her dual responsibilities. Moreover, she felt that her employment had facilitated a positive shift in the marital relationship: "I used to feel when I was first married that he worked hard and I shouldn't upset him with anything, keep my problems to myself. But now I talk about them, I feel we share the burdens, and it's better."

Mrs. F was typical of many of the employed women sampled (although by no means all) in the disappointment she had experienced with her initial introduction to the full-time mothering role and in her efforts to maintain some part-time employment involvement even while her children were young (in her case, clerical projects on which she had worked at home). Unlike the majority of subjects, she was not college educated, nor was she employed in a professional level position. However, while she had enjoyed her prechildbearing employment experiences as a secretary, she found her current position even more gratifying largely because it did involve a significant upgrading of responsibilities: "As a secretary, you're always told what to do. I enjoy this, because you're pretty much on your own about how to get it done...And it feels good to take something from start to finish and see it through."

Mrs. F was one of the most satisfied of the employed women sampled; she experienced both a strong sense of accomplishment from her job, and emotional support and direct assistance with household tasks from her family. It should

be noted that Mrs. F still perceived herself as the family member primarily responsible for the family's welfare, and seemed to consider that responsibility appropriate, if not entirely comfortable: "Actually I don't feel I'm a part-time mother, because I'm always on call for emergencies...when a man has to work late, it's O.K., but a woman is supposed to be 9 to 5 and I'm torn. When I'm here, I like to be here 100% and the same with work, except in emergencies." She viewed her husband's initial resistance to her work as normal, and his subsequent cooperation as a concession for which she was very grateful; on one occasion when she had to work overtime, she described herself as thanking him "for not making me feel guilty." Part of Mrs. F's comfortable adjustment to her life pattern as an employed mother seemed to stem from the similarity between her own and her husband's conceptions about her role in the family. Thus, she assumed her dual responsibilities without resentment (though not without some physical strain and fatigue), and her marital relationship was enhanced by her appreciation of whatever assistance her husband offered.

Mrs. G, in contrast, was unable to accept with equanimity her husband's assumption that her responsibility to the family lay only in her homemaking functions. Like Mrs. F, Mrs. G had had an interrupted employment history and had experienced her nonemployed periods, particularly with her first baby, as unsatisfying:

I was really devastated [after the first child], not too keen on staying home. The responsibility of a baby was overwhelming, realizing my needs had to be secondary to this baby, having sole responsibility for another human being--my husband sure as hell wasn't going to...and none of my friends had children yet, so there was no real support there.

Mrs. G was a college graduate who had held several professional level business positions and had been in her current job for three years at the time of the interview. She had worked full time for several years before giving birth to her first child at 24, and had planned to resume working after a six-month leave of absence. When she was unable to return to that position--which she attributed to the company's ambivalence about the concept of maternity leave--she remained at home for approximately two years. Mrs G eventually resumed working, and decided to have her second child when laid off from that job. She remained at home an additional four years before taking the position she held at the time of the interview.

Mrs. G's overall satisfaction at the time of the interview was comparable to that of most of the employed women in this sample. However, for Mrs. G, there was a clear split in her feelings about the employment and homemaking aspects of her life. She described her job as "very important to me and I would not give it up except under extenuating circumstances." Her homemaking responsibilities, in contrast, seemed much less gratifying: "Basically I refuse to clean; I consider it a waste of my time. If I couldn't afford a cleaning lady, I'd

just as soon live in a dirty house." Other responsibilities were handled via a combination of special time-saving strategies--"I buy an unconscionable amount of clothes, so I can get away with washing only once in two weeks"--and "foisting" some of the responsibilities onto other family members.

Mrs. G had suffered considerably from the pressure of trying to maintain her dual responsibilities, but felt she had finally "straightened out the kinks" and become more accustomed to "my whirling dervish act" of shopping and meal preparation every night after work. Her adjustment had also involved redefining certain family expectations, so that "if he [her husband] is not on that train, I eat with the kids and he eats when he gets here; and if I'm running late, they all wait...but this was very late in coming...By the time I made that decision, I'd been turning myself into a pretzel trying to keep up."

An undercurrent of resentment ran through Mrs. G's discussion of the difficulties she had faced in trying to combine paid employment with motherhood. When she had first returned to work, she reported: "A lot of people tried to make me feel guilty, my husband, my folks...But the baby was O.K.; she never minded staying with sitters." Although Mrs. G felt the situation had improved considerably, she openly acknowledged her anger with her husband for his refusal to recognize the significance of her job: "I felt previously that he used to devalue my working, just as my needs weren't as important as

his...In his view, he's the breadwinner and what I earn is just monopoly money." With the exception of her initial distress while at home with her first baby, Mrs. G's resentment did not seem to extend to her children. She described them as having "accepting kinds of temperaments" and appeared comfortable with her present relationship to them.

In general, Mrs. G seemed to be a person for whom work was a major source of gratification. The process of evolving a comfortable life pattern for herself had been complicated by the difficulty she experienced in having her professional efforts recognized as legitimate and productive. Although the resentment she expressed about her husband's attitude toward her work might raise the question that her employment status was primarily a compensation for an inadequate marital relationship, her mean scores on Personal Feeling Scale 5, Love and Intimacy, were very high (peak 8.0, average 6.3, trough 5.0). Since she was open about areas of conflict between herself and her husband during the interview, there was no reason to believe she had distorted her feelings about her husband when completing the mood records. Rather, it seemed that the focus of the interview had been on areas about which she had experienced--and to some extent was continuing to experience--conflict in a marriage which was, nonetheless, basically satisfying for her.

A third woman who had stopped working when she had a baby was Mrs. H. She, however, did not choose to return to her

original field when she decided to begin working again. Mrs. H was a college graduate who had been a junior high school teacher for four years before her daughter was born. Although she had initially enjoyed teaching, she had been given the most difficult classes in her last year and had begun to hate it. Her pregnancy had been an accident, but she suspected that she may have been "unconsciously looking for a way out."

Mrs. H's "way out" turned into a basically ungratifying four year nonemployed period. The baby's first year of life was highly stressful, because the infant was frequently ill and "screamed 17 hours out of 24." Once the baby became a little older, Mrs. H began "to really like her," but continued to find the primary homemaker life pattern unsatisfying: "For years all my conversation revolved around potty training. It felt like I'd gotten a college degree to scrub floors."

In anticipation of her daughter's entry into kindergarten, Mrs. H had begun to seriously think about returning to work. However, she was not sure she could "stand 12 year-olds again," particularly on the substitute teaching basis that would have been an inevitable step to gaining a permanent position. She had always been fascinated by old houses and was encouraged by her husband to train for a position in real estate sales. Mrs. H began her new career shortly after her daughter entered kindergarten, and described her work as very gratifying: "I felt really shaky when I started out because I hadn't worked in so long. I'd lost a lot of confidence from being home..."

when this [difficult sale] went through it really felt good to know I could still do things well."

In addition to self-doubts about her own competence, Mrs. H had been very concerned about the potential effect of her work on her daughter. Although the child had complained initially, Mrs. H was making special efforts to give her extra attention, and reported that her daughter was beginning to look forward to staying at other children's homes on afternoons when her mother worked. From her own perspective, Mrs. H found the time spent with her daughter much more enjoyable now that she was no longer home all the time. She was grateful, however, for the flexibility of her work schedule, which enabled her to spend a fair amount of time with her daughter: "Not because she needs me, but because I'll miss something not being there to see her grow up."

Mrs. H felt fortunate to have her husband's support for her career goals and the cooperation of neighbors with whom she could work out exchange babysitting arrangements. Although she continued to assume primary responsibility for the care of their home and child, her husband took over evening and weekend child care when she worked, helped her with major housekeeping tasks, and looked forward eagerly to the changes which her added income were making in their standard of living. For Mrs. H, the only hint of reservation about her employed status centered around her desire to be a good mother; she mentioned several times that she would "cut back" her

hours if she felt her work were "drastically" affecting her daughter, and expressed some regret about "missing out" on part of her daughter's growing up process by virtue of her demanding work schedule. Although she indicated that she would probably not have another child--both because of her first baby's health problems (which were hereditary) and her own reluctance to "start all over and be stuck at home"--there was a sense of discomfort with the idea that her family would have to be somehow curtailed in order for her to continue working.

Continuous Career Pattern. The three women described in the previous section varied considerably in the nature of their occupations, the course of their career histories, and their emotional responses to the dual responsibilities they eventually chose to undertake as employed mothers. However, all three had stopped working for at least one indefinite, extended period in order to be full-time mothers and homemakers. Several other participants, in contrast, had maintained a consistent professional commitment along with their mothering responsibilities. Although they may have interrupted their work schedules for the actual childbearing period, such interruptions were relatively short, time-limited leaves of absence, with definite arrangements for resuming their former positions.

Mrs. J had been a full-time teacher at a suburban college for over ten years at the time of the interview. Her marriage,

doctoral work, and childbearing all occurred while she continued working. At the time of the interview, she was 33 and her daughters were 2 and 5. Mrs. J had taken off one summer with the birth of her first child and a semester's leave, during which she also worked on her doctoral dissertation, when her second child was born. Her academic responsibilities and general professional development involved an average of 45-55 hours per week, but there was considerable flexibility in her work schedule.

Mrs. J, one of the most satisfied of the employed women, experienced both the nature of her professional responsibilities and her family atmosphere as highly supportive of her efforts to integrate employment and homemaker roles. Of her job, she said, "I do think my irregular schedule makes all the difference; that's why it works out so well." She described her husband as fully comfortable with her professional status: "He's always been very sensitive to my professional needs, to the time I require, and visa versa... The issue of whether or not I'd work just never came up; it was sort of understood that my professional needs were important."

Mrs. J's family situation also provided her with a high level of direct assistance with homemaking responsibilities. Her husband shared major housecleaning tasks and was able to be with the children during some of her working hours. In addition, her parents assumed a major role in caring for the

children, since they were retired and living nearby. Mrs. J felt that this caretaking arrangement enabled her children to receive optimal adult attention:

I'm with them all morning and then my parents come over and they're fresh, you know, and ready to be with the kids. Then when my husband and I get back in the afternoon, we're fresh too and can give them our attention...I don't know, but on a day when I am home and with the kids all day, I find I'm much less patient with them than when I go to work.

Unlike many of the women sampled, Mrs. J seemed to have taken for granted the prominent role of career involvement in her life. Her particular employment and family circumstances clearly facilitated this process, which she readily acknowledged. She nonetheless resembled virtually all the women interviewed in the sense that, despite cooperation from other family members, she felt that the primary responsibility for homemaking and child care lay with her:

I still feel responsible for coordinating all the responsibilities, even though I get a lot of help from many people...I discuss it with my husband a lot, and it's just the way I am. I think it's from social pressures--I mean it's what my mother did even though she worked, and it's what I see in all the people I know...My husband does a whole lot around the house, but he just doesn't see it from my perspective.

However, Mrs. J seemed very satisfied with her situation, perhaps because she was able to accept the prominence of her homemaking responsibilities as readily as the inevitability of her career commitment.

This dual conviction about the prominence of homemaking responsibilities and the inevitability of career involvement

was described by Mrs. K, as well. She, however, was less comfortable with the multiplicity of responsibilities that she faced, although she seemed generally satisfied with her life pattern.

Mrs. K had held teaching, consulting, and administrative positions in the field of education throughout her adult life. She was 44 at the time of the interview and employed as the principal of a suburban elementary school; her daughter was 5½. Mrs. K described her work as "interesting, rewarding, challenging...there are times when I'd like to stay in bed, but I don't think I'd be happy." She had taken a one-year leave of absence from work to have her baby, and returned to her job as planned. She described her husband as "supportive, very helpful" regarding her decision to continue working: "He's always said it was my decision...I'd been working for so many years by the time we met and decided to marry that he certainly knew my work was important to me."

Mrs. K also found motherhood a highly significant experience, one which seemed to have changed her perspective in many ways:

I don't think I'd be the person I am without her. It's given me a new dimension--without it you become very self-centered...All my time from 4:30 to 8 and most of the weekends is for her. We don't do the kinds of things we used to do; now we mainly do things with other families... It's made me more understanding in my work, about parenting and family life...I always was very organized, and I had to adjust to the chaotic world of responding to her needs.

She spoke of really enjoying the time spent with her daughter,

but had learned from her year at home that much of the satisfaction she experienced as a mother stemmed from her ability to maintain her professional involvement as well: "The only thing I would resent is if I had to drag kids to the park every day because I was home all day. I can't just sit on a back stoop and drink coffee and watch kids day in and day out."

The process of maintaining her career while meeting her responsibility to her daughter was a difficult one for Mrs. K. She relied heavily on paid domestic help for both housekeeping and child care, and reported that there had been frequent clashes between the different people she had hired to perform these two functions. Moreover, "the kind of person I'd like to have with my daughter is not the kind of person who makes an efficient housekeeper." At the time of the interview, her daughter was cared for by a neighbor with young children of her own, which Mrs. K felt was a "more normal environment than having her home alone with an older woman...I can't say it's ideal, I constantly think about it, but all things considered I don't think I could do better for her right now."

Mrs. K spoke at length about the difficulty she faced as a working mother. Like virtually all the women sampled, she was responsible for the coordination and decision-making involved in homemaking and child care, a responsibility of which she sounded somewhat resentful:

I can get help to clean, someone does the shopping, but I find 90% of the decisions are left to me, which is what I'm complaining about in women's roles...I have to decide if her nose is runny enough for medicine, if it's time to get her new shoes...My husband will make breakfast on a Saturday morning, but I have to tell him what to prepare--by that time I'm awake and might as well do it myself...I guess that's where I feel the burden...all the thinking is on you.

She attributed this pattern to socialization and had noticed exceptions to it only among a few couples much younger than she and her husband. While she clearly felt that the gratifications of family life outweighed the additional responsibilities involved, she was acutely aware of the extent to which aspects of her personal and professional development had been sacrificed: "I really don't have any time for myself...I tried to continue my professional associations and I can't do it, the price is too high...Do I resent it? No! Do I yearn for it? Yes!"

Summary: The Employed Mother's Experience. The employed women in this sample all worked in formal jobs while assuming a central role in caring for their homes and families. In undertaking these two demanding sets of responsibilities, most women seemed to experience some strain and fatigue as a result of the sheer volume of tasks to which they had to attend in a given day. Although those with older children, more cooperative husbands, and sufficient family incomes to hire domestic help were relieved of some of the burden, all felt that their families ultimately relied on them for the

smooth operation of the household.

Women's emotional responses to the dual responsibilities they faced as working mothers varied considerably; however, all preferred their present status to that of a primary (non-employed) homemaker. For the most part, those who concurred with the prominence of their roles in homemaking and child care tended to be appreciative of any cooperation from their husbands and pleased that they were able to handle employment and homemaking responsibilities simultaneously. One such employed woman, whose husband performed virtually no regular homemaking tasks, perceived him as highly supportive of her efforts to maintain a dual role: "If I'm really stuck, tired...I'll just tell him I can't handle anything that day and he'll take over...take the kids out to eat, bring back cold cuts...it doesn't happen often, but he's good." Of course, many of these women did receive regular assistance with homemaking tasks from their husbands.

Other employed participants were very acutely aware of the extent to which they, as women, were forced to assume a double burden not placed on men, if they wished to combine careers and parenting. These women tended to be more critical of their husband's levels of participation and/or the lack of general social supports for the dual career family. Thus, an administrator in nursing education seemed less appreciative of her husband's responsiveness--objectively similar to that of the husband described in the preceding

paragraph--to her work schedule: "If I won't be home for dinner, he'll just take the kids out, but he really won't do anything at home." The same woman was overtly resentful of the general social pressures she experienced as a working mother: "Like my kid's schools are always sending home dumb things for me to do like raffle books or telephone lists. I mean I just don't have time for that junk, and they they say you're not a concerned or involved parent, and that's ridiculous!"

Whether or not they agreed with the prominent role society assigned them in homemaking and child care, many employed women expressed some feelings of guilt or anxiety about the impact of their jobs upon their children. Those with younger children were more likely to articulate these concerns, but one mother whose youngest was 13 years old reported, "This is the first year he's stayed alone [without a sitter]...and it's only 1½ hours till I get home...I've been watching very carefully and I haven't seen any ill effects." Other mothers felt that their employment had actually had a favorable effect on their children, by encouraging them to develop certain skills and function more independently at an earlier age than they otherwise would have. A speech therapist described her 12 year-old daughter as the proud recipient of a friend's admiration for her cooking skills: "She [the child's friend] is the same age and was saying she couldn't cook anything. I think they [her own children] have really become very indepen-

dent in a very positive way." Thus it seemed that, whether or not they resented society's dual expectations for working mothers, the employed women in this sample needed to reassure themselves that their employment was not detrimental--at least not to a serious extent--to their children's welfare.

The general social assumption that the primary parenting role belongs to the mother may have also underlain the feelings of disappointment and/or distress experienced by many subjects at the birth of their first child. Even among the primary homemakers, several used the words "boring," "confining," and "nerve wracking" to describe their initial reactions to being home with a new infant. More often, primary homemakers described themselves as having been initially "very busy and absorbed in mothering," but gradually becoming "dissatisfied," "bored," and unhappy to realize, "it's just you and the baby and the four walls."

Employed women who had interrupted their careers to be full-time mothers often expressed still stronger feelings of discomfort with the initial adjustment to motherhood. In addition to the statements by the interrupted-career mothers that were quoted earlier, other women described the initial transition as "Lonely...the only people I knew were from work, I had no friends...I was anxious about being a mother," and "Dreadful, I didn't like it. There was very little contact with other adults...it was a very unhappy period for me." The woman who described the experience as "dreadful" went on

to trace the evolution of her feelings toward her son:

When he was young, I tried very hard to fit into the role of "mother," whatever that meant to me. You know, I wanted to be a "good mother" and I worried a lot about doing the right thing...Now that he's gotten to be such an interesting age [11], we're more like companions, he's just another person who lives in the house and we get along really well.

The continuous career women whose employment interruptions consisted of very limited leaves of absence for child-bearing tended to describe fewer disappointments with the initial mothering experience, perhaps because their decisions to continue working involved the implicit assumption that motherhood would not be an all-gratifying experience for them. Even one of these mothers, however, reported that she had felt "guilty that I wasn't happy just to stay home and be a mother, that all the wonderful things that were supposed to happen [when she had a baby] didn't happen to me."

In the description of the primary homemakers in this study, it appeared that many of them had difficulty experiencing direct gratification from their homemaking responsibilities and maintaining a sense of personal importance and self-esteem in that life pattern. The recollections of employed women with interrupted career patterns indicated that many of these women had also experienced such difficulties during the nonemployed period(s) in their lives. A woman who had become a preschool teacher only after having children of her own, and who had been teaching for seven years at the time of the interview, looked back on her earlier, nonemployed

years as follows:

I just remember being very, very tired and very unhappy...it's hard for me to think about myself during those years--it's like I wasn't a person...Part of it [deciding to become a teacher] was becoming a person, wanting a feeling of independence...I guess really feeling that I could do something on my own, apart from the family.

Several others complained of the social isolation, repetitive tasks, and emotional demands they had faced as primary homemakers; they had felt less alert mentally, less efficient about handling their responsibilities, and very uncertain of their ability to function competently in the "outside" world. Mrs. F recalled these feelings, saying "I'll tell you, when I wasn't working I could easily see how senility sets in--you'd ask me for a piece of paper and I couldn't find it." The early stages of their reentry into the labor force were marked by a gradual restoration of feelings of competence and self-confidence.

Like the more satisfied primary homemakers, interrupted-career women who had been most comfortable during their non-employed periods tended to be those who had had good friends in the same situation (that is, other nonemployed mothers with small children) and/or who had been able to become involved in outside activities with other adults. One employed mother recalled, "I subjugated all my feelings as much as I could, but it really ate at me...It was a good thing a friend pushed me into joining the Club and that became like a career for me...it saved my sanity." A speech therapist,

whose transitions from work, to homemaking, to graduate school, and back to work in her new field seemed to have proceeded more smoothly, described her life as a series of stages:

I enjoyed it [being at home] very much at the time; my friends were all in similar situations...but I remember getting the urge to learn new things...The best part was when I was getting my M.A.; it was just enough stimulation to keep me excited without interfering with anything...And then this job came about through my internship; I'd really intended to wait a year or two, but they offered me a position and I didn't know if it was worth the risk that I'd find something later on, so I took it.

In general, employed mothers in this sample, whether or not they had experienced a significant nonemployed period, felt that the struggle to maintain their dual employment-homemaker responsibilities was preferable to what their lives would have been like without their employment involvement.

Chapter 4  
DISCUSSION

Self-Esteem, Family Expectations, and Cultural Sex-Role  
Standards in the Context of Women's Life Patterns

A recurrent theme in many interviews with women in this sample centered around the interrelationship between cultural definitions of appropriate feminine sex-role behaviors, social valuing of the different role behaviors comprising women's life patterns, and subjects' own feelings of self-esteem and personal competence in the context of their current life patterns. While the present research design included no direct, quantitative measures of these variables, a clinically-oriented review of the interview protocols has suggested some potential areas of conflict for women as a result of their perceptions and internalizations of the contrasting social definitions of feminine gender identity and mature adult behavior. A tentative elaboration of these issues is presented here, with the understanding that more extensive research would be required to specify their precise role in contemporary women's psychological adaptation and life pattern choices.

The research of Broverman et al. (1972) has highlighted the extent to which social definitions of the healthy adult personality and the healthy female personality are different and in conflict. Moreover, Oakley (1974a, 1974b) has sug-

gested that women's behavior is evaluated by themselves and others in terms of its conformity to both the healthy adult standard (which overlaps considerably with the healthy male standard) and the healthy female standard. With the exception of a limited range of behaviors in the emotional-expressive sphere, the cultural valuing based on these two standards are highly discrepant. Thus, to receive social validation for their gender identity, women must engage in numerous behaviors which society generally labels weak, ineffectual, and immature, while performance by women of behaviors that are generally respected causes those women to be labelled unfeminine. Both internalization and conscious awareness of the dual standards by which their behaviors are evaluated might be expected to complicate the process by which women establish and maintain self-esteem.

The responses of women in this study suggest, moreover, that an adequate understanding of the interface between social/cultural expectations, individual personality style, and life pattern experiences requires recognition of the mediating role of the family in the individual's experiences of both her own psychobiological needs and the larger socio-cultural context in which she functions. Handel (1972) has used the term "psychosocial interior of the family" to refer to the interactive, reciprocal relationship between the structure and developmental course of the family and the several personalities and developmental courses of its individual

members. For the developing child, the interpersonal experiences within the family of orientation provide the initial context in which she or he identifies personal needs and forms expectations about the ways in which such needs may be expressed and fulfilled. For the adult, establishment of a family of procreation is based upon the interface between individual personality needs of the self and of the partner-- both of which evolved in the context of the patterns of interpersonal relating which characterized their respective families of orientation.

Hess and Handel (1972) have described the process by which the individual personality evolves as an interactive one of developing images of the self and others on the basis of interpersonal experiences within the family. These experiences are affected by the self- and other-images (both actual and idealized) of other family members as well, and are characterized by attempts to establish a "satisfactory congruence of individual and family images" among family members. The establishment of the family of procreation is usually based upon the impression of a satisfactory congruence of images between marital partners. However, increased proximity and/or progressive life experiences following marriage may interfere with continued perceptions of satisfactory congruence and require mutual adjustment of the initial images.

Several women in the present sample described difficulties which seemed to stem from experiences of incongruence

between their actual or idealized self-images and their perceptions of other family members' actual or desired images of them. Thus, both Mrs. H. and Mrs. K (described in the section on Qualitative Results, Chapter 3) had experienced some initial guilt and anxiety at the discrepancy between their evolving images of themselves as employed mothers and their children's persisting images of them as full-time mothers; however, both women experienced relatively satisfactory congruence between their own and their husbands' images of themselves. Their continued involvement in their jobs seemed to have been facilitated by their husbands' supportive attitudes, their ability to partially dismiss the children's complaints as normal reactions to developmental frustrations, and/or their perceptions of gradual shifts in the children's images of them in response to their efforts to adapt the daily routines to better meet the children's needs.

Lack of congruence between husbands' and wives' images of each other in terms of employment and homemaking functioning appeared to have been a greater source of conflict for certain women in the present sample, and satisfactory congruence--when achieved--to have had a strong positive impact on life pattern satisfaction and general happiness; these are discussed more fully later in this section. In addition, Hess and Handel (1972) have identified certain other processes inherent in family life which this writer believes may contribute to the difficulty some contemporary women experience

in establishing both a positive self-image and a satisfactory congruence of images between spouses with regard to employment and homemaking functions. These processes include the establishment of a satisfactory pattern of separateness and connectedness among family members, the establishment of experiential boundaries or limits for the family, and the family's response to significant "biosocial givens" (including birth order, generational status, and gender) of family life.

Hess and Handel view the family as providing the context in which the individual learns both to individuate, to establish a separate identity, and to interrelate, to experience herself or himself as connected with others. Moreover, the family as a unit represents an experience of interpersonal connectedness, while acknowledging (under healthy conditions) the realistic separateness of individual members. The establishment of family boundaries facilitates the development of patterns of connectedness and separateness in relation to the family as a unit and in relation to its individual members. Hess and Handel have identified several dimensions along which these boundaries may be established, including the differentiation of individual personalities, the intensity of experience, the extensity of experience, and the tendency to evaluate experience.

This writer believes that the interrelationships among certain concepts developed by Hess and Handel may be particularly relevant to understanding the present data; these con-

cepts include the process of establishing patterns of separate-ness and connectedness within a family, the establishment of boundaries with regard to the differentiation of individual personalities and extensity of experience, and the family's response to gender as a biosocial given. It may be possible and fruitful to identify certain general patterns of inter-relationships common to many families, even though it is recognized that the dynamics of any particular family will not necessarily conform to these general patterns.

Hess and Handel have pointed out that each family as a unit tends to be characterized by some commonality of permissible boundaries of experience; nevertheless, most families also differentiate to some extent the boundaries set for individual family members in part on the basis of biological givens such as gender, birth order and generational status. Moreover, it seems to this writer that families' patterns of differentiation of boundaries among its members may be related to those members' perceived roles in maintaining overall patterns of connectedness and separateness within the family. In particular, the position of wife/mother--ascribed to the female marriage partner on the basis of biological gender--may tend to be regarded by both spouses as critical to the establishment of the sense of connectedness or centeredness within the family of procreation. This congruence of images would have its ultimate source in the partners' separate experiences within their own families or orientation. These

images would tend, moreover, to limit the wife/mother's boundaries of differentiated self-expression and of receptiveness to outside experiences in order to maximize her physical availability and emotional responsiveness to the family unit. However, differences between the spouses regarding the boundaries of experience permissible in their families of orientation, as well as the specific premarital and preparenting social, educational, and employment experiences of each spouse would influence the extent of congruence between the husband's and wife's images of the wife as a family member and as a separate individual.

Thus, it appears that the family may serve as a highly significant mediator of women's experiences of the conflicting cultural standards associated with healthy adult and healthy female functioning. In a very general sense, parallels might be found between the healthy adult standard (emphasizing competence, independence, and ambition; Broverman et al., 1972) and family processes facilitating differentiation or separateness, and between the healthy female standard (emphasizing warmth and expressiveness; Broverman et al., 1972) and family processes facilitating connectedness. However, actual families differ considerably in their patterns of separateness and connectedness and in the extent to which those patterns parallel the general cultural norms concerning appropriate sex-role behavior.

In trying to make inferences about the impact of family

dynamics upon the interface between subjects' personality styles and life pattern experiences, this research is limited by the fact that only the wife/mother in each family was interviewed and information about other family members' viewpoints was based upon her report. A clinical review of the interview protocols suggests, nonetheless, that women's perceptions of other family members' behaviors and viewpoints were very important to their own experiences of the employment and homemaking aspects of their life patterns. Moreover, there appeared to be large differences among subjects in the extent to which family dynamics served to reinforce or counteract prevailing cultural sex-role expectations and in the extent to which women's images of themselves and of other family members were consistent with those general cultural standards. Women's relationships with nonfamilial peers--including friends, organization co-participants, and professional colleagues--were also relevant to understanding their images of themselves and their levels of satisfaction with their respective life patterns.

## Nonemployed Women

Many attitudes expressed by subjects in the present sample substantiate the hypothesis that maintenance of self-esteem for women is complicated by the conflicting social standards of feminine and mature adult behavior against which their performance may be judged. Differential references to husbands' and children's images of them, moreover, suggest that this process tends to be most difficult for those women whose families' images of them strongly reinforce prevailing social norms, while their images of themselves include significant identification with a healthy adult (sex unspecified) standard. In this study a pattern of self-doubt and uncertain self-esteem, resembling the "just a housewife" syndrome observed by other researchers (Bernard, 1974b; Lopata, 1971; Oakley, 1974a, 1974b), was frequently associated with the "feminine" roles of full-time homemaker and volunteer worker among nonemployed and interrupted employment history subjects. This was manifested by the following themes, which appeared in many women's descriptions of their feelings about current or former nonemployed periods:

1. generalized discomfort with themselves as primary homemakers, including statements like "It's hard for me to think about myself during those years...it's like I wasn't a person," "I look at my mother, she still does nothing... there's nothing I enjoy that much about doing nothing," and

"I'm just not the type, I don't like staying home...I've got no talents; I don't sew, I'm not even a good cook--you've interviewed the wrong person";

2. lack of confidence in their ability to function competently in the "real world," expressed in recollections of currently employed women like "I do have more confidence about handling things since I've had this job...I've seen myself become valuable to them," "I lacked so much confidence in myself before I went here...when you're home awhile you begin to feel like you can't do anything except change diapers," and currently nonemployed women's comments like, "Here's somebody with the same time I have [a neighbor with a part-time business] only she does so much more," and "I guess I'm just a procrastinator by nature...while mentally I want to get out, I don't know if I could handle two things at once";

3. gradual disenchantment with the lack of financial remuneration and low status associated with volunteer work, conveyed by statements like "I've reached the point that I think many women who've done a lot of volunteer work have--if I'm going to work this hard, I might as well get paid for it," and "I'm almost to the point that I've had it in community suff...it's like reinventing the wheel over and over, unless you're willing to run for office or something and then maybe you get into a position of greater influence...I don't

know if you get any further at work, but at least you get paid for it";

4. an apologetic or defensive attitude about their limited earning power, implicit in remarks like "My husband is the first of the liberated men...there's a lot of role changing in this house except that I don't go out and make a living..." "part of it was becoming a person...to be independent and earn money...not that I'm self-supporting, but..." and "I don't thing it's right of me to think he [her husband] deserves it [graduate study] first, but I do think it's fairer that way...maybe now that I'm working and earning money, I might feel better about going to school";

5. awareness that their primary responsibilities as homemakers are generally minimized and undervalued, expressed by comments like "My husband doesn't respect my work in the house," "When we fight, my husband's line is that he's the breadwinner, while I stay home and do nothing," and "I'm a FLAG, a Female Liberal Arts Graduate--I've had a lot of unpaid work experience, but as far as they [potential employers] are concerned, all I'm fit to do is be a clerk."

A common denominator in the themes described above was the women's sense that many of the responsibilities most closely associated with their socially defined sex roles involved minimal intrinsic skill or social (including financial) reward. Primary identification with these responsibilities during their nonemployed periods often left them feeling

vaguely dissatisfied, unappreciated, and doubtful of their ability to function effectively in the "real world," defined by formal employment, financial remuneration, and a socially respected sphere of competence and influence.

When the role of the family as mediator of the individual's experience of general social values is considered, the concept of congruence of images (Handel, 1972; Hess and Handel, 1972) seems particularly relevant to certain nonemployed women's experiences of that life pattern. In the families of many of the nonemployed women sampled, there tended to have been a congruence of images between spouses regarding the homemaking functions and employment status of the wife which served to reinforce the wife's persistence in the nonemployed life pattern. In some cases, this helped the wife to value and derive satisfaction from many aspects of her life pattern, particularly its flexibility and opportunities for extensive involvement with her children and the community. However, to the extent that this congruence of images included identification with the general social minimalization of the complexity of homemaking functions in relation to formal employment, the wife's self-esteem tended to be vulnerable and there was a lack of pride/pleasure/interest in certain aspects of homemaking responsibilities. When the wife perceived but attempted to resist identification with the lower social valuing associated with her spouse's images of her, she tended to be overtly resentful of important aspects of her life pattern

and to have experienced conflict with her spouse in this area.

Nonetheless, the nonemployed life pattern permitted many women some security that their lives were proceeding in a socially approved way, and that they were fulfilling their "destinies" as women by granting homemaking and mothering responsibilities priority in their lives. For many, this life pattern was consistent with their spouses' and children's images of them and was perceived as contributing to their families'--if not their own--optimal development. Thus, even women who reported dissatisfaction with the nonemployed life pattern offered justifications for it like "If I had to do it over, I'd never give up marriage or kids--some of my most fulfilling moments--but I'd have planned more for my career as they got older," and "It [a five year nonemployed period] is such a short time in my life, until they start first grade, and I feel it's unfair to the kids not to consider them."

However, although the conventional nonemployed life pattern may have minimized certain conflicts for many primary homemakers, the intense emotional demands of full-time mothering (the most highly valued aspect of this life pattern among the women sampled) were not met with comparable ease by all nonemployed women. The comments of certain primary homemakers that "It would probably be better for the children [if she worked] because I could get out more and I'd feel better," and "They [the children] would be better off without me around all the time" suggest some self-doubt

about their functioning as full-time mothers. Thus, it seems that for certain women consistency between life pattern choice and social sex-role expectations may lead to greater self-doubt rather than increased security.

In trying to understand the primary homemaker's experiences of mothering, it would probably be important to consider her children's ages, since the emotional demands of very young children (i.e. those under 6 years old) would tend to be different than those of older children. In the present sample, however, statistical analysis of these differences was not practical, because of the small sample size and uneven distribution of young children among women in the three employment status groups. Comparisons between mothers with more than one child under 6 and the remaining participants resulted in excessively uneven group sizes (11 and 32 respectively), while comparisons between mothers with at least one child under 6 and those with all children 6 or older were confounded by the fact that all primary homemakers fell into the first group. Within the primary homemaker group, t-test comparisons yielded no significant differences in life pattern satisfaction or general happiness between mothers with only one child under 6 and those with more than one child under 6, but group sizes for these comparisons were very small (3 and 6 respectively).

An exploration of women's experiences of mothering along the lines described above must also consider the possibility of an interaction between maternal personality and child's developmental stage as an alternative to the assumption that

very young children would be experienced as more demanding than older ones by all women. Nonetheless, to the extent that the latter experience may be valid for most women, some of the vague dissatisfaction conveyed by many of the primary homemakers in the present sample may have been an outgrowth of the fact that all the women in that group were coping on a full-time basis with at least one very young child.

The opportunities for interaction with nonfamilial peers was also relevant to many primary homemakers' images of themselves and experiences of their life patterns. Those who were able to develop meaningful friendships with other women in similar circumstances tended to report higher levels of comfort with their nonemployed status; many of the same women described themselves as having felt intensely lonely and bored prior to establishing an "accessible" friendship network. In addition, the support and validation of peers facing similar frustrations and (generally unrecognized) challenges were important to the women's confidence in their own performance as homemakers.

Another aspect of peer interaction for many of these women involved goal-oriented collaboration, generally via participation in voluntary organizations. This interaction, in contrast to the friendships described above, tended to facilitate the women's images of themselves as potentially competent achievers. The impact of this kind of self-perception on the women's further development depended in part upon its congruence with their prior self-images and with the

images held of them by spouses and children, which in turn affected their continued experiences of themselves as homemakers, organization members, and potential labor force participants.

## Employed Women

While one constellation of problems maintaining self-esteem characterized many subjects who had experienced extended nonemployed periods, those who combined employment and family responsibilities faced other difficulties, partly resulting from the discrepancy between their chosen life patterns and society's sex-role expectations. These women sought to achieve in the socially recognized sphere of formal employment, rather than devote themselves predominantly to home and family (although home and family were highly significant for them as well). Certain positive consequences of their decisions to obtain formal jobs were evident; among the six continuous career women whose nonemployed periods had been minimal, there were few references to the lack of self-confidence, low self-esteem, and apprehensiveness about personal competence commonly expressed or implied by statements of nonemployed subjects. In addition, many subjects with interrupted employment histories described a striking rise in self-confidence and sense of competence as a result of their return to formal employment. However, employed mothers' involvements in the socially respected employment sphere were discrepant with another set of social expectations placed upon them as a result of their biological gender. To the extent that their families had internalized and continued to reflect these general social expectations, occupational achievement for many subjects was also accompanied by overt conflict with

family members and/or feelings of self-doubt about their ability to fulfill their socially ascribed responsibilities as wives, mothers, and homemakers.

Areas of interpersonal conflict for the employed mother generally centered around two issues: a tendency for family members (spouses, and to a lesser extent parents, in-laws, and children) to minimize her occupational achievement, and a tendency for them to criticize and/or feel shortchanged by her refusal to limit her commitments to the sphere of home and family. That is, husbands and/or children were often resistant to perceiving the wife/mother as an achieving professional; their "desired images" of her (Hess and Handel, 1972) emphasized her connectedness to the family and tended to avoid recognition of her separateness, her personal differentiation and her need for extensive involvements beyond the family sphere. With the exception of certain developmentally predictable egocentrism on the part of very young children, these critical attitudes of family members seemed to stem largely from their internalization of the cultural standard that a woman/wife/mother belonged home with her husband and children, and that her achievement, recognition, and financial remuneration in the occupational sphere were essentially unfeminine, and threatening to family cohesion. Moreover, to the extent that the wife's occupational achievement was defined as unfeminine, it may have been perceived as a challenge to her husband's masculinity by depriving him of clear-cut superiority in the behavioral realm of the mature

adult/healthy male.

Interrupted employment pattern. The majority of employed women in this sample had interrupted employment histories and produced very limited income from their jobs relative to their families' overall standards of living. The low earnings of many of the interrupted-employment women may have reinforced a tendency for many of them (and their families) to perceive their employment experiences as primarily self-fulfilling, while their responsibilities continued to be defined by the traditional feminine sphere of homemaking.

Initially, family members tended to have expressed some apprehension and/or resentment about the wife/mother's ability to combine work and homemaking. However, most of these women, in part because most of them concurred with the familial perception of their jobs as exclusively self-fulfilling, tried to minimize the inconvenience to their families of their new schedules and shoulder much of the "double burden" themselves. Their limited (relative to their husbands') occupational achievement and the minimal disruption of household routine often eventuated in relatively favorable husband attitudes toward the women's jobs, including comments like, "Once I started it was fine and now he's very, very proud of me... now he can't understand how some women don't work--he thinks they must be very bored and uninteresting" and, "I hear him talking about me to his office friends, telling them how proud of me he is."

While the attitude conveyed by the statements above was certainly supportive, it seemed to resemble parental pride in a child's good report card more than respect for professional competence. In the context of the low salaries these wives were earning, it appears that the familial support they received for working was not comparable to the family's respect for the husband's employment nor to the social recognition generally associated with successful occupational performance. Rather than involving a major alteration in the family's image of the wife/mother, the boundaries associated with that role were merely extended slightly to include employment along with volunteer work as an acceptable "outside activity" for the woman, who continued to be perceived primarily as wife/mother. Interviews with Mrs. F and Mrs. H described in the earlier section on Qualitative Results (Chapter 3) provide examples of families in which spouses maintained congruent and only slightly modified images of the wife/mother following her altered employment status. Several women whose incomes were more substantial indicated a similar trend--their significant incomes may have been appreciated but were not overtly acknowledged by their husbands: "He [her husband] made very positive comments about it, about women working in general. I think the way the economy is it's really hard for a man on one income, but most of the comments he made were along the lines of fulfillment."

For most employed women in this sample, it appeared that

supportive husband attitudes were at least partially contingent on wives' willingness to forfeit many of the traditional social prerogatives associated with successful occupational performance, such as respect for professional competence, appreciation of financial support to family, and domestic adaptation to employment demands. The women who were unable or unwilling to forfeit these prerogatives expressed the greatest resentment over the double burden of employment and homemaking responsibilities and reported the most critical husband attitudes toward their work. Although these women also had interrupted employment histories, they tended to be holding very responsible positions at the time of the interview and to be contributing substantially (though by no means exclusively) to the financial support of their families; however, their remunerative positions were often criticized, or at best ambivalently acknowledged by their husbands.

The psychologically stressful impact of major incongruence between the spouse's images of the wife's employment and homemaking functions (and of the husband's responsibilities at home) was evident in the interview with Mrs. G. This interview is described in detail in the section on Qualitative Results (Chapter 3), but the following statement is illustrative of some of the conflict she experienced: "He [her husband] always used to point out that my income raised his tax bracket, but he never mentioned how it increased our cash flow...for awhile there I was just withholding my paycheck and

then he began to see how in debt we were...in his view, he's the breadwinner and what I earn is just monopoly money." Another woman, whose earnings had enabled her husband to make a mid-life career change, indicated that her husband seemed "very ambivalent about my new job, because it's a pretty high level position, though he's pleased about the income which is considerably higher." A woman who had recently given up her responsible professional business position of 14 years to stay home with her baby described her husband's attitude toward that job as follows: "He thought my work wasn't too important, that I was just a glorified clerk; I think his feeling was that he worked harder than I did and had more responsibilities...which may be true, it's hard to compare." The latter part of her statement points to the potentially detrimental impact on the self-esteem of even successfully employed women, as a result of the difficulty they encounter in receiving serious respect and recognition for their accomplishments from perhaps the most important "significant others" in their lives--immediate family members.

Continuous career pattern. The discussion of employed women in the few preceding pages focused primarily on the experiences of those whose employment history corresponded to the more usual interrupted pattern. The less conventional continuous career women in the sample shared with the other employed subjects the objective difficulty of fulfilling two demanding sets of responsibilities simultaneously, and the

psychological difficulty of feeling truly adequate as homemakers and mothers, despite their rejection of the traditional "primary homemaker" life pattern. These difficulties often led to resentment of the external institutional obstacles to their employment: "Look at my school [suburban elementary school principal]...we don't let the kids into the building til 8:20 and at 2:45 it's your problem to see that they get home and be there for them--and 1/3 of my kids' mothers are professional women working full-time"; anxiety and guilt about the "compromise" care their children received, relative to the cultural standard of full-time mothering: "I can't say it's ideal and I do think about it constantly, but I don't think I could do better for her right now"; and general fatigue and lack of personal time: "That's one of the unhappinesses I have now, I'd like to have time for a more well-rounded life."

However, an apparent difference between continuous career and interrupted employment women in this sample lay in the husbands' attitudes toward their wives' occupational achievements. Husbands of continuous career women tended to be more genuinely respectful and appreciative of their wives' occupational accomplishments and to accept them as part of the marital commitment. This was implied in statements like "The issue of whether or not I'd work just never came up; it was sort of understood," "If you're going to have both parents actively involved in their careers the family has to adapt..."

he [her husband] was tremendously supportive, the major mover in my achieving as much as I have," and one husband's direct comment to the interviewer: "My wife is a very unusual woman, she's very professionally oriented; you'll really enjoy interviewing her."

The reason for this difference in husbands' attitudes among continuous career subjects goes beyond the scope of the present study, although other research has suggested that consistently career committed women may actively select career-accepting, less conventional husbands (Helmstrom, 1972; Tangri, 1972). To the extent that marital choices are based upon the impression of a satisfactory congruence of images between partners (Hess and Handel, 1972), women whose premarital experiences enabled them to become seriously career committed might have been more likely to attract and to have been attracted to men with broader images of women's functioning. In any event, the relative absence of references to low self-esteem, lack of self-confidence and apprehensions about personal competence in the interview protocols of these continuous career women may be partially attributable to the respect they received from their husbands as well as to the external (non-familial) social validation they received for their occupational performance.

## Summary

It appears that nonemployed homemakers, by virtue of the congruence between their life pattern and the socially defined feminine ideal, may experience fewer feelings of anxiety, guilt and self-doubt about their perceived responsibilities to their families. However, this may be achieved at the expense of feelings of personal competence and self-confidence which would be facilitated by accomplishments more widely recognized as difficult, challenging, and significant--that is, accomplishments in the "outside world" of formal employment. The psychological experience of employed mothers may tend to be reversed, with feelings of general competence enhanced at the expense of security in one's conformity to socially prescribed sex-role standards. The role of the family as a mediator of cultural expectations can serve to reinforce or counteract the impact of general cultural standards and is likely to have more immediate influence on women's psychological experiences of either life pattern. Nonetheless, the dilemma for both groups of women in this society lies in the need to experience themselves as mature adult females, when the social criteria for "mature adult" and "female" are contradictory and, to a large extent, mutually exclusive. Although the formal hypotheses and design for this research were based upon an individualistic conceptualization of the interface between personality and life pattern, qualitative data have pointed to the potential relevance of general social and specific familial influences upon women's experiences of their life patterns.

The Concept of Androgyny in Relation to Psychological  
Functioning and Life Pattern Choices

A major premise underlying the present research is that women cannot be adequately characterized or understood by a unidimensional concept of female personality style. Rather, unique genetic potentials, innate temperamental differences, and diverse socialization experiences interact to produce adult women who may be very different from one another psychologically, despite their shared biological gender. While stereotypically feminine traits like nurturance, emotional expressiveness, dependency, and domestic orientation may predominate in many women, others may be characterized by the opposite constellation of stereotypically masculine traits (assertiveness, competitiveness, achievement orientation), and still others by a combination of both. Those in the latter group--with androgynous personality styles--have recently been associated in the research literature with potentially superior psychological functioning, because of their flexibility to respond appropriately in a wide range of situations (see Chapter 1, including Bem, 1974; Block, 1973; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1975; Stapp, 1976).

In the present study, the Block and Stapp (Note 1) Q-sort instrument was used to measure communal (associated with stereotypically feminine), agentic (associated with stereotypically masculine) and androgynous traits in participants.

Since participants had been selected to eliminate financial necessity from their employment decisions, it was anticipated that there would be a "fit" between personality style and life pattern choice (with regard to employment status) for most women. That is, it was expected that general happiness level and life pattern satisfaction for women sampled would not be contingent principally upon life pattern conformity to conventional sex-role norms, but would depend to a greater extent on the degree of congruence between their personalities and the behavioral demands placed on them by the life pattern they had chosen. Moreover, it was assumed that their life patterns had been more or less freely chosen, so that a fairly high level of personality/life pattern congruence would exist. The flexibility of the androgynous personality style was expected to coincide with an adaptable, "well-rounded" approach to either primary homemaker or employed life patterns and with a generally high level of psychological functioning as measured by the composite life pattern satisfaction score and responses to the Elation vs. Depression scale (PFS 11).

A review of the quantitative results of this study indicates that these hypotheses were only partially supported by the data: 1. although employed women (Group 1) were significantly more likely to have higher agency scores, only androgyny scores were significantly associated with life pattern satisfaction in this group; 2. although nonemployed

women (Group 3) had higher communion scores, these did not reach statistical significance--moreover, androgyny and agency scores, but not communion scores, were significantly associated with life pattern satisfaction in this group; 3. in the sample as a whole, androgyny was not more strongly associated with general happiness level than agency or communion.

A partial explanation for the discrepancy between the initial hypotheses and research findings comparing different employment status groups (items 1 and 2 above) may stem from problems with the underlying assumption that participants' life patterns had been "freely" chosen. None of the employed mothers was working because of financial necessity; thus there is some justification for attributing the employed life patterns of these women to genuine choice or preference. Among the nonemployed participants, in contrast, many seemed not to prefer the primary homemaker life pattern, but rather to view it as the only responsible avenue open to them because they had decided to have children. Since they identified with the cultural norm that they, as women, were ultimately responsible for the home and family, and since their husbands' earnings were sufficient for their families' financial needs, they felt that to have chosen an employed life pattern would have been selfish and irresponsible.

To the extent that the above interpretation is correct, it may explain both the significant correlation between agency and employed status and the absence of a significant correlation between communion and nonemployed status. That is,

those who were employed may have elected that life pattern in terms of their personality needs, whereas many of those who stayed home with their children may have done so in conformity with internalized and overt social expectations rather than in response to their own personal proclivities. Nonetheless, this interpretation does not explain the absence of significant correlations between agency and life pattern satisfaction among employed subjects or between communion and life pattern satisfaction among nonemployed subjects, nor does it explain the unpredicted positive association between agency and life pattern satisfaction in the primary homemaker group. Rather, these unexpected results and the somewhat unclear findings regarding the potential psychological superiority of the androgynous personality style may, in part, have been consequences of certain problems inherent in the Block and Stapp (Note 1) Q-sort instrument that was used as a measure of personality style.

In utilizing the Block and Stapp Q-sort as a measure of psychological androgyny, agency, and communion, several problems were identified which may have contributed to some of the confusing response patterns that appeared in the results. The two major difficulties with this instrument were that the adjectives comprising the agency, communion, and androgyny standards were not equalized for social desirability, and that the existence of separate standards for agency, communion, and androgyny raised conceptual problems about the classifi-

cation of women with unclear combinations of response patterns.

The use of any self-report measure in research is contingent upon subjects' willingness to be honest with the investigator and their ability to accurately appraise themselves. In the present study, the rapport established with participants by the preceding one to two hour interviews and the subsequent good faith they demonstrated by their completion of three weeks of daily mood records suggests that, for the most part, subjects' Q-sort self-ratings were honest attempts to describe themselves accurately to the experimenter. However, the differences in social desirability of the various adjectives comprising the Q-sort instrument were likely to have influenced the frequency with which certain adjectives were perceived (and therefore rated) as characteristic or not characteristic of the self. Since the standards against which response patterns were measured did not control for this factor--with the result that the agency standard had a somewhat higher proportion of undesirable (particularly in terms of acceptable feminine, but also of acceptable general) traits--some questions may be raised about the accuracy of certain subjects' agency scores.

An examination of subjects' agency scores indicates a pattern of generally lower scores on this dimension, which might reflect some distortion resulting from the social desirability factor in the instrument, or a relatively low incidence of "cross sex-typing" in this sample, or, most

probably, a combination of both. That is, given the fairly uniform socialization influences upon most women in this sample, it is likely that the majority would have both developed into and perceived themselves as individuals more oriented toward nurturance, emotional expressiveness and dependency (or perhaps interdependence) than toward ambition, competitiveness and independence. Despite this probable equalizing trend, however, the results did indicate that those who eventually elected the less conventional employed life pattern more often had higher agency scores. Moreover, significant correlations between general happiness level (Elation vs. Depression) and feelings of Personal Competence and Control (both measured by the Personal Feeling Scales) for agentic women, and between general happiness level and feelings of Closeness and Warmth with Others (also measured by the Personal Feeling Scales) for communal women suggest that, in spite of the social desirability problems associated with the Q-sort measure, there was some relationship between self-ratings on that instrument and subjects' daily affective experiences (Chapter 3, pp 113-118, describes these results in more detail).

The most unexpected and potentially confusing Q-sort response pattern in this study was the significant positive association between agency and life pattern satisfaction among primary homemakers (Group 3). It is possible that certain women in this group were more vulnerable to social desirability distortion in the Q-sort self-ratings; that is, since

they saw the care of home and family as their primary responsibility in life, they might have been more likely to deny the existence of traits in themselves which seemed incompatible with that life pattern.

If many primary homemaker participants were unable to acknowledge certain agentic aspects of their personalities, then their Q-communion scores may have been inaccurately inflated and their life patterns may not have been well-suited to their personality needs; thus, a correspondence between self-descriptive personality style (Q-sort score) and life pattern satisfaction would not have appeared in the data. Those primary homemakers who did acknowledge agentic traits within themselves may have been more effectively able to adapt their life patterns to accommodate those aspects of their personalities and therefore to experience greater life pattern satisfaction. Alternatively, "accidental" involvement of these women in outside activities providing outlets for agentic traits may have facilitated recognition and acceptance of those traits as part of the self. Either explanation is consistent with the strong, significant correlation ( $r = .49$ ,  $p = .04$ ) between Q agency and Extent of Outside Activities among primary homemakers (Group 3). Thus, it appears that primary homemakers with high agency scores may have experienced greater life pattern satisfaction because their life patterns were not exclusively family-oriented and included more involvement in other kinds of activities.

It should be noted that references to personality style in this study tended to imply a static conceptualization of adult personality. The potential fit between personality style and life pattern was investigated, and measures of personality style were obtained from participants at a single point in their life cycles. In trying to understand some of the unexpected research findings, the limitations of the fixed-trait approach to personality style should be considered. Although it had been expected that life pattern choice would be an outgrowth of personality style, the potential role of situational variables in eliciting and enhancing the expression of certain aspects of the self--that is, in shaping personality--should not be overlooked. Moreover, the family contexts in which married women function are probably as relevant as either individual personality or life pattern to the women's general happiness and overall adjustment.

The relationship between chronological age, developmental stage and personality style is another area which is overlooked by a fixed-trait approach to personality. Research on adult development has suggested that for both men and women shifts toward greater tolerance of androgyny tend to occur in the middle and later years (Neugarten & Guttman, 1968) and may, at least for women, be more adaptive than persistent identification with an exclusively feminine/communal style (Maas & Kuypers, 1974; Weissman & Paykel, 1974). Moreover, Stewart's (1977) research on the formation of early adult life structure in women found variability in the extent to

which women focused on individualistic (agentic) or relational (communal) developmental tasks during their twenties. This was reflected in differences during the early thirties in the extent to which the expression and reintegration of other aspects of the self were marked by an emphasis on individualistic or relational concerns.

Although small sample sizes in the present study did not allow statistical comparisons, some of the variability observed by Stewart may have also been present in this sample. Most participants had focused on family-building during their twenties and early thirties, with actual or anticipated shifts toward career development after age thirty. However, several participants had concentrated on career development during the early adult years and established families at a somewhat later age, while still others had tried to grapple with individualistic and relational developmental tasks simultaneously. Since women in the present sample were contacted at a single point in their life cycles, individual personality changes with age could not be explored. Moreover, although the age range of participants was 30 to 45, systematic analysis of the relationship between age and personality style among participants would have been difficult, because 70% were between 30 and 35 and only 5% were over 40. As indicated earlier (Chapter 3), there were no significant age differences among the three employment status groups.

One reason for utilizing the concepts of agency, communion, and androgyny to explore the interface between personality style and life pattern in this study was the potential compatibility between these concepts and a psychoanalytically-oriented developmental framework for understanding personality. Specifically, agentic traits could be considered comparable to the instinctual impulses and autonomous ego functions of infancy and to their subsequent ego-based elaborations as a result of interactions with the personal and impersonal environment. A genuine capacity for communion, although influenced by experiences of earliest infancy, would reflect a more advanced developmental stage, after the self had become clearly differentiated, and minimal levels of ego mastery and trust in the interpersonal environment established, so that the unique potential of human beings for affective responsiveness could be recognized and experienced. That is, some degree of self-oriented ego development (agentic aspect of personality) would be the necessary precursor of a true empathic appreciation of others (communal aspect of personality). Thus, those individuals with well-developed capacities for genuine communion would in effect be androgynous, while those less developmentally advanced would display predominantly agentic or pseudocommunal (indirectly demanding, interpersonally manipulative and therefore ultimately agentic) traits.

The Q-sort instrument used to measure agency, communion

and androgyny in this study was not conducive to a direct empirical investigation of the formulation just described. Moreover, this formulation is not consistent with most of the literature on androgyny, in which it has been assumed that an individual may be predominantly agentic/masculine, predominantly communal/feminine or androgynous/mixed, and, in some cases, undifferentiated (Bem, 1974; Block, 1973; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1975; Stapp, 1976).

Findings based on both prior studies and the present sample demonstrate that a pattern of high communion/femininity scores in the absence of high agency/masculinity scores is common among female subjects. It is questionable, however, whether any of the instruments employed in these investigations (including the present study) were able to tap genuine capacity for empathy, nurturance, and interpersonal intimacy, as distinct from superficial expressions of these traits, and as distinct from characteristics commonly associated with femininity though not actually inherent in high capacity for communion (e.g. lack of self-confidence, anxiety, guilt, dependency). In addition, the unexpected findings in this study that among generally communal primary homemakers, agency was relevant to life pattern satisfaction (Chapter 3, pp. 104-106), and both feelings of Personal Competence and Control and Close-ness and Warmth with Others were relevant to general happiness level (Chapter 3, pp. 110-112) suggest that the developmental formulation presented here might be worthy of further

empirical exploration, if appropriately sensitive research instruments could be developed.

The present study shares with most empirical research on psychological androgyny the hypothesis that androgyny would tend to be associated with a higher level of psychological functioning than most unidimensional personality styles. This hypothesis is consistent with the developmental formulation presented earlier, in which androgyny is considered a more advanced or mature stage in psychological development; it is also consistent with an "additive" conceptualization of psychological androgyny presented by several other researchers (Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1975; Stapp, 1976). The "additive" conceptualization assumes that traits conventionally associated with masculinity and femininity respectively are intrinsically independent of one another and can therefore occur in any combination. Each trait is viewed as a distinctive skill which would enhance an individual's potential for coping with a particular kind of situation. Thus, individuals with the largest numbers and greatest variety of skills--androgynous individuals--would be best equipped to cope effectively with the widest range of situations.

Several empirical studies have lent support to the hypothesis that androgyny is associated with higher levels of psychological functioning (many of these are reviewed in Chapter 1). However, results of the present study were

equivocal with regard to this issue; androgyny was positively associated with life pattern satisfaction within the groups of employed mothers (Group 1) and primary homemakers (Group 3), but it was not associated with general happiness level across all groups. It is suspected that certain problems with the Block and Stapp Q-sort instrument, which was not used in the other research cited, may have been partially responsible for these discrepant results.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the Block and Stapp Q-sort included separate criteria for agency, communion, and androgyny; thus, a high androgyny score on this instrument required not only a balance of agentic and communal traits, but a very specific balance in which particular traits characterizing the other two styles had to predominate. This is in contrast to the measures used by certain other researchers (Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1975; Stapp, 1976), in which adjectives were classified only as masculine or feminine and any pattern of high scores on adjectives from both groups was defined as androgynous.

The existence of a separate androgyny standard on the Block and Stapp Q-sort instrument presented certain conceptual problems in understanding the data in the present study. If a sound theoretical or empirical basis for the particular combination of traits comprising the androgyny standard were assumed, then high androgyny scores should have been accompanied by low scores for both agency and communion, which was

generally not the case; moreover, the empirical possibility of an individual scoring high on both agency and communion but not on androgyny would call the definition of androgyny into question. In fact, the interrelationships of individual subjects' scores for the three standards were highly complex and varied; thus, raw scores on each of the three were used to test hypotheses for which correlational statistics were appropriate. When differentiation of agentic and communal women was required, cut-off scores were established using scores on these two standards only, and subjects scoring above or below the cut-offs for both standards were excluded from that portion of the data analysis (see Chapter 3, pp. 89-90).

It appears that greater conceptual clarity in the present study might have been provided by a measure of psychological androgyny based entirely on standards for agency and communion. For this reason, certain other instruments (Dem, Martyna, and Watson, 1976, cited by Rotter, 1978; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1975), in which high scorers on both masculinity and femininity scales were defined as androgynous, high scorers on only one scale as sex-typed (or cross sex-typed), and low scorers on both as undifferentiated, might be more easily adapted than the Block and Stapp Q-sort for future research in this area. Research on the social desirability of adjectives used in these instruments would also be important to facilitate accurate ratings. Moreover, although an "individual personality" model was implicit in the present research

design, a design which incorporated the role of family as / mediator between individual personality and social expectations might have been more fruitful. In particular, the patterns of separateness and connectedness and the establishment of boundaries of experience within families may be relevant to understanding the development and expression of agentic and communal aspects of individual personality.

## Summary

The research hypotheses about the relationship between life pattern choice and psychological functioning were only partially supported by the data. As predicted, employed women were significantly more likely to have higher Q-sort scores for agency, but there was no correlation between their agency scores and their life pattern satisfaction. Although primary homemakers tended to have higher Q-sort scores for communion, these did not reach the predicted level of statistical significance; moreover, there was an unexpected positive association between agency and life pattern satisfaction among women in this group, while the predicted association between communion and life pattern satisfaction was not found. It had been predicted that an androgynous personality style would facilitate optimal psychological functioning, which was supported by the positive correlation between androgyny scores and life pattern satisfaction for both primary homemakers and full-time employed women; however, no significant correlation was found between androgyny and general happiness level.

Certain problems with the Q-sort instrument used to measure agentic, communal, and androgynous traits may have been partially responsible for the equivocal results in this study. Moreover, if the concepts of agency, communion, and androgyny were considered part of a cumulative-sequential model of personality development, some of the initial hypotheses about the relationship between the "communal" personality

and the primary homemaker life pattern would be open to question. Unexpected findings in these data did indicate that agentic traits and feelings of personal competence and control were relevant to the psychological well-being of generally communal primary homemaker participants; thus, further empirical exploration in this area might prove fruitful, if sufficiently sensitive research instruments were developed. In addition, certain limitations of the fixed-trait approach to personality style should be considered, and the role of the family as mediator between individual personality and social expectation may merit further research attention.

General Conclusions: Life Pattern Variations  
Among Contemporary Married Women

This study sought to explore certain life pattern options of contemporary married women with children. The focus was on the relative prominence in women's lives of homemaking, formal employment, and personal-developmental activities and pursuits. Information about participants' personality styles, their values and goals, and their feelings about their lives and themselves was obtained, in order to better understand their life pattern choices.

A variety of procedures were employed in data collection, so that different aspects of personality style and affective functioning might be assessed. A semistructured personal interview provided the basis for identifying relevant components of each woman's life pattern and understanding her perceptions of herself and her life. An effort was made to select empirical instruments that would measure personality characteristics potentially relevant to life pattern adaptation, offer verification of interview-based inferences about participants' psychological functioning, and be feasible to administer given the limited resources available for this research. Each of the following instruments was consistent with the above criteria and did provide some relevant information about participants:

1. The Attitude Toward Work and Attitude Toward Home-

making scales designed for the present study measured subjects' idealized, intellectual attitudes about the roles of employment and homemaking in their lives. These attitudes were expected to have relevance for understanding women's choices about and satisfaction with the employment and homemaking components of their life patterns. Results indicated that primary homemakers and employed mothers did differ significantly with regard to the degree of prominence they ideally wished homemaking and employment to have in their lives. However, women's responses also suggested that contemporary middle class married women, regardless of life pattern, tend to idealize moderate-to-high levels of employment commitment and only moderate levels of homemaking involvement; this may be a reflection of changing social values regarding appropriate roles for women. Precise examination of subjects' attitude responses in the context of specific aspects of their life patterns and psychological functioning was not possible because of both limited sample size and ambiguity in certain subjects' interpretations of the attitude response options (while most subjects treated response items as descriptive of possible situations they actually believed to be ideal for themselves, a few seemed to have judged themselves instead of the situation and to have selected the situation they wished they were capable of comfortably accepting).

2. The Agency/androgyny/communion Q-sort (Block and Stapp, Note 1) was selected for this research because it provided consensually validated criterion standards for identifying agentic, communal, and androgynous personality characteristics.

As indicated earlier, these three concepts were expected to be useful in understanding women's personality styles because they presumed an independent relationship between specific personality traits and biological gender, and were conceptually compatible with a developmental model of personality development. As a self-rating measure, the Q-sort instrument provided a relatively self-conscious, intellectual measure of personality style and was dependent upon subjects' willingness and ability to describe themselves accurately. Despite certain drawbacks to this instrument (described in the preceding sections of this chapter), there were some significant relationships between subjects' Q-sort responses, their life patterns, and their reported affective experiences.

3. The Personal Feeling Scales (Wessman, 1979; Wessman and Ricks, 1966) were revised for use in this study because they provided both a measure of general happiness level and a detailed record of affective experience along several potentially relevant dimensions. New scales corresponding to agentic and communal affective experiences were developed to compensate for an anticipated weakness of the Q-sort instrument; results showed certain consistencies between subjects' Q-sort scores and their response patterns on the relevant Personal Feeling Scales, suggesting that both instruments may be useful in assessing agentic and communal components of personality functioning. As predicted, women in the different employment status groups did not differ significantly in general happiness level. It had been anticipated that employed mothers

might experience greater levels of guilt, but this was not supported by participants' responses to the Personal Moral Judgment scale; full-time employed mothers did tend to be more anxious, which may have been a reflection of the larger number of responsibilities they faced on a daily basis. Interpretation of participants' Personal Feeling Scale mood records was limited, however, in that the specific experiences that may have triggered certain affective responses were not identifiable.

### Research Conclusions

In general, the results of this study seem to indicate that married women may find satisfaction and function effectively in a variety of life patterns. There were no differences in general happiness level or life pattern satisfaction among the three life pattern groups explored here. There were indications, however, that both homemaking-focused and employment-oriented life patterns contain potential stresses for married women with children. Employed mothers may feel overburdened because of the absence of institutional supports for homemaking functions and guilty that their parenting does not conform to the "full-time motherhood" cultural standard. Primary homemakers, in turn, may tend to be lonely, overinvolved emotionally with their children, and unsure of themselves, as a result of the relative isolation and lack of social recognition characterizing their life patterns. Case study analyses indicated that a direct

empirical measure of self-esteem would probably be useful for future research in this area. Moreover, a research design which accounts for the significant mediating influence of the family upon women's experiences of employment and homemaking aspects of their life patterns would represent an important expansion of the "individual personality" model implicit in the present design.

Hypotheses about the relationships between life pattern and personality style were only partially supported by the results of this study. There was some association between androgyny and life pattern satisfaction and between agency and an employed life pattern, but these relationships were not consistently upheld in the data. Moreover, a unidimensional relationship between agency and employment commitment, but not between communion and homemaking orientation was tentatively suggested; although this partially contradicts the formal research hypotheses, it may be consistent with a developmental formulation of the androgynous personality style. In view of the varied family dynamics and conflicting social pressures which both primary homemakers and employed mothers may experience, it appears that optimal life pattern choice may depend upon individual personality needs and strengths in relation to the potential opportunities and stresses associated with each life pattern.

## **APPENDICES**

APPENDIX A

Criterion Sorts of Agency, Communion, Androgyny  
From data of Block and Stapp (Note 1)

Arranged in decreasing order from most to least characteristic of agency, communion, and androgyny respectively:

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Communion</u>	<u>Androgyny</u>
Competitive	Considerate	Perceptive, aware
Ambitious	Empathic	Self-confident
Assertive	Responsive	Empathic, feels for others
Independent	Sympathetic	Effective
Dominating	Helpful	Genuine, authentic
Self-centered	Sensitive	Responsible
Self-confident	Altruistic	Responsive
Individualistic	Loving, tender	Energetic, vital
Adventurous	Generous	Independent
Effective	Tolerant, accepting	Tolerant, accepting
Logical, rational	Perceptive, aware	Considerate
Energetic, vital	Self-denying	Loving, tender
Stubborn	Sociable	Free, unfettered
Foresightful, plans	Needs approval	Assertive
Proud	Feminine/masculine	Fair, just
Practical, shrewd	Responsible	Curious, questioning
Courageous	Idealistic	Sensitive
Uncompromising	Genuine, authentic	Open, frank
Argumentative	Fair, just	Creative, imaginative
Critical	Open, frank	Sympathetic
Show-off	Talkative	Helpful
Self-controlled	Optimistic	Foresightful, plans ahead
Informed	Conventional	Logical, rational
Rebellious	Playful	Generous
Curious	Creative, imaginative	Sociable, gregarious
Responsible	Calm, relaxed	Altruistic
Feminine/masculine	Artistic	Playful
Optimistic	Energetic, vital	Individualistic
Orderly	Amazing	Adventurous
Free, unfettered	Feels guilty	Courageous
Restless	Self-confident	Informed
Talkative	Orderly	Idealistic
Aloof	Free, unfettered	Optimistic
Fair, just	Curious	Self-controlled
Open, frank	Doubting, uncertain	Calm, relaxed
Creative, imaginative	Foresightful, plans	Artistic
Impulsive	Effective	Amazing
Sociable, gregarious	Self-controlled	Practical, shrewd
Genuine, authentic	Reserved, shy	Ambitious
Amazing	Moody	Feminine/masculine
Perceptive, aware	Worrying, fearful	Talkative
Calm, relaxed	Informed	Orderly
Playful	Courageous	Proud
Idealistic	Impulsive	Rebellious
Conventional	Practical, shrewd	Critical
Artistic	Restless, discontented	Impulsive
Moody	Logical, rational	Self-denying
Responsive	Adventurous	Competitive
Tolerant, accepting	Proud	Stubborn
Generous	Critical	Reserved, shy
Helpful	Independent	Moody
Feels guilty	Assertive	Restless
Doubting, uncertain	Stubborn	Uncompromising
Considerate	Individualistic	Conventional
Loving, tender	Show-off	Doubting, uncertain
Self-denying	Ambitious	Argumentative
Sympathetic	Rebellious	Needs approval
Worrying, fearful	Argumentative	Self-centered
Reserved, shy	Uncompromising	Feels guilty
Sensitive	Aloof- uninvolved	Aloof, uninvolved
Needs approval	Dominating	Dominating
Empathic, feels for others	Self-centered	Worrying, fearful
Altruistic	Competitive	Show-off

SELF-DESCRIPTIONS

Q-SORT GRID

least characteristic      -3      -2      -1      0      +1      +2      most characteristic  
+3

	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
Conventional							
Energetic, vital							
Adventurous							
Loving, tender							
Assertive							
Ambitious							
Artistic							
Calm, relaxed							
Playful							
Competitive, like to be best							
Courageous							
Considerate							
Critical							
Optimistic							
Dominating							
Curious, questioning							
Need approval							
Self-centered							
Fair, just							
Self-controlled							
Alone, uninvolved							
Generous							
Feel guilty							
helpful							
Proud							
Idealistic							
Creative, imaginative							
Impulsive							
Doubting, uncertain							
Independent							
Informed							
Tolerant, accepting							
Practical, shrewd							
Moody							
Foresightful, plan ahead							
Open, frank							
Orderly							

Optimistic							
Dominating							
Curious, questioning							
Need approval							
Self-centered							
Fair, just							
Self-controlled							
Alot, uninvolved							
Generous							
Feel guilty							
helpful							
Proud							
Idealistic							
Creative, imaginative							
Impulsive							
Doubting, uncertain							
Independent							
Informed							
Tolerant, accepting							
Practical, shrewd							
Moody							
Foresightful, plan ahead							
Open, frank							
Orderly							
Sociable, gregarious							
Perceptive, aware							
Logical, rational							
Rebellious							
Reserved, shy							
Responsible							
Restless, discontented							
Free, unfettered, not hung up							
Self-confident							
Self-denying							
Amusing							
Sensitive							
Snob-off							
Stubborn							
Sympathetic							
Empathic, feel for others							
Talkative							
Responsive							
Nervy, fearful							
Genuine, authentic							
Feminine							
Affective							
Individualistic							
Uncompromising							
Argumentative							
Altruistic							

TOTALS: 3 7 12 19 12 7 3

Agency and Communion Standards and Cut-offs

Agency Standard

competitive  
ambitious  
assertive  
independent  
dominating  
self-centered  
individualistic  
adventurous  
effective  
logical, rational  
energetic, vital

Communion Standard

considerate  
empathic  
responsive  
helpful  
sensitive  
altruistic  
loving, tender  
generous  
tolerant, accepting  
perceptive, aware  
self-denying

Cut-off for agentic classification:  $\underline{Q \text{ agency}} \geq 54$   
 $\underline{Q \text{ communion}} < 55$

Cut-off for communal classification:  $\underline{Q \text{ communion}} \geq 55$   
 $\underline{Q \text{ agency}} < 54$

## Appendix B

### Attitude Toward Work

#### Instructions:

The following is a group of statements describing different attitudes toward the role of work in women's lives. Please take your time and read through each statement carefully.

When you have finished, please select the statement that matches most closely your own attitude about the role you would like work to have in your life. Do not be concerned about whether or not your actual life situation conforms to the statement you select--I am concerned for the present not with your actual situation, but with what you believe would be (or would have been) the best situation for you.

---

GIVEN MY VALUES AND THE KIND OF PERSON I AM, THE IDEAL WORK INVOLVEMENT FOR ME WOULD BE:

- \_\_\_\_\_ a full-time, permanent commitment to meaningful, responsible work--with vocational stimulation important to my full development as a person.
- \_\_\_\_\_ a responsible, full-time work commitment--with work important to me by enabling me to stand on my own feet financially and/or fully share in the process of supporting my family.
- \_\_\_\_\_ enjoying opportunities for meaningful and personally rewarding work experiences--but feeling comfortable limiting or relinquishing work involvement during periods in my life when my time and attention are required elsewhere.
- \_\_\_\_\_ some work experience as an interesting activity for me--a way to get out, meet other people, bring in some extra money--but only during periods in my life when my other commitments and involvements are relatively undemanding.
- \_\_\_\_\_ work only on a limited, temporary basis--if the family were financially "strapped" for some reason, and we needed the extra money to help make ends meet or to save up for something important.
- \_\_\_\_\_ no formal work experiences--sources of personal satisfaction lie elsewhere and I feel my husband should bear sole responsibility for financial support, in terms of outside income, for our family.

## Attitude Toward Homemaking

### Instructions:

The following is a group of statements describing different attitudes toward the role of mothering and homemaking in women's lives. Please take your time and read through each statement carefully.

When you have finished, please select the one statement that matches most closely your own attitude about the role you would like homemaking and mothering to have in your own life. Do not be concerned about whether or not your actual life situation conforms to the statement you select--I am concerned for the present not with your actual situation, but with what you believe would be (or would have been) best for you.

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GIVEN MY VALUES AND THE KIND OF PERSON I AM, THE IDEAL HOME-MAKING AND MOTHERING INVOLVEMENT FOR ME WOULD BE:

- \_\_\_\_\_ to dedicate my life completely to my home and family--with homemaking as my ultimate source of satisfaction in life.
- \_\_\_\_\_ to center my life around my home and family for as long as they need me--with homemaking as my primary source of satisfaction, but possibly developing other interests as my family needed me less.
- \_\_\_\_\_ to stay pretty much at home with my children while they need me, but pursuing some other interests or activities as well--with home and family of primary importance to me but also needing other sources of satisfaction.
- \_\_\_\_\_ to fulfill the central role, as wife and mother, in my family's functioning, but maintain other full-time involvement(s) as well--needing important outside sources of satisfaction in addition to my basic fulfillment from homemaking.
- \_\_\_\_\_ to share involvement in homemaking and child care equally with my spouse and maintain other full-time commitment(s) as well--with home and family fulfilling only one part of my personality and with other sources of satisfaction equally significant for me.
- \_\_\_\_\_ to have limited the scope of my family involvement or even considered not having a family at all--because involvement in homemaking and child care is very unsatisfying to me and other goals and activities seem much more rewarding and meaningful.

## Appendix C

### Personal Feeling Scales

#### Instructions for Using "Personal Feeling Scales":

Most people experience some changes in their moods and feelings both during the day and from day to day. Psychologists are interested in discovering how moods change, and what their significance may be. You can help in this kind of study by giving us a series of nightly reports on the variety and intensity of your feelings during the day.

To collect this information in a systematic way we have a set of 11 scales. They cover various kinds of feelings that may change from time to time. Some may be central in your emotional life, while others may seem pretty irrelevant to you. But in any case, please do report on all 11 scales. Also, each of us has his own personal ways of expressing feelings, and the descriptive phrases provided may not sound quite right to you. So please regard the 10 descriptive phrases on the scales as rough approximations and use them as best you can to indicate the relative degree of intensity of your feelings.

The first night or two filling out the scales may take 15 or 20 minutes, but after a few days it should only take about five minutes. Please fill out 11 scales faithfully every night before you go to sleep and report as accurately as you can your various moods during that entire day.

On the separate answer sheet for each night (DAILY RECORD OF PERSONAL FEELINGS) we would like you to report the following 3 items on each of the 11 scales:

- HIGHEST - the top rating on the scale that you experienced during the day, even though it may have been only for a brief moment.
- AVERAGE - your overall summary for the day on that scale, i.e., how you felt in general.
- LOWEST - the bottom rating on the scale, even though it may only have been for a brief moment.

Fill out your initials and indicate the date and day of the week on top of each day's report. Please try to make faithful and honest reports during the entire study. We will respect your confidences. Thank you for your help.

PERSONAL FEELING SCALES  
1976 revision

- I. HARMONY vs. ANGER (How well you got along with or how angry you felt toward other people.)
- 9) Boundless good will and complete harmony.
  - 8) Enormous good will and great harmony.
  - 7) Considerable good will.
  - 6) Get along well and rather smoothly.
  - 5) Get along pretty well, more or less good feelings.
  - 4) A little bit annoyed, slightly "put out." Minor irritations.
  - 3) Annoyed, irritated, "on edge."
  - 2) Very angry and hostile.
  - 1) Enraged. Seething with anger and hostility.
  - 0) Violent hate and fury. Desire to attack and destroy.
- II. SOCIAL RESPECT vs. SOCIAL CONTEMPT (How you felt other people regarded you or felt about you today.)
- 9) Receive tremendous admiration and respect from those people who matter to me.
  - 8) Stand very high in the judgment of people whose opinions count with me.
  - 7) People I admire recognize and respect my good points.
  - 6) Confident that some people think well of me.
  - 5) Feel I am appreciated and respected to some degree.
  - 4) Some people don't seem to respect me sufficiently.
  - 3) I am looked on as being small or of no account.
  - 2) People have no respect for me at all.
  - 1) I am scorned, slighted, pushed aside.
  - 0) Everyone despises me and holds me in contempt.
- III. INTERPERSONAL ACCEPTANCE vs. BEING ISOLATED (The extent to which you felt emotionally accepted by or isolated from other people.)
- 9) Feeling fully loved and accepted by those who matter to me.
  - 8) Basically loved and valued by the important people in my life.
  - 7) Thoroughly and genuinely liked.
  - 6) Feel accepted and liked.
  - 5) Fairly well accepted by others.
  - 4) Feel a little bit left out.
  - 3) Feel somewhat neglected and lonely.
  - 2) Very lonely. No one seems to care much about me.
  - 1) Tremendously lonely. Friendless and left out.
  - 0) Completely isolated and forsaken. Ached with loneliness.

## Personal Feeling Scales - Continued

- IV. CLOSENESS & WARMTH WITH OTHERS (The extent to which you felt giving, generous, close, warm, and open with others.)
- 9) Feeling very loving and caring--willing to give generously, to put the needs of others before my own. Complete participation in warm, intimate interpersonal relationships.
  - 8) Very aware of the needs and feelings of others, and very eager to meet them. Enjoy the warmth of close companionship.
  - 7) Sympathetic and helpful, aware of others' needs and trying to meet them. Some warm sharing.
  - 6) Considerate and perceptive, interested in being helpful when I can. Fairly open to others.
  - 5) Fairly sensitive and helpful, but also a little cautious about overextending myself.
  - 4) A little reserved and shy about reaching out too much. Interested, but careful--afraid to get too close.
  - 3) Uncertain and indecisive about responding too much to others. Some desire to keep to myself.
  - 2) Feel pretty distant and retiring--prefer to keep to myself.
  - 1) Feel closed off, remote, want to keep myself and my things safely out of the reach of others.
  - 0) Completely withdrawn. Want no human contact. Don't want to give anything to anybody.
- V. LOVE & INTIMACY (Extent to which you felt loved and enraptured or emotionally cold and unloved in relation to a man.)
- 9) Feeling intensely loving, close, enraptured.
  - 8) Strong feelings of love and trust.
  - 7) Warm sharing of intimate feelings.
  - 6) Some intimate sharing. Good companionship and common interests.
  - 5) Fairly pleasant interaction. Some mutual interests and understanding.
  - 4) Not much feeling of mutual understanding. Some lack of interest. Feeling slightly distant.
  - 3) Little feeling of relationship. Considerable indifference.
  - 2) Feeling unable to maintain good relationships. Unloved.
  - 1) Hurt, bewildered, incapable of emotionally loving or being loved.
  - 0) Hopeless, emotionally cold, unloved, and unloving.
- VI. TRANQUILITY vs. ANXIETY (How calm or troubled you felt.)
- 9) Perfect and complete tranquility. Unshakably secure and relaxed.
  - 8) Exceptional calm, wonderfully secure and carefree.
  - 7) Great sense of well-being. Essentially secure and at ease.

## Personal Feeling Scales - Continued

### VI. Continued

- 6) Pretty generally secure and free from care.
- 5) Nothing particularly troubling me. More or less at ease.
- 4) Somewhat concerned with minor worries or problems. Slightly ill at ease. A bit troubled.
- 3) Experiencing some worry, trouble/or uncertainty. Somewhat nervous, jittery, on edge.
- 2) Considerable insecurity. Very troubled by significant worries, fears, uncertainties.
- 1) Tremendous anxiety and concern. Harrassed by worries and fears.
- 0) Completely beside myself with dread, worry, fear. Overwhelmingly distraught, terrified, anxious.

### VII. PRESENT WORK (How satisfied or dissatisfied you were with the main work you do, either in school, on the job, or at home. If you do more than one of these, check which you consider your main work and answer in terms of that: home \_\_\_ school \_\_\_ job \_\_\_.)

- 9) Tremendous delight in my work. Proud of my purpose, skill, accomplishment. Enthusiastic.
- 8) Great pleasure and enjoyment in my work. Much fulfillment through work.
- 7) Considerable satisfaction with my work. Eager to continue.
- 6) Satisfied with my work. Encouraged to go on with it.
- 5) Somewhat satisfied with my work. Not a particular concern.
- 4) Slightly dissatisfied with my work. Keep plugging along.
- 3) Quite dissatisfied with my work. Can't see much good in it. Not much enjoyment doing it.
- 2) Greatly dissatisfied with my work. Find it pretty unrewarding and frustrating.
- 1) Tremendously dissatisfied and frustrated in my work. Very discouraged.
- 0) Completely dissatisfied and frustrated in my work. Disgusted.

### VIII. PERSONAL COMPETENCE & CONTROL (Extent to which you felt on top of your world, in control of things, able to actively accomplish your goals.)

- 9) Independent, adventurous, active and sharp--the world in my hands to make of it what I want.
- 8) Ambitious, assertive, self-assured--pretty well able to make my world the kind of place I want to live in.
- 7) Responsible and strong--in control of myself and a good part of my environment.

## Personal Feeling Scales - Continued

### VIII. Continued

- 6) Feeling pretty strong and confident, able to make the best of what comes to me, think my prospects are pretty good.
- 5) Fairly competent and effective--reasonably capable of doing things to get my needs met.
- 4) Feeling slightly pressured--not really sure of my ability to accomplish things for myself.
- 3) Feeling rather inadequate, trying hard to keep up, doing what I have to do instead of what I want to do.
- 2) Pushed and pulled in all directions, struggling to keep up but not getting anything done. Distressed by my weakness and lack of ability.
- 1) Pushed around, feel very little control over myself or any part of my life. Sick of my own incompetence and helplessness.
- 0) Dominated, overwhelmed, totally without control, don't know what will happen to me.

### IX. PERSONAL MORAL JUDGMENT (How self-approving or guilty you felt.)

- 9) Great feeling of moral perfection and virtue. My conscience approves.
- 8) Strong sense of personal worth and goodness.
- 7) In high favor with myself. Clear about my standards and well able to meet them.
- 6) Consider myself pretty close to my own ideal standards.
- 5) By and large clear about my ethical and moral standards; able to meet up to most of them.
- 4) Sometimes a bit uncertain about what is the right course, ethically, to follow.
- 3) Somewhat short of what I ought to be. Often find it hard to decide what's really fair or right.
- 2) I have a sense of having done wrong. Disappointed in myself.
- 1) Feel I have failed morally and ethically.
- 0) Morally worthless--tormented by guilt.

### X. ENERGY vs. FATIGUE (How energetic, tired or weary you felt.)

- 9) Limitless zeal. Surging with energy. Vitality spilling over.
- 8) Tremendous energy, great zest for activity, always on the move.
- 7) Great energy and drive.
- 6) Very fresh, considerable energy
- 5) Fairly fresh. Adequate energy.
- 4) Slightly tired. Somewhat lacking in energy.
- 3) Rather tired. Not much energy.

## Personal Feeling Scales - Continued

### X. Continued

- 2) Great fatigue. Sluggish. Can hardly keep going.  
Meager resources.
- 1) Tremendously weary. Nearly worn out and practically  
at a standstill. Almost no resources.
- 0) Utterly exhausted. Entirely worn out. Completely  
incapable of even the slightest effort.

### XI. ELATION vs. DEPRESSION (How elated or depressed, how happy or unhappy you felt today.)

- 9) Complete elation. Rapturous joy and soaring ecstasy.
- 8) Very elated and in very high spirits. Tremendous  
delight, like on "cloud 9."
- 7) Elated and in high spirits.
- 6) Feeling very good and cheerful.
- 5) Feeling pretty good, "O.K."
- 4) Feeling a little bit low. Just so-so.
- 3) Spirits low and somewhat "blue."
- 2) Depressed and feeling very low. Definitely "down."
- 1) Tremendously depressed. Feeling terrible, miserable,  
awful.
- 0) Utter depression and gloom. Completely down and out.  
All is despair.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Code: \_\_\_\_\_

### DAILY RECORD OF PERSONAL FEELINGS

(Please fill in completely, 3 ratings on each scale, before retiring every day. Remember to record the "highest" and "lowest" you felt even though they may have been experienced for only a brief moment. The "average" represents your overall summary of the day.)

I. HARMONY vs. ANGER

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

II. SOCIAL RESPECT vs. SOCIAL CONTEMPT

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

III. INTERPERSONAL ACCEPTANCE vs. BEING ISOLATED

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

IV. CLOSENESS & WARMTH WITH OTHERS

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

V. LOVE AND INTIMACY

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

VI. TRANQUILITY vs. ANXIETY

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

VII. PRESENT WORK

Check One: \_\_\_\_\_ home  
                  \_\_\_\_\_ job  
                  \_\_\_\_\_ other (school,  
                                  community, etc.)

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

VIII. PERSONAL COMPETENCE AND CONTROL

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

IX. PERSONAL MORAL JUDGMENT

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

X. ENERGY vs. FATIGUE

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

XI. ELATION vs. DEPRESSION

Highest \_\_\_\_\_  
Average \_\_\_\_\_  
Lowest \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix D

Initial Interview: Employed

1. What work do you do (profession or occupation)?
2. Where are you working now (type of employer and level of position)?
3. How much education have you had?
4. In terms of the time and effort your job demands, both during work hours and afterwards (if there is spillover), would you describe the job as:  
highly demanding \_\_\_\_\_ moderately demanding \_\_\_\_\_  
minimally demanding \_\_\_\_\_  
In what ways?
5. How do you feel about having a full-time job commitment right now? Do you feel that:  
it's an important source of satisfaction \_\_\_\_\_  
it's O.K., could take it or leave it \_\_\_\_\_  
prefer not to be working \_\_\_\_\_  
(Note any qualifying explanations below.)
6. Did you stop working at all when your children were born?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ (If "No" proceed to question 7.)
  - a. When and for how long?
  - b. How was it for you to be at home?
  - c. How did your husband feel about you being home?
  - d. How did he feel about your return to work?
  - e. How did your kids react?
7. (Only for women who did not stop working at all.) How did your husband feel about your continuing to work even when the children were born? How does your husband feel about your work now? Your children?
8. Who lives in your household? What are their ages?
9. Consider for a moment all the different housekeeping, cleaning, cooking and child care responsibilities involved in taking care of your family. In terms of the time and effort required of you and the relative contributions of other family members or paid help, would you describe your housekeeping responsibilities as:  
highly demanding \_\_\_\_\_ moderately demanding \_\_\_\_\_  
minimally demanding \_\_\_\_\_  
In what ways?
10. How do you feel about your involvement in these housekeeping and domestic responsibilities? Do you feel:  
involvement in these areas is really satisfying to you \_\_\_\_\_

10. Continued  
these activities are O.K., take them or leave them \_\_\_\_\_  
these activities are pretty tedious, wish there were \_\_\_\_\_  
some other way to get them done \_\_\_\_\_  
(Note any qualifying explanations below.)
11. Are there any other important activities in your life  
right now besides your work and family involvements?  
(Be sure to note time commitment in hours per week.)  
Hobbies and projects:  
Organizations:
12. Now, let me just get a few pieces of background informa-  
tion about your family.....  
Husband's occupation:      Husband's educational level:  
Family's religious affiliation:  
Your age:

Initial Interview: Nonemployed

1. Who lives in your household? What are their ages?
2. Consider for a moment all the different housekeeping, cleaning, cooking, and child care responsibilities involved in taking care of your family. In terms of the time and effort required of you and the relative contributions of other family members or paid help, would you describe your housekeeping responsibilities as:  
highly demanding \_\_\_\_\_ moderately demanding \_\_\_\_  
minimally demanding \_\_\_\_\_  
In what ways?
3. In general, how do you feel about your involvement in housekeeping and domestic responsibilities? Do you find involvement in these areas is:  
really satisfying to you \_\_\_\_\_  
O.K., could take it or leave it \_\_\_\_\_  
pretty tedious, wish there were some other way to get it all done \_\_\_\_\_  
(Note any qualifying explanations below.)
4. How do you think your husband feels about you being a full-time homemaker right now? Your kids?
5. Are there any other important activities in your life right now besides home and family? (Note time commitment in approximate hours per week.)  
Hobbies and special projects:  
School:  
Organizations:
6. As a whole, how satisfying are these activities for you? Would you say they're:  
Very important, might even want to get more involved \_\_\_\_\_  
Fairly satisfying, as things are now \_\_\_\_\_  
Not too satisfying, sometimes wonder why you bother \_\_\_\_\_  
(Note any qualifying explanations below.)
7. Did you ever work at a paid job? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ (If "No" just ask about educational level and any career aspirations and proceed to question 8.)
  - a. When, and what kinds of position? Full or part-time?
  - b. How much education have you had? Are you trained for a particular occupation?
  - c. What made you decide to stop working? How did it feel to stop?
  - d. How did your husband feel about your work? Your children (if relevant)?

8. Do you think you ever will have a paid job (or return to a paid job)? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_ Why or why not? (If "no" proceed to question 9.)
- a. What kind of work would you like? Full-time or part-time?
  - b. When do you expect to begin working?
  - c. How do you think your husband will feel?
  - d. Your children's reactions?
9. Now let me just get a few pieces of background information about your family...
- Husband's occupation:      Husband's educational level:  
Family's religious affiliation:  
Your age:

## Appendix E

### Rating Scales for Interview Variables

#### 1 - Feelings About Domestic Responsibilities

- 0 - Very dissatisfied. Feels she's "not cut out" for this at all.
- 1 - Pretty tedious, not what she really wants.
- 2 - O.K., doesn't mind it. Also cases where ambivalent feelings are balanced.
- 3 - Parts of it are quite satisfying, though there are things she could "do without."
- 4 - Very satisfied; this is really what she wants to be doing now.

#### 2 - Initial Adjustment to Mothering

- 0 - Very upset, harried, depressed--totally unprepared for infant's demands.
- 1 - Somewhat disappointed, pressured and/or bored--infant seemed more demanding and/or unresponsive than she had expected.
- 2 - No strong affective reaction; seems to have accepted caretaking role without great difficulty. Also cases where ambivalent feelings are balanced.
- 3 - Somewhat pleased to be home with small infant; found it enjoyable to interact with baby.
- 4 - Very excited and enthusiastic about being home with small infant; found mothering highly gratifying.

#### 3 - Feelings About Mothering Responsibilities

- 0 - Feels very drained and resentful of children's demands, needs.
- 1 - Feels somewhat confined by children's needs and demands.
- 2 - Appears to casually accept the need to organize household in terms of her children's needs.
- 3 - Seems to enjoy interacting with children, provided it's not "all day long."
- 4 - Generally finds children fun, stimulating, challenging.

#### 4 - Attitude Toward Mothering in Relation to Significant Work Commitment

- 0 - The only person who should raise a child is the mother. Even when kids are in school, it's important that the mother be available for them after school, when they're sick, etc.

4 - Continued

- 1 - It's really important that the mother be home while the child is small. Once the kids are in school full-time, then it's O.K. to make after-school child-care arrangements if the mother wants to work or be involved in other things.
- 2 - Really not sure whether the mother is always the best person to raise a young child. Could be that the child would be just as well off with some other arrangement.
- 3 - It's probably not necessary for the mother to be home all day even when the child is small, but the personality of the parent substitute is very important, as is maintaining other aspects of a child's "normal" environment (e.g. playmates, opportunity to participate in community activities, etc.).
- 4 - Definitely not necessary for mother to be home all day with a child. As long as you arrange for consistent, reliable child care, the child should be fine.

5 - Description of Husband's Participation in Homemaking/Child Care

- 0 - None; wife assumes total responsibility for homemaking and child care.
- 1 - Minimal; husband participates in homemaking or child care only in "emergency" situations when wife is unavailable.
- 2 - Limited; husband assumes some "light" responsibilities re: homemaking or child care on a regular basis.
- 3 - Moderate; husband assumes one or more major responsibilities re: homemaking and/or child care on a regular basis.
- 4 - Significant; husband shares fully with wife in the overall homemaking/child care functions required by the family.

6 - Feelings About Husband's Participation in Homemaking/Child Care

- 0 - Very angry and resentful or totally inadequate (by her standards) involvement.
- 1 - Some resentment of too limited and/or begrudging assistance from husband.
- 2 - No apparent strong feelings about husband's participation; feels it is appropriate "for a husband," given his other commitments.
- 3 - Satisfied with husband's involvement in homemaking/child care.
- 4 - Very grateful and appreciative of husband's involvement in homemaking/child care, which she feels is much greater than would be expected.

7a - Feelings About Her Nonwork Period (Non Employed)

- 0 - Very angry and resentful--would rather do anything else.
- 1 - Feels pretty confined and restless--not enough stimulation and/or time to herself.
- 2 - Not very satisfied at home, but not sure what would be better for her at this time.
- 3 - Mixed feelings about not working--finds the leisure kind of pleasant, but also feels bored, unchallenged.
- 4 - Generally enjoying her nonwork period--involving herself in children, hobbies, career exploration, community organizations at a pace that suits her.

7b - Feelings About Her Nonwork Period(s) (Employed)

- 0 - Very bored, angry, and resentful during nonwork period(s).
- 1 - Generally dissatisfied during nonwork period, often bored and/or harried by her homemaking responsibilities.
- 2 - Fairly bored during nonwork period, but some pleasure from living at a more leisurely pace, having more time to be with children, develop hobbies, etc.
- 3 - Basically enjoyed her nonwork period, but became bored and restless after awhile.
- 4 - Generally enjoyed her nonwork period, using the time for gratifying involvement with children, hobbies, community affairs, etc.

8a - Future Work Plans (Non Employed)

- 0 - None; very satisfied with her present situation and expects to feel no desire for paid employment in the future.
- 1 - Expects her out-of-home involvements to increase as her children get older, but not sure that paid employment will be involved.
- 2 - Expects to return to some paid employment eventually, probably on a part-time basis.
- 3 - Hopes that she will eventually have a significant (possibly full-time) work commitment, but uncertain about the kind of position she wants.
- 4 - Has definite profession to which she plans to return on a full-time basis.

8b - Future Work Plans (Employed)

- 0 - Very unsure about the future role (if any) of work in her life.
- 1 - Some uncertainty about both present job (or career area) and amount of time she is presently devoting to work.

8b - Continued

- 2 - Would like to continue working in same position/field, but unsure about her willingness to maintain present time commitment.
- 3 - Expects to continue devoting the same or greater time to her work, but some dissatisfaction with her present position or field.
- 4 - Expects to continue or increase present work commitment in the same field.

9 - Mother Availability to Children as a Result of Work  
(Employed Only)

- 0 - Full time child care arrangements are required (including day care or full-time preschool program) as a result of mother's employment.
- 1 - Regular, part-time babysitting arrangements are required between end of children's school day and mother's return from work.
- 2 - Other family members and familiar neighbors available to fill-in with young children when mother's work hours exceed their school hours.
- 3 - Children old enough to function independently during hours between end of school and mother's return from work.
- 4 - High; mother's job hours generally coincide with children's school schedules.

10 - Description of Husband's Response to Wife's Work Commitment  
(Employed Only)

- 0 - Totally disapproving; feels it is an unnecessary interference with family life.
- 1 - Moderately disapproving; would prefer she did not work and blames her job when family problems arise.
- 2 - Ambivalent; appreciates the extra income and/or that his wife is happier, but resentful when her job interferes with family life.
- 3 - Tolerant, accepting; views it as her decision and is willing to go along with it.
- 4 - Very eager for wife to work, strongly supportive.

11 - Feelings About Present Job (Employed Only)

- 0 - Very dissatisfied with present position
- 1 - Fairly bored by/somewhat dissatisfied with present position.
- 2 - Present position "OK" and/or any sources of dissatisfaction are minor or temporary.
- 3 - Generally satisfied with present position.
- 4 - Very happy with current work situation.

12 - Feelings About Integration of Work and Family Responsibilities (Employed Only)

- 0 - Tremendous difficulty; feels very harried and guilty about impact of her work on children and/or family life.
- 1 - Quite harried and somewhat concerned about children's well-being; would definitely prefer less demanding position, if a meaningful position in her field were available on that basis.
- 2 - Some concern about impact on children/family life of her work. However, feels that meaningful employment is very important to her psychological well-being and therefore to her functioning as a parent.
- 3 - Fairly satisfied. Enjoys current level of work commitment. Some difficulty integrating work and family responsibilities, but feels children are receiving reasonably good (though not ideal) care.
- 4 - Very satisfied. Enjoys current level of work commitment and feels that she is able to comfortably integrate work and family responsibilities.

13 - Extent of Out-of-Home Involvements (Groups 2 and 3 only)

- 0 - None; centers her life around homemaking and family activities.
- 1 - Minimal; limited outside involvements, generally when "required" for children (e.g. school bake sales, etc.).
- 2 - One or more regular memberships or activities involving at least several hours a month.
- 3 - One or more regular commitments or activities generally involving some time on a weekly basis, with occasional periods of heavier demand.
- 4 - One or more regular commitments or activities involving a significant amount of time (minimum 15-20 hours per week) on an average weekly basis.

14 - Feelings About Out-of-Home Involvements (Groups 2 and 3 only)

- 0 - Very negative; finds them totally frustrating, aggravating, meaningless.
- 1 - Somewhat discontented; activities generally more frustrating than gratifying--involved mainly "for the kids" or out of sheer boredom.
- 2 - Mixed or indifferent; involved mainly for want of anything better to do.
- 3 - Fairly satisfied; outside involvements somewhat gratifying, but not what she considers a serious commitment.
- 4 - Very enthusiastic; "thrives" on her outside involvements as an essential part of her overall well-being; may wish she had time for even more involvement.

### Reference Note

1. Block, J.H. and Stapp, J. Personal communication from Dr. J.H. Block to Dr. David F. Ricks. November, 1975.

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